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FOIA MARKER

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

OA/ID Number: 90703
Folder ID Number: 90703-003

Folder Title:
Monday, August 3, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Letter	President George Bush to Lech Walesa [originally closed as 01a]. (1 pp.)	8/3/92	(b)(1)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

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File Location: Monday, August 3, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: cap6193

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

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

8-3

Date



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NATIONAL NEWS

GOP: 1.7 MILLION JOBS ENDANGERED BY CLINTON

Bill Clinton's "Putting People First" plan would put nearly 2 million people out of work next year, according to a Joint Economic Committee study to be released by Republican leaders later this week.

"The plan is a disingenuous package of traditional tax-and-spend that will depress the economy and make more than 1.7 million people jobless in 1993," the study says. "It's deficit-reduction claim is vacuous, its growth claims full of air, and its job-creation promises a cruel joke." The study of Clinton's plan for reviving the economy was conducted by a team of economists on the Republican staff of the joint House and Senate panel. A copy of the report was obtained by the Washington Times.

The study questions the impact that Clinton's proposed spending and tax increases would have on the economy and predicts that his government-mandated labor benefits -- from national health care to minimum-wage increases -- would force businesses to eliminate jobs in order to cut costs.

Economist Robert Shapiro, a Clinton adviser, rejected the criticism. "There will be an immediate, short-term impact on job stimulus from the plan's spending on the nation's infrastructure," he said. "Over the longer term, it will elevate the (economy's) growth rate."

(Donald Lambro, Washington Times, A4)

DESPITE CRITICS, BUSH IS IN RACE FOR LONG HAUL

George Bush is staying in the presidential race despite calls for his withdrawal by newspaper editorials and some conservatives, leading Democrats and Republicans agreed Sunday.

Secretary Card, asked on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday" whether there was any chance of President Bush either withdrawing or dropping Vice President Quayle from the ticket, replied, "None."

Bill Clinton said he didn't expect the disarray among Republicans to last. "What you see now is not what's going to happen in the next 90 days," Clinton told reporters in Little Rock. "I expect this to be a very tough campaign."

Rep. Gephardt said on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," "I don't think there's going to be a new Republican ticket. I think what you see is what you get."

Rep. Weber, also on CNN, predicted Bush would stay in the race. "It's going to be a very close election, and he has every opportunity to win," Weber said. But Weber said the President "needs to sharpen his message, particularly on the economy," and demonstrate "that he's willing to fight for the conservative policies that he has advanced in the past."

Secretary Kemp, asked on CBS' "Face the Nation" what Bush should do, replied, "I would like to see the President as the fighter pilot that he is."

(AP, Washington Times, A4)

Bush News Release Slams 'Sniveling Hypocritical Democrats'

ELK GROVE, Ill. -- In the latest example of the Bush campaign's difficulty in finding its footing, President Bush tried to focus on Bill Clinton's health care plan Sunday, but his campaign inadvertently stole the show with an inflammatory news release referring to the Democrats' "bimbo eruptions."

All of this occurred on a day when Bush had hoped to come up with some usable footage for his campaign ads, and it all but drowned his effort to focus attention on what he called the shortcomings in Clinton's health care plan. An official traveling with Bush acknowledged privately that the campaign press statement stepped on Bush's effort to highlight Clinton's health care plan.

Earlier, at a brunch for Republican Senate candidate Rich Williamson, Bush charged that a Bill Clinton victory would mean government-run health care with long lines, higher taxes and more headaches for most Americans.

In Little Rock, Clinton swiftly responded that Bush has "no credibility on the health care issue."

"This Administration and the one before it have presided over the biggest explosion of health care costs in the history of this country," Clinton said in a statement. "I have given a very specific plan to control costs and broaden coverage for Americans."

The Bush campaign, meanwhile, dished out one of its harshest attacks on Clinton and indirectly raised questions about his fidelity.
(Michael Kranish, Boston Globe)

Bush Staff Has Sunday Fun With 'Sniveling Hypocrites'

ROSEMONT, Ill. -- The Bush campaign, accused by Bill Clinton of mudslinging, responded Sunday by unleashing a vitriolic compendium of nasty things that Clinton and other Democrats have said about Bush....

"If they want to stick to the issues, then fine, knock off the cheap shots," Mary Matalin said Sunday. "We haven't done anything but contrast our record with his (Clinton's). Back off, boys."

As to the tone of the release, Matalin said: "It's Sunday. I was having a little fun."
(AP, Washington Times, A8)

TRIP NEWS

BUSH BELITTLES CLINTON'S HEALTH CARE PLAN

It was a pugnacious George Bush who came to Chicago's suburbs Sunday, pressing the strident tone and increased campaign tempo he had begun in Southern California last week.

If the Democrats control the White House and Congress, he warned guests at a fundraiser in Rosemont, Ill., America will have a national health system within a year "with all the efficiency of the House Post Office and the compassion of the KGB."

As Bush spoke, his campaign staff distributed a news release that attacked Clinton in personal, mocking terms and appeared aimed at reviving the issue of Clinton's alleged marital infidelity and other so-called character issues.

Presented as a "Sunday puzzle" for Clinton, the news release was organized into a series of questions. The last question read, "Which campaign had to spend thousands of taxpayer dollars on private investigators to fend off 'bimbo eruptions?'"

Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, called the new attack "sleaze mongering." He noted that Bush had said that candidates' personal lives are off limits for campaign attacks and added, "Once again, he's failed to keep his word."

(Nicholas Horrock, Chicago Tribune, A9)

Bush Blasts Clinton On Health Care, Promises End To 'Sleaze' Tactics

CHICAGO -- The Bush campaign, signaling a new line of attack on personal issues, on Sunday delivered a stinging broadside against "sniveling hypocritical" Democrats and Bill Clinton.

Responding to Clinton campaign complaints about GOP tactics, Mary Matalin issued a paper itemizing various charges Democrats and Clinton had made against Bush. But the paper also took several shots at Clinton, calling him "Slick Willie," bringing up the marijuana controversy and mentioning "bimbo eruptions" with which Clinton has had to contend.

Meanwhile, Bush -- who has said he instructed his campaign not to engage in "sleaze" issues -- made his most direct attack to date on Clinton. Campaigning in Chicago, he charged that Clinton and a Democratic Congress would deliver a government-run health-care plan with the "efficiency of the House post office" and "the compassion of the KGB."

Dee Dee Myers, Clinton's press secretary, said Sunday night, "President Bush said he would fire any staffer who was engaging in sleazy campaigning. He ought to keep his commitment and fire the people responsible for this sleazy release."

The three-page paper, in the form of a quiz, calls Clinton "the leader of the 'garbage load'" and said, "If we're at your 'belly button,' it feels like Mount Everest compared to your lower-than-a-snake's-belly campaign." Last week Clinton strategist James Carville said the Bush strategy had "started at the belly button. They'll be at the ankles here in a couple of weeks."

(Kathy Lewis, Dallas Morning News)

WHITE HOUSE COMMCTR

MON 03 AUG 92 13:59

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<ORIG> REUTER

<TOR> 920802070455

<TEXT>R F BC-BRITAIN-ECONOMY-REPOR 08-02 0442

BC-BRITAIN-ECONOMY-REPORTS (EMBARGOED)

BRITAIN STUCK IN RECESSION WITH OUTPUT FALLING
(EDS: RELEASE AT 2301 GMT AUG 2)

BY JOHN SPECK

LONDON, AUG 3, REUTER - BRITAIN'S ECONOMY IS MIRED IN RECESSION WITH INDUSTRIAL ORDERS AND OUTPUT FALLING, TWO INFLUENTIAL REPORTS ON THE ECONOMY PUBLISHED ON MONDAY SAID.

A SOMBRE SURVEY BY THE INSTITUTE OF PURCHASING AND SUPPLY (IPS) SHOWED MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY, AFTER A SLIGHT UPTURN EARLIER THIS YEAR, MAY BE SLIPPING BACK INTO RECESSION.

"MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY SAW A HALT TO THE FIVE-MONTH RISE IN MANUFACTURING OUTPUT, AND A SIGNIFICANT FURTHER FALL IN THE LEVEL OF NEW ORDERS," SAID JIM MCCOLL, MARKETING SERVICES MANAGER AT IPS.

A REPORT BY ACADEMICS AT THE OXFORD ECONOMIC FORECASTING GROUP SAW THE ECONOMY SUFFERING A FALL IN OUTPUT OF 1.1 PER CENT THIS YEAR, BECAUSE CONSUMER CONFIDENCE REMAINS BRITTLE.

IN MARCH, THE GOVERNMENT FORECAST THE ECONOMY WOULD GROW ONE PER CENT THIS YEAR, MARKING THE END OF RECESSION. BUT A POST-ELECTION SPARK IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WITNESS IN APRIL AND JUNE HAS QUICKLY FIZZLED OUT.

"THE RECESSION WILL PERSIST UNTIL DEBTS FALL TO SOME EQUILIBRIUM LEVEL WHICH IS UNKNOWNABLE AND POSSIBLY MUCH LOWER THAN AT PRESENT," THE OXFORD REPORT SAID.

THE TWO SURVEYS ARE LIKELY TO INTENSIFY PRESSURE ON BRITAIN'S RULING CONSERVATIVE PARTY TO ACT TO HELP THE ECONOMY, WHICH IS STUCK IN THE LONGEST RECESSION SINCE THE 1940S.

ECONOMISTS AND INDUSTRIALISTS FEAR THAT UNLESS BASE LENDING RATES, CURRENTLY AT 10 PER CENT, ARE SHARPLY CUT THE RECESSION WILL DEGENERATE INTO A PROLONGED SLUMP.

LEADING INDUSTRIALISTS, INCLUDING THE NEW DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRY HOWARD DAVIES, LAST WEEK CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT TO SEEK A REALIGNMENT OF EUROPE'S EXCHANGE RATE MECHANISM (ERM), IN WHICH THE MARK WOULD BE REVALUED, SO INTEREST RATES CAN FALL ACROSS EUROPE.

NERVOUSNESS OVER THE ECONOMY AND REALIGNMENT SENT THE POUND STERLING SKIDDING ON THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKETS IN LATE JULY, AND FURTHER SELLING PRESSURE IS EXPECTED IN THE COMING WEEK.

THE IPS SURVEY SHOWED THE PURCHASING MANAGERS' INDEX, WHICH IS MADE UP OF SEVERAL COMPONENTS SUCH AS ORDERS AND EMPLOYMENT, FELL TO 48 PER CENT FROM 50.2 PER CENT IN JUNE AND HAS BEEN ON A DECLINING TREND SINCE HITTING 55.1 PER CENT IN APRIL.

THE IPS SURVEY COVERS PURCHASING MANAGERS IN BRITAIN WHO COLLECTIVELY SPEND MORE THAN 250 BILLION POUNDS STERLING (\$480 BILLION) OF CORPORATE MONEY EACH YEAR. IT PROVIDES AN EARLY INDICATION OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY.

THE OUTPUT INDEX RECORDED A LEVEL OF 48.9 PER CENT IN JULY, A SIGNIFICANT DECREASE FROM JUNE'S 54.4 PER CENT LEVEL. THE LOW LEVEL IMPLIES A DECLINE IN OUTPUT LEVELS.

REUTER JES RLH

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WHITE HOUSE COMMCTR

MON 03 AUG 92 13:57

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<TEXT>R F BC-BRITAIN-ECONOMY 07-28 0424
BC-BRITAIN-ECONOMY

BRITAIN STUCK IN RECESSION WITH NO END IN SIGHT
BY JOHN SPECK

LONDON, JULY 28, REUTER - BRITAIN'S ECONOMY REMAINS STUCK IN RECESSION WITH NO UPTURN IN SIGHT, THE CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH INDUSTRY (CBI) EMPLOYERS GROUP SAID IN A GLOOMY SURVEY PUBLISHED ON TUESDAY.

THE SURVEY PROVIDES THE STRONGEST EVIDENCE YET THAT BRITAIN IS TRAPPED IN A RECESSIONARY RUT AND PROMPTED THE CBI TO CALL FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION TO HELP THE ECONOMY.

"THE TIME IS NOT YET WITH US WHEN WE CAN PROCLAIM THE END OF RECESSION...IT IS A SOBERING SURVEY," SAID DAVID WIGGLESWORTH, CHAIRMAN OF THE CBI'S ECONOMIC SITUATION COMMITTEE.

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH REUTERS, THE CBI'S NEW DIRECTOR GENERAL HOWARD DAVIES SAID THE GOVERNMENT MUST ACT TO STOP THE ROT.

"WE BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT DOES HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE THE ECONOMY...AND THAT IT IS WRONG FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO ARGUE THAT IT IS COMPLETELY POWERLESS TO DO ANYTHING, WHICH IS WHAT IT SEEMS TO DO AT THE MOMENT," DAVIES SAID.

PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR HAS FORECAST AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL TAKE ROOT IN BRITAIN THIS YEAR, BUT THE CBI SURVEY IS LIKELY TO FUEL FEARS THE ECONOMY WILL CONTRACT AGAIN THIS YEAR.

"THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK DOES NOT LOOK GOOD AT ALL. WE EXPECT THE ECONOMY TO CONTRACT BY 1.25 PER CENT THIS YEAR," SAID ANDREW MILLIGAN, AN ECONOMIST AT SECURITIES HOUSE SMITH NEW COURT.

THE SURVEY OF NEARLY 1,300 MANUFACTURING COMPANIES SHOWED A SPURT IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, AFTER THE APRIL GENERAL ELECTION, HAD FIZZLED OUT.

IT SAID OUTPUT IS SET TO FALL IN THE COMING MONTHS, INDUSTRIAL ORDERS WILL REMAIN FLAT AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL KEEP RISING.

"IT IS DISAPPOINTING TO SEE THIS DROP IN BUSINESS CONFIDENCE THOUGH OF COURSE NOT UNEXPECTED," A TREASURY SPOKESMAN SAID. "BUT IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT THE BALANCE DOES FALL BACK IN SUMMER AFTER A SPRINGTIME BOOST."

THE GOVERNMENT'S HAND ON MONETARY POLICY HAS BEEN SEVERELY CONSTRAINED BY A COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN THE VALUE OF THE POUND STERLING IN EUROPE'S EXCHANGE RATE MECHANISM (ERM), AND ON FISCAL POLICY BY THE BURGEONING PUBLIC SECTOR BORROWING REQUIREMENT (PSBR).

A GROWING BAND OF CRITICS IS URGING THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE BOLD ACTION TO FREE THE ECONOMY FROM RECESSION.

THE CBI WANTS BRITAIN TO PUSH FOR A EUROPE-WIDE CUT IN INTEREST RATES, EVEN IF THIS INVOLVES AN UPWARD REVALUATION OF THE MARK IN THE ERM AGAINST OTHER EC CURRENCIES.

IT ALSO IS URGING THE GOVERNMENT TO IMPOSE STRICT CONTROLS ON PUBLIC PAY AWARDS WHILE MAINTAINING CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN KEY AREAS, SUCH AS ROAD, RAIL, HOUSING AND TRAINING PROJECTS.

REUTER JES JCH
REUT08:31 07-28

WHITE HOUSE COMMCTR

MON 03 AUG 92 13:58

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<ORIG> REUTER

<TOR> 920727110509

<TEXT>R F BC-BRITAIN-ECONOMY 07-27 0251

BC-BRITAIN-ECONOMY

BUILDING FIGURES DEEPEN GLOOM FOR BRITISH ECONOMY

LONDON, JULY 27, REUTER - BRITAIN'S BUILDING INDUSTRY ON MONDAY FORECAST THE LOSS OF 40,000 MORE JOBS THIS YEAR AND NO RETURN TO GROWTH BEFORE 1993, DEALING A FURTHER BLOW TO ANY HOPES OF AN EARLY END TO THE RECESSION.

THE BUILDING EMPLOYERS CONFEDERATION, REPORTING ON A SURVEY OF 600 FIRMS, SAID NEARLY ONE-FIFTH OF THEM WERE WORKING AT LESS THAN HALF CAPACITY. IT ESTIMATED THE INDUSTRY HAD LOST ABOUT 260,000 JOBS SINCE THE MIDDLE OF 1989.

THE SURVEY REPORTED DECLINING OUTPUT IN SECOND QUARTER 1992, BUT SAID THE FALL WOULD BE LESS DRAMATIC THAN THE FIRST QUARTER.

IT SAID HOUSING SALES REMAINED DEPRESSED, "WITH LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ECONOMY AS THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON HOUSE PURCHASERS ENTERING THE MARKET."

THE REPORT COINCIDED WITH A FORECAST BY THE NATIONAL WESTMINSTER BANK, A MAJOR BRITISH COMMERCIAL BANK, WHICH SAID THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE SOUTHEAST OF ENGLAND, WHICH INCLUDES LONDON AND WHICH WAS THE MOTOR DRIVING THE 1980S BOOM, WOULD RISE 18 PER CENT TO ALMOST ONE MILLION BY JUNE NEXT YEAR.

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT REACHED MORE THAN 2.7 MILLION IN JUNE AND ECONOMISTS EXPECT IT TO TOP THREE MILLION BEFORE YEAR'S END.

OPPOSITION POLITICIANS FIERCELY ATTACKED THE GOVERNMENT FOR REFUSING TO DEVIATE FROM ITS TIGHT ANTI-INFLATIONARY MONETARY POLICIES TO TRY TO FUEL A RECOVERY.

THE LABOUR PARTY'S TREASURY SPOKESMAN GORDON BROWN ACCUSED CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (FINANCE MINISTER) NORMAN LAMONT OF "BREATH-taking AND ARROGANT COMPLACENCY."

REUTER DS SK RLH

REUT11:04 07-27

daily 8/3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

22 JUL 10 AM: 49

July 10, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO *NEC*
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

SUBJECT: Request from Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT)

Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) has requested that you see this letter personally.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Maughan:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning efforts by the Department of the Interior to improve concessions management by the National Park Service. During my Administration, ensuring the well-being of our treasured national parks has been a major priority.

As you note, during my State of the Union Address, I directed Federal agencies to undertake a review of Federal regulations in order to enhance economic growth and competitiveness. Since then, the agencies have continued to publish regulations based on a determination that such action would foster economic growth and opportunity. At the same time, by encouraging regulatory flexibility, we have saved taxpayers and consumers billions of dollars.

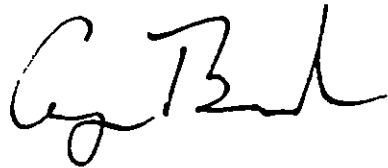
The Department of the Interior's Inspector General and the General Accounting Office have identified shortcomings in National Park Service management of concession operations. The Secretary of the Interior subsequently initiated formal review of concession management in December 1989. This review has understandably provided some uncertainty for concessioners in national parks, who, in most instances, have provided good service to the public.

I have been advised that measures proposed by the Department of the Interior to improve concessions management in national parks will be implemented in accordance with current law. Please be assured that before final National Park Service concessions regulations are issued, such regulations will be

reviewed carefully. A draft of such regulations has been submitted to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA) and is now undergoing interagency review under Executive Order 12291. The regulations must promote economic competitiveness and growth, provide a fair return to the taxpayer, and ensure a stable operating environment for national park concessioners.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. B. H." with a stylized, cursive flourish at the end.

Mr. Rex Maughan
Chairman
Conference of National Park
Concessioners
Post Office Box 29041
Phoenix, Arizona 85038

Rex Maughan, Chairman
P.O. Box 29041, Phoenix, AZ 85038



Telephone (602) 967-6006
FAX (602) 968-6883

Conference of National Park Concessioners

June 16, 1992

Officers

Rex G. Maughan
Chairman
Garner B. Hanson
Vice Chairman
Phyllis O'Connell
Secretary-Treasurer

Washington
Representative
Allan T. Howe

Board of Directors

Richard O. "Dick" Buck
Guest Services, Inc.
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Fort Sumter Tours, Inc.
Garner B. Hanson
National Park
Concessions, Inc.
Edward C. Hardy
Yosemite Park &
Curry Company
Tom Mack
Landmark Services
Tourmobile, Inc.
Rex G. Maughan
Forever Resorts
Phyllis O'Connell
Parkway Inn, Inc.
Bob Palumbo
ARA Leisure Services, Inc.
Terry Povah
Hamilton Stores, Inc.
Kay Steuerwald
Mount Rushmore
Mountain Company, Inc.
Stephen W. Tedder
TW Recreational
Services, Inc.

Honorable George Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I was on a business trip in Taipei when you delivered the State of The Union address. I actually heard it on CNN television on Wednesday morning and wanted to write you and congratulate you on a job well done. Many of your actions in dealing with the economy are going to have a positive effect.

One that particularly appealed to me was your 90-day moratorium on all new federal regulations which impede growth and also your later extension for 120 days. As the Chairman of The Conference of National Park Concessioners I can honestly tell you that our membership knows whereof you speak. As you know, most of the concessioners in our National Park units are small business people and unnecessary federal regulations are especially difficult for them to handle.

On August 23, 1991 the National Park Service published several proposed regulations which would radically change concessions policies. Secretary Lujan has been promoting these changes even though we have met with him and pointed out how unfair and damaging they are to the partnership between the government and the private sector. They received nearly 1200 responses to the proposals, nearly all critical of some part of them.

These proposed regulations were a continuation of the over zealous efforts of Secretary Lujan to radically change the concessions system. He had previously placed a moratorium on all National Park concessions contracting in December, 1989 which is still in place with nearly 100 contracts now awaiting negotiation. This is no way to run the public's business and we respectfully ask you to request him to get back to contracting procedures under the present law.

Honorable George Bush
June 16, 1992
Page 2

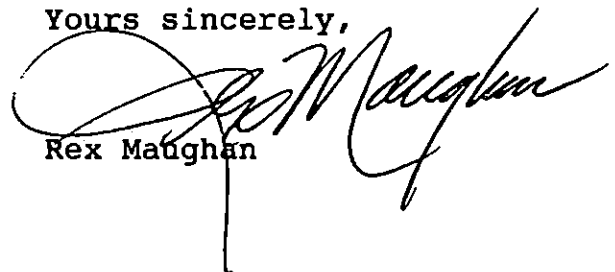
This is the same subject that was called to your attention at the Recreation Roundtable June 18th, 1991 when you asked Bob Grady of OMB to follow up. We met with Mr. Grady last September but we are unaware of what direction his office is moving with regard to the proposals. We have also met with your Council on Competitiveness and asked for their assistance. Our most recent appeals for assistance from OMB and your Council on Competitiveness have been made because Secretary Lujan is requesting an exemption from your regulation moratorium.

The partnership between private-sector concessioners and the government has worked well in our National Parks for more than the 75 years of National Park Service history. The early founders of our parks knew that the expertise and financial investment of the private sector was critical to providing visitor services. Even Secretary Lujan and Director Ridenour have told us that the system works well, with virtually no complaints, and have praised the performance of many of our members. The present law governing concessions is a balanced and fair law which should not be scrapped when it has proven very successful.

We urgently ask your assistance to put meaning into your commitment in your address. Please communicate your concern over these radical changes proposed by the National Park Service and ask Secretary Lujan to execute your policy on these proposals. These proposals should be withdrawn to conform to your policy.

Again, our organization personally appreciates your leadership.

Yours sincerely,



Rex Maughan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

12 JUL 30 P12:21

July 24, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

EDE HOLIDAY *[Signature]*

SUBJECT:

1993 Savings Bonds Campaign

Attached is a memorandum from Secretary Brady recommending that you appoint Secretary Card chairman of the 1993 Interagency Savings Bonds Committee. The Secretary's role would be to coordinate the government-wide Savings Bonds campaign.

Also attached is a letter to Secretary Card for your signature requesting his service as chairman.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

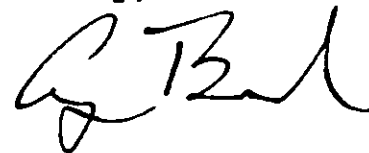
Dear Andy:

I would like to ask you to serve as the 1993 Chairman of the Interagency Committee for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds, effective October 1, 1992, to coordinate the 1993 Government-wide campaign. By accepting this appointment you will be following Manuel Lujan, Jr., Secretary of the Interior, who is completing his service as 1992 Chairman of the Committee, and many other distinguished Cabinet members who have chaired the Interagency Committee. This Committee consists of the heads of all departments and agencies in the executive branch.

Savings bonds have played, and continue to play, an important role in the financial life of our citizens and the Nation. I know that the commitment you bring to all your activities will guarantee a successful campaign.

The Savings Bonds Program represents the true spirit of volunteerism and has my strong support. I stand ready to assist you in this endeavor and hope you will accept this important assignment.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. H. Card, Jr.", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Andrew H. Card, Jr.
Secretary of Transportation
Washington, D.C. 20590



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS F. BRADY *NFB*

SUBJECT: Appointment of the 1993 Chairman of the
Interagency Savings Bonds Committee

I recommend that you appoint Secretary of Transportation, Andrew H. Card, Jr. to a one-year term as 1993 Chairman of the Interagency Savings Bonds Committee effective October 1, 1992. Secretary Card would succeed Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan, Jr. who is completing his term as 1992 Chairman.

The Committee includes the heads of all Federal Departments and Agencies. The chairmanship is a Presidential appointment under authority of an Executive Order dated March 29, 1977. A copy of the Executive Order and a list of previous chairpersons is attached.

The Secretary's role would be to coordinate the 1993 Government-wide Savings Bonds campaign. This campaign begins in the spring, so an appointment now would allow early planning. Having Secretary Card as the 1993 Chairman would help us make next year's campaign a major success.

Attached for your signature is a suggested letter to Secretary Card requesting that he serve as 1993 Chairman of the Interagency Savings Bonds Committee.

Attachments

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

cc: Jeb Bush

daily
8/3

Mrs. James McGuire
812 North Myrtle Drive
Surfside Beach, South Carolina 29575



THE PRESIDENT

Dear Mrs. McGuire,

Barbara and I were saddened by Jeb's news of your recent loss. I know this is a difficult time for you.

We hope it helps to know that we send our heartfelt condolences to you and your family. Our thoughts and prayers are with you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "G. W. Bush".

6-29-92

Dear Dad,

mini Beach, Pl. 3513
 (2) Could you write a letter of
 Love McGuire

Condolence to

Lois McGuire
812 Myrtle Pr

Surfside Beach, S.C.
295

correct

S.C.
295753

Tuesday, November 16, 1993

Mrs McGuire's husband died the
days ago. She was on the same
plane I was going to D.C. to bury
her husband in Arlington Cemetery.
He was a Col. and flew in the
Pacific the same time you did.

Love.

Jet

daily 8/13

MR. PRESIDENT:

WHIT
TASHIN

This is for the wife
of Senator Smith (R-NH).

ck

Dear Mary Jo:

Barbara and I were deeply sorry to learn of your illness. We hope it helps a little bit to know that we, together with all of your friends at the White House, are thinking about you and praying for your speedy recovery.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Ly Bzl

Mrs. Mary Jo Smith
Post Office Box 658
Wolfeboro, New Hampshire 03894

*Hang up and get all
well - I need you!
All But
Any*

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is seen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

2 JUL 30 P3:42

July 30, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO, Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs *NEC*

SUBJECT: Mary Jo Smith

Senator Bob Smith's (R-NH) wife, Mary Jo, recently had a heart attack and is recuperating at home in New Hampshire. If you would like to send her a note, the address is: Mary Jo Smith, P.O. Box 658, Wolfeboro, NH 03894.

daily 8/3

HOUSE

TON

Dear Robert:

Thanks so much for your letter of July 22nd. I appreciate your thinking of me and including the articles about your fishing experience in Key Biscayne. It sounds wonderful.

Congratulations on your fantastic 53-pound catch. Wow! You also have my admiration for giving someone else the opportunity to share the same experience by practicing "catch and release" fishing. I find this method rewarding, too.

Unfortunately, as you can imagine, my schedule is such that I have little time to fish, but I will keep your suggestion in mind.

Thanks again, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

*P.S. I've
never caught
a Permit - wish I had*

Mr. Robert J. Schneider
Garden Road
Harrison, New York 10528

S

RJS/me
Enclosures

8/3/92

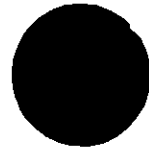
✓ REMINDER:

YOU WANT TO TALK TO RAY PRICE RE COMING TO TOWN AND
HAVING DINNER WITH YOU TOMORROW NIGHT.

2) Bert Walker returned your call.

got him

got him



NATIONAL DIRECTION

Do you feel things in the country are generally going in the right direction, or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	<u>Right</u> <u>Dir.</u>	<u>Wrong</u> <u>Track</u>	<u>DK/</u> <u>Ref.</u>
July 24-26, 1992	16%	79	5
July 6-8, 1992	15%	79	6
May 11-17, 1992	17%	77	7
April 22-27, 1992	19%	76	5
February 23-26, 1992	17%	78	6
January 29-30, 1992	21%	75	5
December 1991	19%	73	8
February 25-27, 1991	62%	30	8
January 28-February 24, 1991 ¹	56%	35	9
January 17-21, 1991	63%	27	9
January 16, 1991	48%	39	13
January 4-12, 1991	28%	63	9
December 7-12, 1990	31%	59	9
October 26-31, 1990	20%	74	6
October 17-18, 1990	27%	66	7
October 13-14, 1990	26%	65	9
October 4-7, 1990	25%	64	10
June 29-30, 1990	38%	54	8
June 1-17 1990	41%	49	9
May, 1990	39%	54	7
March, 1990	39%	54	7
October, 1989	40%	51	9
April, 1989	46%	41	13
January, 1989	53%	37	10

R2
File
very close
hold!

5

¹Gulf War tracking average.

JOB PERFORMANCE

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President? (IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

	Str. App.	Smw. App.	Smw. Dis.	Str. Dis.	DK/ Ref.	Tot App.	Tot Dis.
July 24-26, 1992	13%	21	24	37	5	34%	61
July 6-8, 1992	7%	26	25	35	7	33%	60
May 11-17, 1992	10%	32	21	30	6	43%	51
April 22-27, 1992	12%	32	25	29	2	44%	54
February 23-26, 1992	12%	30	23	31	3	42%	54
January 29-30, 1992	14%	29	24	28	5	43%	53
December 1991	14%	32	20	26	8	46%	46
February 25-27, 1991	na	na	na	na	na	84%	12
Jan. 28-Feb. 24, 1991 ²	na	na	na	na	na	76%	16
January 17-21, 1991	na	na	na	na	na	80%	15
January 16, 1991	na	na	na	na	na	71%	21
January 4-12, 1991	28%	35	15	16	6	62%	31
December 7-12, 1990	22%	37	17	17	7	59%	34
October 26-31, 1990	20%	33	20	21	7	52%	41
October 17-18, 1990	22%	36	21	17	4	58%	38
October 13-14, 1990	19%	41	19	13	7	60%	33
October 4-7, 1990	31%	36	15	11	6	68%	26
June 29-30, 1990	23%	40	15	13	9	63%	28
June 1-17 1990	23%	49	13	8	8	71%	21
May, 1990	23%	46	12	10	9	69%	22
March, 1990	33%	44	11	6	6	77%	17
October, 1989	29%	45	10	8	8	75%	18
April, 1989	27%	43	11	8	12	70%	19

²Gulf War tracking average.

GENERAL AWARENESS AND IMPRESSIONS

I'd like you to rate your feelings toward some people in the news on a zero-to-one hundred scale with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number on the scale, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person. If you've never heard of the person, just tell me, and we'll move on to the next one.

	Warm 51-100	Neut 50	Cold 0-49	DK/Ref. Never Heard of	Mean
George Bush					
July 24-26, 1992	43%	17	40	*	49
July 6-8, 1992	40%	19	41	*	48
May 11-17, 1992	47%	20	33	*	53
Oct. 4-7, 1990	81%	17	21	1	62
March, 1990	67%	19	13	1	67
October, 1989	62%	20	17	1	64
April, 1989	63%	16	19	2	64
January, 1989	54%	17	26	3	58
Nov. 6-7, 1988	48%	16	34	3	53
Bill Clinton					
July 24-26, 1992	54%	15	29	3	58
July 6-8, 1992	34%	23	38	5	47
May 11-17, 1992	28%	27	39	6	45
Ross Perot					
July 24-26, 1992	22%	18	55	5	36
July 6-8, 1992	41%	18	31	9	52
May 11-17, 1992	30%	18	21	30	53
Dan Quayle					
July 24-26, 1992	25%	20	54	1	38
July 6-8, 1992	25%	18	55	2	37
October 4-7, 1990	25%	28	40	8	42
March 1990	27%	28	40	5	44
October 1989	28%	24	40	9	44
April 1989	35%	20	38	10	46
January 1989	28%	24	43	7	41
November 6-7, 1988	22%	21	52	5	37
Al Gore	47%	18	21	14	59
James A. Baker III	51%	21	18	11	60
Dick Cheney					
July 24-26, 1992	34%	20	18	29	56
July 6-8, 1992	32%	19	14	35	56
Warren Rudman	12%	12	11	65	49
Colin Powell	57%	12	9	22	69
Bob Dole	34%	24	23	20	53

TRIAL HEAT RESULTS

Thinking about the Presidential election this fall...

If the presidential election were being held today, who would you vote for?³

Half Sample A (N=600)**Trial Heat (Read First)**

Bush	36%
Clinton	56
Other/Undecided ⁴	8

Half Sample B (N=600)**Trial Heat (Read First)**

Bush/Quayle	35%
Clinton/Gore	56
Other/Undecided ⁴	9

**Trial Heat (Rotated with
Cheney Trial Heat)**

Bush/Baker	39%
Clinton/Gore	53
Other/Undecided ⁴	8

**Trial Heat (Rotated with
Rudman Trial Heat)**

Bush/Baker	38%
Clinton/Gore	54
Other/Undecided ⁴	8

Trial Heat

Bush/Cheney	35%
Clinton/Gore	55
Other/Undecided ⁴	10

Trial Heat

Bush/Rudman	32%
Clinton/Gore	57
Other/Undecided ⁴	11

³See complete questionnaire for actual wording of trial heat questions. Full names of presidential and vice-presidential candidates were included in the question.

⁴Includes volunteered mentions of Ross Perot, others, "won't vote", "don't know", and "refused". Ross Perot averaged less than 1% across the 6 ballots. The "don't knows" averaged between 4% and 5% across the 6 ballots.

PROS AND CONS ABOUT VICE-PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE

Here are some thoughts people might have if George Bush replaced Dan Quayle as his running mate. For each one, please tell me if you, personally, strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

	Str. Agr.	Smw. Agr.	Nei- ther Dis.	Smw. Dis.	Str. Dis.	DK/ Ref.	Tot Agr.	Tot Dis.
I would feel a lot better about voting for Bush if someone more competent than Dan Quayle was on the ticket with him.	24%	20	6	15	32	3	44%	47
Bush would look bad in my eyes if he replaced Quayle now because he would be doing it only because he fell behind in the polls.	42%	21	2	15	17	3	63%	32
Bush should keep Quayle on the ticket because Quayle has been a strong conservative in the Bush Administration.	20%	27	4	18	27	5	46%	45
Bush should keep Quayle on the ticket because Quayle has been his most loyal supporter, and Bush should return the loyalty.	23%	25	4	17	27	4	48%	45
Even if it may look bad for Bush, the right thing to do for the country is for Bush to replace Quayle because Quayle is not qualified to be President.	36%	17	3	19	22	2	52%	42

THE PEROT FACTOR*Thinking about Ross Perot...*

BEFORE Ross Perot pulled out of the race, did you consider yourself a Perot supporter in the Presidential election or a supporter of someone else?

	Total	Bush Voter⁵	Clinton Voter⁵
Perot supporter	24%	18%	25%
Supporter of someone else	64	73	63
Depends/In-between/Undecided [VOL]	11	8	11
Don't know	1	1	1
Refused/NA	*	*	*

Ross Perot's name may be on the ballot in some states this November. If Ross Perot's name is still on the ballot in your state, would you vote for him as a protest against the two major party candidates, or would you vote for one of the two major party candidates so you wouldn't waste your vote?

	Total	Bush Voter⁵	Clinton Voter⁵
Vote for Perot as a protest	9%	4%	9%
Vote for one of the major party candidates	84	91	87
Other [VOL]	3	3	2
Won't vote [VOL]	1	*	1
Don't know	2	2	2
Refused/NA	*	*	*

⁵In first trial heat question; half sample A and B combined.

RETROSPECTIVE OPINION OF COUNTRY AND SELF

Now, I'd like to turn to some issues in the country. First...

Would you say the country, overall, is better off or worse off today than it was four years ago?

	July 24-26 1992	Feb. 23-26 1992	Jan. 29-30 1991	Dec. 1991
Better off	14%	15%	16%	22%
Worse off	76	75	76	67
About the same [VOL]	8	9	6	9
Don't know	1	1	2	2
Refused/NA	1	—	1	*

Would you say you, personally, are better off or worse off today than you were four years ago?

	July 24-26 1992	Feb. 23-26 1992	Jan. 29-30 1991	Dec. 1991
Better	38%	39%	41%	43%
Worse off	38	40	39	36
About the same [VOL]	23	20	20	19
Don't know	*	1	*	1
Refused/NA	*	*	*	*

YOUTH JOB PROGRAM

Do you think spending money on a new federal program to employ unemployed young people in jobs repairing and building roads, parks, and other facilities is a good idea or a poor idea? (IF GOOD/POOR)
Would you say the idea is very (GOOD/POOR) or somewhat (GOOD/POOR)?

Very good idea	57%
Somewhat good idea	27
Depends [VOL]	3
Somewhat poor idea	7
Very poor idea	5
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

Collapses

Good idea	84%
Poor idea	12

PRIORITIES AND GENERAL THEMES

Which ONE of the following THREE do you think should be the next President's top priority?

Which one would you choose second?

	<u>Combined Choices</u>	<u>First Choice</u>	<u>Second Choice</u>
Take actions to reduce government spending and lower the budget deficit so the economy can grow faster and create more jobs	73%	38	34
Push for a package of tax cuts to encourage greater business investment and consumer-spending which will create more jobs	38%	18	22
Push for a package of domestic reforms to reduce health care costs, improve education, and reduce crime	69%	37	31
All of the above [VOL]	8	8	*
None of the above/Other [VOL]	2	*	1
Don't know	2	1	1
Refused/NA	1	--	1

Generally, which type of President do you think is most needed over the next four years?

Someone who does everything possible to reduce government spending and lower the budget deficit	40%
Someone who pushes for new government spending programs to increase employment, improve education, and provide health care to more people	49
Both equal [VOL]	7
Neither [VOL]	1
Don't know	1
Refused/NA	*

IRAQ

Thinking about the current situation in Iraq...

Saddam Hussein has recently told the United Nations that he would NOT allow UN inspection teams to search for military weapons inside certain government buildings in Iraq. If Iraq continues to refuse these U.N. officials access to these buildings, which one of the following TWO choices do you favor the UNITED STATES taking.

Let the U.N. continue to negotiate with Iraq in order to allow U.N. inspection teams into these sites	51%
---	-----

The U.S. and U.N. should mount an air strike on those buildings which the U.N. believes to be storing ballistic missiles	43
--	----

Other [VOL]	1
Both [VOL]	1
Neither [VOL]	2
Don't know	2
Refused/NA	*

ISSUE AND PERSONAL TRAIT OWNERSHIP

Thinking about the Presidential race again...

Here are some issues. For each one, please tell me who you think would do the best job handling it as President - (ROTATE: George Bush or Bill Clinton)?

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Perot (Vol)	Both Equal	None	DK/ Ref.
Foreign policy	67%	25	*	2	2	5
Restoring traditional American values	41%	46	*	3	5	6
Crime	35%	49	*	3	4	9
Health care	23%	68	--	1	2	6
The economy	31%	57	*	1	4	6
The budget deficit	32%	56	*	1	5	5
Education	29%	62	*	1	3	6
Illegal drug use	42%	40	*	3	6	9
Make the changes necessary to improve the domestic economy and open international markets to American goods.	38%	51	1	1	2	6

Here are some descriptions. For each one, please tell me who you think they best describe - (ROTATE: George Bush or Bill Clinton)?

	George Bush	Bill Clinton	Perot (Vol)	Both Equal	None	DK/ Ref.
Would display good judgment in a crises	55%	31	*	4	4	6
Is honest and trustworthy	40%	33	1	8	14	4
Cares about people	26%	52	*	15	5	2
Can get things done	32%	49	1	4	8	6
Can bring needed changes in the country	24%	63	1	1	7	4

ATTITUDES ABOUT CHANGE

If there are NO substantial changes in government policies on domestic problems under the next President, do you think things in the country will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?

Get better	18%
Stay about the same	26
Get worse	54
Don't know	2
Refused	*

There is a potential 4 to 6 percentage point net gain for the President by replacing Dan Quayle on the ticket with someone of neutral stature. This kind of survey extrapolation is made without figuring in the impact on public opinion of the reactions of the news media and party leaders to a change in the Vice-Presidential candidate.

Over one-half (55%) of the non-Bush voters report they would be "more likely" to vote for the President if he replaced Dan Quayle on the ticket. Only 17% say this would make them less likely to vote for him. The remainder (28%) say replacing Quayle would not make a difference. Even a 40% plurality of the Bush voters say replacing the Vice President would reinforce their intentions to vote for the President; 36% say it would make them less likely to vote for Bush. The results do not vary enough by region to imply a reversal in opinion in our key states.

These unfiltered results need to be viewed with a great deal of skepticism as they imply that the President would vault into a large lead from this action alone. Many of the Clinton and Perot voters are merely expressing their disapproval of the Vice President and don't really mean they would vote for the President despite the explicit wording of this question.

To place greater realism on this analysis we eliminated the 20% Democratic base voters and an additional 17% of the Democrats and independents who are very negative toward the President. We then investigated the answers of the remaining 63% of the voters who more realistically might be moved in our direction by a change in runningmate.

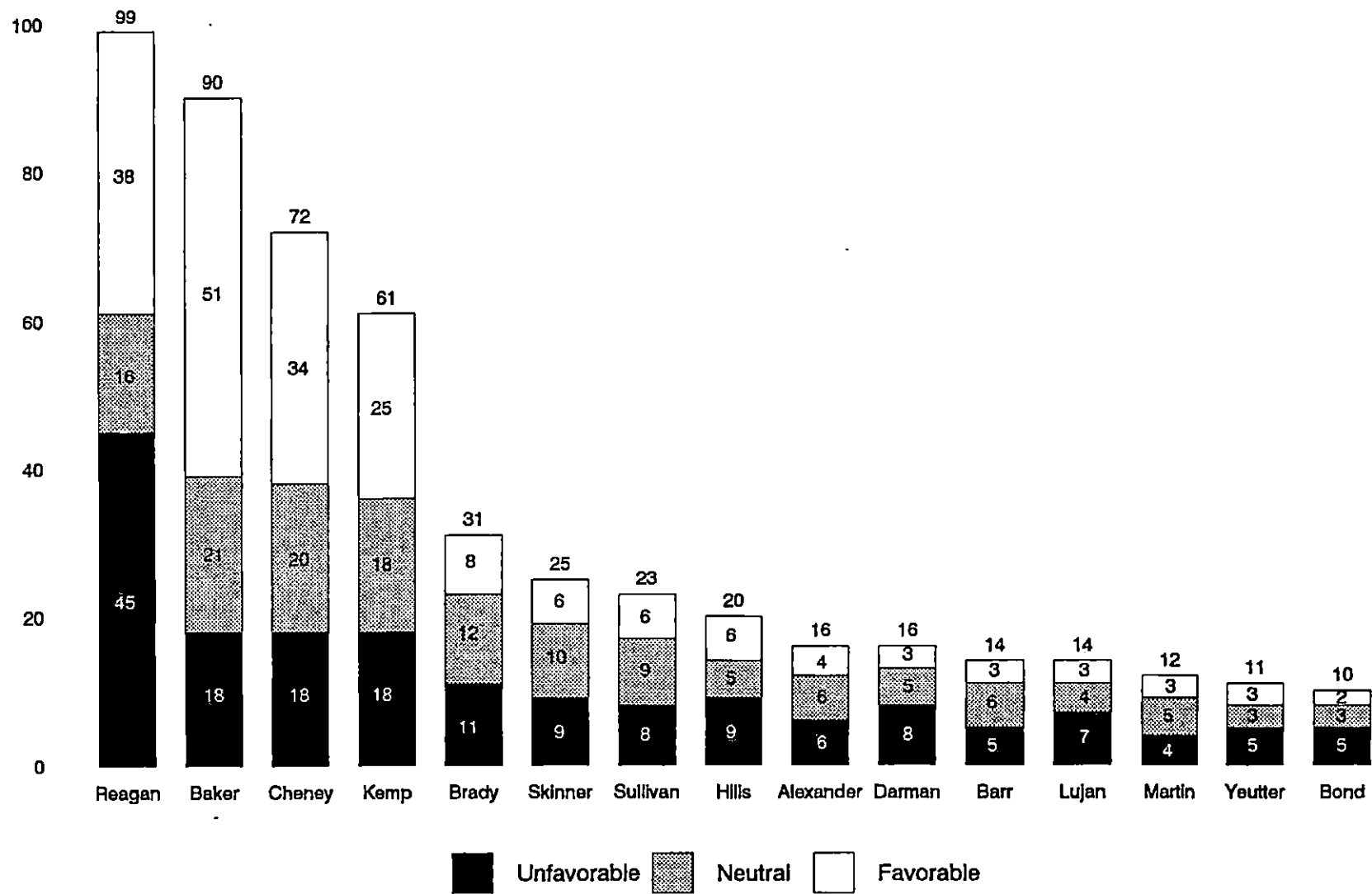
From this filtered analysis, the President could conceivably gain or, at least, remove an obstacle for support among voters representing 17 percentage points (non-Bush voters more likely to vote for him). At the same time, he would be risking the support of 11 percentage points that he already has (Bush voters less likely to vote for him). The potential net gain is 6 percentage points.

Counting just those who react the most intensely to Quayle's removal ("much more likely" or "much less likely" to vote for Bush as a result), the President would potentially gain or begin to move 10 percentage points and lose or cause great dissatisfaction with 6 percentage points of the total vote. The potential net gain here is 4 percentage points.

These are fairly large numbers on both sides of the issue. Vice-President Quayle generates a lot of strong opinions, more against than for.

Awareness and Favorability Ratings of Surrogates

Percent Aware



U.S. National Surveys
July 27, 1992

Daily

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Dan Gillcrist
Gillcrist Municipals Management
236 Montezuma Avenue
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501



THE PRESIDENT

8-3-92

Dear Dan -

You do good work on
bending wood - neat net! Now
to get fish.

It was great seeing
you. Our man Ross is history -
thats good news. All Best with
many thanks too

Dan Gilchrist

7-27-92

Dear George,

I made this landing net because
I was interested in experimenting
with landing weed. It worked out
fine and looks real nice except
I lost flyfish. Since we wanted
to make you something anyway, I
thought this is it.

Consider it a ~~small~~ token of how
grateful I am for what you have
given to my country in this job
and all the others. I can't think
of anyone who has done more!

Thank B. Peave, no response
Wm
A

MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
August 3, 1992

ACTION

1. H.R. 5343 -- Fair Packaging and Labelling Act Metric Amendments.
2. S. J. Res. 295 -- National D.A.R.E. Day.
3. S. 2938 -- To Authorize the Architect of the Capitol to Acquire Certain Property.
4. S.J. Res. 92 -- Buffalo Soldiers Day.
5. Mail Sample.
6. Holiday Memorandum re Chair for 1993 Savings Bonds Campaign.
7. Letter to Rex Maughan re National Park Concessionaires.
8. Personnel Selections: President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee; Advisory Board for Cuba Broadcasting; Frederick Grubbe to be Deputy Director of the Office of Consumer Affairs.
9. Proposed Waiver for Secretary Martin.
10. Response to Elsie Kilbourne re Meeting with Dalai Lama.
11. Daily Point of Light Letters, 8/3-9/92.
12. Letter to Bill Milliken re Cities in Schools program.
13. H.R. 479 -- Pony Express and California National Historic Trails.
14. Nomination of Charles A. Felton, Sr. to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Florida.
15. U.S. - Romania Investment Treaty.
16. Nomination of J. Keith Gary to be reappointed as U.S. Marshal for the Eastern District of Texas.
17. Mail Sample.

- 5 . . 2
18. Resignation Letters: Edward S. Walker, as Ambassador of the United States to the United Arab Emirates; William Lacy Swing, as Ambassador of the United States to the Republic of South Africa; Terence A. Todman, as Ambassador of the United States to Argentina; Cresencio S. Arcos, as Ambassador of the United States to Honduras.
 19. S. 992 -- Reimbursement of Travel and Relocation Expenses for Jane E. Denne.
 20. Authority for Providing Refugee Assistance to Haitian Refugee Applicants.

CLASSIFIED

1. Letter to President Walesa.
2. Angola: Boutros Ghali Asks for Help.

INFORMATION

1. Letter from Senator McCain re POW/MIAs and President's Speech.
2. William T. Pryce Resignation Letter attaching copy of Signed Acceptance Letter.
3. Gray memo re Kanjorski Statements re White House Exemptions.
4. Kaufman Memo re CBS This Morning Appearance.
5. CEA Numbers: June Leading Indicators.

REMARKS

SCHEDULE

1. And Accompanying Briefing Papers.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jacksonville, Florida)

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

The President today recognized James Trammell, III, of Greenville, South Carolina, as the 850th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Mr. Trammell provides hope and a sense of well-being to children who are abused and neglected.

In 1979, Mr. Trammell, 30, helped establish Camp Opportunity, which addresses the special needs of over 150 abused and neglected children ages six to seventeen. For seven years he served as a volunteer counselor at the camp and has been a volunteer camp director for five years.

At Camp Opportunity, each volunteer counselor is matched with the same child for a week in the summer and for regular activities throughout the year. Mr. Trammell has developed long-term relationships with teenagers who have been involved with the program since they were in first grade. He drives the bus to and participates in all monthly activities, including holiday parties, baseball games, field trips, and fall and spring retreats. Through Mr. Trammell's dedication and companionship, many neglected and mistreated young people have gained needed self-esteem and hope for the future.

The President salutes James Trammell, III, for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jacksonville, Florida)

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

On July 30 and 31, 1992, the President received for his review the decisions of the arbitrators in three of the four remaining railway labor disputes that led to the nationwide shutdown of the Nation's railroads in late June. These decisions were rendered pursuant to the arbitration process the Congress established in legislation for resolving the disputes. The decisions become final and binding upon the parties unless the President disapproves them within three days following their receipt.

The President has decided that he will not disapprove any of the three decisions. The decisions submitted to the President were rendered in the arbitration of the dispute between the International Association of Machinists and the National Railway Carriers' Conference, the arbitration of the dispute between the International Association of Machinists and Amtrak, and the arbitration of the dispute between the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Amtrak.

The President is grateful to the arbitrators for their work in resolving these disputes.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

Export Enhancement Program Initiative for Pork

FACT SHEET

Today, the President directed the Secretary of Agriculture to make available American produced pork products for the former Soviet Union (FSU) under the Export Enhancement Program (EEP). This initiative, which is designed to fight unfair foreign competition, could result in the export of 30,000 tons of pork. It is pro-farmer, pro-jobs, and pro-trade as it fights unfair foreign competition.

The Problem

U.S. pork producers face subsidized competition from the European Community (EC), preventing them from being competitive in the large market of the former Soviet Union.

The President's Proposal

The President has directed the Secretary of Agriculture to make available up to 30,000 tons of pork under the Export Enhancement Program. If used by the FSU, this initiative will enable an otherwise competitive U.S. industry to fight unfair competition and gain an important market share in a potentially vast market.

This initiative is consistent with the President's commitment to using the EEP aggressively when there is unfair foreign competition. The U.S. is an efficient producer of agricultural products, including pork, and we have a meritorious case for participation in the world market. However, care is taken to minimize the impact of this program on non-subsidizing competitors in the targeted market.

Pork EEP

This is the first time that pork has been approved under the EEP. The approval was based on the particular circumstances of

pork trade with the FSU. Other commodities that have been made available to the FSU under the EEP include wheat, vegetable oil, wheat flour, barley, and rice.

This initiative will make available to the FSU up to 30,000 tons of pork. According to a report from the University of Missouri, a pork sale of this magnitude represents:

- The use of 3.7 million bushels of corn.
- The use of 600,000 bushels of soybeans.
- The expenditure of 30,639 eight-hour days of U.S. labor.

With 300 million consumers, the FSU is a major meat consuming nation that is presently experiencing declining meat production. Total meat production fell four percent last year and is expected to decline an additional three percent this year. Meat imports to the region are significant and have increased steadily for several years. The FSU's pork imports were 171,000 MT in 1989, 217,000 MT in 1991, and are projected at 272,000 tons in 1992. The FSU is traditionally the world's third largest importer of pork.

U.S. pork exporters would have an opportunity to make sales to the FSU but for subsidized competition from the EC. The EC subsidizes the export of pork through a combination of EC and member state subsidies that typically approximate 50 percent of the U.S. sales price. The level of subsidy required to sell 30,000 tons of U.S. pork is dependent upon the assessment of prices offered by subsidized competitors and the review of bids received.

Export Enhancement Program

This announcement will be the 133rd initiative under the Export Enhancement Program. The EEP enables U.S. exporters to meet prevailing world prices for targeted commodities and destinations. Under the program, the U.S. Department of Agriculture pays cash to U.S. exporters as bonuses, allowing them to sell U.S. agricultural products in targeted countries at prices below the exporter's costs of acquiring them. The program is used to help U.S. farmers meet competition from subsidizing countries, in particular the EC. Major objectives of the program are to challenge unfair trade practices, expand U.S. agricultural exports, and encourage other countries exporting agricultural commodities to undertake serious negotiations on agricultural trade problems.

Since its inception in 1985, \$4.6 billion has been expended in support of the export of \$15.3 billion of U.S. agricultural products. The EEP program will operate at \$1.2 billion in FY 1992, up from \$917 million in FY 1991. There are similar but separate export programs for dairy products and sunflower and cottonseed oils.

Export of High Value Products

Today's initiative is consistent with the Administration's efforts to promote U.S. exports of high-value products. Over the past decade, U.S. high-value product exports have grown and now surpass the value of our bulk commodity exports. The U.S. has now reached 15 percent of the world market share in trade of these products in the face of subsidized competition from the European Community. Exports of meat, vegetable oil, eggs and dairy products have all grown significantly. Products designated as "high-value" now receive about 29 percent of the total support provided by our agricultural export programs.

Currently, 25 of the 56 EEP initiatives with outstanding balances are for high-value products and, if fully utilized by importing countries, over 32 percent of EEP bonuses awarded would go to promote such products. One billion dollars in high-value agriculture exports supports 27,000 jobs.

How the Program Will Work

All sales under the EEP are made by the private sector, not by the government. U.S. exporters will contact and negotiate a sales contract, including price, quantity, quality, time of delivery, and other terms, with an importer. The contract may be contingent upon USDA's approval of a bonus. Each prospective exporter submits a bid to the USDA requesting a subsidy--or bonus--that would allow the sale to take place at the agreed price.

USDA reviews all bids for the competitiveness of the bonus value requested, and compares the bids with offers from other U.S. exporters and sales of competitor countries.

Any or all bids may be rejected. If accepted, the exporter and USDA enter into an agreement, with bonus being paid upon proof that the commodity has been exported to the targeted country under the terms of that agreement.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marion Clifton Blakey, of Mississippi, to be Administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration at the Department of Transportation. She would succeed Jerry Ralph Curry.

Since 1990, Ms. Blakey has served as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the Department of Transportation. Prior to this, Ms. Blakey served as: Director of Public Affairs at the Department of Commerce, 1989-1990; Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Affairs & Communications Planning, 1988-1989; and Special Assistant to the President and Director of Public Affairs, 1987-1988.

Ms. Blakey was graduated from the University of Virginia (B.A., 1970). She was born March 26, 1948. Ms. Blakey is married, has one child and resides in Washington, D.C.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jacksonville, Florida)

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

The President has selected the following individuals to represent him at the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the U.S. Landings on the Island of Guadalcanal on August 7-8, 1992:

HEAD OF DELEGATION:

GENERAL RAYMOND DAVIS, of Georgia. A Medal of Honor recipient and member of the Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board, General Davis is a Marine Corps veteran who served in Guadalcanal.

DELEGATES:

LEO NADEAU, of California. Mr. Nadeau served as a Navy Gunner in World War II.

JACK GUY, of Georgia. Mr. Guy served as a Navy Pilot in World War II and is currently a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Gerald Paul Regier, of Virginia, to be Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention at the Department of Justice. He would succeed Robert W. Sweet, Jr.

Since 1990, Mr. Regier has served as Acting Director of the Bureau of Justice Assistance at the Justice Department. Prior to this, he served as Founder and President of the Family Research Council, 1984-1990. Mr. Regier also served as Associate Commissioner with the Administration for Children, Youth & Families at the Department of Health and Human Services, 1981-1984.

Mr. Regier was graduated from Michigan State University (B.A., 1968) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1989). He was born March 1, 1945. Mr. Regier is married, has four children and resides in McLean, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992 .

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania Concerning the Reciprocal Encouragement and Protection of Investment, with Protocol and related exchange of letters, signed at Bucharest on May 28, 1992. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to this treaty.

The treaty will help to encourage U.S. private sector involvement in the Romanian economy by establishing a favorable legal framework for U.S. investment in Romania. The treaty is fully consistent with U.S. policy toward international investment. A specific tenet, reflected in this treaty, is that U.S. investment abroad and foreign investment in the United States should receive fair, equitable, and nondiscriminatory treatment. Under this treaty, the Parties also agree to international law standards for expropriation and expropriation compensation; free transfers of funds associated with investments; and the option of the investor to resolve disputes with the host government through international arbitration.

I recommend that the Senate consider this treaty as soon as possible, and give its advice and consent to ratification of the treaty, with protocol and related exchange of letters, at an early date.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 3, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today, I am directing the Secretary of Agriculture to make available American produced pork products to the former Soviet Union under the Export Enhancement Program. This initiative will enable exporters to sell up to 30,000 metric tons of U.S. pork products at prices competitive with subsidized competition. The initiative will enable an otherwise competitive U.S. industry to fight unfair competition and establish its presence in a potentially vast market.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jacksonville, Florida)

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I hereby report to the Congress on the developments since my last report of February 11, 1992, concerning the national emergency with respect to Iraq that was declared in Executive Order No. 12722 of August 2, 1990. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA"), 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

Executive Order No. 12722 ordered the immediate blocking of all property and interests in property of the Government of Iraq (including the Central Bank of Iraq) then or thereafter located in the United States or within the possession or control of a U.S. person. In that order, I also prohibited the importation into the United States of goods and services of Iraqi origin, as well as the exportation of goods, services, and technology from the United States to Iraq. I prohibited travel-related transactions and transportation transactions to or from Iraq and the performance of any contract in support of any industrial, commercial, or governmental project in Iraq. U.S. persons were also prohibited from granting or extending credit or loans to the Government of Iraq.

The foregoing prohibitions (as well as the blocking of Government of Iraq property) were continued and augmented on August 9, 1990, by Executive Order No. 12724 which I issued in order to align the sanctions imposed by the United States with United Nations Security Council Resolution 661 of August 6, 1990.

This report discusses only matters concerning the national emergency with respect to Iraq that was declared in Executive Order No. 12722 and matters relating to Executive Order No. 12724 ("the Executive orders"). The report covers events from February 2, 1992, through August 1, 1992.

1. The economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the Executive orders are administered by the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control ("FAC") under the Iraqi Sanctions Regulations, 31 CFR Part 575 ("ISR"). There have been no amendments of those regulations since my last report.

2. Investigations of possible violations of the Iraqi sanctions continue to be pursued and appropriate enforcement actions taken. These are intended to deter future activities in violation of the sanctions. Additional civil penalty notices were prepared during the reporting period for violations of the IEEPA and ISR with respect to transactions involving Iraq. Penalties were collected, principally from financial institutions which engaged in unauthorized, albeit apparently inadvertent, transactions with respect to Iraq.

3. Investigation also continues into the roles played by various individuals and firms outside of Iraq in Saddam Hussein's procurement network. These investigations may lead

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to additions to the FAC listing of individuals and organizations determined to be Specially Designated Nationals ("SDN's") of the Government of Iraq. In practice, an Iraqi SDN is a representative, agent, intermediary, or front (whether open or covert) of the Iraqi government that is located outside of Iraq. Iraqi SDN's are Saddam Hussein's principal instruments for doing business in third countries, and doing business with them is the same as doing business directly with the Government of Iraq.

The impact of being named an Iraqi SDN is considerable: all assets within U.S. jurisdiction of parties found to be Iraqi SDN's are blocked; all economic transactions with SDN's by U.S. persons are prohibited; and the SDN individual or organization is exposed as an agent of the Iraqi regime.

4. Since my last report, one case filed against the Government of Iraq has gone to judgment. Centrifugal Casting Machine Co., Inc. v. American Bank and Trust Co., Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, Republic of Iraq, Machinery Trading Co., Baghdad, Iraq, Central Bank of Iraq, and Bank of Rafidain, No. 91-5150 (10th Cir., decided June 11, 1992), arose out of a contract for the sale of goods by plaintiff to the State Machinery Co., an Iraqi governmental entity. In connection with the contract, the Iraqi defendants opened an irrevocable letter of credit in favor of Centrifugal, from which Centrifugal drew a 10 percent advance payment. Repayment of the advance payment in case of nonperformance by Centrifugal was guaranteed by a standby letter of credit. Performance did not occur due to the imposition of economic sanctions against Iraq in August 1990, and the United States claimed that an amount equal to the advance payment was blocked property. The district court ruled that the standby letter of credit had expired, that no U.S. party was liable to an Iraqi entity under the standby letter of credit, and that the advance payment funds were therefore not blocked property and could be distributed to U.S. persons. The court of appeals affirmed the ruling of the district court that there was no blocked Iraqi property interest in the advance payment funds, based on applicable principles of letter of credit law.

5. FAC has issued 288 specific licenses regarding transactions pertaining to Iraq or Iraqi assets. Since my last report, 71 specific licenses have been issued. Most of these licenses were issued for conducting procedural transactions such as filing of legal actions, and for legal representation; other licenses were issued pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 661, 666, and 687, to authorize the exportation to Iraq of donated medicine, medical supplies, and food intended for humanitarian relief purposes. All of these licenses concern minor transactions of no economic benefit to the Government of Iraq.

To ensure compliance with the terms of the licenses which have been issued, stringent reporting requirements have been imposed that are closely monitored. Licensed accounts are regularly audited by FAC compliance personnel and deputized auditors from other regulatory agencies. FAC compliance personnel continue to work closely with both State and Federal bank regulatory and law enforcement agencies in conducting special audits of Iraqi accounts subject to the ISR.

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6. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from February 2, 1992, through August 1, 1992, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of a national emergency with respect to Iraq are estimated at \$2,476,000, most of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in FAC, the U.S. Customs Service, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State (particularly the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs and the Office of the Legal Adviser), the Department of Transportation (particularly the U.S. Coast Guard), and the Department of Commerce (particularly in the Bureau of Export Administration and the Office of the General Counsel).

7. The United States imposed economic sanctions on Iraq in response to Iraq's invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait, a clear act of brutal aggression. The United States, together with the international community, is maintaining economic sanctions against Iraq because the Iraqi regime has failed to comply fully with United Nations Security Council resolutions calling for the elimination of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, the demarcation of the Iraq-Kuwait border, the release of Kuwaiti and other prisoners, compensation for victims of Iraqi aggression, and the return of Kuwaiti assets stolen during its illegal occupation of Kuwait. The U.N. sanctions remain in place; the United States will continue to enforce those sanctions.

The Saddam Hussein regime continues to violate basic human rights by repressing the Iraqi civilian population and depriving it of humanitarian assistance. The United Nations Security Council passed resolutions that permit Iraq to sell \$1.6 billion of oil under U.N. auspices to fund the provision of food, medicine, and other humanitarian supplies to the people of Iraq. Under the U.N. resolutions, the equitable distribution within Iraq of this assistance would be supervised and monitored by the United Nations and other international organizations. The Iraqi regime continues to refuse to accept these resolutions, and has thereby chosen to perpetuate the suffering of its civilian population.

The regime of Saddam Hussein continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States, as well as to regional peace and security. The United States will therefore continue to apply economic sanctions to deter Iraq from threatening peace and stability in the region, and I will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 3, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Jacksonville, Florida)

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT JACKSONVILLE WELCOME

The Jacksonville Landing
Jacksonville, Florida

12:31 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: What a great rally. (Applause.)
What a fantastic Jacksonville turnout. (Applause.) Thank you
all very, very much. This is good for the soul. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years, four more years, four
more years.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so very, very much. And
Senator Mack -- Connie -- my friend, thank you for that warm
introduction. And let me just tell you something that you must
know well: When the going got tough in Desert Storm days, you
could turn to Connie Mack for success, for trust, for conviction.
He was right on the ball all the way. (Applause.)

And he is right -- if you really want to change
America, change control of the United States Congress, and let us
get this country moving. (Applause.)

I want to thank the Mayor for that warm
introduction. I'll forgive him for being a Democrat; he's a good
man and -- (laughter) -- I was delighted to have him say those
pleasant things. To Mark Little -- Mark, you've got a great
voice, you ought to go in radio. (Laughter.) Thank you.

Thank you very much for being here and getting this
gang all fired up. When I say fired up, I'm talking literally.
I saw you when I came by on Air Force One. A little warm out
there. (Applause.)

And may I salute Cliff Stearns and Craig James, both
great Congressmen. And let me say this: Please elect Kelly
Fowler and send her to the United States Congress. (Applause.)
You want to change things; there's a good way to do it.

And may I salute Minority Leaders Crenshaw and
Lombard, and our State Treasurer Gallagher, and so many others
that are here with us today.

And to the kids, the Americakids that kept you
entertained, my thanks to them. And also to the Fletcher High
School Marching Band and the Fletcher High School Cheerleaders.
(Applause.) Don't say I didn't mention them.

And, Mayor, thanks once again for your
openmindedness and your warm welcome to your city.

If you're like me, you're grabbing every spare
moment you can to keep up with the great Olympic Games in
Barcelona. And my favorite events have been in the swimming --
for three reasons. First -- make that four -- first, Martin

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zubero. His backstroke was for Spain -- but I bet his heart was with his hometown of Jacksonville. (Applause.)

And also, your own Gregg Burgess, who took home the silver. We're proud of him. (Applause.)

Here's another guy I like -- Pablo Morales -- (applause) -- the guy who missed out -- remember, he missed out in '84, he didn't make the team in '88, then came back this year to take the Gold -- and at the ripe old age of 27. I don't know why, but I kind of like a guy who proves that youth and inexperience are no match for maturity and determination. (Applause.)

And the fourth one was Summer Sanders -- how's that for the name of swimmer. Summer was trailing halfway through the 200 meter butterfly -- then came on strong to win at the finish. Came on strong to win at the finish -- I like that. And we are going to do exactly the same thing to these guys coming out of this so-called new team. (Applause.)

We've heard a lot of talk about change this year -- the other side has put forth more heat than this Florida sunshine. But don't worry, let's see how they can take it. I am going to carry it back to them and take my case to you, the American people. (Applause.) They've had their day. Six months of carping and griping and tearing down the United States -- and that day is over. We're going to take the case to the American people. (Applause.)

The other side, they talk about change -- but when you look at their position on the most radical change of all, limiting the tenure of members of Congress, they quietly admit they're against the idea. That's change. Just changing their tune. (Laughter.)

The other side talks about change -- but in a certain 7,000-word speech at a convention that I was happy to miss -- (laughter) -- they devoted just 141 words to defense of this country and to our foreign policy. And then when they finally get around to it, they propose \$60 billion in defense cuts beyond which my next -- national security experts tell me is responsible. And they do not mention the fact that these reckless cuts will cost a million jobs across America, some right here in Jacksonville. (Applause.) They dry up Mayport to look like a prune. And we are not going to do that. (Applause.) We've got to keep our country strong. (Applause.)

You talk about that change -- that's called changing the subject. And other side talk about change -- look at the first two ideas of the economy. They propose -- and Connie knows this, and he's fighting hard against it -- they propose a \$150-billion tax increase now, half of it paid by small businessmen and farmers; and then follow it up with a new payroll tax of at least seven percent to pay for a government-run health care scheme. That is change -- but change is all you're going to have left in your pocket if you listen to them. (Applause.)

And I stand for a change, and here it is -- a new approach. Congress has a lower rate of turnover than the Soviet Politburo used to have. (Laughter.) Thirty-six years with one power in party -- one party holding the power. And I am fighting for term limits because the only way to break the deadlock in Washington is by clearing out a little dead wood on Capitol Hill. (Applause.)

And I know when you have up there in some of these liberal communities, if you want people to do something that's politically appealing -- yes, they want to gut the defense. But I am not going to let that happen. For the sake of our children and the economy, I am determined to keep the United States of America strong. (Applause.)

And I don't believe the way to jump-start this economy is with a new tax-and-spend program. And I trust you to spend your hard-earned dollars better than any bureaucrat can. (Applause.)

And so this election is not just about change, it's about something else -- a flip-side of change, and that is called trust. And when you get right down to it, this election will be like every other. And when you pull that curtain closed and cast your vote on November 3rd, trust really does matter.

And many times in the White House late at night, the telephone rings. And most times it's an aide checking up on the schedule. But sometimes it's another voice -- more serious, more solemn, bringing news of a coup in a powerful foreign country, bringing word of Americans held against their will, bringing word of a bully threatening the peace halfway around the world.

And the American people need to know that the man who answers that phone has the experience, the seasoning, and, yes, the guts to make the right decision and to make the tough call. (Applause.) You want a leader you can trust. And I have worked hard to prove that I am that man. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

THE PRESIDENT: The bottom line is, that's trust in the traditional sense. That keeps America safe and strong. But that's part of the picture. And trust matters when you're looking to someone to build strength in the economy of this country, as Connie said, a better future. And I stake my claim on a simple philosophy: To lead a great nation, you must trust the people that you lead.

And you look at every big issue we face, and you'll see a choice between those who put their faith in everyday Americans and those who put their faith in government.

And the other side says they want to put people first. But if you look at their ideas real close, the people they put first are all on the government payroll. And they remind me of the cartoon of a bus -- maybe you saw it recently -- two donkeys on board. The traffic above says: "left lane closed, keep right for the next four months." And one donkey is whispering, "Don't worry, we'll just stay in this lane til November."

Well, I did not adopt my philosophy four months ago, nor did you. And I adopted it -- mine -- more than four decades ago, when I first had a job and ran a business and tried to meet a payroll. And that is a good credential for the President of the United States. (Applause.)

And I learned then not to put my trust in the government, but to put it in the people. And I trust parents, not the government, to make the decisions that matter in life. (Applause.) And I trust the parents, not the government, to choose their children's schools: public, private and religious. (Applause.) And I trust parents, not the government, to choose their children's child care. And when the other side says, "government knows best," I say, parents know better. Parents know better than some bureaucrat way up there in Washington, D.C. (Applause.)

And I trust the people, not the government, to decide where and when you get a doctor's help. And we can control costs. And we must and will -- and I have a plan to do this -- make insurance coverage more available to everybody that needs it without a government takeover of health care in this country. (Applause.)

Frankly, I think we need -- Americans deserve a better health care system than one that's run with the efficiency of the Department of Motor Vehicles and the compassion of the KGB. We do not want to go to a nationalized or a socialized plan. (Applause.)

And I know that, look, this is a funny year. You live and die every time you turn on the news, you hear some new poll. Let me tell you something about that. I know that my stands are not popular in all places. But they don't come from the latest poll or a special interest. They come from principle. And I make you one promise in this campaign. Others can listen to the polls, others can pay attention to the polls -- and I am going to do my level best to do what is right for the United States of America. (Applause.)

I am delighted to be with our son here, Jeb, today -- my boy -- (laughter) -- my little boy. And I just wish that Barbara were here. I think she's doing a first-class job for this country. (Applause.)

But let me just close, with that in mind, with family in mind, with a few words right smack from the heart. We are blessed, Barbara and I -- blessed to serve at a moment in history when so many of the old fears have been driven away, when so many new hopes are within our reach.

The changes that we've worked have come to pass: the end of the Cold War; the collapse of imperial communism; a new birth of freedom, from Managua to Moscow; a new world of hope for ourselves and for our kids.

And the world we live in, let's face it, is a safer world -- safer than it was a decade ago, a year ago; safer than it was two months ago, when the children right here walked out of school and off into the summer.

We have done so much to reduce the threat of nuclear war. And that is good for the world and good for the United States. (Applause.) And the bottom line is this: When we have done so much for the past four years, when we put our faith in people, we can do anything we want. We have changed the world. And we will change America. (Applause.) And we will not what is easy or politically appealing. We will do what is right for the United States of America. (Applause.)

Thank you and God bless you all.

END

12:45 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Dalton, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

August 3, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
SHAW INDUSTRIES EMPLOYEES

Shaw Industries Distribution Center
Dalton, Georgia

8:58 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much for that welcome back to Georgia. And, Bob, thank you, sir. I don't know if I detected a note of relief on Anna Sue's face that this event that I'm sure has taken everybody's time has here at hand and about to end. But thank you for making us feel so welcome in this wonderful corner of Georgia.

And I want to greet our other hosts, Bill Lusk and Norris Little, Carl Rollins of Shaw, and my Georgia political team here -- Fred Cooper, my dear friend; and also another dear friend, Alec Poitevint, who are doing a great job for us.

And I would like to single out one department in this magnificent, enormous facility, and I'm talking about the area rug department, who made a nice little souvenir for me to take home with my own name on it. And I'll tell you, I can't think of a nicer, more personalized remembrance than that. So wherever you may be, thank you very, very much. And thank the computers that spelled my name right. (Laughter.)

Now, it is great to be in Dalton. I came here -- I want to be first in line for the Catamount tickets when they go on sale. I've come for another reason, too. America, our great country, is moving into a new age, and Dalton gives us a glimpse of the future. Dalton takes challenges and reinvents them as opportunities. With the flexibility of companies like this one, like Shaw -- with the brainpower and grit of your chemists and your maintenance mechanics and your designers -- Dalton shows America the face of the 21st century. Dalton shows the way.

In the history of your industry you find a parable of American progress. It starts simply -- families selling hand-tufted bedspreads they made themselves out on Highway 41, Peacock Alley. It continues with the sprawling factories that sprung up after the war, rolling their carpets into homes and offices in every corner of America. And it continues today -- with an industry retooled by high tech, a work force more highly skilled than ever before, and a marketplace as big as the entire world.

The story has important lessons -- lessons about how America grows and prospers. This election year, these lessons could not be more timely. The question today is not can America compete in the global economy. I know and you know that we can. The question is how -- how do we stay number one -- how do we create jobs for every American, and create opportunity for our kids, our children and our families?

Some people say, well, let the government do it; let the government get in there. But government does not create jobs -- people do. Government does not provide opportunity -- hard work does. Look around. This company, this industry, was not built by some industrial planning congressional subcommittee in Washington, D.C. (Applause.) It was born and built right here

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in Dalton, where the men and women take the risks and reaped the rewards.

That's a lesson we shouldn't forget even though -- given the hue and cry of this election year. When you get down to it, leadership is about trust. Trust runs both ways. You need a leader you can trust, but you also need a leader who trusts in the American people -- trusts you and not the government to make the important decisions about your lives.

When you forget about this kind of trust -- trusting people -- you get some crazy ideas. I'll give you an example. These days the other side is pushing an idea that the way to fix this economy is to raise taxes by \$150 billion. And at least half of that will fall on family farmers and small businesses. They call that change. I guess it makes sense, because if the other side gets in power change is all you'll have left in your pocket. (Laughter.)

Here's another crazy idea that's being pushed. They think they can fix health care by slapping you with at least a seven-percent payroll tax -- to finance a government takeover scheme. Well, we'll have a health care system with the efficiency of the Motor Vehicles if we do that -- the Motor Vehicles Division -- and also the KGB, the same compassion. As long as I am President, I am not going to let our medical system be socialized or nationalized. (Applause.)

We have a plan that will provide insurance to all, those who need it, those who cannot afford it; and will protect the basic quality of American health care.

So trusting the people -- it's an idea that applies to almost every issue in this election. Especially when it comes to how we can compete in this whole new world global economy -- how we can take on the new global competition head on head and win it.

Let me tell you how I learned about competing in the world. I'm a Texan -- moved there in 1948, built a business there, raised my family there. And incidentally, I think it's a pretty good credential for being President of the United States even if you held a job in the private sector. I think that's good. (Applause.) And in Texas I saw businesses and cities and towns rise up from those dusty plains -- a place where you'd never expect it. And the reason was that the whole world thirsted for what Texans had to offer -- crude and cattle and cotton. We knew the more goods we sold outside our borders, the more jobs we created within them. I never forgot that lesson.

And I saw it again when I went into public life. And, yes, I was ambassador up there at the United Nations, and served -- lived overseas in China -- just talking to Bob Shaw about that -- ran the CIA, and as Vice President, traveled around the world some. And every day I was outside of this country I learned again how important America was to the entire world -- and how important the world was to America. I'm talking about creating American jobs -- about making this economy grow and prosper, and making sure our kids have an even better life than we've had.

I've seen this every day for three-and-a-half years as President. And I heard a certain southern governor say the other day that this country was "being ridiculed around the world." Well, I suspect -- and I'm not going to name names quite yet -- I suspect that he hasn't been around much. I'd like to have him walk the streets of Warsaw, as I did a few days ago -- or Moscow -- or maybe sit him down with Boris Yeltsin or Helmut Kohl or Miyazawa or a myriad of leaders south of our border. And they'd tell him what you and I already know: The United States of America is the undisputed leader of the world. And that did not happen by accident, it happened by leadership and by the sons

and daughters of America doing what they had to do from Iraq all the way across a major spectrum of other places. It's the spirit of the United States. And to tear down this country -- (applause) -- to stand there and try to make the American people think we're a second-rate power -- they simply don't understand the greatness of the United States of America. (Applause.)

And here's one way we're going to do it: trade -- exports, open up markets so you can sell the goods you make right here. I heard Bob Shaw talk about it, and he is 100 percent correct. The day is long gone when you could sell carpets and rugs in 50 states and leave it just there. These days, standing still means falling behind. It's a new world -- markets are opening up in Guadalajara and Jakarta and Santiago and Moscow. And I'm going to see to it that Americans get there first.

It's not going to be easy. This export business is not easy. If you want America to lead the world, you need somebody who understands; you need a leader who understands the territory -- someone you can trust to hammer out a good deal around the negotiating table. But you need even more: you need a leader who trusts you and someone who knows that Americans are the most productive, the most competitive workers the world has ever seen. All you need is a chance to show your stuff. And as long as I'm President, I'm going to fight to see that you get the chance to sell these products anywhere around the world. (Applause.)

I'll give you an example. Some people look at the former Soviet Union and see 300 million former communists over there. Well, we look at it and we see 300 million future customers. Now, math was never my favorite subject, but I've done some computing on this one. Let's say there's 50 million homes -- I don't know, give or take -- 50 million homes in the former Soviet Union; maybe 4.5 billion square yards of floor space -- bare floor space. That's 4.5 billion square yards just waiting to be covered by your finest patterned berber. Of course, I'm factoring in kitchens and bathtubs, too. But I have faith in your sales force. They can sell anything anyplace, anytime.

Another example: Since 1989 -- now, listen to this one -- since 1989 exports -- carpet exports to Mexico are up by 60 percent. That's pretty darn good. But here in Dalton, pretty good isn't good enough. We're going to build on that success. Right now, we're hammering out a new free trade deal with Canada and Mexico -- we call it the NAFTA. I'm sure you've read about it. Here's what it will do. It will create 300,000 American jobs by 1995 -- and one of the largest free trade areas in the world. Free trade opens up the road -- and on the open road, American workers leave the competition in the dust. Or as my friend, Arnold Schwarzenegger, would say: *Hasta la vista, baby!* We are on the move, and we're going to keep it on the move.

Now, it may be hard to believe, but the other side looks at these barriers falling and they say: Hold everything. They see these unbelievable opportunities, these vast markets to sell your goods, and they say: Well, we'd better not try. The challenge is too great, the odds are too long. They say -- just by implication, say the Americans can't compete. They say these other countries are going to walk all over us.

Well, let me tell you something. In a way they are going to walk all over us. They're going to walk all over carpet made right here in Dalton, Georgia. (Applause.)

This is the year -- for six months we've been subjected to the darndest pessimism about our great country that I have ever heard. Every time you turn on that television at night, somebody is telling you what's wrong. Let me tell you what's right. (Applause.)

They say that America can't compete. I say we can compete and that will win.

They say: Pull the blinds and lock the door, the American worker can't hack it anymore. I say the American worker can outthink, outwork, outcompete anyone, anytime, anywhere. (Applause.)

Here's a fact these pessimists better understand: Foreign trade supports the jobs of 153,000 Georgians, more than seven million Americans. And here's my pledge to you: I will not let anyone endanger a single one of those jobs by going protectionist and closing up trade. (Applause.)

Let the other side criticize and say our country is ridiculed, lashed at around the world. They ought to open their eyes. Let them worry and whine. I am going to fight for these open markets, because that means more jobs in this country, right here in Dalton, Georgia, among others -- every city and state of our country. Let them run this country down -- let them carp on what's wrong with America.

I'm going to do what's right. That's what leadership is -- and that's what trust is.

I'd like to bring these pessimists down to this part of Georgia. I'd like to bring them right here to see this town, this industry. They might discover they've got nothing to fear from American workers -- and that American workers have nothing to fear from competition. This is one work force that can beat the pants off any competition.

That is the lesson of Dalton. That's why I'm here. I want that lesson to reverberate all across our entire country. You didn't fear the future, you shaped it. Your industry didn't retreat from foreign markets, you went out and conquered them. And with leadership that trusts in you, you'll keep beating the pants off the competition.

And you and I do not feel that we are the laughing stock of the world. We are the undisputed leader. So let's keep it just exactly that way in the future. Let's keep America number one.

Thank you. And may God bless our great country. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

9:13 A.M. EDT

POOL REPORT #1

August 3, 1992

Air Force One to Dalton
(Dalton, Georgia)

The trip was routine. No one came back to speak. When the president arrived by chopper at the Multitex landing site, a few hundred well wishers were there to greet him. Several carried anti-abortion signs, such as ``Pro-Family, Pro-Life, Pro-Bush.'' Bush had brief remarks which he delivered energetically and then worked the rope line, shaking hands, smiling broadly. As he approached the camera stand, he lifted up a baby who frowned and then burst into tears as the president held him aloft. A reporter tried to ask if Bush stands behind his campaign's criticism of Clinton, but the president either ignored the question or didn't hear it.

Julia Malone, Cox Newspapers



for your convention speak
 suggestions. I in
 confident. All Best,
 (23)

Dear Mr. -

Aug 3, '92

THE PRESIDENT





THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

July 30, 1992

Manuel Lujan, Jr.

Dear Mr. President,

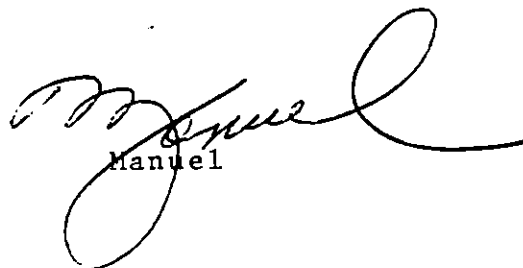
During last week's Cabinet meeting, you asked that we forward suggestions for your convention speech. Since that time, in campaign trips to Dallas, Los Angeles, El Paso, Lubbock and Amarillo, I have been asking people what they believe we can do to turn this thing around. Their replies indicate that there are three basic issues that bother them. One is the "read my lips" issue; another is the perception that we are not strong enough on the issues and there is too much compromise (people do not understand that the legislative process is compromise), and the general anti-incumbent feeling. I believe these can be turned around.

The first should be addressed and put to bed by saying, "Last year, in a compromise with Congress, I signed a tax bill which I now regret having signed. It was an effort, on my part, to bring the Congress around to reduce spending. Time has shown us, however, that the democrats in Congress continue their old spending habits and so my efforts were in vain. In the future, I shall not be so willing to compromise." As one person put it, become a "born-again no new taxes advocate." Someone can put this thought into better words.

The other two issues could be addressed by making a commitment to those proposals which you have already proposed--choice in education, balanced budget, line item veto, NAFTA, health care certificate, malpractice reform, limiting criminal appeals and others--in the

strongest possible terms and call on Congress to show good faith by enacting these measures. There is, of course, your excellent foreign affairs record and certainly there are many more issues.

The Clinton campaign has cleverly put behind them all the issues raised during the primary season, including his character and draft record, and moved forward. They have created an unfavorable picture of our efforts. We can reverse that and move forward.


Manuel



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Earl Scruggs
Post Office Box 66
Madison, Tennessee 37115



THE PRESIDENT

August 3, 1992

Dear Earl,

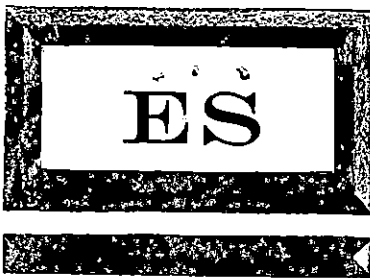
Thanks so much for the tapes of you and your sons. I'm delighted to have them and appreciate your thoughtfulness.

It was an honor and thrill for me, as well, to present to you the National Medal of Arts. You have distinguished yourself among others in your field and you should be proud. I'm glad that Louise was able to join us at the White House and share in the celebration.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

cc: (in/out)
✓ R. Zamaria
1 copy
Gift Unit
w/ tapes



EARL SCRUGGS

P. O. BOX 66, MADISON, TENNESSEE 37115
TELEPHONE 615-868-3140

July 30, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

I want to thank you for the National Medal of Arts that you presented to me last Wednesday at the White House. I have received a number of awards during my career but none of them have the significance as this one. Since you selected me as one of the recipients makes it even more meaningful. I sincerely thank you and I shall always treasure the Medal of Arts honor.

My wife, Louise, and I enjoyed meeting you and Mrs. Bush and having an opportunity to visit the White House. It was truly an inspiring event.

I am enclosing some cassette tapes of some of my recordings with my sons and I hope you enjoy the tapes. There are two each of three different tapes enclosed.

Our best wishes always to you and Mrs. Bush.

Sincerely,

Earl Scruggs
ES/cs



EARL SCRUGGS

photo credit: Norman Seeff



8206

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Sigmund A. Rogich
Ambassador
Iceland
USEMB, PSC 1003
Box 40
FPO AE 09728-0340



THE PRESIDENT

Aug, 3, 1992

Dear Sig,

Ray Price is going
to be the speechwriter
for the Convention. Thanks
though for your idea. Pat
will speak and do well
All Best C

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria (1 cc)
Jan Burmeister
(Address FYI)

*Embassy of the United States of America*

August 3, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SIG ROGICH 

SUBJECT: PAT BUCHANAN

A thought on how to bring Pat Buchanan, and perceptually the conservatives, home again.

Ask Pat to write your acceptance speech.

✓ He's a terrific speechwriter. His work for President Nixon in 1968 is still memorable even today.

- Set some guidelines to protect yourself.
- Let him announce it.
- Release a photo of the two of you going over it.
- Etc ...

In all, it might be a big winner. It's bold and I can't see any downside.

And if it's done, have a world of conservatives praise it.

For your consideration.

Sig Rogich

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

REYKJAVIK

FAX NO. 354-1-29139

FROM: Ambassador Sig RogichTO: Bill SittmannSUBJECT: Memo to the PresidentNO. OF PGS. 2 (including cover sheet and last page)SENDER: Lucy Muckerman DATE: August 3, 1992, 10:00 am

COMMENTS:

Bill - Please pass the attached memo to Rose Zamaria
for the President.

Thank you.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Fred Nahas
The Fred Nahas Company
Suite 630
2401 Fountainview
Houston, Texas 77057



THE PRESIDENT

Aug 3 '92

Dear Fred.

Thanks, my friend,
for that supportive letter.
Tough times, but I will
win - All But

By B.

✓ CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)



THE FRED NAHAS CO.

2401 FOUNTAINVIEW, SUITE 630
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77057
PHONE 713/977-7561

July 28, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

This is Fred Nahas, a devout Evangelist for you, sir, whom I consider the epitome of our citizens to be President. Also, my devotion and admiration for Barbara!

My sphere of influence -- my friends in Texas are, like me, fascinated with the surprising and successful events that have unfolded all over the world and especially in Eastern Europe and Russia.

Together, we have witnessed your leadership as history has unfolded and your courage reinstated our U.S. freedoms and time-tested western ideas.

You did this, Mr. President, and your leadership through a perilous war extolled your brilliant leadership toward a victory lauded by free men all over the world.

Just a few years ago, we could not have imagined this. Yet we all know it's because of your ideas -- not men -- not governments -- not armies -- that caused this phenomena.

Mr. President, I hope your script writers and strategy planners such as stalwart Jim Baker will incorporate these accomplishments, together with so many other problems you've encountered and solved.

The press is "stingy" in crediting you with a mammoth amount of good things which you and your administration have accomplished.

These should be pulled "out of the ordinary" and told to the people who have been fed with the ludicrous fantasies of your playing golf and fishing through the nation's travails on the economic front.

You've been a darned intelligent and terrific President -- your staffers should see to it your campaign tells the U.S. about it!

Tell Barbara that Eve and I will do all we can to see that you and she, once again, will lead our nation.

I've asked you for very little, Mr. President, not even a visit to your White House, but we respect and admire what you and Barbara are doing for our country.

Please let me know you have received our message!

As ever,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Fred", written in dark ink.

Fred Nahas

FN:cej

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Kristen Williams
3710 Cattail Drive South
Jacksonville, Florida 32223



THE PRESIDENT

8-4-92

Dear Kristen,
Thanks for the
note. I loved being in
Tax at that great rally.
Good Luck!
A. Bush

cc: (in & out)
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Dear President Bush,

Thank for coming to Jax.

Love,

Kristen Williams

3710 Cattail DR. S.
Jacksonville 32223
Florida



J
THE PRESIDENT

Daily
August 3, 1992

Dear Elsie,

After lots of checking, the meeting for September 24-25 with the Dalai Lama will not work. I hope I can have another private meeting later to help spur the dialogue process along.

Sorry to be late with this reply.

Love to all,

*Hope to see you
a long A1 soon.*

*Call Patty (456-7400)
and give her your number.*

GTB

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Elsie Walker Kilborne
609 Essex Avenue
Narberth, Pennsylvania 19072

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Elsie:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the Dalai Lama's upcoming plans. I was particularly struck by your news that His Holiness' doctors have recommended a lighter travel schedule. That being the case, I would not want to impose a burden on him by causing him to make the long trip to the U.S. so soon after traveling to Rio and then Moscow.

It would be virtually impossible for me to arrange a meeting September 24-25, because that coincides with a hectic period centered on United Nations General Assembly activities. I hope that His Holiness and I will be able to arrange a private meeting on another occasion so that we can spur the dialogue process along. I am heartened by your report, and hope that meaningful discussions between the Dalai Lama's brother and the Chinese will materialize.

Sincerely,

Ms. Elsie Walker Kilborne
609 Essex Avenue
Narberth, Pennsylvania 19072

now in
D.C.

Dear
of
any

Elsie,
checking the
Sept 24-25
D.C.

after lots
meeting for
with to
I hope I can have
another private
meeting later to
help spur

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 1, 1992

.2 AUG 1 P2:14

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 

SUBJECT: Response to Elsie Walker Kilborne Regarding a Meeting Between You and the Dalai Lama

Purpose

To respond to Elsie Walker Kilborne's letter to you.

Background

Ms. Kilborne wrote to propose that the Dalai Lama meet with you September 24-25 of this year. The Dalai Lama had originally been planning an October visit to the U.S., but Ms. Kilborne explained that the October trip had been cancelled on the advice of His Holiness' physicians. According to Ms. Kilborne and the Dalai Lama's envoy, the dialogue recently re-started between the Chinese and the Dalai Lama's brother holds promise of meaningful negotiation. The Dalai Lama is interested in a meeting with you to bolster the Tibetans' negotiating position in Beijing. As we recommended in a separate response to the Dalai Lama's recent letter to you, we should offer encouragement to both the Dalai Lama and the Chinese to make the most of the dialogue to resolve the outstanding issues concerning Tibet. Our concern is that when the dialogue has broken down, radicals in the exile Tibetan community have advocated active opposition to Chinese rule in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China, resulting in violent suppression.

The late September time frame proposed by Ms. Kilborne coincides with UNGA activities and a busy campaign schedule. We believe that it would be best for you to decline a September meeting, but offer a private meeting with the Dalai Lama later.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Ms. Kilborne at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Response to Ms. Kilborne
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Elsie Walker Kilborne
609 Essex Ave.
Narberth, Pa. 19072

July 11, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Last week Lodi Gyari, the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy, and I had a good breakfast meeting with Douglas Paal.

Lodi briefed him on Gyalo Thondup's trip to Beijing, where he met with various key officials. Essentially they have agreed to negotiations and, what was a breakthrough, they also seem to have agreed to discuss the circumstances of the Tibetan people outside the Tibet Autonomous region. This is very important to the Tibetans, as many of them live in Kham and Amdo.

Lodi asked Mr. Paal to try and make sure the Chinese know that you feel honest and meaningful negotiations are important and not just window dressing or an MFN tactic.

Douglas Paal also mentioned that when the Tibetans next raise the human rights issue at the UN in Geneva, the Administration would be more helpful. This is very good news. Thank you so much.

Most importantly, he also said that a meeting might be arranged with the Dalai Lama this fall. The Dalai Lama's three-week trip in October has been cancelled. (These long trips are too grueling and there are too many of them, his doctors think). However, it is believed that a meeting between you and the Dalai Lama could be very helpful at the delicate stage of pre-negotiations.

A meeting that is initiated by you, however low-key, would help the credibility and seriousness of the Tibetan-Chinese dialogue.

The Dalai Lama is going to Moscow at the end of September and could come to Washington on September 24 and 25. He could come to D.C., rest quietly, have a meeting with you, one or two other private meetings, and leave.

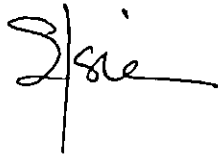
From my perspective, I also think this would be good for you and the election, etc. HH is an extremely popular figure who stands above politics and for the welfare of all mankind and the environment. He's loved and respected by Republicans and Democrats alike. The detractors of your China policy would see that you do care about human rights and that you do acknowledge that relations with China are complex.

I'd also like to say how helpful and thoughtful Douglas Paal has been. He believes in you and is worried about this race. He made many insightful comments about what he believes the American people are looking for from you, in case you're passing his desk!

Lodi Gyari is informing the Dalai Lama about the possibility of a meeting. Why don't I call Douglas Paal in a week or two and see what everyone's thinking.

I don't have to tell you how much this all means to me. You've just been great. For my part, I am doing what I can to help in your re-election, and although I have moments of panic, I feel confident you can pull it off. You've also got six million Tibetans praying for you, so it should be a shoe-in.

Lots of love,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tsie". The signature is written in dark ink on a white background.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Letter	President George Bush to Lech Walesa [originally closed as 01a]. (1 pp.)	8/3/92	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Monday, August 3, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/24/2019

OA/ID Number: 90703-003

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5874

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/3/92

July 31, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT 
SUBJECT: Letter to President Walesa

SIGNED

Purpose

To thank Walesa for his hospitality during your recent visit and to remind Walesa of his promise to work with us to resolve outstanding issues.

Background

At Tab A is a letter from you to President Walesa thanking him for hosting your visit to Warsaw. The letter underlines our support for Walesa and Poland and notes our efforts to convert the stabilization fund to new productive uses, which should come to fruition this fall. Your letter also gently reminds Walesa of his promise to help resolve two outstanding bilateral economic issues: an unfair tariff regime and inadequate intellectual property protection.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to Walesa

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff



THE PRESIDENT

Baby Lang

August 3, 1992

Dear Matthew,

Mrs. Bush and I are delighted to send you a warm welcome on your arrival.

You are a special blessing to your loved ones, and we join them in wishing you a long life of health and happiness.

Sincerely,

As Bill

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Matthew Miller
c/o Mr. E. R. Haggar
Haggar Apparel Company
6113 Lemmon Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75209

Import-Export Firm Finds a Tough U.S.-Russia Route

Bosmosco Discovers American Consumers Don't Jump to Buy the Goods

By SUZANNE ALEXANDER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
BOSTON—As a visitor enters the empty showroom here, Alla Antonova dashes to turn on the lights. "Can I show you something?" she asks.

The room is filled with ceramic plates and dolls, ivory sculptures and Oriental rugs, made by Russian companies eager to sell in the U.S. So, where are the customers? "Some days, it's very slow," concedes Ms. Antonova, a Muscovite who manages the RussianHouse showroom.

Actually, most days are slow for the showroom, opened in May by Bosmosco Inc. The start-up Boston company, launched in 1988 by American book publisher Henry Quinlan and five investors, had high hopes of selling Russian consumer goods here and peddling U.S. goods in Russia.

But the Boston showroom, which serves buyers for stores and distributors, so far has made only one sale of 1,000 toy trucks for \$2,000. That's far below the pace needed to achieve the showroom's original modest sales goal of \$3 million by May 1993, based on limited knowledge of what the demand might be. And since April 1991, Bosmosco's 20 retail showrooms in Russia have sold only about \$380,000 of U.S. goods, disastrously short of the company's projected first-year sales of \$200 million, based on assumptions of high demand for American goods.

A number of American entrepreneurs are experiencing the headaches of doing business amid the chaotic capitalist revolution sweeping through the former Soviet

Union. But few small-business owners have tackled the equally difficult task of importing consumer products from Russia. The biggest hurdle: Americans spurn merchandise that fails to meet their tastes, needs or standards. To succeed, entrepreneurs may have to limit their sights to truly unique imported items.

Despite a slow start, Mr. Quinlan says he remains confident of his venture's eventual success. The 52-year-old entrepreneur has experience with starting a business. In 1985, he founded Quinlan Press, a book publisher whose 100 titles included a Moscow telephone directory. Earlier, he had a long career as a lawyer and publishing executive.

Impetus From Moscow

Mr. Quinlan decided to shut his book-publishing business and begin Bosmosco after Moscow residents bombarded him with requests for American goods during his visit there in 1986. "It's a dream for Russian companies to sell in this market," he says, noting that manufacturers need a middleman like Bosmosco to gain access here.

Each Russian company pays Bosmosco \$2,000 a year to display its products in RussianHouse. Bosmosco takes a 15% commission when items sell—but they aren't selling well yet. Some goods with a uniquely Russian flavor, such as nesting dolls (identical wooden dolls that fit inside each other) and hand-painted black lacquer boxes and eggs, ultimately may appeal to Americans, Mr. Quinlan says.

A number of other products don't meet U.S. standards. "The clothing is pretty dreadful," says Bruce Savage, a Saks Fifth Avenue buyer who visited the showroom in June but didn't purchase anything. "It's Old World, Eastern European looking—nothing anyone here would want," he adds. "The jewelry just doesn't fit in with the fashion lines" at Saks.

Bosmosco also offers many cheap imitations of Western products: watches with vinyl bands, cotton bedspreads and thin terry cloth bathrobes. Bosmosco admits there's little U.S. demand for some of these goods. But Western companies dealing with the former Soviet Union often get stuck with difficult contract provisions. In this case, Bosmosco must let Russian manufacturers display any product they want—including those that probably won't sell.

Even if U.S. buyers suddenly start ordering large quantities of merchandise, many Russian producers may be unable to deliver. "Their supply isn't dependable because the country is breaking down. There's a limit to what manufacturers can produce" with insufficient equipment and raw materials, says Marshall Goldman, a Sovietologist at Harvard University.

Mr. Quinlan is trying to overcome such daunting problems. He says that "one of the hesitations among American buyers [for stores] is: What happens if [the item] doesn't sell?"

Setting New Terms

To allay such worries, he recently convinced 15 of the 75 Russian makers to offer to take back their products if they don't sell—as long as U.S. retailers carry them for six months. He also is selling some goods, such as toys and rugs, at prices 25% to 50% below those of comparable American brands.

Nevertheless, Harvard's Mr. Goldman is very skeptical that RussianHouse ever will catch on because Americans aren't particularly interested in Russian products.

Mr. Quinlan badly needs RussianHouse to succeed because the credits he gives to Russian exporters would bolster Bosmosco's faltering American Stores in Russia. For tax reasons, instead of being paid in cash, exporters to RussianHouse receive credits that they can spend at Bosmosco's

stores in Russia. (Even if the exporter doesn't want the goods itself, the American merchandise has a ready cash market in Russia.)

More than 100 U.S. companies, including drug maker Bristol-Myers Squibb Co. and electronics and avionics concern Tele-dyne Inc., rent space in Bosmosco's showrooms for \$8,000 each a year. The stores market their wares to Russian businesses, which give them to employees as incentive gifts.

Russian managers seem to want the athletic shoes, California wines and other U.S. products sold at American Stores. Yet few can afford to buy much, especially since the showrooms take only U.S. currency. Initially, American Stores had a number of customers promise to purchase \$18 million of goods. The commitments fell apart when the Soviet banking system ran into trouble after last year's coup. Those customers lost their easy access to U.S. currency, previously available to certain businesses.

Most Russians also are slow to make purchases. "They're confronted with choice for the first time. L.A. Gear has 50 different styles, colors and sizes [of athletic footwear]. It typically takes seven visits from Russian executives," for example, before they buy merchandise for subordinates, says Mr. Quinlan.

To hasten the company's fortunes, Mr. Quinlan moved to Moscow last month. He also has scaled back his lofty expectations. He now predicts that American Stores will achieve sales of \$1 million by April, because the ruble has become convertible for certain businesses. Mr. Quinlan expects that RussianHouse will reach sales of between \$500,000 and \$3 million by May 1993, based on verbal commitments from certain U.S. wholesalers.

Will Bosmosco ever really hit the jackpot either in Russia or in the U.S.? Despite the risks, Mr. Quinlan says, "I think we'll surprise a lot of people."



Henry Quinlan

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

What's News—

* * *

Business and Finance

TWA CHAIRMAN Carl Icahn is preparing to step down from the carrier and turn it over to its creditors and employees. Under a plan that could be announced today for TWA to emerge from Chapter 11, creditors would get a 55% equity stake after forgiving about \$1 billion of the airline's \$1.5 billion debt. Employees would get a 45% stake in return for wage cuts.

(Article on Page A3)

* * *

Profits climbed 18% in the second quarter from a year earlier, compared with first-period increases averaging 34%, according to a Wall Street Journal survey of 626 major companies. Corporate retrenchments helped the results during a sluggish economy.

Many analysts predict continued strong earnings growth into 1993, fueling further stock-market advances.

(Articles on Pages A5 and C1)

* * *

Borland illegally copied parts of Lotus's spreadsheet software, a federal judge ruled. Borland, though expected to appeal, intends to delete the features at issue from its products.

(Article on Page B1)

* * *

Factory orders rose 2.3% in June, suggesting the recovery in the manufacturing sector is still on track. But unfilled orders declined 0.6%. Meanwhile, personal income fell 0.2% while consumer spending increased 0.4%.

(Article on Page A2)

* * *

Arthur Andersen was sued for \$400 million by the thrift-cleanup agency, which said the accounting firm was negligent in its work for an S&L whose failure cost taxpayers \$976 million. Andersen said it will fight the suit.

(Article on Page A3)

* * *

John Templeton agreed to sell his mutual fund business to Franklin Resources for \$913 million, making Franklin the fourth-largest U.S. mutual fund company. Franklin's stock price jumped \$2.75 to \$29.875.

(Article on Page C1)

* * *

NBC has delivered a much larger audience than expected for its Olympic television coverage so far, thrilling advertisers, by emphasizing those sports that tend to appeal to women. But the momentum is unlikely to hold up during the Games' second week.

(Article on Page B5)

* * *

Mazda is raising base prices on its top-selling models by as much as 9%, easily outstripping price increases announced so far by U.S. auto makers. Other Japanese car manufacturers are likely to follow Mazda's lead.

The House voted to raise tariffs sharply on four-door minivans and sport utility vehicles. But Bush aides say they would recommend a veto.

(Articles on Page A4)

* * *

The personal-computer price war is leading many PC buyers to purchase expensive software and extra accessories rather than pocket the savings.

(Article on Page B1)

* * *

Intel plans to unveil a microchip it says will cut the cost of high-quality printers by hundreds of dollars.

(Article on Page B4)

* * *

McDonnell Douglas posted a 51% drop in second-quarter profit amid weakness in all of its aerospace units, especially commercial aircraft. The company's stock sank \$3.375 to \$36.75.

(Article on Page A3)

* * *

Markets—

Stocks: Volume 172,920,000 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3393.78, up 1.89; transportation 1317.64, off 11.11; utilities 225.40, up 0.81.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 4549.19, off 9.77.

Commodities: Oil \$21.87 a barrel, up four cents. Dow Jones futures index 117.58, off 0.61; spot index 116.87, up 0.27.

Dollar: 127.15 yen, off 0.30; 1.4745 marks, off 0.0020.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

* * *

World-Wide

BOSNIAN FORCES BATTLED in desperation to break through Serb lines.

Officials in Bosnia claimed some success in the battles to break a Serb stranglehold on Sarajevo, where Muslim forces have been trying to capture hills used by Serb gun batteries to pound the capital. In the Serb-controlled north of the former Yugoslav republic, aid workers said they believed thousands of Muslims and Croats had been imprisoned, tortured and executed inside concentration camps.

A bus carrying dozens of orphans resumed its journey out of Bosnia. A sniper had fired at the bus on Saturday, killing two of the children.

* * *

Bush charged that, if Clinton became president, within a year the government would run the health-care system "with the compassion of the KGB," the Soviet secret police. Bush ignored a reporter's question about editorials urging him to quit his re-election bid; a Bush aide said, "This is an election year. I have no reaction."

Clinton predicted a "very tough, competitive, difficult" presidential campaign despite his current lead over Bush in opinion polls. The Democratic nominee said the calls among some Republicans and others for Bush to leave the GOP ticket are "more a reflection of the problems of the country."

* * *

Seven U.N. observers arrived in South Africa to monitor a week of pro-democracy protests, including a general strike today and tomorrow. Separately, a leading member of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party called for the group to scale down its demands for a white homeland.

* * *

Kuwait marked the second anniversary of Iraq's invasion by hinting of an emergency plan to deal with any new aggression, while U.S. troops prepared for monthlong war games in the emirate. In Baghdad, newspapers declared that Kuwait is still part of Iraq and warned of a second invasion.

* * *

Israel's new government named two Arabs as deputy ministers, the highest official posts Arabs have held in Israel in 19 years. An Israeli official said Prime Minister Rabin's cabinet also accepted a U.S. invitation to resume Middle East peace talks in Washington on Aug. 24.

Investigators focused on problems with a TWA jetliner's right wing as a possible cause for Thursday's aborted takeoff from New York's Kennedy International Airport. All 280 passengers and 12 crew members escaped without serious injury before flames engulfed the back half of the jet. (Article on Page C11)

* * *

EPA chief Reilly has criticized the Bush administration's handling of the Earth Summit. In a July 15 memorandum to agency employees, Reilly faulted administration policy decisions on a biodiversity treaty and the climate-change issue, and said the U.S. "committed few resources" to the meeting.

* * *

Mexicans voted in five state gubernatorial contests, with the ruling party's candidates expected to emerge as winners in at least four of the elections. The PRI faced its most serious opposition challenge in the northern state of Durango.

* * *

Shuttle astronauts released a European satellite after a daylong delay, but the science satellite had guidance problems. The Atlantis shuttle's seven-member crew plans to release a satellite tomorrow that will be connected to the shuttle by 12 miles of electricity-generating cord. The seven-day mission is to end Friday.

* * *

Chinese investigators found the flight recorder in the wreckage from a plane crash that killed at least 106 people near the eastern city of Nanjing. The plane reportedly veered off course while accelerating for takeoff on Friday and hit a wall before it burst into flames.

Nepalese soldiers began retrieving the bodies of 113 people who were aboard a Thai Airways Airbus that crashed into a remote Himalayan ridge and exploded Friday. Among the passengers were 13 Americans.

* * *

Thailand's military leaders sought to reassure the public that they would reform the armed forces. Over the weekend, Prime Minister Anand demoted four commanders for suppressing May protests.

* * *

Died: G. Harrold Carswell, 72, former U.S. appeals court judge who was nominated to the Supreme Court by Nixon and rejected by the Senate in a bitter fight, Friday, in Tallahassee, Fla., of cancer.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

The Outlook

U.S. Regions Offer Lessons for the EC

NEW YORK

The European Community is moving steadily toward a tight economic unity that would include a common currency. Proponents of the plan point to the U.S. as a prime example of how marvelously this would work. If U.S. regions and their dollar work well, adjusting to occasional economic slumps, why wouldn't the EC and its ECU, or European currency unit, work equally well?

Well, perhaps they would. But there are differences between the U.S. and the EC that should not be overlooked.

In a paper published in Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, Olivier Jean Blanchard of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Lawrence Katz of Harvard argue that regions in the U.S. adjust to economic slumps mainly through migration of labor. One example came early in this century when an agricultural decline in the South led to heavy migration of workers to the factories in the North. Adjustment took several years, but it was successful.

The EC's aim is to make such an adjustment possible when Europe runs into similar economic shocks. The common currency is supposed to help. Workers will be free to move from one country to another without bureaucratic restriction. Capital, raw materials and finished products will be able to move across borders freely.

Mr. Blanchard and Mr. Katz note a "common argument" that, once a common currency is introduced, firms and workers will no longer expect to be bailed out by monetary expansion. Firms will find that wage concessions and productivity improvements will lead to a faster return to full employment.

The experiences in the U.S. show the limitations to this argument. If there is an adverse shock to demand, relative wages indeed do decline, but they do not decline by a large enough amount to prevent a rise in unemployment. What they trigger is mostly labor out-migration, rather than job in-migration or job creation.

Adjustments to shocks in the U.S. aren't always peaceful or pleasant, of course. When Southern farm workers moved to the Northern factories, they left an environment they liked for one that was new and strange. Social change can be a major deterrent to moving, but economic considerations are likely to be determinative. Workers caught in a regional slump must decide for themselves whether it is better to move or better to wait, hoping that the situation will improve.

Whatever the factors deterring U.S. workers from moving, they are less than those that face workers in Europe. Despite the removal of legal restrictions on labor mobility in Europe, mobility there is low and is likely to remain so. Mobility within specific European countries is low now, even though there are no curbs on intra-country movement. Movement among countries, even after removal of bureaucratic restrictions, will bump into differences of language, culture and history, obstacles not present in the U.S.

One example was the unification of Germany. German labor unions, without resistance from the government, moved to prevent the emergence of persistent regional wage gaps between eastern and western Germany. Wage equalization led to serious economic problems, since East Germany was not as productive as West Germany. But the government was deeply concerned about the possibility of large-scale migration from east to west, which was regarded as socially disruptive and undesirable. Wage equalization, together with substantial maintenance payments to the unemployed, was designed to keep such migration from occurring. The program hasn't solved the economic problems of eastern Germany, where high wages are unattractive to foreign investors, but they have held down migration.

Major migrations from southern to northern Europe probably would be regarded as even more undesirable by elected officials and some of their constituents. Many of the workers in southern Europe are less productive than their northern counterparts, and their economic problems might encourage them to move north once the restrictions were removed. This possibility might lead to measures to equalize wages and working conditions across Europe. There are hints of this in the social charter embraced by all EC members except the United Kingdom at the meeting at Maastricht. The U.K. presumably worries a little less about intra-EC migration than other Community countries since it is insulated by a substantial body of water.

Another major difference between the EC and the U.S. is that the EC does not have, nor is it likely to have, a system of fiscal federalism such as the U.S. has. When a U.S. region suffers an economic shock, there will be declines in federal tax payments and increases in federal transfers that will offset a significant portion of the lost income. To the extent that spending is maintained, the effect of the shock is moderated.

If labor migration is the only practical way out of economic shocks, and the European Community is structured to minimize migration, it would seem the EC may be in for some long and painful periods of adjustment if it sticks to its present course.

The upshot could be painful for the U.S., since a troubled European economy would be much less of a market for America's exports.

—LINDLEY H. CLARK JR

Russian MiGs Now Are All the Rage In Friendly Skies

* * *

Former Communist Nations
Are Selling Fighters Cheap;
And the Ride Is Out of Sight

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
BURLINGTON, Vt. — Usually, Doug Schultz flies big Boeing passenger jets for Delta. But he has always dreamed about flying a MiG-21, a fighter he only saw a few times as a tiny blip on his radar screen as he flew his Navy F-4 Phantom on missions over North Vietnam.

It was a blip that the fighter pilot watched very, very carefully; his Navy trainers always warned him that the MiG-21 was a killer. It was an aluminum dart built to fly at twice the speed of sound and blast highflying enemy aircraft out of the sky. But the North Vietnamese pilots always stayed beyond visual range.

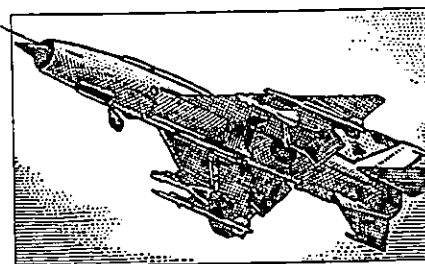
Now there are days when Mr. Schultz, still looking like a lean, intense fighter jock at 45, actually gets his hands on the throttle of his dream. As he sits in the cockpit of a MiG-21 and the silvery jet hisses out to the runway, he often recalls those preflight briefings he had in Vietnam. The plane, he explains, "turned out to be everything I had learned to believe that it was. It is a very quick, highly maneuverable airplane."

Smoking Dot

Mr. Schultz knows because he is a part-time consultant to a company here that teaches military test pilots to fly MiG-21s. He has mastered the bewildering array of dials and gauges in the cramped cockpit. He has learned the safety procedures of the tricky plane. Two big leather handles stick up between his legs; pull them and a rocket ejects the seat and pilot from the plane.

Mr. Schultz shows what the plane can do. Within seconds after aiming the fighter down the runway, he is a smoking dot in the bright morning sky. Thirty-eight minutes and about \$1,200 worth of jet fuel later, he touches down, popping the big white parachute out of the tail that stops the plane at the end of the runway.

Mr. Schultz has been teaching military fliers the intricacies of the MiG-21 for less



A MiG-21

than a year, to help broaden their knowledge of flying. But within a few years, a lot of weekend pilots also may be flying MiGs over the U.S. When the Cold War ended, newly formed private companies in Russia and its former East Bloc allies began competing with one another to peddle MiG-21s — once the most widely used fighter in the world — to any and all comers.

Since 1988, the Federal Aviation Administration has certified 23 disarmed MiGs to fly in the U.S. Mr. Schultz, for instance, owns a MiG-17, which, along with his Mustang, is a personal recreational vehicle. Paul Entekin, of Pensacola, Fla., another former military flier, is the long-time owner of a Chinese-built MiG-15.

Now, airplane museums all around the country are adding MiGs to their exhibits, says Edward Maloney, director of the

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Russian MiGs Become the Rage In the Friendly Skies of the U.S.

Continued From First Page
Planes of Fame Museum in Chino, Calif., one of the nation's pioneer air museums. Tom Poberezny, president of the Experimental Air Association, says his group plans to display a MiG-15 and MiG-21 in its museum in Oshkosh, Wis.

For some, the recent availability of used MiGs comes as very bad news. Dean Martin operates Warplanes Inc., the used military-plane business here that, through the Pentagon, employs Mr. Schultz. A few years ago, he bought eight MiG-21s for about \$100,000 each. Using history as his guide, he figured he would sell them for more. After World War II, governments destroyed most of their fighter planes, which sent prices of the remaining ones sky high.

Instead, the used-MiG market has crashed. Far from getting rid of the 10,000 MiG-21s, which were built in the 1950s and 1960s, former Communist nations are now selling them, Crazy Eddie-style, at deep, deep discounts.

"They're advertising used MiGs for as low as \$25,000 and \$50,000. You can't even buy a [Beechcraft] Bonanza for that," remarks Jim Fausz, director of the Lone Star Flight Museum in Galveston, Texas, and a professional collector.

Like Mr. Martin, the FAA isn't thrilled by the MiG bonanza. According to a spokesman there, the agency isn't keen on having lots of MiGs flashing across the weekend skies in the hands of, say, dentists. In February, it passed the "hot seat rule," requiring pilots with planes that have ejection seats or fuel drop tanks to disable the devices.

Watch Out Below

Mr. Schultz, no weekend pilot, agrees that the thought of putting lots of old-model MiGs in the hands of hobbyists "has a lot of people worried." But he doesn't like the hot seat rule. Though eliminating the ejection seat is one way to prevent seats, pilots and planes from raining down on urban areas, he argues that the ejection seat is the only way to save the pilot when his plane goes out of control. "It's like them saying, 'We're going to take away the best friend you've got,'" he says. As long as he is training military pilots, however, the rule doesn't apply to him.

The first MiGs were designed as a

collaboration between a Red Air Force colonel-general, Artem I. Mikoyan, and a Soviet mathematician, Mikhail I. Gurevich. Their earliest plane, the MiG-15, first appeared in Russia in 1949.

The first U.S. private citizen to buy this MiG, and get it certified, was Mr. Entrekin, who bought a Chinese-built MiG-15 from a broker for \$150,000 in 1986.

Like Mr. Schultz, he is no novice; he flew F-18s as a Marine fighter pilot. But Mr. Entrekin was not prepared for what happened after his MiG arrived in a crate from China. The manuals were all in Chinese. Translations, he found, couldn't be trusted because the translators sometimes got crucial technical details wrong.

When he turned to the Pentagon, he discovered that the performance data on the 40-year-old warplane were still classified. He had read a book by one of America's most famous test pilots, Chuck Yeager, who had once flown a captured MiG-15 and deemed it the most dangerous plane he ever flew.

Bad Brakes

"Needless to say, I was very apprehensive," says Mr. Entrekin. But, by flying "very conservatively," he gradually discovered that the MiG-15 was an "extremely reliable" plane, with the exception of the brakes, which sometimes barely manage to stop the plane at the end of the runway.

Both Mr. Entrekin and Mr. Schultz fly their MiGs in air shows. Mr. Schultz streaks over the crowd in his MiG-17 and hits the afterburner, which sends a crowd-pleasing plume of orange flame out the tail. Mr. Entrekin flies mock dogfights with a man who owns the MiG-15's Korean War opponent, the F-86 Sabrejet.

As Mr. Entrekin's skills improved, he found his MiG could outrun and outmaneuver the Sabrejet. But he has found that the Cold War still sets the rules at air shows: The MiG always has to lose. So the Sabrejet was fitted with propane-powered fake machine guns and Mr. Entrekin put a smoke canister in his MiG.

On their last chase over the airfield, the MiG pilot explains, the Sabrejet "would turn on his guns and I'd turn on my smoke. Then I'd disappear, and he'd come back to do a victory roll."

House Approves Sharp Tariff Boost On Some Vehicles

By JOHN CLOUD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—The House voted 273-112 to raise tariffs tenfold on imported, four-door multipurpose vehicles.

The measure would reinstate a Customs Service ruling overturned by the Treasury Department in 1989. The Office of Management and Budget has said it will recommend that President Bush veto the bill, which now goes to the Senate.

The legislation would reclassify four-door minivans, sport utility vehicles and certain vans as trucks for tariff purposes, making them subject to 25% duties. Currently, the Treasury classifies four-door multipurpose vehicles as passenger cars, which are subject to 2.5% tariffs.

Supporters of the measure noted that the four-door multipurpose vehicles already are classified as trucks for emissions and fuel-economy standards. They said the measure would restore uniformity to the classification of multipurpose vehicles.

But opponents said that U.S. auto makers also classify their multipurpose vehicles as trucks for regulatory standards, while advertising them as passenger cars. They charged that the measure would hurt consumers.

"It's pretty blatant protectionism," said Jim Gill, manager of corporate communications for Nissan North America Inc. "It's going to be harmful to the consumer . . . and it's going to insulate the Big Three from legitimate competition."

Mr. Gill and other opponents predicted the tariff hike would increase consumer prices for imported multipurpose vehicles as much as \$3,700, enabling U.S. auto makers to raise their own prices. "It's going to give Detroit, frankly, billions in unearned profits," said Walter Huizenga, president of the American International Automobile Dealers Association.

General Motors Corp., Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp. control about 85% of the U.S. multipurpose-vehicle market, one of their fastest-growing markets. Spokesmen for the auto makers and congressional supporters claimed foreigners would not increase prices despite the tariff, because they would want to remain competitive.

GM said the House action re-establishes a Customs ruling that if it looks like a truck and performs like a truck, then it ought to be called a truck for tariff purposes.

Ford, in a statement, said "The House has corrected an unfortunate flaw in U.S. government regulations that has given international automotive competitors an unfair advantage."

Chrysler said the action "simply confirms a ruling by the U.S. Customs Service, which, in an unfortunate and baffling move, was overturned by the Treasury Department. The vote shows a real determination to come to grips with our trade problems."

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Bush Faces Tricky Decisions in Trying To Get Tougher With Saddam Hussein

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Bush administration is determined to keep the heat on Iraq's Saddam Hussein, expecting — and perhaps hoping — its tactics will produce another confrontation in coming weeks.

But unfortunately for administration strategists, turning the screws on Saddam Hussein isn't as simple as outside analysts suggest. Taking the showdown a step further to launch military action against Iraq would be even trickier.

In the aftermath of the latest confrontation over Iraq's lack of cooperation with the United Nations, administration aides have identified two levers they hope to use to press Saddam Hussein. One is a stepped-up program of U.N. weapons inspections. The second is an effort to put a spotlight on Iraq's repression of its Kurdish and Shiite Muslim minorities; administration aides are discussing the possibility of dispatching United Nations observers into southern Iraq to monitor the treatment of Shiites there.

But there are problems with both tactics. U.N. inspectors would have trouble pursuing a newly invigorated weapons-inspection program. Having spent 14 months hunting down Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, they simply don't have many more places to look. "I think we're at a point in our program where it's going to be difficult to accelerate," says a senior official of the inspection program.

The U.N. teams calculate that they have destroyed all the Iraqi missiles they can identify, though the U.S. worries that as many as 200 Scuds still may be hidden. Tens of thousands of Iraqi chemical munitions have been identified and officials are starting to destroy them. And international inspectors think they have accounted for all the nuclear facilities they suspected, the United Nations inspector says.

Rely on Tips

To hunt down more weapons facilities, the inspectors must rely almost entirely on tips from friendly governments, and they say the flow of tips is slowing down.

The U.N. teams plan two to four inspections this month. They could, of course, do more by acting on flimsier intelligence or by trying to enter sensitive spots such as Iraq's Defense Ministry simply to see what they could find. But if the inspectors don't appear to be pursuing solid leads, there isn't likely to be international backing for military action to support their searches.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration faces difficulty stepping up pressure on the second front, Iraq's attacks on its own Shiites and Kurds, because of international ambivalence.

One of the U.N. Security Council resolutions Iraq accepted to end last year's Persian Gulf War clearly bans Saddam Hussein's Sunni-dominated regime from harassing Shiites in southern Iraq or

Kurds in the north. There seems little doubt that Iraq has been violating that resolution. Credible reports say Iraqi troops have been hunting down Shiite dissidents in the marshes of southern Iraq in recent weeks. U.S. officials charge that Iraq has used military planes and helicopters in the hunt. At the same time, Iraqi Kurds report ominous Iraqi military moves in the north.

U.N. Reluctance

But U.S. officials say Security Council members are reluctant to approve military action to stop Iraqi harassment of its own civilians. China and India, in particular, are afraid that they could be accused of persecuting minority groups in their own countries, officials say.

Technically, it isn't necessary for the U.S. and its allies to get formal Security Council approval to stop Iraqi repression of its people; existing U.N. resolutions give adequate authority. Still, there could be a political price for snubbing China and other Security Council members, whose support might be needed down the line.

Even Britain and France, America's main allies in the confrontation with Iraq, would be uncomfortable acting without clear new evidence of internal Iraqi attacks. That's one reason for the proposal to send U.N. observers into southern Iraq. If Iraq blocked the entry of such observers, that alone could justify action.

Still, the political problems facing the Bush administration are daunting. "Just getting coalition consensus on exactly where to draw the lines is time-consuming and it's difficult," says one senior U.S. aide. "Coalition maintenance, which has never been easy, has become more difficult."

Lloyds Bank PLC

Lloyds Bank PLC said pretax profit rose 11% in the first half of 1992, reflecting lower provisions for bad loans.

The British bank's pretax earnings rose to £369 million (\$708.5 million), or 16.4 pence a share, from £331 million, or 14.7 pence, in the year-earlier first half. The increase was near the top of analysts' forecasts, as was an increase in the six-month dividend, to 5.9 pence from 5.4 pence.

But Lloyds stock fell 23 pence to 401 pence a share in London trading Friday. Analysts said traders were disappointed that the improvement in loan-loss provisions masked an erosion of operating results.

Operating profit fell 4.4% to £697 million before the latest bad-loan provisions.

Italy's June Foreign Trade Gap

MILAN — Italy's foreign trade account swung to a deficit of 736 billion lire (\$657.4 million) in June from a surplus of 407 billion lire a year earlier, according to the state statistical office, Istat.

The June deficit had narrowed from a deficit of 2.952 trillion lire in May. The trade statistics are provisional and aren't seasonally adjusted.

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Notable & Quotable

New Republic senior editor Mickey Kaus in his new book "The End of Equality":

I came to Washington, D.C., in the winter of 1977, a freshly minted leftist lawyer eager to work in the federal government. Those early months of the Jimmy Carter administration were something of a high-water mark of liberal activism. . . . Three years later, I found myself among the crowd in the ballroom of a Washington hotel, waiting for Carter to arrive and concede his landslide defeat by Ronald Reagan. I'd lasted only nine months in government, having bailed out to work for a small political magazine. From there I had watched as the best minds of the Democratic party ran the liberal enter-

prise into the ground. They had put liberalism on the side of welfare rather than work. They funded housing projects that were among the most hellish places on earth. They defended absurd extensions of criminals' rights. They funneled billions to big-city mayors who gave the money to developers who build hideous, bankrupt downtown malls. They let the teachers' unions run the education department and the construction unions run the labor department. I hadn't wanted Reagan to win; I'd voted for Carter without hesitation. But as I waited for him to show up, and looked up at the outgoing Democratic officials gathered on the stage, I realized there was not one of those people I wasn't happy to see go.

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Congress's Blinkered Watchdog

A time-honored way of trying to win a political argument in Washington is to whip out a report from the General Accounting Office, Congress's watchdog over the executive branch. The GAO churns out some 1,000 audits and investigative reports a year, and in theory it should be a useful exercise. There's growing evidence, though, that the GAO isn't the unbiased, nonpartisan agency it once was. Now, its reports too often resemble the prejudices of the Members who request them.

The best tipoff to GAO's changing emphasis is the source of its workload. In 1980, only 35% of its audits were done because someone in Congress requested them. Today, an amazing 82% of GAO audits are initiated by Democratic-controlled congressional committees. "The GAO's guns are frequently directed to score political points and are not targeted at waste and fraud," says Rep. Chris Cox of California. "It's now a shadow executive branch."

Rep. Cox says the GAO costs \$500 million a year, or \$4 for every taxpayer in America, yet doesn't provide anything a good, private-sector accounting firm couldn't deliver for less. He wants the GAO and the rest of Congress to go on a diet, and suggests President Bush veto the legislative appropriations bill if real cuts aren't made. He has collected pledges from more than 120 of the 146 House members needed to sustain such a veto.

As an arm of Congress, the GAO has always been vulnerable to abuse, but until recently Congress seemed to take pride in the agency's reputation for objectivity. But those constraints have fallen away. "Increasingly, we're becoming their creature totally rather than doing our own thing," says William Anderson, former director of GAO's general government division. Harry Havens, an assistant comptroller general at the GAO, says the growing links between it and parti-

san Congressional committees "could pose significant risks to credibility" for the agency.

In fact, the distinction between employees for the Congressional committees and the GAO is becoming increasingly blurred. Every year an average of 172 GAO auditors are "detailed" to work on congressional committees, almost exclusively at the beck and call of Democratic chairmen. Rep. John Dingell, who runs his own quasi-government from his chairmanship of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, has 22 gumshoes on loan from the GAO.

Committee chairmen frequently time the leak of GAO reports to have maximum political punch. But should chairmen not like the findings of a report, they can block its public release, no matter how many taxpayer dollars were spent on it.

To help do the Members' bidding, the GAO has seen its budget grow 75% in the past six years. While it was a GAO audit last year that finally brought to light the shenanigans at the House Bank, that revelation came only after the GAO had ignored or sanitized rampant abuses in many previous audits. It commented publicly only after the House Sergeant-at-Arms consistently broke his promise to clean up the Bank's act.

Sometimes the GAO drops the ball completely. Amazingly, it has simply failed to conduct required semi-annual audits of any independent counsel investigations, notably Lawrence Walsh's \$35 million fishing expedition.

Few GAO reports look hard at the legislative branch, despite the rampant mismanagement for which Congress has become notorious. In 1990, when Comptroller General Charles Bowsher was asked if he would consider doing a first-ever full audit of Congress, he replied, "I would love to do it, but in my 15th year." That is, not on his watch.

Asides

More Democratic Protection

We devoted space last week to Bill Clinton's new best friend, protectionist House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, who very publicly threw cold water on the North American Free Trade Agreement. Mr. Gephardt and his friends practice what they preach: On Friday the House voted to whomp up tariffs on foreign minivans

coming into the U.S., to 25% from 2.5%. Middle-class American families will pay it. It's ugly protectionism, too. The Democrats exempted British Range Rover and Volkswagen. When the presidential debates arrive, someone should throw this one up in the air and ask both candidates if they would veto it. We know one will say "yes." We suspect the other's answer will be longer but maybe not so clear.

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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Senator Malthus

The air in American cities is cleaner than 20 years ago, once dead rivers and lakes are now safe for fishing and many endangered species are again abundant. Yet Al Gore, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, says we're headed for "an ecological Kristallnacht." We think there's a debate to be joined here in this election year.

Kristallnacht was the night-time Nazi rampage of Jews in the 1930s. Other Germans heard the screams and saw the shattered glass but did nothing. Mr. Gore thinks Americans who aren't changing their lives to solve the "grave crisis" of the environment are on par with Germans who let Jews go to the gas chamber.

We aren't making this up. "Unless we quickly and profoundly change the course of our civilization," Mr. Gore also wrote in the *New York Times* in 1989, "we face an immediate and grave danger of destroying the worldwide ecological system that sustains life as we know it."

Life as we know it. Grave danger. Grave crisis. Change . . . our civilization. And you thought it was just a recession.

Now, anyone can get carried away once in a while, even us. But in the case of Senator Gore, such rhetoric has become standard issue. He's even collected his apocalyptic thoughts into a 1992 book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit."

The book deserves nationwide circulation because it so passionately takes one side of the argument over how to maintain economic growth and protect the environment. Mr. Gore is part of a tradition going back to the famous 17th century economist Thomas Robert Malthus. At the cusp of that great burst of prosperity known as the industrial revolution, Malthus argued that population growth would inevitably outstrip food supply, leading to famine and war.

Amid today's rapid change, we have Senator Malthus. His apocalyptic vision includes not just world population, but the human use of natural resources. "Our insatiable drive to rummage deep beneath the surface of the earth, remove all of the coal, petroleum, and other fossil fuels we can find, then burn them as quickly as they are found—in the process filling the atmosphere with carbon dioxide and other pollutants—is a willful expansion of our dysfunctional civilization

into vulnerable parts of the natural world," he writes. Funny, we thought the point was to heat our homes.

Mr. Gore is unhappy with much of modern life. He feels guilty about "my own hypocrisy" in using chlorofluorocarbons "in my automobile air conditioner" while he's "on the way to a speech about why they should be banned" for hurting the ozone layer. Classical economics must be reworked because it "defines productivity narrowly and encourages us to equate gains in productivity with economic progress."

Naturally, looming catastrophe demands radical solutions. Mr. Gore wants a "strategic environment initiative" (SEI) that would use the tax code and regulation to phase out "old technologies," whatever those might be. One apparently is the car. "Within the context of the SEI, it ought to be possible to establish a coordinated global program to accomplish the strategic goal of completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a 25 year period," he writes.

He wants a "Global Marshall Plan" of at least \$100 billion to pay for much of this. And he'd "require the wealthy nations"—that means us—"to allocate money for transferring environmentally helpful technologies to the Third World." Someone should ask Bill Clinton if he agrees with all of this.

We don't belittle the urge for a cleaner earth, nor the yearning for a cause greater than material wealth. But our own view of history differs from Mr. Gore's. We see economic progress as a prerequisite to environmental cleanup. And the surest path to economic progress is not strategic plans or global taxes or technology transfer to Third World kleptocrats; it is the genius of liberated minds and markets.

It's no accident that the cleanest lakes are now in the wealthy free-market West, while the worst pollution is in Beijing or Russia's Aral Sea. If someone is going to find a way to reduce "global warming," assuming science one day shows that to be desirable, he won't be employed by some global EPA. He might even come from one of those poor countries that Mr. Gore wants so badly to stop producing children.

Mr. Gore has proved his devotion to the earth; what he needs is more faith in his fellow human beings.

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Clinton Health Plan Is Criticized by Bush In Campaign Speech

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

CHICAGO—President Bush blasted Bill Clinton's health-care plan in a speech designed to jumpstart his campaign in the face of declining polls and calls from some Republicans that he not run for re-election.

Mr. Bush warned that if the Democratic presidential nominee is elected, "the government will run health care in this country" and that the system "will combine the efficiency of the House Post Office with the compassion of the KGB."

In a speech here yesterday, Mr. Bush charged that Mr. Clinton's plan would increase taxes and create unnecessary red tape. He added that the Arkansas governor's plan would "dump 52 million Americans into a new government bureaucracy," but that his own plan would "help 90 million Americans afford private insurance."

The Bush campaign said the president's health-care plan would lower insurance costs through tax credits for the poor and tax deductions for the middle class. But how Mr. Bush would pay for the new benefits remains unclear. When the plan was first released in February, it called for taxing health insurance benefits that wealthy people receive from their employers.

According to Gail Wilensky, deputy assistant to the president for policy development, the current plan calls for no tax increases. She called the original tax "absolutely negligible" and said that it was eliminated because it would have drawn attention away from the other market-oriented elements of the plan.

Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said that the problems Mr. Bush hopes to solve were created under his and President Reagan's administrations. "He has had

four years to implement some health-care system, and he didn't do it," she said. Ms. Myers added that health-care costs have tripled during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Separately, the Bush campaign's political director, Mary Matalin, issued an unusual news release challenging Mr. Clinton and other "sniveling, hypocritical Democrats" to answer a 22-question quiz. The quiz included statements made, according to the Bush campaign, by Mr. Clinton and other prominent Democrats sharply criticizing the president and Ross Perot. The release said, among other things, that the Democrats have spent "thousands of taxpayer dollars on private investigations to fend off 'bimbo eruptions.'" Ms. Matalin couldn't be reached to comment on the release late yesterday.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

U.S. to Fight Health Plan By Oregon, Magazine Says

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Bush administration will deny approval of Oregon's unique health-care rationing plan on the grounds that it violates the Americans With Disabilities Act, U.S. News & World Report reported yesterday.

The Oregon plan, the first of its kind, is the nation's boldest attempt to reform the health-care system.

A state commission created by the Oregon Legislature has adopted a list of 709 medical procedures, ranked by priority. The rationing plan would cover the first 587 procedures on the list.

The administration is expected to deny approval outright until the plan is corrected, or will give approval only on condition the alleged violations are resolved, the magazine said in its Aug. 10 issue.

One category of non-covered services includes highly expensive treatments for incurable cancer, the final stages of AIDS and for premature babies who have almost no chance of surviving.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Atlanta Urban-Revival Program Draws High Expectations but Some Concerns

By HELENE COOPER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ATLANTA — Here in this city of great expectations, there are none that fly so high as those for Jimmy Carter's ambitious Atlanta Project.

"He's like an answer to a prayer," said a fervent Chris Hardnett, who works to help find housing and assistance for residents of ravaged DeKalb County neighborhoods. "This is a shining star to us right now."

The concern, however, is that the mammoth urban-revival program will end up a shooting star, one that quickly fades from sight. After several months of delays, the Atlanta Project is poised to take off. Some \$11 million in contributions has been pledged, and 93,000 volunteers stand ready to take to the streets. Even President Bush has lent a hand, giving Mr. Carter unprecedented authority to cut through much of the federal red tape that often entangles social programs.

But critics remain wary that the former president's starry-eyed volunteers will quickly tire of their mission, having no notion of the time and effort required to fight the city's rampant poverty. Some worry, too, that the Atlanta Project, with its formidable bulk, will eat up already scarce funding from other social service agencies.

Most troublesome, though, is the danger that the project will fall victim to its own hype. With cities across the country scrutinizing the program — and with many of Atlanta's own residents pinning their last hopes on Mr. Carter — project coordinators now are wondering whether they can, in fact, achieve their lofty goals.

"The expectations are frighteningly high," said Dan Sweat, the longtime business and civic activist whom Mr. Carter appointed to head his Atlanta Project. "I wake up in the middle of the night now thinking of the enormous burden we've taken on here."

The task does seem formidable. Atlanta, while projecting the image of a city where everyone is part of a relentless climb upward, must also confront the realities of poverty. Amid the glitzy glass towers lies the ninth-poorest city in the country, according to the 1990 census. Violent crime here rose 300% in the past

five years, while the homeless population grew to 12,000.

Mr. Carter's project seeks to change all that. The plan, likened by some to a domestic Peace Corps, is based on the old idea of helping people help themselves. It calls for clusters of neighborhood residents to organize and present specific needs to project coordinators, who then match volunteers to neighborhood tasks, such as mentoring a high school student or helping to build a baseball field. More bureaucratic tasks, such as helping people get access to social services, would be handled through a neighborhood cluster coordinator who can enlist the aid — and clout — of the project itself.

Mr. Carter's project, while slow-starting, (organizers had said the first volunteers would be working by March; the date now may be as late as October) is collecting momentum and backing from high places.

The \$11 million in cash pledges from corporations, foundations and individuals has put the project well on the way to its goal of raising \$18 million in the next five years. What's more, the plan has also received "in kind" donations — professional people who are now on staff, computers to use at the project's headquarters, even the headquarters itself.

The boost from Mr. Bush means, at the least, that fewer forms will have to be filled out to receive federal assistance. At the most, the waiver of federal restrictions could mean an end to cases where welfare recipients take an income cut when they leave the public-assistance rolls and go to work.

Still, the project has its critics. Among them are agencies that have been working for years to help solve Atlanta's problems and now see themselves being steamrolled by the massive project. "Not everyone," said one activist, who asked not to be identified, "gets their program broadcast during a prime-time speech to the Democratic National Convention." Mr. Carter spotlighted his project when he spoke to Democrats last month at Madison Square Garden.

Others question the reliability of the hordes of volunteers. "Once all the glitz and glamour dies down, who will be left?" asks Carol Ruhn, director of Decatur Cooperative Ministry. Ms. Ruhn worries that volunteers may "associate this with volunteering for the Olympics. Social service isn't like that."

Mr. Sweat, of the project, has a quick answer to this concern — corporate Atlanta's relentless boosterism. "We'll have a sense of competition among the corporations," he said. "It'll be good publicity for them. If Company X is getting on TV, helping kids, Company Y will say, 'Hey, we can do even better.'"

And finally, while project coordinators say they will invoke Mr. Carter's considerable clout, if necessary, against any reluctant local government agencies, urban experts say the project must find a way to get local county governments and school committees on board.

"It would give me pause to expect that wholly private-sector people will be able to throw their weight around with city bureaucracies," said Chris Walker, senior research associate at the Urban Institute in Washington. "Imagine having a cluster person trying to get the neighborhood school or teachers union to do something. That's an ambitious undertaking."

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VOL. CCXX NO. 24 ★

American Journey

A Nation's Hopes Clash With Its Weariness On Jefferson Avenue

Scenes on a St. Louis Street
Show Fear, Divisions—
And Surprising Resilience

What 'Liberty' Has Become

By DENNIS FARNEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ST. LOUIS — Jefferson Avenue is an only-in-America street, where a black church barbecue sells crispy pig snouts at one end and white working-class "Hoo-siers" drink Budweiser at the other. It is as revealing as an archaeologist's dig.

A little more than five miles long, Jefferson is a tenuous link between two half-cities divided by race: Predominantly black north St. Louis and predominantly white south St. Louis. In its grit and its faded grandeur, with its drug culture and

The American CIVILIZATION

ONE IN AN OCCASIONAL SERIES

its high culture rawly juxtaposed, it speaks of an American civilization that has yet to cohere — of a nation weighing its dreams against its weariness.

We are far away from the ordered mountaintop world of Thomas Jefferson, far from the Jeffersonian vision of an American civilization advancing inexorably "like a cloud of light." We are in a struggling nation, one whose gap between ideal and reality is all too visible.

At Jefferson Avenue's northern end, amid cocaine wars and boarded-up houses, a black baby has less chance of living to its first birthday than a baby born in Sri Lanka, according to state and international statistics. At its southern end, Grace Riley, 74, thumps her listener's arm as she talks of being robbed and of her consuming fear — of blacks. "You call this free?" she demands. "It's like living in Africa."

At midpoint, Jefferson brushes against downtown and more than a century of American architecture. Each structure is a time capsule, embodying the technology and something of the spirit of its era. Collectively, they demonstrate a transformation of America

Blocks away is Louis Sullivan's 1891 Wainwright Building, one of the most human examples of that American invention, the steel-frame skyscraper. Form follows function, Louis Sullivan held. But he also asked: "How shall we impart to this sterile pile . . . higher forms of sensibility and culture?" Ultimately, wrote urban critic Barringer Fifield, he was seeking a distinctly American architecture that would "ennoble those who used it."

A modern office building nearby, all sleek and impersonal and cool dark glass, bespeaks a different nation and a different world. It is bigger, reflecting the rise of the corporation. Its style is international, reflecting a global culture that is blurring national distinctions. It is as polished as a jewel; but ultimately it dwarfs rather than ennobles. Its builders, argues Mr. Fifield, seem to have posed Louis Sullivan's question anew. And answered: "We shall not even try."

'Nothing Impossible'

Soaring above both is the Gateway Arch, a tribute to Thomas Jefferson and his Louisiana Purchase. It is open-ended as history — a fitting symbol of a city and a civilization still defining themselves.

St. Louis, like the Wainwright Building, is an artifact of American civilization and history. Charles Lindbergh named his airplane for St. Louis. Dred Scott, the slave whose bid for freedom helped push the nation to the edge of civil war, initiated his lawsuit in the Old Courthouse, which still stands here. A younger and different St. Louis — more innocent, more confident — played host to the 1904 World's Fair. The fair's characteristically American faith in the inevitability of progress was expressed in the theme of a sculpture that graced its grounds: "Genius Points. Inspiration Whispers. 'Nothing Impossible.'"

"We've become very poor since then," reflects Pat Schuchard, one of this city's foremost sculptors and artists. "What's eroding in our culture is a sense that things can be inherently beautiful, and not just a commodity." And, arguably, poorer in a more fundamental way. Taken together, in its art and its architecture, its literature and its drive-by shootings, what would this city say of America?

Perhaps, at bottom, it would say that by the late 20th century the Jeffersonian ideal of "liberty" had metamorphosed into a desire to be left alone.

Looking Inward

St. Louis has lost more than half its population since 1950, the result of a huge flight to the suburbs. It is laced with privately owned streets, complete with gatehouses, and with blocked-off public streets, a crime-control measure. It remains a city of neighborhoods: black, Italian, German. But the neighborhoods look inward, not outward.

What do St. Louisans want? "To have everybody living near me be like me, and to have everybody living away from me be different from me," concludes E. Terrence Jones, the dean of arts and sciences at the University of Missouri at St. Louis.

Author Stanley Elkin, a National Book Award winner who lives just across the line in suburban University City, reaches

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American Journey: The Nation's Weariness Clashes With Its Hopes on Jefferson Avenue in St. Louis

Continued From First Page

much the same conclusion. "If you're looking to be left alone, if you're looking to be ignored in a comfortable way, you come to St. Louis," he says with gentle irony. "My manifest destiny is to be comfortable. It's the American way."

But behind the comfort is apprehension. A character in an Elkin novel offers this description of Hoosiers (in St. Louis, a generic and often derisive term for rural white migrants from any state):

"They were a strange and ruthless lot, and George Mills feared them, people who had come north not merely or even necessarily from the South so much as from America. . . . They had this in common—that their oceans and forests and hillsides and wells had played out, dried up, gone off. . . . They owned rifles but few handguns, hunting knives but few switch-blades. . . . When they murdered each other they killed like hunters."

Violence marks St. Louis, as it does every American city. The leading cause of death for black men between 15 and 44 is homicide. Last year, this city of about 400,000 generated 53,000 arrests. In the past decade, the dollar growth in its police budget has outstripped that of its general revenue, adding to the pressure for cuts in other programs.

An Act of Faith

"Cities are the crucibles of society," notes Mayor Vincent Schoemehl Jr., a Democratic candidate for governor in tomorrow's primary. And in the steel and glass of a revitalized downtown, there's evidence of two other peculiarly American traits: resilience and change.

Written off for dead in the early 1970s, downtown St. Louis instead ignited a renaissance. A light rail system is under construction, an expanded convention center opens next spring and, in an act of faith, St. Louis is building an impressive sports complex for a professional football team it doesn't yet have. Union Station, along with other landmarks, has been restored and put to new uses — its brush with demolition evidence of just how impermanent American cities have been. The 1894 station was a secular cathedral, built for the ages. Only 85 years later, before restoration rescued it, trees were growing in its empty train shed and a pack of dogs occupied its abandoned hotel.

The single most striking fact of St.

Louis life remains racial polarization. But how — or even whether — the city can transcend polarization is uncertain. For by 1992 even local black leaders were questioning the 1960s goal of integration.

City Comptroller Virvus Jones, black and a power in local government, lives in an integrated neighborhood. But even this civil-rights marcher of the 1960s has come to believe that there are things far more important — economic equality, to begin with — than living next to whites. "There's no magic there any more," he says.

On Night Patrol

In a broader sense, he and others fear that black youths today are losing something more precious than magic: Hope.

"We used to dream of a drug that would make us happy," reflects Danforth Foundation program director Kathryn Nelson, who grew up black and poor in Memphis. "By God, [with cocaine] those days are here! But we didn't know what the price would be for running away from our problems."

That price, a sullen nihilism, is evident in a 6 p.m.-to-1:30 a.m. police patrol of the North Side's most violent neighborhoods with officers Simon Risk, who is white, and Gary Hill, who is black.

It is a journey of incongruities. Little girls in pigtails are jumping rope; prostitutes are working the streets. Roses bloom on chain-link fences; spray-painted gang symbols deface boarded-up houses. The night is filled with life; Officers Risk and Hill talk of a shotgun blast that blew half a man's face away.

The patrol car is a cat, cruising lazily. The encounters between police and suspects are like the impersonal bump-and-run of a professional football game. Both sides have been through this before, many times.

The driver of one flagged-down car blithely advises Officer Hill to carry a bigger weapon — "they ought to let you use a .45" — even as Officer Risk is discovering

that the driver's car is strewn with live ammunition. Three youths begin laughing even as they stand spread-eagled against a wall. Perhaps they sense that, in the end, nothing will come of their brief detainment. During the entire patrol the officers will confront a dozen suspects without finding enough hard evidence to warrant a single arrest.

Guns Drawn

It is near midnight when their car abruptly stops in front of a suspected drug house. Officer Risk shoves a foot-long flashlight down into the underwear of a youth standing on the sidewalk. He finds a small wad of marijuana hidden there and begins to search a second suspect.

A car accelerates in the distance.

And then the officers are shouting, "WATCHIT! WATCHIT! WATCHIT!" And they're crouching behind a van, their guns drawn for the first time during the patrol. The car roars by without incident and disappears into the night.

"That's how a drive-by shooting usually goes down," explains Officer Risk, reholstering his weapon. And Officer Hill offers this reporter some worried advice: "Man, you're going to have to move faster than that."

The patrol ends uneventfully in what, for this area, has been a quiet night. After 17 years on the force — after being shot at, clubbed and kicked in the head, after witnessing the aftermath of shootings, cuttings and rapes — Simon Risk expects to sleep comfortably when he gets home. Only the memories of children and old people killed or maimed retain the power to haunt him, he says. But in his voice is a different sound than the innocent optimism — "Nothing Impossible" — of the long-ago World's Fair of 1904.

"You start out as the Lone Ranger: 'This is my town, this is my neighborhood and I'm going to clean it up,'" he says. "That lasts about a year. You learn that it's not your town, it's not your neighborhood and you're not going to clean it up."

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Three Choices for President Bush

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One Term Is Enough

By PAUL A. GIGOT

"I am a man who sees life in terms of missions — missions defined, missions completed."

—PRESIDENT BUSH

In his 1988 speech accepting the GOP nomination

George Bush, it has become increasingly clear, has completed his presidential mission. That is the real reason many Republicans think he should do himself, his party and his country the favor of not running for a second term.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater insists Mr. Bush will run, and a column such as this may only get the president's famous competitive dander up. But the issue still bears addressing, because debate on the matter goes well beyond predictable critics to include Republicans who like the president and wish him well.

GOP committeemen across the country have been contemplating the pros and cons of an open convention in Houston in two weeks. At a recent lunch, a prominent GOP congressman, a former ranking Bush appointee and a senior White House aide all concluded that Mr. Bush would, but probably shouldn't, run. For three weeks now I have shopped this idea around to Republicans, many of them in the Bush administration, and the striking thing is how few disagree.

Their point is not that Mr. Bush is certain to lose; voters are hardly yearning to vote for Bill Clinton. Nor is their point that a Democratic victory is preferable so Republicans can carry out a post-defeat purge. As tempting as this may be, even most conservatives understand that Mr. Clinton is shrewd enough to remain in power for a very long time.

The more telling argument is that Mr. Bush's own place in history, as well as his party's future, would be more secure if he turned the nomination over to another standard-bearer.

At 68 years of age, Mr. Bush can now say with justification that he has completed the historic mission for which he entered public life 25 years ago. He helped wrap up the Cold War era of which he is personally so much a product. It's true he was riding history's (and Ronald Reagan's) wave, but he rode it to the beach without mishap. His Gulf War victory, despite its aftermath, set a useful precedent for U.S. diplomacy and military action in the post-Cold War era. In short, Mr. Bush could leave office pointing to major successes.

That legacy would be tarnished, even lost, should he run and lose. He would be tainted like Jimmy Carter, Taft and Hoover, the only presidents this century to be denied re-election. And his presidency might be deemed a failure altogether if he won and had a less successful second term. Since no second term has exceeded a first since Teddy Roosevelt's in 1904, the odds of success are not high.

They are especially not high for a president who has struggled for a year to find a rationale for a second term. He might win by raising fears about Mr. Clinton. But without a positive rationale, he cannot change Congress and so would be doomed to spend four more years in domestic-policy hell. Mr. Bush could legislate only by agreeing to the agenda of Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who will be running for president the day after Nov. 3. Democrats will be ruthless in hunting for weakness; even Mr. Bush's family will not be immune.

Republicans will hardly be easier to control, with jockeying for 1996 underway. Phil Gramm in the Senate, Dan Quayle inside the White House, Jack Kemp and others in the cabinet will be looking to make their mark. At the first sign of presidential trouble, they will mutiny. Neither Mr. Bush's temperament nor his talent are suited to the private arm-twisting and public persuasion that would be needed to succeed in such a madhouse.

What would happen if Mr. Bush retired to his cigarette boat? Several happy things. The Clinton-Gore victory tour would immediately suffer from radio silence until a new Republican nominee was chosen. And the GOP convention would be transformed from a morose coronation into a raucous, born-again revival.

Republicans would start their 1996 fight early, displaying the vitality of debate. Those who fear "chaos" don't understand that voters who have already made a negative judgment about Mr. Bush would take a new look at a new nominee. The GOP might even become the party of ideas again, as reforms stifled in the Bush White House broke into public view.

It's impossible to know who would emerge as Mr. Bush's successor. My own guess is that delegates would judge Bob Dole too much of Mr. Bush's generation, Dan Quayle too unelectable, and James Baker too much a Beltway insider. Dick Cheney and Jack Kemp, among others, would have broad delegate appeal. In any event, Republicans would choose a standard-bearer eager to debate the future, not just ratify the past. The country would sense that Republicans wanted to break up Washington's status quo.

Bill Clinton is now soaring in the polls because voters sense Mr. Bush is a spent president. They're genuinely grateful for his foreign-policy stewardship, but that was a rationale for his first term, not a second. The Bush campaign has charged that rumors about Mr. Bush's health have been spread by vicious Democrats. But such thoughts are in fact the worry of serious people who can't understand why Mr. Bush's behavior has been so aimless for so long.

Even many of his friends wonder if in some recess of his soul Mr. Bush really doesn't want a second term. There would be no disgrace, and much solace, in admitting so.

Mr. Gigot writes the Journal's Friday Potomac Watch column.

The Manager's Journal column will appear tomorrow.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Give 'Em Hell, Like Harry

By KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE

The setting: America has just emerged victorious from a protracted struggle against an evil empire. Yet far from jubilant, the public mood is sour and selfish. Discord is rampant. Defense industry layoffs add to unemployment. Prophecies of economic doom abound. The world beyond America remains unstable and hostile, but Americans are in no mood to face up to foreign troubles.

At the White House, the president's popularity has plummeted from more than 80% in the polls to less than 40%. The opposition party has just nominated a popular governor who is far ahead in pre-election polls. The president is widely seen as a decent man lacking leadership or vision when the country has a historic need for both.

The time is 1948, not 1992. The victory is over fascism, not communism. The incumbent is Harry Truman, not George Bush. The challenger is Thomas Dewey, not Bill Clinton.

The parallels, however, are remarkable. And George Bush, in this summer of his political decline, would do well to study the lessons of Harry Truman and the campaign of 1948 — beginning by putting his feet up at Kennebunkport next weekend and reading "Truman," David McCullough's riveting new biography of our 33rd president.

Undeniably, we are living in times of historic change. But the pattern and pace of change today are subdued compared with what Harry Truman faced. On President Truman's first watch — 1945 to 1948 — America dropped the first atomic bomb, faced down Soviet expansionism in the Berlin airlift, instituted the Marshall Plan and had guts to spare to take such decisive actions as recognizing the state of Israel within an hour of its birth.

This man, vulnerable to the charge of being a "foreign policy president," showed equal guts at home despite an opposition-controlled Congress that sought to block his domestic agenda. From bold proposals to draft striking rail workers to a clarion call for civil rights, to a campaign against a "do-nothing" Congress, Mr. Truman followed his combative instincts with a clear conscience, ignoring polls, pundits and political advisers.

If George Bush faces problems similar

to Harry Truman's, he also has similar opportunities. Mr. Bush hasn't merely presided over a period of world change greater than any since the Truman era; he has made some gutsy decisions like supporting German reunification when allies stalled and confronting Saddam Hussein when an opposition-controlled Congress equivocated. Mr. Bush can legitimately tout his foreign successes, yet he seems so cowed by Democratic charges of foreign policy fixation that he shies from doing so.

Just as the end of World War II didn't bring about global tranquillity, the end of the Cold War doesn't portend a kinder, gentler world or an end to the need for U.S. global leadership. Ironically, it's likely once again to be Russia — this time because of its internal weakness — that upsets hope for tranquillity and once again North Korea whose hostility — now accompanied by a nuclear weapons program — threatens to provoke a foreign policy crisis.

Turning to opportunities, Mr. Bush could point to a unique opportunity to make peace in the Middle East. There's also a need to cope wisely with the impending generational change in China's leadership, and to fashion a new burden-sharing arrangement with Japan to prevent that nation's rearming. Internationally, there has been action and will be more; the president's challenge is to relate the real world to real voters.

Domestically, the challenge is different. Here the president has talked plenty but done little. His State of the Union message in January outlined an economic growth agenda and demanded that Congress pass it by April — or else. April is long past, but the "else" hasn't materialized.

That wasn't Harry Truman's way. In 1948 he electrified a dispirited Democratic National Convention by announcing he would call the Republican-controlled Congress back into special session that summer to pass legislation he sought and to which the GOP platform paid lip service. "They can do this job in 15 days if they want to do it," the president told cheering Democrats.

The special session accomplished little, but it permitted Mr. Truman to crisscross the country underscoring the gulf between

opposition promises and opposition performance. Meanwhile, Mr. Truman used his executive powers to take a number of controversial actions (to end discrimination in the armed forces and in civil service jobs) that Congress couldn't block.

While Presidents Truman and Bush don't share a political philosophy, they share a problem — an opposition-controlled Congress that blocks their programs yet is incapable of enacting its own. It would take something as bold as calling Congress back into session to dramatize the paradox of an opposition party that has blocked Mr. Bush's economic agenda while failing to enact the sort of economic policies Bill Clinton's party platform advocates.

A George Bush with the fight and flair to do that would also be one capable of taking executive action to achieve his agenda — like signing an executive order indexing capital gains, or vetoing a \$2.3 billion legislative appropriation that keeps Congress in the pork barrel business. This George Bush could also go to the country campaigning against a scandal-ridden Congress, special-interest groups, or whatever other threats he believes deter domestic progress. He could even take on Murphy Brown, Ice-T and a gaggle of other icons of the elite rather than letting his vice president do it.

In short, if George Bush decided to demonstrate his willingness to go down fighting, he, like Harry Truman, might surprise the pundits and pollsters and wind up winning.

Ms. House is vice president, international, of Dow Jones.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Define the Second Administration

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

With the Republican convention two weeks away, President Bush is no doubt working on his acceptance speech. "Four more years" is probably not the theme. He seems to be toying with "trust," reminiscent of, "This election is not about ideology. It's about competence." Our contributing editor Mark Helprin suggests a stylish diversion into French, *apres moi, le deluge*.

"Does Bush really want to win?" my 15-year-old daughter asked at the dinner table the other night, a question based on an understanding not of politics but of body language. The Bush passiveness in the inter-convention period repeats the Dukakis mistake of four years ago. Bill Clinton defined himself with a Middle American bus tour, then bid to define his opponent on a visit to the New Orleans Superdome. The news stories on the Republican side have been "dump Quayle?" followed inevitably by "dump Bush?" The president, in short, is on the floor. To recover, he has to use his convention, and his power as president, to define himself, to show that he stands for something.

* * *

I hear you, his acceptance speech ought to declare. You are tired of business as usual in Washington, and frankly, so am I. While the American people have been working harder than ever, and American businesses have been taking a lot of painful steps to get more efficient, our government just lumbers along. It never admits a mistake, never corrects a wrong direction, never ends a failing program. It only gets bigger and bigger, demanding more and more of your hard-earned money while many of our public services deteriorate.

I hear you, too, when you say I have been part of the problem. I understand that I have been too willing to compromise, that the American people are demanding bolder leadership. I only ask that the people understand that the task they assigned me four years ago is a frustrating one. The president carries a heavy load of responsibility but has only limited authority. Since the voters gave me a Congress run by my opponents, I assumed that they expected compromise, wanted me to compromise.

Now we are all tired of deadlock and drift in Washington. I hope that the voters will not only re-elect me, but this time give me a Congress that agrees with the direction in which I have been trying to take the

nation. But with political action committees contributing almost solely to incumbents, bloated franking privileges and gerrymandering across the nation, perhaps the voters will not be able to change the Congress. In that case, I vow tonight, my policy will be not to compromise with the Congress but to confront it.

As a token of my seriousness, I announce tonight that I am vetoing the legislative appropriation. If the congressional leaders want money to spend on their own perks, they will have to negotiate with me about the kind of powers and

The president, in short, is on the floor. To recover, he has to use his convention, and his power as president, to define himself, to show that he stands for something.

cooperation I need to accomplish what the people are asking me to do. If we are to build a government that works, we need to bring to a head and settle many issues of authority and responsibility.

In making this promise tonight, I know that I have not been able to fulfill all of the promises I've made in the past. I'm sure I share this regret with many other people faced with heavy and conflicting responsibilities. The worst choice I had to face was between permitting a tax increase or closing down the government on the eve of war. But in pledging bolder leadership and a clear sense of direction over the next four years, I do not ask you merely to take my word. Tonight I am going to show you what my second term will be like.

I want to start by thanking all of the appointees who have served me so loyally in my first term. I appreciate their efforts and do not wish to fault any of them; whatever mistakes we have made should be my own responsibility. I look forward to continuing associations with all of them, and to using their talents in new capacities. But since the voters have made it so clear they want leadership for change, I am going to offer a new team.

I am going to draft Vice President Quayle's chief of staff, for example, as my own chief of staff. William Kristol will be my bridge to a new generation of Republican political thinkers. He's won widespread admiration from his colleagues and even from the same press corps that has been heaping scorn on his boss.

Obviously the most difficult assignment of the next term will be to get our economy moving forward vigorously. So as Treasury secretary I'm naming the most ener-

getic member of my administration, Secretary Jack Kemp. And I'm asking Rep. Vin Weber to head the Office of Management and Budget. These appointments not only make the direction of our economic policies unmistakably clear, but signal everyone in Washington that resistance in Congress will be met with a fight.

The economy is also threatened by overregulation. My record testifies that I support the goals of the Clean Air Act and the Americans With Disabilities Act, but to protect the economy these measures must be administered with the greatest possible attention to weighing costs and benefits. To administer the ADA I will ask Ricky Silberman, a longtime member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, to assume its chairmanship. And I am asking James C. Miller III, the former head of OMB and the Federal Trade Commission, to be administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

As the country gets a chance to know these people as Washington knows them, I am confident that they will provide a clear guide to the direction of a second Bush administration. I have in mind many similar names, of tough-minded and clear-minded members of a new Republican generation. I will be seeking to advance a new generation, not reward an old one.

I must add a word about Vice President Quayle, who of course remains on the ticket. It is clear to me that the attempts to remove him from the ticket were really not motivated by the shortcomings he shares with all of us. The motives of the attacks, rather, lie in his virtues and accomplishments. His critics object to his work at the Competitiveness Council, his willingness to raise the issue of family values, his proposals to curb tort law parasites. I would like his critics to know that if he had removed himself from the ticket, it was my intention to allow him to proceed with this agenda as attorney general.

* * *

If this does not sound much like the George Bush we've known the past four years, that is precisely the point. The voters were willing to chase the Perot mirage. Now they are dazzled by the thin veneer Bill Clinton has masterfully applied to the party of George Mitchell, Tom Foley, Jim Wright, Michael Dukakis, Jimmy Carter and George McGovern. Clearly voters are looking for something different.

The irony is that George Bush still commands the best resources to give them the kind of change that, at least to judge by the past three presidential outings, they're looking for. If there is anything stopping him from making the speech sketched above, it must be purely internal. The question, apparent even to 15-year-olds, is whether he really wants to win.

Mr. Bartley is editor of the Journal.



George Bush

Hussein's Grip on Power Is Still Tight

Two years after he invaded Kuwait, Iraq's leader looks even stronger than a year ago.

BY ROBIN WRIGHT

WASHINGTON—On the second anniversary of his brazen thrust into Kuwait, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is taking another bold gamble in his defiance of the United Nations.

But in stark contrast to predictions about Hussein's downfall on the first anniversary, senior Administration specialists are now reluctantly conceding that the "butcher of Baghdad" is likely to be a nemesis for the United States for the foreseeable future.

"Here's a guy who made real miscalculations on a grand scale twice—for eight years on Iran and two years on Kuwait—and he's not only still around, he's demonstrating an uncanny ability to work his way off the hot seat," a U.S. analyst said.

On political and military fronts, Hussein is much stronger than he was a year ago, according to American estimates. "The big question in our minds now is whether he's going to be better off a year from today," the analyst added.

A cross section of U.S. officials interviewed predicted Hussein will still be around in November. Several also conceded that he may survive

'On political and military fronts, Hussein is much stronger than he was a year ago, according to American estimates.'

WRIGHT: Hussein's Grip Tight

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the Gulf War. Administration officials have said.

He is also widely believed to have tapped into secret accounts set up around the world—while letting ride prewar debts of more than \$70 billion, owed to Western businesses and banks and Arab governments, and the \$350-billion compensation Iran claims from its 1980-1988 war with Iraq.

Hussein's tactics in dealing with the outside world have also been shrewd—and, arguably, almost as effective as his domestic strategies in helping him survive. Two cases bear out this point.

Perhaps the most spectacular evasion of U.N. provisions has been Hussein's scheme to hold on to Scud missiles, which did mostly psychological damage during last year's strikes on Israel, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

Despite more than a year of U.N. inspections throughout Iraq, U.S. specialists believe Baghdad still has more than a hundred of the long-range missiles, as well as launch vehicles, hidden mainly in the central Sunni heartland.

And, short of Iraq's full compliance, they now concede that the U.N. weapons inspectors are unlikely to ever find and destroy all of the Scuds.

Over the past four months, however, Hussein's most masterful stroke may have been a complex scheme—involving baiting Iran as a pretext to justify retaliation—to get his own warplanes back into the air.

After Operation Desert Storm and the Kurdish and Shiite uprisings, Iraq was not supposed to fly fixed-wing aircraft. "You fly, you die" was a popular description of the restrictions, which Baghdad never challenged—until April.

Then, on the eve of Iran's first elections since the death of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, an Iranian opposition group based in Iraq launched a small attack on border villages. Already facing internal opposition due to splits within the ruling clergy, Tehran ordered air strikes to prevent the regime of President Hashemi Rafsanjani from being embarrassed by an external threat.

In response to Iran's air raids, Iraq dispatched its warplanes.

The use of fixed-wing aircraft was one of the most daring examples of what U.S. specialists call Hussein's "cheat and retreat" scheme, by which he cheats on U.N. resolutions until forced to back down. The plan worked so well that the Iraqi leader, who is big on symbolism, soon ordered the jets to fly over Baghdad just to show that Iraq was back in the air again.

Baghdad has made irregular use of warplanes ever since—unchallenged by the coalition that won the war and set the cease-fire terms. In May, Iraq began training air force pilots again.

The specialists said the outcome of this episode may have convinced Hussein that the coalition's cohesion was eroding, and then emboldened him to test its resolve at the Agriculture Ministry, where Iraq's refusal to grant entry to U.N. weapons inspectors led to a tense, three-week standoff last month.

A host of other tactics—from playing off strong Iraqi nationalism to bugging the rooms of U.N. inspectors—have also contributed to putting Hussein in the ranks of Libyan leader Moammar Kadafi and PLO chief Yasser Arafat as one of the region's legendary survivors.

Yet on the Kuwait invasion's second anniversary, the Iraqi leader is also showing the strain of both new and old vulnerabilities. U.S. specialists said, for example, that Hussein no longer deploys the regular army in the Greater Baghdad area—for fear of dissidents who might act against him.

He also has kept the vast majority of elite Republican Guards in the Sunni heartland; five divisions are around Greater Baghdad, the sources said.

Iraqi security forces, Hussein's main prop, are also still well below half combat strength, the sources estimate. And most divisions have only 60% to 75% the strength of the prewar numbers.

"They are relegated to an internal security role," one of the specialists said. "It's not a force that could develop and sustain a campaign across the border. At best, it'd be capable of hit-and-run attacks."

Despite the *cordon sanitaire* and Hussein's tight personal security, the ranking Administration official added that the Draconian precautions underscored the Iraqi leader's weakness as well as his strength. "There's no such thing as perfect security or stability when you reign as he does," he said. "Let there be no question, one day he will go."

George Bush—a possibility that was only recently Washington's favorite bad joke, even among Democrats.

"Whatever our hopes, we have no illusions," the analyst said.

The turning point in Hussein's latest comeback occurred this spring, the specialists said. The advance tactics were pure Hussein: Identify vulnerabilities, then act decisively—and, if need be, brutally—to attack them.

So, after a long winter of planning, Hussein made critical decisions about the rebel zones in the Kurdish north and Shiite-dominated south.

First, he decided he would shed the military and financial burdens of trying to control the mountainous north, the specialists said, and ordered a major withdrawal.

Baghdad no longer has to worry about feeding and defending forces in a hostile area, yet enough troops are strategically deployed in the event of another uprising, the sources said. More than 14 divisions of regular army troops and two brigades of Republican Guards—well over 100,000 troops—now form a line effectively surrounding the Kurds.

Also this spring, Hussein began a new campaign against long-rebellious Shiites. Besides the stunning recent revelations by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights about Iraq's activities—including artillery attacks on dozens of southern villages, relocation of entire villages and elimination of three Shiite tribes—there are growing signs that Hussein has ordered the use of chemical weapons in the southern marshes, according to U.S. military sources and opposition leaders.

Baghdad has already used lethal gases against the Kurds in the north. The most famous case was the 1988 attack on the eastern border village of Halabja, in which up to 5,000 men, women and children were killed.

U.S. military officials speculate that the remote and inhospitable southern marshes may be the one place Hussein would risk such a blatant violation of U.N. resolutions.

Seven divisions of regular army troops and three brigades of elite Republican Guards are now in the south, the specialists said.

The two deployments in the north and south are the outer layer of a *cordon sanitaire* Hussein has built around the Sunni Muslim heartland that is his power base. "He has hermetically sealed himself off from the people who might want to get to him," a ranking Administration official said.

Within this zone over the last year, the reconstruction of buildings and restoration of such basic facilities as electricity, transportation and even low-level industries has been impressive, the specialists said.

Hussein has given top priority to rebuilding the \$3-billion arms-production facilities of the prewar period. Although weapons of mass destruction are being destroyed by U.N. inspectors, other defense capabilities are being restored, the sources said.

To rebuild and to accommodate his immediate entourage, the Iraqi leader has sold off at least \$540 million in gold bullion reserves since the end of

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Political Foes Tortured in Egypt, Groups Charge

■ **Mideast:** Rights organizations will urge U.S. to condition aid to Cairo on improvement in record.

By KIM MURPHY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CAIRO—Dr. Mohammed Mandour, head of the psychiatric unit at Cairo's Palestine Hospital, was at home late one night with his elderly mother when security officers knocked. They poked politely through his belongings and asked him to come with them to headquarters. In the car, the officers chatted and lit his cigarette.

He was escorted to a detention room, and, apologetically, one officer blindfolded and handcuffed him. That was standard procedure and he should try to sleep until morning, the young psychiatrist was told, before he was left alone

in the room with a guard.

"You are a respectable person," the sentry whispered. "Why are you here?"

"Aren't others who come here also respectable?" Mandour replied.

This, in the early hours of Feb. 8, 1991, as the Gulf War raged in distant Kuwait and Iraq, was the beginning of his own personal war: 10 days of beatings, hanging, threats and electric shocks aimed at gleaned information about his work at the Palestinian hospital and the Palestinians' activities in Egypt during the war.

"They said they would squeeze me to find what information is inside," Mandour said in an inter-

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RIGHTS: Egypt Is Accused of Widespread Abuses

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view last week. "Like an abdominal surgeon without any [advance] investigation, to just go inside your stomach and see what is there—this they tried to do with my mind."

This is a face of Egypt that few see—a pervasive system of torture and hidden detention of opponents of the regime that is America's closest ally in the Middle East, human rights groups say.

In Egypt, a country popularly known as the Arab world's most advanced democracy, human rights groups have documented hundreds of cases of torture and extrajudicial detention of political opponents.

A wave of Islamic unrest in the country has threatened to intensify the situation. In recent months, Islamic extremist violence and clashes with security forces have killed at least 48 people; human rights activists say that at least 2,000 Islamic extremists have been swept up in a corresponding wave of arrests.

The official arrest figure is 78. But most analysts and diplomats believe that figure is extremely low. The government said in the official press that it has dispatched 5,000 officers to quell recent unrest in southern Egypt.

Sweeping, new anti-terrorism amendments to the penal code adopted earlier this summer have raised further alarms among intellectuals and political opponents of President Hosni Mubarak's regime. They fear the government now has the means to stifle political dissent with tough criminal penalties, even harsher than those in effect under a stringent emergency law that has governed the country almost continuously since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

"Egyptians are living now between two hammers: the hammers of extremists, who are violating human rights, and the hammer of the government, which is also violating human rights, and democracy is suffering from both sides," said Rifaat Said, secretary general of the leftist Progressive Unionist Party.

With a new report released last month documenting widespread torture and incommunicado detention in Egypt, the New York-based Middle East Watch is attempting for the first time to carry the debate to Washington. There it will urge that the \$2.26 billion in American aid proposed for Egypt next year—the second-largest package of U.S. foreign aid in the world, topped only by assistance given to Israel—be conditioned on

improvement in Cairo's human rights record.

"We found in our investigation that torture in Egypt is not an aberration, that it is not the act of isolated individuals, but rather it is systematically carried out by state security [officers] against those who are regarded as security threats," said Kenneth Roth, deputy director of Middle East Watch's parent organization, Human Rights Watch.

In findings supported by interviews with defense lawyers, human rights activists, torture victims and Western diplomats, Middle East Watch concluded that prisoners viewed as security threats are often held for more than a week at a time at offices of Egypt's elite paramilitary State Security Investigations.

There they are often left blindfolded and handcuffed for days. They are beaten, threatened, sexually assaulted and suffer electrical shocks. In most cases, there are no records of their detention until they are transferred from security headquarters and camps to regular prisons; detainees are unable to identify who held them because they were blindfolded.

The victims for the most part have been those accused of being Islamic extremists. But they have also included opponents of Egypt's involvement in the Gulf War against Iraq; labor activists; Christians accused of proselytizing; and journalists for Islamic and leftist opposition newspapers.

On March 1, 1991, Mohammed Afifi Mattar, a well-known poet, was sipping tea at a coffee shop frequented by artists in downtown Cairo when he mentioned to colleagues that he felt sympathetic toward Iraq. At 2:30 the next morning, officers with machine guns, clubs and shields burst into his bedroom and carried him off to a local police station, then to security headquarters, where he was accused of being an agent for Iraq's Arab Baath Socialist Party.

In a report, Mattar described being hung "like a slaughtered animal" for long periods; he says he was beaten with sticks and fists until the cartilage in his nose was exposed; he was forced to take a hallucinogen. After 10 days, he was transferred to a regular prison and released more than two months later without ever having appeared in court to face official charges. He was released, authorities later said, after having allegedly expressed awareness of the need for his national and ideological rehabilitation.

"In words and descriptions, as far as

language is concerned, this is the abbreviated panorama of 10 days of continuous torture," Mattar wrote. "But it is an experience that cannot be conveyed as far as endurance and personal suffering is concerned—in this respect it is an unforgettable lifetime agony of darkness and the apprehension of being alone in front of the powerful."

The Egyptian government historically has denied that torture occurs, except in isolated instances, for which individuals are punished.

In response to the Middle East Watch report, the Interior Ministry said that it had volunteered prisoners for interviews on which the human rights group based its report; the ministry also said it had opened Egypt's prisons to Middle East Watch earlier this year. Those who claimed to have suffered unwarranted injuries "have an interest in saying that torture has occurred, because this is their strongest means of defense and of canceling their confessions by claiming that they were extracted under force," the ministry said.

Many prisoners had injuries but those occurred during their arrests, often after violent battles with police, the ministry said.

But Middle East Watch said it had interviewed individuals from all over the country whose stories were so similar that they could only have come from a systematic application of torture as a law enforcement tool.

The U.S. government's human rights report on Egypt has documented instances of torture; foreign diplomats say their independent investigations have backed up the findings of Middle East Watch, Amnesty International and the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights.

The Egyptian public has been supportive of the government crackdown on Islamic extremists, and the Middle East Watch report elicited criticism from those who said it failed to take into account the threat posed by the fundamentalists. Implicit in those criticisms was a feeling that much of the public is not necessarily opposed to torture, if it is designed to punish or obtain information about dangerous suspects, said several observers, Western and Egyptian.

"I think most Egyptians from most walks of life approve of torture because they assume the victim deserves it," one foreign diplomat said.

Even Said of the Progressive Unionist

Party, who describes himself as "a bloody opposition element," complained that human rights investigators critical of the Egyptian government fail to take into account the threat posed by Islamic extremists; it is so fierce, he noted, that in recent weeks he has begun to travel with armed bodyguards.

"I am not one of those who can be shut up, but at the same time, I know that worse is coming. At least the government can put me in prison, but if those people should rule, they would kill me," he said.

Egypt's leftist opposition and much of the intelligentsia was behind the government when it first proposed new anti-terrorist amendments, which imposed life imprisonment or death to members of terrorist organizations or anyone who supplies such groups with money, weapons or information. It also permits detention of up to six months before suspects are brought before a judge to face charges, and 11 days before they are allowed to see a lawyer.

But the coalition fell apart when the government at the last minute introduced more amendments imposing criminal penalties for such vague crimes as belonging to organizations, making statements or writing articles that threaten "national unity" or "public order."

"What is civil order? What is national unity? To consider such things terrorism threatens groups even like the human rights organization whose protests can be considered an act of protest against the government," said Hisham Mubarak, an official of the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights who lost part of his hearing when he was boxed in the ears by security officials in 1989 for his role in a labor sit-in.

Western diplomats say the Egyptian government has been cornered into responding to the rising human rights complaints. Admitting there is a problem—and bowing to American and European demands—will appease Westerners but will play into the hands of fundamentalists, said a senior Western diplomat.

On the other hand, officials say, the West is in a difficult position because Egypt's human rights record, as bad as it is, is not as awful as those of Syria and Iraq, or possibly even Turkey. Further, Egypt's ongoing cooperation in the Middle East peace process must be assured through continued Western aid; that has been a key policy of Secretary of State James A. Baker III, several diplomats said.

U.N. Inspectors' Work, Ties to U.S. Shrouded in Mystery

By MARK FINEMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MANAMA, Bahrain—It was a familiar image in the international campaign to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction: A U.N. weapons inspection team was cooling its heels in a Baghdad hotel, barred for three days from visiting a military site suspected of containing damning evidence of President Saddam Hussein's crusade to build a nuclear bomb.

But at that moment, thousands of miles away and far from the eyes of the outside world, there were other images as critical as they are now controversial quietly appear-

ing on a monitoring screen:

A U.S. spy satellite high over Baghdad was filming a shell game in the Iraqi desert. Dozens of giant discs were emerging from under Gargantuan dunes in the military compound that the Iraqis had placed off-limits to the inspectors. Then, the discs were dangling from towering cranes, landing on scores of flatbed tank transporters and, finally, sliding across the blistering June sands to another military camp six miles away.

Hussein was hiding something. And Washington was watching.

Within hours, a coded message was sent from Washington to

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WORLD

U.N.: Inspectors Veiled in Mystery

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Baghdad to the U.N. team's leader, David A. Kay, via the inspection team's logistics headquarters on the small island state of Bahrain.

Not surprisingly, the next day the Iraqis permitted Kay's team to visit the first site. But, rather than stopping there, the U.N. team forced its way on to the second compound, which the interpreters of the satellite photos had pinpointed near the Iraqi town of Fallouja. And there, despite the best efforts of Iraq's security personnel, who even fired gunshots over a U.N. vehicle, the team finally spotted and photographed the giant discs at close range for the first time.

It was a watershed event in the U.N. inspectors' painstaking crusade to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction—if not for what they had found that day, then certainly for how they found it.

The 12-foot discs were calutrons, 40-ton magnets used to manufacture weapons-grade uranium for nuclear bombs—the first solid proof that Hussein did, indeed, have a nuclear weapons program so aggressive, advanced and clandestine that arms experts later concluded that his regime was just months away from owning an atom bomb.

But the discovery by the U.N. sleuths more than a year ago—one of hundreds of such persistent inspections by a mysterious crew of technicians, scientists, bomb-disposal crews and nuclear, chemical and biological arms experts assembled from throughout the West and the East—set a far more important, long-term precedent in the U.N.-sanctioned effort to cripple Hussein's war machine.

It broke ground for a unique flow of information between the international intelligence community and the largely civilian technicians charged with seeking out and destroying Iraq's lethal weaponry.

"This was the day when we were establishing our bona fides with the intelligence community," Kay, a civilian nuclear expert who left the U.N. commission last January after leading three separate missions into Iraq, explained last week. "This was really the beginning of a unique relationship. They were giving raw intelligence data to people who didn't have security clearances."

"But it is that relationship that has made this whole operation work."

Swedish diplomat Rolf Ekeus, chairman of the U.N. Special Commission in charge of the search-

have received from U.S. intelligence agencies. The agencies regularly have fed U.N. crews leads obtained from satellite photos, U-2 spy planes and Iraqi defectors—data the United Nations has used to break through many of the obstacles Iraq has placed in the way of the disarmament effort.

But the relationship remains, like many members of the U.N. teams, shrouded in mystery. It is a relationship that, in many ways, lies at the heart of the latest crisis, the confrontation between two U.S.-led inspection teams and Iraqi authorities that pushed the United States to the brink of war.

Iraqi officials barred the U.N. teams from entering Baghdad's Agriculture Ministry on July 5 and later organized street demonstrations to harass the inspectors.

The Iraqis asserted that the two American team leaders—army Maj. Karen Jansen and Mississippi native Mark Silver—were the latest in a stream of CIA agents disguised as inspectors whose real mission in Baghdad was to engineer the overthrow of Hussein's regime.

The accusation was an old one. Three months after Kay's nuclear weapons team unearthed the calutrons in Fallouja last summer, he was branded a CIA agent by Tarik Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister.

That occurred after Kay's inspectors, while inside Iraq's atomic energy commission, reported their findings via satellite telephone to the U.S. State Department; this happened during the four days the team was under Iraqi detention in a bus in the commission's parking lot. The United Nations later officially apologized for the inspectors' giving the information directly to the Americans.

Iraq's longstanding demand that Americans be removed from inspection teams appeared to have triumphed for the first time last week, when Ekeus agreed to a compromise that let a team of Germans, Swiss, Swedes and Finns enter the Agriculture Ministry.

The agreement to remove team members from nations that had taken part in the Gulf War—including Americans—was roundly criticized by many U.S. Congress members and several Bush Administration analysts.

But with Ekeus insisting last week that American experts will take part in future missions in Iraq, the potential for another, worse clash between U.N. inspection teams and Iraq remains high.

And, just as potential for renewed conflict persisted throughout the week, so did the question



Members of U.N. inspection team make way toward Agriculture Ministry in Baghdad last week. Reuters

Officially, the United Nations refuses to answer such questions.

In a policy that has deepened the mystery surrounding the inspectors and fueled Iraqi conspiracy theories, officials of the U.N. special commission will not reveal background information on any of its 900 technicians, scientists and analysts. They are volunteers from more than 35 nations who, in some cases, have risked their lives during their 40-plus missions.

As a result, and in marked contrast with the candor of Kay—a Houston-born nuclear weapons expert who now heads a London-based international trade group called the Uranium Institute—virtually all present inspection team members and even the support staff of drivers, secretaries and doctors remain under a cloak of U.N. secrecy.

Even the site for the operational headquarters for the commission could not be more appropriate. Bahrain, a moderate Persian Gulf emirate just off the coast of Saudi Arabia, is one of the most secretive spots on the globe.

The island's southern sector, home to a sprawling military facility called the American Support Unit, has been off limits to all but members of the Bahrain Defense Forces and U.S. military personnel who manage and lease it from the emirate as a supply depot for U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf.

"This is a very, very, very low-key place," said one Western diplomat. "It's not just the U.S. military presence or the U.N. inspection teams. It's everything, and it's in the culture. The Bah-

where they are or what's going on here."

The inspectors and their aides are all under explicit orders never to speak to the media or publicly reveal anything about their personal backgrounds; the United Nations says this protects the inspectors and their families.

It is a policy rigidly followed. During a briefing at Bahrain's Holiday Inn for the team that searched the Agriculture Ministry last week, Ekeus reminded inspectors not to reveal to the Iraqis any details of their training, backgrounds or personal lives.

But through interviews with present and former inspectors and a review of 15 months of U.N. mission reports, a picture emerges of this international force. They are a diverse group of highly trained weapons specialists for whom secrecy comes naturally.

Many of them are, or were, attached to defense research facilities in the United States, Russia and Europe. They include fearless, dedicated German army sappers who have spent their lives hunting, disarming and destroying the lethal chemical weapons that Adolf Hitler's scientists left behind.

There are Soviet and American nuclear disarmament experts who have spent weeks, months and years opening boxcars, trucks, nuclear stockpiles and missile silos to monitor compliance with Strategic Arms Limitation treaties.

There are communications wizards, high-tech operators from as far away as New Zealand. And there are scientists and technicians trained and employed at top-secret

As Kay put it: "To disassemble a chemical weapon or a nuclear weapons research facility, you have to have worked in one or known how to build one. If you need someone to photograph documents, at some point in his career, he's operated a camera photographing documents. You've got to use some people like that because they have the knowledge. . . ."

"But these people are not spies. . . . No one is engaging in activities that would be considered spying against Iraq."

Kay conceded that previous teams have included technicians on loan from intelligence agencies. But he and others said such technicians were among the most valuable components of what they insist was an otherwise one-way relationship between intelligence communities and the commission.

Kay and other analysts conceded that, in the eyes of the Iraqis, the line between espionage against Iraq and the U.N. mission of ferreting out clues to a clandestine arms program is so fine it blurs easily. This is particularly the case in the view of a regime that constantly fears a CIA-inspired plot to overthrow or assassinate Hussein.

Kay, who left the U.N. commission partly because he felt the Iraqi claims that he was a CIA spy had so compromised him that he could not return to Baghdad, said the U.N. commission's policy of secrecy for its inspectors has done more harm than good.

"A lot of people have gotten the wrong impression" of the inspectors' roles and duties, he said. "By remaining silent, you simply con-

Status Sought for Bush's Compton Roots

■ **Landmark:** In 1949, the future President lived in an apartment complex now plagued by drugs and prostitutes.

By EMILY ADAMS
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

When George and Barbara Bush lived in Santa Fe Gardens, the sprawling apartment complex in Compton provided clean, affordable housing within minutes of downtown Los Angeles and the Long Beach Harbor.

That was 1949, before the apartments became condominiums and before those were purchased by absentee slumlords.

Now Santa Fe Gardens is a dull-brown maze of boarded windows, squatters and fear. Crack cocaine, gunfire and prostitution are all too familiar, residents say.

But Compton Mayor Walter R. Tucker III—the Democratic candidate for the 37th Congressional District seat—wants to proclaim it a city landmark and memorial to President Bush.

The proposal has sparked debate in City Council chambers, where they cannot agree on which apartment building the Bushes lived in, and on the streets, where residents wonder if the memorial is such a good idea.

"I can't believe they want to make a historical landmark out of a crack house," said Lorraine Cervantes, a Santa Fe Gardens resident and community activist.

"I'm not saying the President's old house, exactly, is a crack house, but this whole area is just infested with it."

On the face of it, the request for Santa Fe Gardens' landmark status may seem unusual, Tucker agrees. It would be a memorial to a Republican President in a city dominated by Democrats, who largely blame Bush Administration policies for hastening the decline of inner cities. To some, this dilapidated complex is a shining example of

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Republican neglect.

But a Santa Fe Gardens landmark is not meant to embarrass the President, Tucker said.

"This is a gesture that goes beyond partisan politics," Tucker said. "I don't think many people know that a president lived in Compton and we should be proud of that."

In President Bush's autobiography, there is little mention of the six months his family spent in Compton while he worked for Dresser Industries, selling oil-drilling equipment. His eldest daughter, Robin, was born in Compton just before Bush was transferred again, he wrote.

The Bush family had no comment on whether their former residence should be designated a historical landmark. But they confirmed that the address was 624 S. Santa Fe Ave.

But something must be done with the sprawling 144-unit complex, residents and city officials agree. Since the mid-1980s, the city has repeatedly slapped citations on absentee landlords, demanding that the buildings be cleaned and maintained or demolished, said Kofi Sefa-Boakye, Compton redevelopment project manager.

But the citations were ignored for years and the complex—19 buildings running along both sides of South Santa Fe Avenue for a block—sank deeper into squalor.

The city's Building and Safety Department shut down several buildings about two years ago and demolished two more. This slowed some of the overt drug activity, but the empty homes attracted squatters and prostitution, police said.

"There was shooting again last night, right outside my window," said Rozella Anderson, who lives next door to the former Bush apartment unit.

When told that Bush used to live next door, Anderson merely laughed.

But some tenants of Bush's former building found nothing amusing in their home's history. One heavily tattooed man stepped past the children swarming around his feet and glared.

"Tell George Bush to come back here now and live," he said. "See how he likes it."

Arnold Parnell—whose Perro Corp. and a church consortium called Solid Front for Unity in America owns about 80% of the complex—says renovation has begun.

The renovation will cost about \$3.5 million and take at least a year, Parnell said. The few resident condo owners will probably receive some financial aid from the city for asbestos removal and remodeling, officials said. But Parnell does not know if he will get the cooperation of the Housing and Urban Development Department, which owns eight Santa Fe units.

At least half of the remaining buildings are boarded up and "No Trespassing" signs are numerous along the street.

In Santa Fe 6, where the Bush family lived, only four of 24 units are legally occupied, but most units show some sign of occupancy. A few have ragged curtains or bedclothes stretched over gaps in the boarded windows.

President of Croatia Likely to Be Reelected

Los Angeles Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

■ **Balkans:** In early returns, Franjo Tudjman has solid lead despite a war with Serbia that has cost nearly a third of nation's territory.

By CHARLES T. POWERS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ZAGREB, Croatia—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, whose militant nationalism led his country to a declaration of independence from Yugoslavia and a subsequent war with Serbia that has reduced Croatian territory by nearly a third, appeared to be winning another term as president Sunday.

The electoral commission reported that with about 6% of the vote counted, Tudjman, with 57%, led his closest rival, Drazen Budisa, by 36 percentage points in the presidential race.

A former Communist general, Tudjman was chosen president by Parliament after his party, the Croatian Democratic Party (HDZ) won 205 of 356 seats in the last elections in 1990. He hopes to win a new, five-year term in Croatia's first general election since it declared independence last year.

One Zagreb citizen, who voted for Tudjman despite a war with a Serb-dominated Yugoslav army that carved off Croatian territory that was poorly protected by Croatian forces in spite of a lot of saber-rattling rhetoric from Tudjman, said:

"You cannot change leaders at this stage. Maybe there will be someone better in five years, but now, we have to stick with him."

Tudjman has been pressed hard by right-wing opponents who charge that he has presided over a military disaster for Croatia by concentrating on the trappings of pomp and power rather than preparing the country for the real-world conflict that has brought economic hardship and military embarrassment to the country.

Elsewhere Sunday there were these developments affecting the former Yugoslavia:

- In Geneva, the International Committee of the Red Cross said it is trying to get access to all detention camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including two camps in which the New York newspaper Newsday reported that hundreds of civilians are being executed or starved to death.

- Milan Panic, the Serbian-born Southern Californian who now heads the shrunken Yugoslav regime in Belgrade, said his government is ready to bow to U.N. conditions for ending economic sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, the only republics left in what used to be the six-republic country of Yugoslavia.

- A bullet-scarred bus carrying dozens of crying orphans left the suburbs of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, on the second leg of an escape journey that has claimed at least two young lives.

Here in Croatia, opponents blame President Tudjman for losing one-third of Croatia's territory to Serbian and U.N. control in a

Continued from A1

10,000, devastated the country's economy and destroyed much of its cultural heritage.

Besides the race for Croatia's first popularly elected president, more than 25 parties were competing for 120 seats in Parliament's lower house. Upper house elections will be held later.

The election results, which probably will not be announced until today, are not expected to cause a major shift in Croatia's domestic or foreign policies no matter who wins; most of the favorites are nationalists with similar programs.

Indeed, the election campaign was fueled by a mood of militancy, exemplified by the campaign of former anti-Communist dissident Dobroslav Paraga, who heads the ultra-nationalist Croatian Party of Rights and advocates carrying the war to the Serbian-Yugoslav capital of Belgrade.

Final pre-election polls had shown Tudjman in the lead, closely followed by Budisa and his Croatian Social Liberal Party. If Tudjman does not win a majority in the first round, he will be forced into a runoff.

Tudjman's other challengers include former Communist premier Savka Dapcevic-Kucar of the Croatian People's Party.

Critics of the election process say there is no real way, given bizarre rules of the vote, to assess its fairness.

Croatia has a population of 4.5 million, but another 3 million votes may be cast abroad, with results to be telephoned to Zagreb from Croatian embassies overseas. Exactly what safeguards have been taken to ensure that the votes are valid have not been made public. Any adult who could demonstrate Croatian parentage was apparently eligible to vote.

Meanwhile, spokesman Claude Voillat said the Red Cross has so far visited a total of 4,000 people in five internment centers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Associated Press reported from Geneva. All three ethnic factions—Serbs, Croats and Muslims—run such camps, Voillat said.

Newsday reported that the Serb conquerors of northern Bosnia have established two concentration camps in which more than a thousand civilians have been executed or starved and thousands more are being held until they die. The newspaper based its report on two witnesses who said they had been inmates, one at each of the camps—Omarska in northwest Bosnia and Brcko in northeast Bosnia.

Voillat told the Associated Press that the Red Cross has been negotiating with Serbian authorities to try to get access to the Omarska and Brcko camps. He said he did not know why permission to visit the camps has so far not been given.

A U.N. report published last week said that there were an estimated 11,000 prisoners at Omarska, AP reported. And a separate document published by the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees cited accounts of guards at Omarska boasting they would "not waste bullets on their detainees, who have no food, water or shelter and who are beaten twice a day." It cited one guard as saying that prisoners would "starve like animals."

During a quick visit to neighboring Romania, Yugoslav Prime Minister Panic told a news conference: "My government is prepared to meet all requirements imposed by the United Nations to remove the sanctions against Yugoslavia."

The British news agency Reuters reported that Panic met Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan and Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase. Panic said afterward that he accepted a Romanian proposal to hold a conference on the Yugoslav crisis in Bucharest.

"A conference on Yugoslavia . . . attended only by former Yugoslav republics could be part of the removal of sanctions. . . . It could be an attempt to solve their problems without help from outside," Panic was quoted by Reuters news agency as saying.

From Sarajevo, the Associated Press reported that many of the orphans sobbed and struggled as they were put on their bus in the western suburb of Stup, the end of the so-called "Sniper Alley" highway from central Sarajevo.

The bus traveled through war-torn territory en route to the Croatian port of Split, where officials from a German orphanage waited with a chartered plane. AP reported that the children stopped for the night in a "secure" area in Fojnica, about 25 miles northwest of Sarajevo.

As the bus began its journey on Saturday, two of the orphans were killed by heavy fire that was apparently aimed at the vehicle.

But Bosnia's Serbian leader, Radovan Karadzic, denied that his forces attacked the bus, AP reported.

POLITICAL BRIEFING

ON THE ROAD: Fresh from the success of "Bill and Al's Excellent Adventure," as some dubbed the bus caravan that Bill Clinton and Al Gore led from New York City to St. Louis last month, the Democrats may make such trips a recurring part of the path they're trying to follow to the White House. . . . Using St. Louis as the point of departure this time, the two men are to board a bus Wednesday and head up along the Mississippi River, making their final stop Friday in Minneapolis. Two future bus journeys also are in the planning stages—a swing through Dixie in August and down the Pacific coastline from Seattle to San Diego in September. . . . A whistle-stop train tour through California's Central Valley, meanwhile, may work its way onto the schedule within the next month.

□

WAITING GAME: Although President Bush's two-day California visit late last week heartened some of his partisans, concerns about drift and disarray within his reelection campaign deepen among Republican insiders. And the protracted wait for Secretary of State James A. Baker III—who is expected to assume command of the reelection team soon—has only intensified those worries. . . . While Baker remains busy on the foreign front, his anticipated job change has undermined the authority of White House Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner and campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter. "It was already paralyzed," said one GOP consultant working closely with the campaign. "And what [the wait for Baker] has done is to further paralyze it. It has exacerbated the mess."



James A. Baker

□

WHAT ABOUT BOB? As the President's reelection campaign has struggled to right itself, its general chairman, former Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher, and his wife, Georgette, found a way to take their minds off the turmoil. Eschewing the blue-collar tenor that Bush tries to put on his political campaigns, they jetted off to Barcelona for the opening ceremonies of the Olympics. . . . By one report—that of New York Post gossip columnist William Norwich—they had dinner off the coast on the yacht of billionaire John Kluge before heading back to rejoin the fray. There was no comment from reelection headquarters.

□

ROCKY START: The last-minute primary challenge that Laurence Rockefeller—nephew of the late Nelson A. Rockefeller—mounted against New York Republican Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato may not even make it onto the ballot. Rockefeller filed only 10,744 signatures to qualify for the Sept. 15 primary—just 744 more than required. . . . A D'Amato aide said his campaign plans to carefully examine the signatures. "We will have more people looking at their petitions than he had signing them," the aide said.

□

WEBSTER LEADS: The man best known for a landmark abortion decision that bears his name, Missouri Atty. Gen. William Webster, appears likely to emerge from the state's Tuesday primary as the Republican nominee for governor. Webster, who defended Missouri's restrictive abortion law in the 1989 Supreme Court case Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services, has a double-digit lead over his closest foe in the latest polls. . . . His Democratic challenger is expected to be either Lt. Gov. Mel Carnahan or St. Louis Mayor Vince Schoemehl, who are locked in a tight race for their party's nod.

—From Times' staff writers

Bush Says Clinton Offers 'Prescription for Disaster'

■ Campaign: The President again focuses on domestic issues at a stop in Illinois. He touts his own health care proposals while lambasting his rival's.

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CHICAGO—Highlighting another major domestic issue, President Bush said Sunday that his health care proposals would help 90 million Americans afford private insurance and called Democrat Bill Clinton's plan "a prescription for disaster."

It was the President's second straight campaign appearance in which he focused on his domestic agenda, widely perceived to be his most vulnerable area. In California on Friday, Bush talked about his plan to grant states new flexibility in managing welfare programs.

"What we need to do is to indicate how all this stuff fits all together," said Gail Wilensky, an expert on welfare and health care issues who is deputy assistant to the President for policy development.

Bush's remarks, delivered at a fund-raising luncheon in Chicago for GOP Senate candidate Rich Williamson, drew an immediate response from Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee. Noting that the last two Republican Administrations "have presided over the biggest explosion of health care costs in the history of this country," Clinton said: "They don't have any credibility on the health care issue."

Bush characterized the differences between his and Clinton's plans as "the Grand Canyon of philosophy" and invited comparison.

"The other plan will dump 52 million Americans into a new government bureaucracy—and my plan will help 90 million Americans afford private insurance to take care of their health care needs," Bush said.

"The other plan would slap at least a 7% payroll tax on middle-income Americans—and my plan would provide tax relief to Americans, to help them pay for their own health care," the President added, alleging that Clinton's plan would cost 700,000 jobs.

Bush also played to widespread public concern—as reflected in most polls on health care reform—that any significant changes would restrict individual choice of doctors and cause delays in receiving treatment, including life-saving organ transplants. But he failed to acknowledge that his own plan would restrict individual choice.

"The other plan will create lines at hospitals so long you'll think they were selling Bears tickets inside," Bush said—referring to Chicago's popular football team.

"My plan attacks the root cause of rising costs: faulty insurance, too much paperwork, far too many frivolous lawsuits out there," Bush told several hundred cheering supporters of Williamson, who is running an uphill campaign against Democrat Carol Moseley Braun. Braun, an underdog in the Democratic primary, upset longtime Sen. Alan J. Dixon and could be the first black woman to win a Senate seat.

"Understand what is at stake here," Bush concluded. "If the governor of Arkansas is elected with a Democratic Congress—and a new Democratic senator from Illinois—within a year the government will run health care in this country."

"Our health care system will combine the efficiency of the House post office with the compassion of the KGB. I'm not going to let that happen."

In a related development, U.S. News and World Report



President Bush jokes during a campaign stop Sunday in Elk Grove Village, Ill., which was interrupted by rain.

said Sunday that the Bush Administration will refuse to approve Oregon's unique health-care rationing plan on the grounds that it violates the Americans With Disabilities Act.

The Administration is expected to deny approval outright until the plan is corrected or will give approval conditional on resolving the alleged violations, the magazine said.

Oregon's program would greatly increase the number of people eligible for medical care at public expense. The state needs a waiver of federal Medicaid laws to allow the state to provide health coverage to 120,000 people who are living in poverty. But the system would restrict the types of medical services the poor could receive.

Wilensky, Bush's aide, denied Sunday that a final decision on Oregon's waiver has been made. Wilensky said the delay has been caused by an extensive but necessary legal review of the ramifications of the disability act vis-a-vis the Oregon waiver request.

That Bush intended to focus on health care Sunday became clear when White House reporters flying to Chicago were given a two-page "backgrounder" prepared by the Bush/Quayle '92 campaign. One page contains highlights of the Bush proposal, the other a critique of Clinton's plan.

The backgrounder said the President's plan would bar insurers from excluding people from coverage who have "pre-existing conditions," provide tax credits and deductions to help offset the cost of insurance, cut costs by requiring all providers to use the same forms and alter malpractice laws to deter doctors from practicing defensive medicine. (Pre-existing conditions are ailments and dis-

eases, ranging from bad backs to cancer, that insurers typically refuse to cover when considering whether to sell someone a policy.)

The Bush paper also claimed that the White House plan would not raise taxes or cost jobs and would not lead to "a huge new government bureaucracy to regulate prices and ration health care."

The campaign backgrounder further said Clinton's support for the "play or pay" concept—which would require employers to either provide insurance or pay into a fund through which insurance would be distributed to uncovered workers—would "require at least \$80 billion in new taxes" and "inevitably" lead to a vast new federal bureaucracy.

A major underpinning of Bush's plan is so-called managed competition, under which consumers would be grouped and then represented by a sponsor, perhaps their employer, who would negotiate the best health package available.

But virtually all health care analysts agree that under managed competition, consumer choice would be limited—to only those physicians and hospitals that enter into such arrangements.

Neither the President nor his issues backgrounder explained the seeming contradiction between his advocacy of managed competition and his claim that his plan would preserve choice.

Bush also refused to comment on three newspapers' calls that he withdraw from the race. The Orange County Register and two Connecticut papers, the Sunday Republican of Waterbury and the Herald of New Britain, all urged him to quit.

Scholars Disdain the Polls, Point to Bush Trump Cards

■ **Election:** Researchers say other factors are more reliable forecasters than swift shifts of public opinion.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—In the face of a ton of polling data that suggests Democratic standard-bearer Bill Clinton already has the White House within his grasp, another set of assessments points to a far different outcome to the 1992 campaign. The possibilities range from a dead heat to a landslide for President Bush.

These contrarian predictions are the work of academicians relying far more on the lessons of history and the potency of economic data than on the swiftly shifting tides of public opinion. They boast an impressive record of accuracy in the past.

Underlying the discrepancy between their forecasts and the polls—which have shown Clinton with nearly a 30-point lead—are some political fundamentals that the scholars factor into their model equations and that past experience suggests should work greatly to Bush's advantage.

But the big question—whose answer will likely determine the election—is whether Bush can overcome his shortcomings to play out the trump cards that history has dealt him.

In the main, Bush's potential assets are the power and prestige of his presidential office and the seemingly broader appeal of his Republican Party in presidential

Please see PREDICT, A5



Predicting Presidents

Among many models for predicting the outcome of presidential elections is this one devised by American University history professor Allan Lichtman and his associate, Ken Decell. Under their theory, when the answer to six or more of the following statements is false, the party in power loses. Here are their 13 keys, along with the answer they have provided at the present time.

- KEY 1 (Party mandate):** The incumbent party holds more U.S. House seats than after the midterm elections of the previous Administration. (FALSE)
- KEY 2 (Contest):** There is no serious contest (1/3 of delegate votes) for the incumbent party nomination. (TRUE)
- KEY 3 (Incumbency):** The incumbent party candidate is the sitting President. (TRUE)
- KEY 4 (Third party):** There is no significant third-party or independent campaign. (?)
- KEY 5 (Short-term economy):** The economy is not in recession during the election campaign. (?)
- KEY 6 (Long-term economy):** Real growth during the term at least equals mean growth during the previous two terms. (FALSE)
- KEY 7 (Policy change):** The incumbent Administration effects major changes in national policy. (FALSE)
- KEY 8 (Social unrest):** There is no sustained social unrest during the term (TRUE).
- KEY 9 (Scandal):** The incumbent Administration is untainted by major scandal (TRUE).
- KEY 10 (Foreign/military failure):** The incumbent Administration suffers no major failure in foreign or military affairs (TRUE).
- KEY 11 (Foreign/military success):** The incumbent Administration achieves a major success in foreign or military affairs. (TRUE)
- KEY 12 (Incumbent charisma):** The incumbent-party candidate is charismatic or a national hero. (FALSE)
- KEY 13 (Challenger charisma):** The challenging-party candidate is not charismatic or a national hero. (TRUE)

'A Republican incumbent running for reelection with a low inflation rate and a growth rate that's at least not negative ought to win fairly well.'

RAY FAIR
Yale economics professor

PREDICT:

Continued from A1

campaigns. Yet another factor in his favor is the evidence that the economy, however feeble, is still emitting signs of life.

"A Republican incumbent running for reelection with a low inflation rate and a growth rate that's at least not negative ought to win fairly well," says Yale economics professor Ray Fair, who is forecasting a Bush victory with 54% to 55% of the popular vote based on a model that has a margin of error of only about 3 percentage points in elections going back to 1916.

Despite the models' high level of reliability in the past, most model makers admit to qualms about the actual end result in 1992. Their concerns help to illuminate the factors, notable among them the deficiencies of the Bush presidency and the uneven pace of the economic recovery, which have combined to drive the 1992 election campaign down a singularly erratic course.

It is hard to quarrel with the criteria chosen by Fair and the other academic forecasters in creating their predictive models. But Bush's own performance in office remains a critical variable.

The electorate's tendency to vote Republican for President, which some models take into account, is evidenced not only by the GOP's victories in seven of the 11 elections beginning in 1948 but also by the party's 53% share of the two-party vote during that period, compared to 47% for the Democrats.

In the last three elections this popular vote lead has helped the Republicans carry 38 states with 408 electoral votes, 138 more than the majority required for election, an edge many analysts consider tantamount to the GOP having a lock on the Electoral College.

But in his role as party leader Bush has fallen far short of his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, who was able to win the heart of Democrats and independents while retaining the loyalty of the conservatives who make up the GOP's core.

As for the advantage of incumbency, which is a given in almost all election models, history suggests how powerful a factor it is, particularly when combined with Republicanism.

In the 11 postwar presidential

elections only one Republican incumbent President has been defeated. That was Gerald R. Ford, who when he ran in 1976 had never been elected to national office, and who had to contend with the damage done to his party by the Watergate scandal. During that period, three GOP presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard M. Nixon and Reagan, won reelection by landslide margins. (It was Nixon's resignation that brought his appointed vice president, Ford, to office.)

The power of incumbency has been demonstrated time and again in presidential campaigns. For example, as the 1972 campaign approached, Nixon jolted a faltering economy back to life with a "new economic policy" featuring a wage-price freeze. Then he stole the global spotlight with his precedent-shattering trip to mainland China, a country the United States did not officially recognize.

By contrast, Bush has often seemed inattentive to the country's needs at home. And even in playing his strong suit, foreign policy, since his triumph in the Gulf War Bush has been taken to task for lack of imagination and vigor.

"George Bush should have been able through a more aggressive domestic agenda to keep his popularity high," says Professor Tom Rice of the University of Vermont, who predicts that Bush will get 58% of the electoral vote. "To the extent that George Bush is in trouble, it's entirely his own fault."

The model created by Rice and University of Iowa political scientist Michael Lewis-Beck, which takes into account the strength of the President's party in the House of Representatives, his personal popularity and his support in primary contests, has had only a 5.6 percentage-point average margin of error in electoral vote forecasts since 1948.

The ups and downs of the economy, as demonstrated by last week's report that the rate of economic growth had slowed markedly in the second quarter of the year, also make the forecaster's job harder than ever this year.

"It would really take a collapse of the economy for Bush to lose," says Richard Gleisner, an economics professor at Minnesota's St. Cloud State University who foresees Bush getting 60% of the popular vote, which would amount to a landslide. Gleisner's forecasting model, which has an average error of only about 2 points in elections back to 1908, is similar to Fair's, except that Gleisner also factors in the rise or fall of the stock market.

Nevertheless, Gleisner says. "What makes me uneasy is that people do seem to be a lot more pessimistic than the economic numbers suggest."

Even a partisan like Democratic pollster Mark Mellman concedes that although the economy "is bad,

it's not as bad as it might be." Mellman has created his own model for analyzing the election, which takes into account voter attitudes toward the two parties on foreign policy as well as the rate of increase in per capita disposable income—on the basis of which he predicts an outcome ranging from a 50-50 split to a 52% to 48% Clinton victory.

The main reason for the electorate's intensely grim view of the economy is "that this has been an especially prolonged and difficult

recession, if not an especially deep recession," says American University professor Allan Lichtman, co-author with Ken Decell of "The 13 Keys to the Presidency, Prediction Without Polls."

Lichtman's approach is more subjective than most. Instead of a mathematical formula, he relies on a set of guidelines or "keys" to evaluate significant factors in the campaign, including not only economic conditions but also the personal appeal of the rival candidates and the domestic and foreign policy performance of the incumbent Administration.

"This recession has kind of sputtered along," says Lichtman, who claims his method has correctly accounted for the result of every election since 1860. "So the public has been up and down and lost a lot of confidence."

Because of this uncertainty, Lichtman won't yet make a firm prediction about the election, although his formula makes him skeptical of the validity of Clinton's high standing in the polls.

"You can't call this against Bush now," says Lichtman, who intends to wait until September to make his prediction, to better judge the state of the economy and the impact of the abortive candidacy of Texas billionaire Ross Perot.

Another factor contributing to the volatility is the growing public impatience with the gridlock in Washington caused by the conflict between the Democratic Congress and the Republican White House, an attitude manifested by the burst of public enthusiasm for the idea of Ross Perot's challenge to the two parties.

"A third of Americans were going to vote for Perot without knowing a damn thing about him," says Vermont's Rice. "What united them is the feeling that government has just been totally ineffective so that people are saying, 'I'm willing to see something done that I might not agree with just to get something done.'"

"People are simply fed up with the political system and they are looking for change," says St. Cloud State's Gleisner.

In this atmosphere, American University's Lichtman is certain only that the uncertainty that has marked this campaign from its start will continue. "I can't tell you what the next surprise is going to be," he says, "but I don't think

we've seen the last surprise."

But whatever their self-doubts, the scholars believe that their models are more reliable than polls in forecasting election outcomes. "The process leading up to the final voting decision is much different than a casual response to a pollster who calls while you are in the middle of dinner," says Fair of Yale.

Fair's election model combines the rate of economic growth and the inflation rate with the historical bias toward the GOP in presidential elections as well as the benefits of incumbency. He points out that four years ago, in July of 1988, when many polls showed Democrat Michael S. Dukakis well ahead of Bush, his model forecast a Bush victory with 52.2% of the vote—close to Bush's actual tally of 53.8%.

In the end, the model makers base their forecasts not on some magic ability to see into the future but on their understanding of the forces that have determined election outcomes in the past.

"What we're saying is that given long-term trends and the relationship of these key factors to election outcomes, our best guess is that Bush is going to win this election," says Vermont forecaster Rice. "And that guess has been pretty accurate over time."

Gore Courts Prodigal Democrats

■ **California:** In a sweep through the San Joaquin Valley, he reaches out to those who have voted Republican.

By DAVE LESHER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

STOCKTON—Al Gore barnstormed the San Joaquin Valley on Sunday to woo the sort of voters that he and Bill Clinton need to capture the White House: Democrats who have been voting Republican in presidential elections since 1980.

Although current opinion polls show Democrat Clinton overwhelmingly ahead of President Bush in California, the race is expected to tighten as Election Day approaches—and the Central Valley could be one of the most influential regions.

Gore's visit to the state's agricultural heartland is a sign of the Democratic campaign's confidence in California—and in itself. In contrast to Bush—whose recent visit to the state included only traditional Republican areas as he tried to shore up his faltering base of support—the Democratic nominee for vice president was trying to mine new votes in sometimes hostile areas.

"There are times when leadership is passed on to a new generation," Gore told about 3,000 supporters who gathered in Stockton on Sunday morning. "We have a new approach, as a contrast to the other side. The other side has run out of ideas, they've run out of things to do, and if you help, they'll be run out of Washington in November."

In three stops over the 250-mile stretch from Stockton to Fresno to Bakersfield, Gore hammered away at the Republican Administration for its lack of



Associated Press

Al Gore towels off Sunday in Stockton, where temperature hovered near 100.

ideas and suggested that the Democratic ticket is a path to better days. Everywhere he went, he encountered large, enthusiastic crowds.

"[Bush] has to shore up his base, whereas Bill Clinton and Al Gore are reaching out to all of those Democrats the party lost in the 1970s and '80s," said John Emerson, state director of the Clinton campaign, during a Gore speech in Fresno. "Typically, Republicans have run up 250,000-vote margins in the San

Joaquin Valley. We've gone right to these places, right off the bat, because of the tremendous power of this message."

Gore was delighted Sunday to find fodder for his attacks from a California Republican stronghold. An editorial in the Orange County Register called for Bush to step down from the campaign.

"Bush and [Vice President Dan] Quayle are huddled in a political panic," Gore said. "They read the editorial in the Orange County newspaper this morning. Is Orange County a Republican area? Did they vote overwhelmingly for Bush and Quayle last time?"

Gore was introduced to the crowd Sunday morning by state Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi, a co-chairman of the Clinton/Gore campaign in California, who complained that unemployment in the Stockton area is approaching 16%.

Gore charged that the White House responded to the problem by initiating political damage control rather than by seeking a solution.

Politics in the Central Valley has changed dramatically in the last 10 years. It still has a strong agricultural community sensitive to farming issues. But now, with a recent influx of urban refugees seeking a better quality of life, many concerns of voters are similar to those in the city: education, taxes and the environment.

So the election results in the valley have often split between the parties—Republicans winning the top of the ticket, while Democrats are elected to state and federal offices.

The vote has also split between different parts of the valley. The city of Fresno supported Walter F. Mondale for President in 1984 and Michael S. Dukakis in 1988 only to be offset by votes for Ronald Reagan and Bush in rural portions of the county.

Clinton Defends Health Care Plan

■ **Democrats: He spurns Bush's criticism that the proposal would force millions of Americans into an inefficient system.**

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton renewed his attack on President Bush's handling of domestic issues Sunday, a move inspired by the Republican incumbent's criticism of Clinton's health care plan.

In an impromptu question-and-answer session outside the governor's mansion as he returned from church, the Arkansas governor scorned Bush's directives on health care and said his criticism of Clinton's proposals rang hollow.

"I find that unbelievable after this Administration and the one before it have presided over the biggest explosion of health care costs in the history of this country," Clinton told reporters.

"They don't have any credibility on the health care issue."

Bush, campaigning in the Chicago area, said Clinton's health care plan would cause a loss of 700,000 jobs and would dump 52 million Americans into an inefficient government-run health care system.

Not so, said Clinton, countering that the spiraling cost of health care under a second Bush term would prevent the solving of any of the nation's pressing financial problems.

"We have got millions of Americans terrified of losing their health care, others who don't have health care coverage, others who can't change jobs [lest they lose their insurance]," Clinton said. "And once again the Administration is trying to raise fears instead of solve problems."

Health care has been a key component of Clinton's "putting-people-first" plan for the nation's future and has represented a major point of attack against Bush. An estimated 37 million Americans have no medical insurance.

The Democratic nominee mentions his health care plan—in very general terms—before almost every audience to which he speaks, and his promise to refer a health care plan to Congress within the first 100 days of his Administration always draws enthusiastic cheers.

So far, Clinton has detailed only the bare skeleton of his own plan, which falls into the "play-or-pay" approach favored by Senate Democrats. It would require employers to either provide insurance or pay into a fund through which insurance would

be distributed to uncovered workers.

Clinton says that in the first year, he would move to streamline the nation's 1,500 private insurers into a system whereby insurers and government programs, like Medicare, would pay doctors by a single set of rules. That, he says, would lessen the expensive paperwork demands on insurers, hospitals and doctors.

Basic benefits would be established by a federal review board, and the government would also set budgetary targets for doctors and develop what Clinton has called "strong incentives" to limit spending on unnecessary technology.

Clinton has acknowledged that his plan would result in a loss of jobs at insurance firms. But he has not put a number to the job loss and contends that benefits of a health care program would overshadow any temporary displacement.

The Arkansas governor has denied Bush's other major criticism, that the plan would force millions of Americans into an inefficient system. In a July 20 rally outside of a Columbus, Ohio, insurance company, Clinton said that his plan was "not for the government to take over health care, but for government to organize it."

The Bush criticism of Clinton's health care plan ushered in yet another contentious day for the presidential candidates, who sparred repeatedly last week over foreign policy, the Gulf War, taxes and welfare reform.

Clinton acknowledged on Sunday that he expects the campaign to become more of a slugfest as the election nears.

After attending church Sunday, Clinton planned to spend much of the rest of the day drawing up a state budget plan, and to continue to work on that today.

He is due to return to campaigning full time on Wednesday when he and running mate Al Gore begin a three-day bus trip that winds from St. Louis up the Mississippi River Valley to Minneapolis.

The trip was originally scheduled to begin on Tuesday, but was postponed a day to allow Clinton to attend the Washington funeral of his friend and deputy finance co-chairman, attorney C. Victor Raiser. Raiser and his son were killed Thursday in an Alaska plane crash.

Comment

ON THE NATION

This Year's GOP Target: Gay Men?

*There's every indication that
Bush's campaign surrogates
will take aim at the
rights of homosexuals.*

BY LINDA R. HIRSHMAN

A gay man employed until recently by the Bush campaign went public several days ago with claims that he had been forced out because the campaign is becoming dominated by gay-bashing religious fundamentalists. This news reveals something about what the Republicans' political shock troops will look like this year.

In 1988, we saw the notorious "Willie Horton" ad, linking hapless Democratic candidate Michael S. Dukakis to the black rapist his Massachusetts prison system had released. The ad had everything: ordinary race hate, pictures of the softie Democrats and the powerful sexual undertones of racism.

Who will the Willie Horton of the 1992 campaign be? There have been hints since the Democrats started taking the lead in the polls, but by now the answer seems obvious. He will be a gay male.

Bush-Quayle staffer Tyler Franz's story was just the latest indication of what's up. I got a whiff of the Bush campaign's strategy at a television appearance by vice presidential candidate Al Gore right after his selection. Almost the first question from panelist and sometime Republican campaign adviser George Will was about Gore's position on gay rights. Did Gore believe "that homosexuals had a right to their lifestyle like any other lifestyle?" Will asked the would-be vice president. Since Gore had little record of involvement with the subject, the question seemed bizarre. Gore is an educated man; he answered that he doubted homosexuality was a freely chosen lifestyle, and the interview went on without extensive discussion of the issue.

A few days later, Utah Sen. Jake Garn, in his role as offensive lineman for George Bush, called the Clinton/Gore ticket "pretty boys"—not the first description that comes to

**'The history of this century
has shown repeatedly that
the course of such hate,
once unleashed, is difficult
to predict—or control.'**

mind for two married, middle-aged national political candidates with five children between them. But if you understand the coded language of negative campaigning, the message is clear—pretty boys are associated with homosexuals.

Maybe it won't work. Sadly, American society is so segregated by race that often white Americans hardly know their black fellow citizens. By contrast, gay men are not strangers to the American electorate; they are brothers, neighbors, co-workers and friends. When the Bush campaign asks Americans to hate and fear gay men, it is these familiar people they demonize. Moreover, perhaps because they are not concentrated in the working class, gay men are not seen as an economic threat.

Because most Americans know gay men, they can distinguish between the sexuality of gays and willful acts like the commission of violent crimes. Despite the political profit the Bush campaign made of the Horton case, the Dukakis campaign could not avoid the fact that Willie Horton committed a horrible rape. Bill Clinton, who prosecuted his own brother for drug offenses, is hardly going to be vulnerable to charges that he's soft on crime.

Perhaps because the Bush presidency has not taken a hard line against gays, the Bush campaign is under pressure from the right to do so. But even if Bush won again, besides whatever damage his campaign would do by using gays as campaign fodder, it's hard to envision how the Bush Administration could promise its supporters to repress the gay "lifestyle."

The laws against sodomy are state laws, like most criminal law. The picture of the United States government monitoring private sexual conduct for homosexual acts under some new federal criminal scheme does not have a lot of appeal, especially to anti-government conservatives who make up a big part of Bush's vote.

Nor should it work. Gay-baiting and gay-bashing have been tried often by desperate politicians, and the history of this century has shown repeatedly that the course of such hate, once unleashed, is difficult to predict—or control.

Linda R. Hirshman is a professor of law at Chicago-Kent College of Law of the Illinois Institute of Technology and a panelist on the public radio show, "Inside Politics."

ON

Commentary

PLATFORM

Lost Children

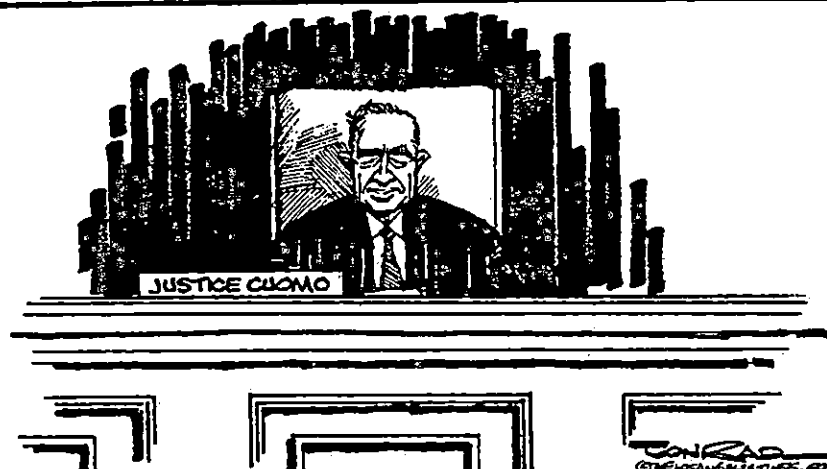
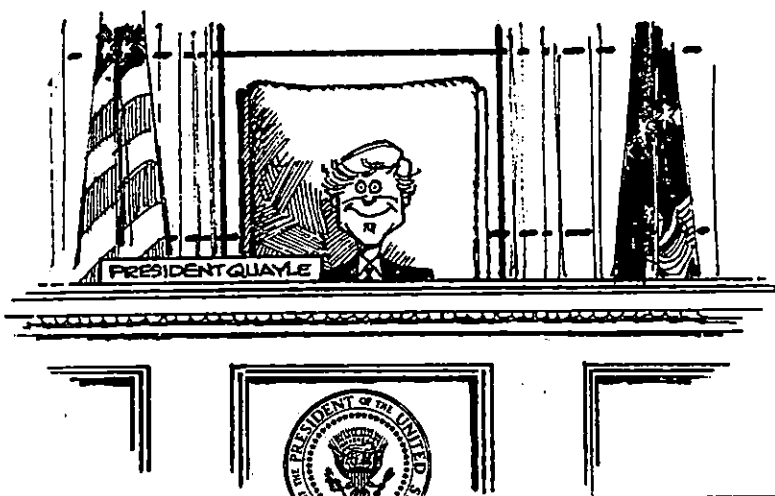
Hair-products mogul VIDAL SASSOON wants Congress to pass legislation on hunger and family preservation. He told The Times:

Our country is losing its competitive edge. Our weaknesses are not unrelated to how the United States cares for its children. Surely we cannot lead the world when, in this land of plenty, over 5 million of our children go hungry each month.

In Western Europe, people are ennobled by public education and they pity us for the shambles we have allowed our cities to become. Culture, ideas and creativity mostly develop in great cities, not bedroom communities where people escape out of fear of "the other." Where did our great meritocracy lose its way?

We must embrace policies such as the Children's Initiative now before Congress, policies that allow our children to become healthy, strong and innovative. Early investment in our children is an important way to break the vicious cycle of disaffection and despair.

Hunger weakens growing bodies and poses a peril to developing brains—it saps the ability to learn and drains the enthusiasm to succeed. As hungry children are deprived of opportunities, our nation is deprived of their contributions.



The choice

CONRAD
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EDITORIALS

of THE TIMES

Saving the Peace in El Salvador

The left has balked as the U.S. holds a key to preventing revival of a ghastly war

The El Salvador peace accord that brought a ghastly civil war to an end last January is in imminent danger of collapse. On Friday of last week, the leaders of the rebel Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, or FMLN, indefinitely suspended the staged demobilization of their guerrilla forces.

The FMLN charges the government with several violations of the peace accord. The most important of these, and the one that the United States may even at this late hour help to address, is the charge that the Salvadoran government is preventing the creation of a civilian police force.

During the 12 years of the war, the Salvadoran military turned its weapons not just against the leftist FMLN but against the Salvadoran people. Last September, Col. Guillermo Alfredo Benavides was convicted of giving the order that led to the 1989 murder, by an army death squad, of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter. Hundreds of other

such incidents have been documented, and so it is crucial that, by the terms of the peace accord, the army as such is to have no further role in domestic security. For those purposes, a civilian police force drawn in part from both the army and the FMLN is to replace it. In April, the U.S. Congress approved \$21.5 million for the Salvadoran military and \$64.7 million for the implementation of the peace accords, including, crucially, the creation of this new police force.

Unfortunately, the Bush Administration has refused to open its files on the army it trained and funded for so long with so many hundreds of millions of U.S. tax dollars. The three-member Salvadoran civilian commission charged with purging the military of war criminals en route to the creation of the new police force has been stonewalled, and there is no other good source for information on army abuses. The Aug. 15 deadline for the report of that commission is

clearly not going to be met.

The result? The FMLN has balked at what begins to look like a unilateral demobilization that would leave not just its supporters but, in principle, the entire country at the mercy of an army still intact and still funded by the United States. The peace accord did not call for that.

On June 7, 1992, Russia opened the 100-million-document Communist Party archives. When so extensive a record is thrown open for review, no one, including the current incumbents, is necessarily safe from embarrassment. But opening the archives was clearly the right decision: Without candor, there can be no recovery from the abuses of a police state.

The same path is the one that the Bush Administration should follow in opening U.S. files on El Salvador. The stakes, for Americans, are small. For Salvadorans, whose newborn peace is now gasping for each breath, they have never been higher.

Recycling an Old and Good Idea

Community works program is a promising approach to welfare reform

A public jobs program that would put welfare recipients to work is one of the gems in the federal tax bill that the Senate Finance Committee approved last week. The Community Works Project Administration (CWPA), modeled after Franklin D. Roosevelt's WPA, which put people in jobs during the Depression, is a promising approach to welfare reform.

The CWPA, proposed by Sen. David L. Boren (D-Okla.), would require able-bodied welfare recipients, except single mothers with very young children, to work or lose assistance. The government would become the employer of last resort.

The public jobs would be created by local and state governments or federal agencies that applied for federal grants managed by the U. S. Department of Labor. Those jobs could include cleaning up parks, delivering hot meals to senior citizens or other

tasks that require minimal skills. Using the CWPA to replace government workers would be prohibited.

Welfare recipients would earn the minimum wage or their welfare



WELFARE WATCH

■ One in an occasional series

payment plus 10%, whichever was higher. In addition to a few extra dollars a month, CWPA workers would also gain training, job experience and references that could help them get better-paying jobs.

Many states require welfare recipients to go to school or work, but neither federal nor state government alone can adequately fund job-

oriented education and training programs.

California's workfare program, GAIN, is especially effective in smaller cities, suburbs and rural communities, but it has space for only a fraction of the state's welfare recipients. GAIN would be complemented by the CWPA because the federal project would provide training opportunities and jobs for people who otherwise could not compete in a tight job market.

The Senate Finance Committee has allocated \$400 million for demonstration projects in three cities and two states. The projects are to run for four years, long enough to determine what would work without harming poor children. Los Angeles should be one of the test cities.

Welfare reform is high on the public agenda. A public jobs program belongs in the mix of remedies designed to cure welfare dependency.

When Compromise Can Be a Capitol Gain

Bush would be right to abandon ideology and cut a tax deal

In this summer of economic uncertainties—and growing political discontent—Washington appears to be moving with some resolve to draft a bipartisan tax bill that might escape the political quagmire that usually bogs down the annual process. Of course, it's an election year, and politicians are above all else political. But both Republicans and Democrats recognize that fiscal measures are needed to quell consumer jitters and provide incentives for investment and other spending. The best sort of kick-start for the moribund economy could come from passage of a tax bill—especially if both sides can keep their political daggers sheathed during the process.

The Senate Finance Committee last week cleared a tax bill that includes a little something for everyone: investment incentives for business, tax credits for consumers, aid for blighted urban and rural areas and provisions for some special interests. The measure, which could go to the Senate this week, includes most of President Bush's key economic initiatives—except for his long-sought cut in the capital gains tax.

LOSING STAND: So far the Administration appears to be acquiescing to the omission, but already the President is under pressure from some Republicans, especially Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, to insist on the inclusion of a capital gains tax cut. The President should hold firm in trying to avoid a big, messy standoff, something that has become a political fact of life over the last three years.

Retooling the capital gains tax is not an idea that should be abandoned forever. Even Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton has included proposals to reduce the capital gains tax in his economic plan.

But as we head into the heat of the November election, no one can be clear headed enough to fashion a thoughtful capital gains tax that would provide incentives for productive, job-generating enterprises rather than fast, make-a-buck paper deals.

WINNING HAND: Disenfranchised voters right now are looking for growth and stability. Economic

growth slowed to a snail's pace in the second quarter; consumer confidence is plummeting again, reversing a short-lived spurt of optimism. A combination of Democratic and Republican measures would help stimulate the economy, which is now threatened by the possibility of a triple-dip recession.

The Senate bill includes, among other things, a one-year

15% investment tax allowance for equipment installed before next July; a tax credit of as much as \$2,500 for first-time home buyers who purchase by the end of the year and restoration for everyone of a full \$2,000 tax deduction for contributions of a like amount to individual retirement accounts.

If passed, the Senate bill will have to be combined with a House measure that does not include any of the Administration's initiatives. There must be compromise here, too. The goal should be to clear a tax bill through both houses before Congress recesses for the summer.

Cynics might say this would give the President a victory before he heads for the Republican convention. Democrats, meanwhile, would be able to undercut Bush's claims that the Democratic-controlled Congress has thwarted his economic proposals. But a tax bill is about national interest: the big picture.



Bush: Acquiescing?

COLUMN LEFT/
JAVIER RODRIGUEZ

Latinos Are Selling Out on Free Trade

■ Mexican-Americans, especially, will be the losers for buying Mexico's appeal to sentiment.

According to polls done by La Opinion and Univision, the Mexican population in the United States—both native-born and immigrant—overwhelmingly supports the North American free-trade agreement. This is not surprising. With few exceptions, the Latino media, businesspeople, political leaders and organizations have sympathetically lined up behind the effort. Opposition is minimal and primarily relegated to trade unionists.

The Mexican government has done a masterful job of marketing the free-trade agreement in our community, appealing to patriotism and solidarity to help our mother country make a leap into the First World. (More than 70% of Latinos in the United States are of Mexican heritage.) And, of course, there is the promise of mutual benefits, such as business opportunities for Mexican-Americans that will mean jobs for our Mexican cousins.

Hardly anyone is looking at this critically. Free trade is being pushed by the three most pro-big-business administrations we have seen in the United States, Canada and Mexico in a long time. That alone should tell us enough. The masses will only serve to fatten the coffers of the elites.

Any Mexican-American who expects our lot to improve under this agreement only has to look at who has done well under the three administrations that are negotiating it; then look at recent reports on social and economic conditions in Mexico and among Mexicans and other Latinos in this country. It is a grim picture.

In the United States, Latinos have the highest unemployment rate and the highest rate of communicable diseases. We have even become No. 1 in the prison population. In Los Angeles, the second Mexican capital, the school dropout rate for Latinos is around 50%, and the school district is close to bankruptcy.

As with the rest of the U.S. population, our plight has a direct link to corporate flight, which puts profits ahead of people. Life here has been brutal, to say the least. This is the legacy of the Reagan-Bush era.

On the other side, in Mexico, conditions are even worse. After 1982, when Carlos Salinas de Gortari took over management of the economy under then-President Miguel de la Madrid, the purchasing power of Mexicans decreased by 50%. With Salinas as president, the decline has continued. Mexicans now consume 70% less protein

'Our plight has a direct link to corporate flight, which puts profits ahead of people.'

(in meat, poultry and fish) and 70% more vegetables, beans and tortillas. What a way to become a vegetarian!

Full-scale implementation of Salinas' neo-liberal economic policies has been accompanied by rampant violations of human rights in Mexico. The 1991 human-rights studies by the prestigious Americas Watch and Amnesty International show an increase in torture, persecution and political assassinations. One of the most prominent is the still-unsolved murder of Sinaloa's human-rights leader, Norma Corona Zapien.

It is nonsense to think that free trade will change the trajectory of justice, economic or otherwise.

Canadians have had a free-trade agreement with the United States for two years and their experience has not been pleasant. Canada has lost almost 300,000 high-wage industrial jobs to corporate flight to lower-wage areas in the States, and this has had a downward pressure on all Canadian wages.

Mexican-American leaders and organizations in the United States pretend that none of these down-sides exist. Even with all of the information available on social, economic and political conditions in Mexico, they have fallen for the Mexican government's aggressive and very astute line. They have been courted and co-opted. Besides their lack of vision on the real effects that free trade will have on our community, they show a lack of compassion for our Mexican motherland.

In its Nov. 12, 1990, issue, Business Week synthesized the benefits and costs of free trade to the United States: "Better access to cheaper labor and parts; a growing export market; 100% ownership in Mexican subsidiaries [and a] more reliable source of petroleum. . . ." The costs? "Jobs lost in certain industries, painful restructuring of others; downward pressure on U.S. wages; organized labor is hurt. . . ."

Business Week speaks to corporate North America, but for those of us with principles of social responsibility it should leave no room for doubt. The principal Mexican commodity that Salinas is offering to salvage Mexico's economy is "cheap labor." The principal motivation for the North: profit.

There is still time for our leaders and organizations to be more honest with our community about who gains and who loses with the free trade agreement.

Javier Rodriguez is a labor and community activist and a member of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild.

COLUMN RIGHT/
JEANE KIRKPATRICK

The Failure Is in the Pursuit, Not the Goal

■ The elaborate architecture for collective security is proving ineffective in the face of aggression.

There is a tantalizing resemblance between the worlds of 1992 and 1918. The great "isms" of the century seem to have left few traces in our consciousness. The West is again preoccupied, as in 1918, with democracy, nationality and self-determination. ("I am proud to be an Eritrean," the bumper sticker on a car at a Washington intersection recently proclaimed.)

They all go together. Democracy, nationality and self-determination reinforce one another nicely. But hard experience demonstrates that all are vulnerable to violent movements and violent men like Iraq's Saddam Hussein and Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic.

For this reason, many governments have been trying harder to control aggression through international cooperation within multilateral frameworks. But nothing is going as hoped. So now questions are being raised about collective security. Is it an unachievable dream? Can we succeed where earnest men failed after World War I? The question is posed today because of the inept international efforts to deal with conflicts in Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Cambodia.

The Iraqis claim that they won a "brilliant victory" in their negotiations with U.N. inspectors regarding access to buildings and documents. The Serbian government continues its campaign of "ethnic purification" through the siege and shelling of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge refuses to turn in its weapons or permit U.N. access to areas under its control.

In each case, an aggressor government or would-be government has refused to carry out an agreement to which it had acquiesced earlier. In each case, a settlement in which the United Nations is prominently involved is on the verge of collapsing. In each case, it has become clear that the government or would-be government acquiesced in peace negotiations and agreements to achieve short-range military advantages and violated the agreements when greater advantage could be gained by noncompliance.

Saddam Hussein agreed to a cease-fire to save his forces from imminent destruction. He refused to comply with its provisions once he believed he had more to gain by noncompliance. Milosevic has used the negotiation of cease-fire to delay international action in the Security Council and in Bosnia-Herzegovina while his forces have

'The frameworks for collective security are in place. . . . But it is necessary to mobilize and use them.'

continued to win control of more territory and drive out the non-Serbian population.

The Khmer Rouge has used a painstakingly negotiated international agreement for disarmament, resettlement and elections to re-enter Phnom Penh and other areas of Cambodia from which its troops had been driven.

Karl von Clausewitz and Thomas Hobbes would not have been surprised to see peace negotiations and solemn covenants used as tactics to buy short-range advantages for combatants. But modern peace-makers seem not to have expected that this would happen. The elaborate architecture for collective security in Europe—the United Nations, the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO, the Western European Union—has proven ineffective in the face of aggression.

Is the hope of controlling aggression unrealistic? Is it just a matter of time until another Hitler or another Lenin rises from the ashes of communism? Until Saddam Hussein renews his war against the world?

The failure is not in the goal, but in its pursuit. We have made unnecessary mistakes. The decision to leave Saddam Hussein in power was a terrible mistake—and not just George Bush's error but that of all those coalition leaders who, like Bush, worried more about creating a vacuum of power or fragmenting Iraq than about the harm Saddam would do. The passivity of the EC, the United Nations, the United States and associated forces in the face of mass murder and devastation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a terrible mistake. It, too, is not just Bush's error.

Building collective security requires abandoning preferred myths and facing the fact that it is not poverty, not ethnicity, not the breakup of empires that cause war. It is violent men and lawless governments.

Fortunately, the frameworks for collective security are in place, and military and humanitarian resources are available. But it is necessary to mobilize and use them.

Doing so effectively will also require that the United Nations abandon some of its cherished notions about impartiality between victims and victimizers, and about the minimum use of force against aggressors like Saddam Hussein. But the world has had too much experience to plead innocence about the consequences of appeasing such aggression.

Jeane Kirkpatrick writes a syndicated column in Washington.

The Bathtub of the Flamboyant



City people still have their green lawns and orchards; in rural areas, there is no water, no harvest, no food.

By MICHAEL DORRIS

There's a huge bathtub in my room at the Flamboyant Motel in Masvingo, a mid-sized city about to run out of water. Like the "Right of Admission Reserved" sign above the establishment's grand entrance—in the 13 years since Rhodesia became Zimbabwe, no one has gotten around to removing the two screws that hold the banner of segregation in place—the

■ First of three parts

bathtub seems an anomalous relic. The nearby reservoir of Lake Kyle is widely reputed to be at .3% of capacity, and local "dry farms"—those that depend on rain rather than tapping the depleting aquifer with sprinklers—have produced no crops at all this year.

Nevertheless, some Zimbabweans who have the means to do so continue to behave as though this were a normal year. There are more than a dozen private golf courses still green in Harare, the capital, and behind their iron gates, the gardens of suburban houses bloom with avocado and bougainvillea. Here and there in the countryside, perfume rises from orange groves irrigated by the deepest bore holes, and the local Holiday Inn has posted no water conservation signs. It's as though the reality of the current national disaster—this is the driest year in living memory—does not exist until it strikes each citizen individually.

Last to feel the effects may well be the residents of Avondale, a northern suburb of gracious homes and well-stocked shopping centers. In late afternoon its shaded lanes are bordered by lines of maids, gardeners, security guards and cooks. They're waiting for the infrequent bus to bring them far south to the crowded townships where flood lamps installed atop high steel poles are kept lit all night, their glare eclipsing even a full African moon.

I'm offered vastly differing perspectives on this stratified society by two women, each a powerful articulator of her social niche. The first is a business executive whose ancestors migrated from England generations ago and who professes to be completely "of Africa." I'm the second foreigner this year to mention the gulf between rich and poor.

"I thought the first man was talking out of the back of his neck," she says. "People of different cultures just don't mix." But "racism is alive and well," though it's of a more benevolent nature than the apartheid system in South Africa. The wealthy don't simply close up their homes and go to Europe for several months to wait out the drought, because their servants would be left "high and dry."

She blames government corruption and bad planning for much of the country's economic problems. "We've

gone from white fat cats to black fat cats, but before, at least, the system worked. There was integrity." Plus, the large commercial farms were more efficient. "Village people are not stupid," but they're ignorant," she observes. "They have no money and their fields are too remote from the marketplace."

It's hard to imagine a place more remote from the glass and steel high-rises of downtown Harare than the half-built and deserted public granary in Binga, a two-hour Cessna flight to the west, where, in the company of Chris Eldridge, regional director of Save the Children in Britain, I listen to the sorry report of an aptly named group: the Grinding Committee. Fuel has become so expensive that it's no longer profitable to operate the sleek British-financed machine, and in any case, there is no grain harvest to grind.

The one nutritional hope is the promise of free meat from a government resource-management "cull" of elephants, antelope and crocodiles. This is expected to yield about 600 tons of animals, which will yield 70 tons of "biltong" (jerky) and add much needed protein to the local diet.

Later in the afternoon, in the tiny settlement of Mola, food is very much on

ing, have made themselves permanently ineligible for a ration.

Chris gravely explains that at the moment there is only a finite amount of food; if more people partake, the portions will necessarily be smaller. The decision, however, is up to the woman and her colleagues.

She nods, one item on her agenda ticked off, and moves on. What about the agency's pull-cart, she wants to know. When it's not in use for this program, may she have permission to designate it for other purposes, such as transporting the sick to the airstrip? Otherwise, it will simply sit idle.

Once again Chris confirms her authority, and once again the woman and the audience of recipients who watch this drama for entertainment are satisfied.

There's one final issue to be settled: Would Chris please find out and report on his next visit what will happen to the 50-gallon tin drum, now on loan to store hauled water, when the rains come back? The request is made casually, offhand even, but no one present believes for a moment that the woman doesn't already have a plan for this rusty object of foreign manufacture, a plan that will, without doubt, be accomplished.

Where does your water come from



RUDY VON BERNUTH / Save the Children

A child dips water from a well dug in the dry bed of Zimbabwe's largest interior river.

the mind of the village secretary for an emergency relief operation that provides a daily bowl of corn mush to children under 5 as well as to pregnant and lactating mothers. A woman with strong arms and a sleeping toddler secured on her back with a tied blanket, the secretary speaks Tonga in a low voice and is all business in her translated negotiations with Chris.

Her first proposal: A number of village women work in this program on a rotating basis, measuring out grain or weighing children for government records; they, too, should be afforded the luxury of an occasional meal since lately some have fainted from hunger. Chris should be clear, she adds, that this provision will not extend to her or to members of her governing committee who, to avoid any suspicion of profiteer-

now, I ask before we depart, and am led nearly a mile down a path to the dry bed of what normally would be a river. Into a small hole, scraped into the dirt, there seeps a puddle of brown water. We stand around the perimeter in silence, for the shallowness, the precariousness is numbing.

Eventually I look up at the secretary's face. She's frowning, thinking hard, absolutely determined to figure something out.

Michael Dorris is an anthropologist and a writer ("The Broken Cord" and, with his wife, Louise Erdrich, "The Crown of Columbus"). He visited Zimbabwe last month as a member of the board of Save the Children.

Next: The specter of disease.

COMMENT

Explosion in new words

Call someone a scumbag, space cadet, loose cannon or even bimbo, and you've painted a pretty unflattering picture.

Mention yuppie, baby boomer, bean counter or pencil pusher, and hardly an eyebrow will be raised.

A new word game? Not even close.

But it is a handful of the new listings in the new third edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary*, currently making its way to consumers. It's the first dictionary update by American Heritage in 10 years.

And the new edition reflects a rapidly changing English language, with more than 16,000 words that a panel of usage experts has classified as new.

Think you've got the rap on rap? What about the skinny on new wave music?



By Fred Davis,
a commentator
for the CBS-
owned radio
stations and
one-time high
school English
teacher.

Stumped over infomercials? How about infotainment? Where does a newsperson fit in? And is he or she loath to report soft news?

How's your mouse? Is it really necessary to fire up the PC or CD with AC? What about the same for a VCR?

Is downsizing the flip side of something on the up-and-up? And when did bad become good? And baddest, great?

Is crack the same as smack? And how's the campaign to get drug users to dis both?

What's up with *perestroika*? *Glasnost*? And Gorbachev, the disappearing architect of both?

What happened to leveraged buyouts? Junk bonds? And are golden parachutes for bailing out only?

There's something fascinating — even clairvoyant — about the protracted lexical process, and the joy word buffs like I have in trying to ascertain which words are likely to make the dictionary cut.

It really is fun charting infantile words on their way to etymological maturity.

So much happened during the '80s that 16,000 words seem small in comparison to everything that took place. Technological strides and demand by consumers for state-of-the-art equipment have brought about what are now familiar words.

Walkmans virtually are part of jogging uniforms. And both digital audio and high definition television are expected to be electronic fixtures by the turn of the new century.

And take preowned — a verbal neophyte and euphemism born out of economic necessity. The marketers who found an upscale way to soften the used-car blow by introducing this cleverly masked word to us should be handed the usage panel's all-time lexicon award for chutzpah and ingenuity.

We now need someone to come up with a couple of verbal games with substance — one to assuage our current economic mess, the other to make sure it's not repeated.

The veep — a national anomaly

COMMENT

Decision-making is critical qualification — and the job permits no test for it.

In evaluating the cries of "Dump Quayle" or "Keep Quayle," keep in mind the serpentine evolution of the vice presidency — scarcely a tribute to the nation's democratic system.

The Founding Fathers, not contemplating political parties, devised an excellent constitutional system whereby the candidate receiving the highest number of electoral votes became president and the second-highest vote-getter became vice president. But by 1796, parties were alive. John Adams, a Federalist, was elected president and Thomas Jefferson, a Democrat and political adversary, was voted vice president.

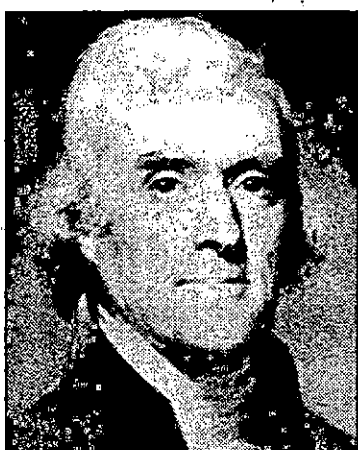
Adams would have loved to dump Jefferson, but he couldn't. And Jefferson served well but as an opponent of presidential policies! To prevent this untoward "party" situation from happening again, congressional leaders in 1803 devised the 12th Amendment, requiring each elector to cast two separate ballots, one for each office. The party system would be preserved, but not necessarily the process ensuring that the best two men, as perceived by voters, would prevail.

Throughout the 1800s, there was a generic "dump the veep" movement, in that Congress tried seven times to abolish the office by constitutional amendment. The reason, according to the sponsor of one proposal, was to prevent the office from being "harried into the market to be exchanged for the votes of some large states for president." Qualifications mattered not one iota, nor did common courtesy. No sitting veep was renominated by a convention until 1912.

In that year emerged a more positive view of the vice presidency, illustrated by Thomas Riley Marshall, who, according to the prestigious *Dictionary of American Biography* was "perhaps the most popular vice president that the country ever had." Why was President Woodrow Wilson's backup so popular? Because he was loyal to the president and, in the DAB's words, "made it his business to master the rules of the Senate, over which he presided with grace and tact." Moreover, Marshall did not "deem it improper to speak his mind occasionally on public matters."

Of course, presidential loyalty could be compromised by too much speaking out, as in the instance of Henry A. Wallace, Franklin D. Roosevelt's vice president from 1941 to 1945. Wallace differed with FDR on foreign policy matters and was the only veep to be dumped since Levi P. Morton got the ax in 1892. Yet Wal-

Who was that man? Why, the vice president



UPI



AP



AP



AP

VEEPS: Clockwise from below: Henry Wallace with Franklin Roosevelt; Thomas Riley Marshall selling war bonds during World War I; Thomas Jefferson, who opposed policies of his president, John Adams; and John Nance Garner, FDR's first vice president, who was replaced by Wallace.

lace was an able public servant who paid the price for expressing independent thoughts.

Only in recent decades has American public opinion really focused on the vice president as an individual to hold executive power in the event of a president's passing. For instance, Congress didn't provide Secret Service protection of the vice president until 1951. President Dwight Eisenhower urged Congress to provide "an official residence for the vice president" six years later, but it wasn't until 1974 that the Congress designated the Naval Observatory for that purpose (and it's only a "temporary" abode). The 25th Amendment, delineating the sequence of events in instances of incapacity or vacancies in the two highest offices, was ratified in 1967, four years after President John F. Kennedy's assassination.

But the dilemma in evaluating the ability of a vice president to hold the top spot is that a critical litmus test of effective leadership is decision-making. Vice presidents, by the nature of their constitutional and statutory role, do not make many decisions; they carry out presidential directives. Hence, they tend to be judged on available evidence — speaking ability, looking presidential (whatever that means), even spelling skills — that may have little or no relation to effective decision-making.

In sum, the second post is an anomaly, for which Americans, past and present, bear responsibility.

Test your V.P. knowledge

Check your vice-presidential IQ: Here's a quick quiz on the history of the nation's No. 2 post:

1. Name the only vice president elected by the Senate because he failed to get a majority of Electoral College votes.
2. Thomas Jefferson and Martin Van Buren were two of the three vice presidents who ascended directly to the White House by election; who was the third?
3. Who was the first vice president to assume the presidency after the death of a president?
4. Spiro T. Agnew was not the first vice president to resign his office; who was?
5. Who was the youngest vice president to enter the White House on the death of a president?
6. Which vice president became president on the death of a president and soon was the object of impeachment proceedings?
7. Who refused his party's vice-presidential nomination after it was voted on by the convention?
8. Who was the youngest person elected to the vice presidency?
9. Which two vice presidents were appointed, not elected?
10. True or false: In 1840, the Democratic National Convention

did not nominate a vice-presidential candidate.

11. Which one of the following was never vice president: Millard Fillmore, George M. Dallas, Henry Clay and William A. Wheeler.
12. Which vice president served under two different presidents?

The answers:

1. Richard M. Johnson, who served under Martin Van Buren.
2. George Bush.
3. John Tyler in 1841, after the death of William Henry Harrison.
4. John C. Calhoun in 1832, under Andrew Jackson.
5. Theodore Roosevelt in 1901, at age 42.
6. Andrew Johnson, who served as vice president under Abraham Lincoln.
7. Sen. Silas Wright, D-N.Y., in 1844.
8. John C. Breckenridge at age 35, in 1856.
9. Gerald R. Ford in 1973, and Nelson A. Rockefeller in 1974.
10. True.
11. Henry Clay.
12. John C. Calhoun, under John Quincy Adams, 1825-29, and Andrew Jackson, 1829 until his resignation in December 1832.

— Thomas V. DiBacco

Drop heartless policy, grant Haitians asylum

If President Bush and the Supreme Court won't protect Haitian boat people, Congress should.

Haitian refugees have been dealt another cruel blow. The Supreme Court Saturday allowed the administration to continue temporarily its policy of intercepting Haitians at sea and returning them to Haiti. No hearings on claims of persecution. No questions asked about where they might be headed.

This policy is unconscionable. It means that until the court can hear arguments and decide whether it is legal, Haitians are at the mercy of two brutal governments — theirs and ours.



WAITING: Haitian child peers out through barbed wire at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station in Cuba.

The decision could take until September. Lawyers for the Haitians say that's too late. They plan to ask the court for an expedited hearing on Monday.

An early hearing is a good idea, but there's a better one. Bush should abandon his heartless policy and grant refugees temporary asylum until the tyranny ends in Haiti. If he won't do the right thing, Congress should overrule him.

Bush defends his policy as an act of kindness — saving hapless Haitians from a risky voyage in unseaworthy craft. He insists that most leave for economic, not political, reasons.

If all refugees are forcibly returned without hearings, we'll never know.

What is known is that the Haitian regime routinely uses execution and torture as tools of political repression, according to Amnesty International. Even Bush calls it "totalitarian."

If Bush and the Supreme Court insist on sentencing refugees to such a grim fate, Congress must stop them.

Today's debate is on **NUCLEAR WEAPONS**
and whether testing should be banned.

Suspend nuclear testing

OUR VIEW The benefits of stopping testing are so great that there's really no reason to continue.

President Bush may get a rare opportunity this week: to show that politics and wisdom needn't be strangers.

The election-year Congress is poised to toss him a cactus: a proposed one-year nuclear test ban. Bush's prickly choice: Keep on testing even though most voters support a halt — or do a mid-campaign pirouette and join Democrat Bill Clinton in backing the ban.

Bush should back the moratorium. Possible benefits are too great — and probable penalties of continued testing too certain — to allow any other course.

Russia and France already have temporary bans — but both indicate they'll resume testing as early as 1993 unless they're joined by the U.S., the only nation other than China still testing. That would be a setback for a world trying slow the spread of nuclear weapons.

Countries seeking such weapons

won't accept pleas to stop while nuclear nations improve their own stockpiles.

Unless the spread of nuclear weapons stops, the U.S. could face two dozen or more nuclear nations. And for what?

More and better weapons aren't needed. Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin agreed recently to halve nuclear arsenals. And the "star wars" defense system, once a reason for testing, is a low — and possibly non-nuclear — priority.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Colin Powell now say more tests are needed to ensure that aging U.S. missiles remain safe. But computer simulations could do that work for now.

Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn, D-Ga., endorsing a moratorium last week, suggested Bush's real purpose is to save defense jobs.

An understandable goal, perhaps — but misguided.

Since 1989, nuclear testing has cost \$1 billion a year. That could provide job retraining for a lot of defense workers.

Politics, meet wisdom.

Testing still is needed

OPPOSING VIEW Safety and reliability require that a limited number of weapons tests continue.

The end of the Cold War allows us to make enormous reductions in our nuclear weapons stockpile. But the smaller nuclear deterrent that remains is essential to U.S. security.

A ban on nuclear testing would create disturbing uncertainty about the safety and reliability of our deterrent. It would also make it more difficult for us to develop the defenses U.S. troops would need if some future Saddam Hussein were to use nuclear weapons against them.

Modern technology has given us new techniques, like computer simulation, that keep the number of tests we do to a minimum. But experience has shown we still need full tests to detect — and correct — design flaws and the unpredictable effects of aging on our weapons.



Reuter.

By Paul Wolfowitz, undersecretary of Defense for policy.

In recognition of the improved security environment, President Bush has announced we will conduct a small number of nuclear tests each year — a fraction of the number of a decade ago.

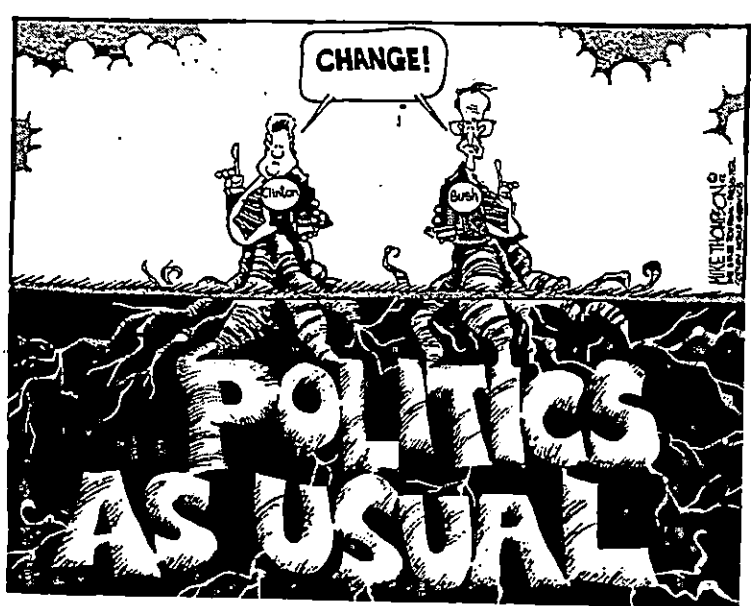
Some say we must stop testing if we're to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. Does anyone really believe a bogus regime like Saddam Hussein's would stop trying to develop a bomb simply because we stopped testing? Just the opposite: Doubt about our stockpile's effectiveness could encourage aggressors to take risks they mightn't otherwise try.

Others argue that continued testing is an impediment to arms reductions. On the contrary, our confidence in the reliability of our weapons has enabled us to take the lead in nuclear arms reductions since the end of the Cold War.

As a result of the president's bold and historic nuclear initiatives, we have reduced our nuclear stockpile by almost 75%. With a dramatically smaller number of weapons, the reliability of those that remain becomes even more important. As long as we need nuclear weapons, we also will need to conduct a small number of tests to ensure maximum safety and reliability.

OPINIONLINE

What people are saying about the election



Mike Thompson, Springfield State Journal Register, Copley News Service

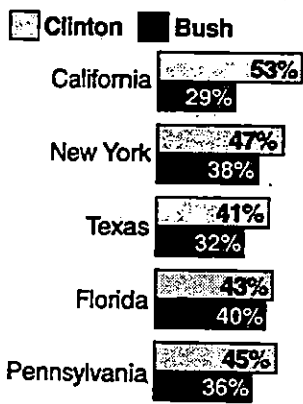
Bush on the skids, or just a bad month?

Orange County Register in an editorial: "George Herbert Bush can render his presidency most successful only by giving it up, voluntarily, before the party's convention opens in Houston a fortnight from now. ... In every sense, even in his favored arena of foreign policy, Mr. Bush has failed every bit as much as that last notable failure, Jimmy Carter."

George Will in a nationally syndicated column: "There is a bitter joke making the rounds among Republicans. What is the difference between John Gotti and George Bush? Answer: Gotti has at least one conviction. Actually, Bush has one. It is that he should be president. He is by now a figure of genuine pathos, because he is bewildered by the fact that more is expected of him than what has hitherto sufficed — his belief that people like him should administer things."

Poll results

Clinton leads Bush in the five states with the largest number of electoral votes:



Source: American Research Group

USA TODAY

Ellen Debenport, *St. Petersburg Times* columnist: "Maybe all this means that George Bush will lose the election, that he deserves America's anger and revulsion and that Clinton is the man to take the country into the future. It's more likely that July was just a bad month for Bush. Events converged to make his life miserable."

In a poll published today in the *National Law Journal*: Lawyers favor Clinton over Bush 58%-30%; the difference is even greater among women lawyers, 73%-16%. Toward Vice President Quayle, a frequent critic of lawyers, 74% have an unfavorable opinion, while 71% favor his Democratic rival, Gore.

Chicago Tribune in an editorial: "What's missing in this election-year debate is a clear enunciation of how to shrink the military within a sound policy framework for defense and foreign affairs."

Syndicated columnists Jack Germond, Jules Witcover: "It would be imprudent to suggest that opinion polls in July are any reliable indicator of what may happen more than three months from now. There are too many turns in the road still ahead. No one in politics has forgotten how Dukakis frittered away a 17-point lead four years ago or how Jimmy Carter only squeaked home after leading by as much as 30 points in July 1976."

Associated Press correspondent Walter Mears: "Despite the sound, fury and money of the campaign for the White House, about half the audience probably ... won't vote. Voter turnout barely exceeded 50% in 1988, the lowest in a presidential year since 1932. It could sink below that mark in the Nov. 3 election. ... Among major democracies, the U.S. ranks 23rd, at the bottom of the list, in voter participation."

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Clinton's Abortion Express

During his triumphant bus trip across mid-America following his nomination for president, Bill Clinton also completed his express ride across the political spectrum by suggesting he would support federal funding for abortions as part of a national health care plan.

Six years before, he was on record as governor of Arkansas flatly opposing such plans. Only a year ago, he pleasantly surprised pro-choicers back home by advocating abortion rights. Just last October, as he began his campaign for president, his rhetoric retained pro-life overtones.

That he has now fully embraced all abortion rights dogma puts him in the same category as many young Democrats, including his running mate, Sen. Al Gore, once an ardent pro-lifer. Like other switchers, Clinton and Gore have given no explanation of why they have changed and do not even admit they have changed.

This is politics, not ethics or morals, at work. With the abortion rights movement inducted into the Democratic coalition as a full-fledged partner in Madison Square Garden, Clinton is betting that is where the votes are. He risks a serious backlash among social conservatives, especially Catholics, that could become serious if this election gets close.

As a careful politician with his eye on the White House, Clinton has spent most of his 12 years as governor hedging abortion bets—but seeming to prefer a pro-life to a pro-choice image for the home folk. Just seven years ago, in 1985, he signed an act prohibiting abortions after the 25th week of pregnancy.

"I am opposed to abortion and to government funding of abortions," he wrote Earlene Windsor of Arkansas Right to Life on Sept. 26, 1986. "We should not spend state funds on abortions because so many people believe abortion is wrong." He said "I do support the concept" of a proposed state constitutional amendment against funding abortions and, he added, "agree with its stated purpose." A similar letter from Gore on May 26, 1987, declared that "it is wrong to spend federal funds for what is arguably the taking of a human life."

In 1989 Clinton reiterated his opposition to government funding and his support for parental notification of abortions, but noted: "I think that's enough government intervention." The profile was of the socially conservative Democratic politician who, if a member of Congress, votes pro-life.

But that label could have proved damaging to Clinton's imminent bid for president in the summer of 1991. He subsequently stunned Arkansas when on July 14 that year he addressed the National Women's Political Caucus in Washington and, for the first time publicly, came out for *Roe v. Wade*. "I was a little shocked," said a pleased Arkansas NOW president Barbara Middleton.

Clinton, wearing the centrist colors of the Democratic Leadership Council, then slowed down his abortion express. Campaigning in Texas, he said he opposed the use of Medicaid funds for abortion. "There's a big difference between being pro-choice and being for spending tax dollars for any kind of abortion," he said. "I don't think that's appropriate."

What then impelled Clinton so rapidly down the abortion track was his need to reach out to the left-wing interest groups when attacks on his character and integrity almost ruined him in the primaries. Facing catastrophe in the New York primary, he assailed Jerry Brown for being antiabortion, though in fact Brown is pro-choice.

By the time his nomination was clinched, Clinton had fully embraced the feminists. He opposed the Supreme Court's middle-ground abortion decision last month, seemingly reversing long-stated support of parental notification. "I have believed in the rule of *Roe v. Wade* for 20 years since I used to teach it in law school," he said, apparently forgetting that he told the American Bar Association last year that constitutional questions raised by the court are "difficult."

All that remained was to rid himself of that persistent bias against federal funding, which he did on the post-convention bus tour. An Associated Press report from Weirton, W.Va., on Clinton's interview with a religious broadcaster stated:

"When asked if he favored federal support for abortions for poor women, Clinton said that if the government provided national health care, he might support such funding. But he said it wasn't an issue now because Congress won't pass national health insurance."

It was one of those tortured political excursions frequently taken by Clinton. But it was clear where he has ended.

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The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Jeane Kirkpatrick

The Only Way to Stop Aggression

The Iraqis claim they won a "brilliant victory" in their negotiations with United Nations inspectors regarding access to buildings and documents. The Serbian government continues its campaign of "ethnic purification" through the siege and shelling of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge refuses to turn in its weapons or permit U.N. access to areas under its control.

In each case, an aggressor government or would-be government has refused to carry out an agreement to which it had acquiesced earlier. In each case, a settlement in which the U.N. is prominently involved is on the verge of collapsing. In each case, it has become clear that the government or would-be government acquiesced in peace negotiations and agreements in order to achieve short-range military advantages and that they violated the agreements when greater advantage could be gained by noncompliance.

Saddam Hussein agreed to a cease-fire to save his forces from imminent destruction. He refused to comply with its provisions once he believed he had more to gain by noncompliance. Milosevic has used the negotiation of cease-fire as a tactic to delay international action in the U.N. Security Council and in Bosnia-Herzegovina while his forces have continued to win control of more territory and drive out the non-Serbian population.

The Khmer Rouge has used a painstakingly negotiated international agreement for disarmament, resettlement and elections as an opportunity for its troops to re-enter Phnom Penh and other areas of Cambodia from which they had been driven by force.

Carl von Clausewitz and Thomas Hobbes would not have been surprised to see peace negotiations and solemn covenants used as tactics to buy short-range advantages for cynical combatants. But modern peace-makers seem not to have

expected that this would happen. U.N. spokesmen speak as if Saddam, Pol Pot and Milosevic rather suddenly developed a will to peace and could be counted on to honor their commitments—next time. They talk as if they did not know the consequences of such delays are irreversible.

Rolf Ekeus, the U.N. commission's leader in Baghdad, spoke as if he did not understand that the long standoff in front of the Department of Agriculture gave

It's standard practice for cutthroats to make agreements when the heat is on and to break them later.

Saddam's government ample time to dispose of information on its chemical and nuclear weapons programs.

"We have not given up the possibility of finding something," he said cheerily on leaving the building, as if there were still a possibility of meaningful inspection.

Nor can the thousands of people killed and homes destroyed in Bosnia-Herzegovina be restored by a belated agreement.

And all the while, U.N. peace-keepers in Cambodia proceed with implementation of the peace plan as if they do not understand that the Khmer Rouge is steadily improving its position under U.N. auspices.

Clearly, this is not working. But what can be done?

The elaborate architecture for collective security in Europe—the U.N., the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe,

NATO, the Western European Union—has proven ineffective in the face of aggression.

Is the hope of controlling aggression unrealistic? Is it just a matter of time until another Hitler or another Lenin rises in the ashes of Communism? Until Saddam renews his war against the world?

The failure is not in the goal, but in its pursuit. We have made unnecessary mistakes. The decision to leave Saddam in power was a terrible mistake—and not just George Bush's error but that of all those coalition leaders who, like Bush, worried more about creating a vacuum of power or fragmenting Iraq than about the future harm Saddam would do.

The passivity of the EC, U.N., U.S., and associated forces in the face of mass murder and devastation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a terrible mistake. It, too, is not just George Bush's error. It is the mistake of all those who stand by, declining to bomb the mortars and planes of Milosevic, as their predecessors once declined to bomb the ovens of Auschwitz.

Building collective security requires abandoning preferred myths and facing the fact that it is not poverty, not ethnicity, not the breakup of empires that cause war. It is violent men and lawless governments.

Fortunately, the frameworks for collective security are in place, and military and humanitarian resources are available. But it is necessary to mobilize and use them.

Doing so effectively will also require that the U.N. abandon some of its cherished notions about impartiality between victims and victimizers and about the minimum use of force against aggressors like Saddam Hussein. But the world has had too much experience to plead innocence about the consequences of appeasing such aggression.

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The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Arthur Rosenfeld and Evan Mills

A Better Idea

An improved light bulb could make dangerous, Chernobyl-class reactors a thing of the past.



BY KATY KELLY

Was the Chernobyl nuclear disaster only the first of many? A recent U.N. report raises the ominous prospect of 40 more Chernobyls in the former Soviet Union and Central Europe. A subsequent mishap at the Sosnovy Bor power plant near St. Petersburg reinforced the message. Plainly, the large number of poorly designed, dangerously outdated nuclear power plants in that part of the world poses a major threat to health and safety.

It is a complex problem but one in which a few of the answers are surprisingly simple. Consider just one of them that could have a great impact: a better light bulb.

In the former Soviet Union, lighting alone consumes an amount of energy comparable to that produced by 40 Chernobyls. Much of this lighting is produced in the most energy-wasteful way imaginable. Efficient, compact fluorescent lamps (CFLs) are almost unknown in the former Soviet states. In North America, sales of such lamps will approach 35 million this year and in Europe 90 million. Sales in the West are doubling every couple of years.

CFLs are similar in size and provide the same amount of light as common incandescent lamps, but they consume only one-fourth the energy. At Western electricity prices, they pay for themselves in about six months; Eastern prices have already risen to nearly half of Western. De-

pending on the extent of their use, these lamps could save the power produced by about five to 10 Chernobyls in the former Soviet Union.

Add to this the opportunities presented by a new generation of efficient long fluorescent tubes that offer about 10 percent savings in non-residential buildings plus substantially better color quality. Running these lamps with efficient and flicker-free electronic ballasts, cleaning dusty and yellowing fixtures and inserting aluminum reflectors to get the same light out of fewer lamps could bring the total savings toward 50 percent. Tally up another five to 10 Chernobyls.

To be sure, there are obstacles: a lack of hard currency, the financial risks that accompany technological change and the challenge of implementation. But there are far more serious obstacles facing those who would try to fix up the existing nuclear plants or find acceptable alternatives to them. In the end, economics tip the scales toward increasing efficiency.

We applaud the West's growing concern about the problem, but the new proposals to spend \$10 billion to \$20 billion on supply-side fixes are misguided. A less costly approach is to first invest in improved efficiency. For \$1 billion, a hundred million CFLs could be diverted to the former Soviet Union from Western markets. Each \$1 billion thus spent would turn off five or more nuclear plants.

Alternatively, the West could solve the hard-currency problem by financing construction of, say, 10 CFL factories (at \$7 million each) in the former Soviet Union. Electric utilities there or agents from other sectors could moderate the financial risk by guaranteeing to buy the first five years' production (30 million CFLs per factory). Joint ventures between electric utilities in North America and Eastern Europe are already being discussed as a means of marshaling investment in energy efficiency.

In addition to modernizing lighting, about 10 other categories of energy-efficiency strategies are popular in the United States today. Using these, the industry's Electric Power Research Institute estimates a 50 percent across-the-board savings opportunity in this country with a three-year payback time. If our relatively inefficient neighbors to the East were to use the same strategies (something that admittedly would have to be done with great care) the likely result would be even greater savings.

In any event, a 50 percent savings in the former Soviet Union would equal 150 of their largest power plants. If they wished, the ex-Soviets could then turn off the most dangerous of their nuclear plants, as well as 20 or so of the dirtiest coal-fired power plants. The remaining 100 surplus plants could be used domestically or to sell power to Western Europe for about \$25 billion of hard currency each year.

The former Soviet Union is the world's largest producer and consumer of oil (each about 10 million barrels per day), even with its current reduced production. It also has an inefficient economy that uses twice as much energy per unit of GNP as Japan or Western Europe. One result of this inefficiency is that hard-currency oil and gas exports are only about 10 percent of production. With a 50 percent energy-efficiency improvement (in and out of the power sector), exports could zoom to 10 million barrels a day of oil and gas, worth \$50 billion each year.

The prospects are bright. Lucrative and innovative solutions seem to be well within reach, if energy planners and policy makers are prepared to recognize the limitations of focusing exclusively on the supply side and realize instead the great gains to be made through greater energy efficiency.

Opportunities for improved energy efficiency are linked to the broader movement toward institutional, managerial and market-oriented reforms and to structural changes that must take place in the former Soviet Union. Making markets for energy-efficient products, fostering competition, pricing energy realistically, metering energy consumption and improving energy statistics are important building blocks.

Averting the impending nuclear nightmare and slowing environmental degradation wouldn't be the only dividends. Opening new avenues for economic development and creating new financial partnerships would increase international security in many ways. We would all sleep easier as a result.

Arthur Rosenfeld is a professor of physics at the University of California at Berkeley and director of the Center for Building Science at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory. Evan Mills is the Center's assistant director.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Lawrence J. Vale

Jack Kemp's Pet Delusion

Public housing tenants are too poor to buy their apartments, and they're getting poorer.

In a society that venerates the privately-owned single family home, public housing has remained perpetually contentious. Now that there is reinvigorated debate over the successes and failures of a half-century of government-sponsored social welfare programs, public housing is also coming under renewed scrutiny. Lost somewhere in the shuffle of rapid policy-making, however, has been the gap in logic between the Bush administration's ideological commitment to home-ownership opportunities for public housing residents and the mounting evidence of their increasingly extreme socioeconomic deprivation.

Inspired by the sales of council housing in Britain, HUD policy-makers have wholeheartedly embraced the idea that American public housing should be sold off to tenants. Yet an increasingly large majority of public housing families lacks adequate financial resources to participate, and much of the public homes stock falls far short of the desirable environments usually associated with home-ownership.

Ignoring the results of a HUD-sponsored study that cast considerable doubt on HUD's Public Housing Homeownership Demonstration Project, HUD Secretary Jack Kemp incongruously continues to tout public housing homeownership. Can he really be oblivious to the ways that such limited and idealized alternatives to public housing are almost comically implausible notions for most public housing residents?

Public housing tenants are very poor and getting poorer. In the vast majority of large public housing authorities, average household income has been declining, at least since the mid-1980s. HUD now estimates that more than 80 percent of the non-elderly public housing population lives below the poverty line and that the very poorest families are disproportionately non-white.

In large public housing authorities, approximately two-thirds of non-elderly families are headed by single women. As a percentage of only those families with dependent children, the preponderance of female-headed households is even more overwhelming. The national average is 85 percent, and it surpasses 95 percent in some cities. About three-quarters of public housing families report receiving no income from employment, and a growing majority of non-elderly public housing families receive welfare.

These trends identify a population that is ever more vulnerable, both economically and physically. Because public housing has been asked to bear special responsibility to shelter the poorest of the poor, there has been an aggregation of particularly vulnerable households in many multifamily developments at a time when drug related crime and violence is on the rise. Is it then surprising that in some places the public housing stock has been allowed to deteriorate so much that even the Bush administration calls it "severely distressed"?

The National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing was established by Congress in December 1989 and charged with establishing a

"national action plan to eliminate distressed public housing by the year 2000." This blue-ribbon panel of housing advocates and elected officials released its preliminary report last month.

As one of its principal recommendations, the commission proposes new legislation to create a separate funding program specifically targeted at severely distressed public housing. The creation of this new HUD Special Unit on Severely Distressed Public Housing seems promising and fits neatly within the commission's mandate to address this portion of the public housing stock, but it must not be allowed to distract attention from the rest of the approximately \$30 billion backlog of public housing needs.

Without broad attention to all the developments in the nation's public housing stock and to the neighborhoods that surround them, today's relatively stable developments may become part of tomorrow's problems, and even "successfully revitalized" developments may once again decline.

Whatever the statutory changes and increased funding that may follow from the commission's recommendations, important questions remain for the future of public housing. Will a renewed focus on "worst-case" housing developments take away from efforts needed to prevent those devel-

opments that are only slightly better off from continuing to decline toward "severe distress"? Will policy-makers lose sight of the broader economic impoverishment that characterizes life in most public housing and in the neighborhoods that surround it? Will the commission's recommendations lead chiefly to improvements in the physical environment without corresponding investment in job training and service provision?

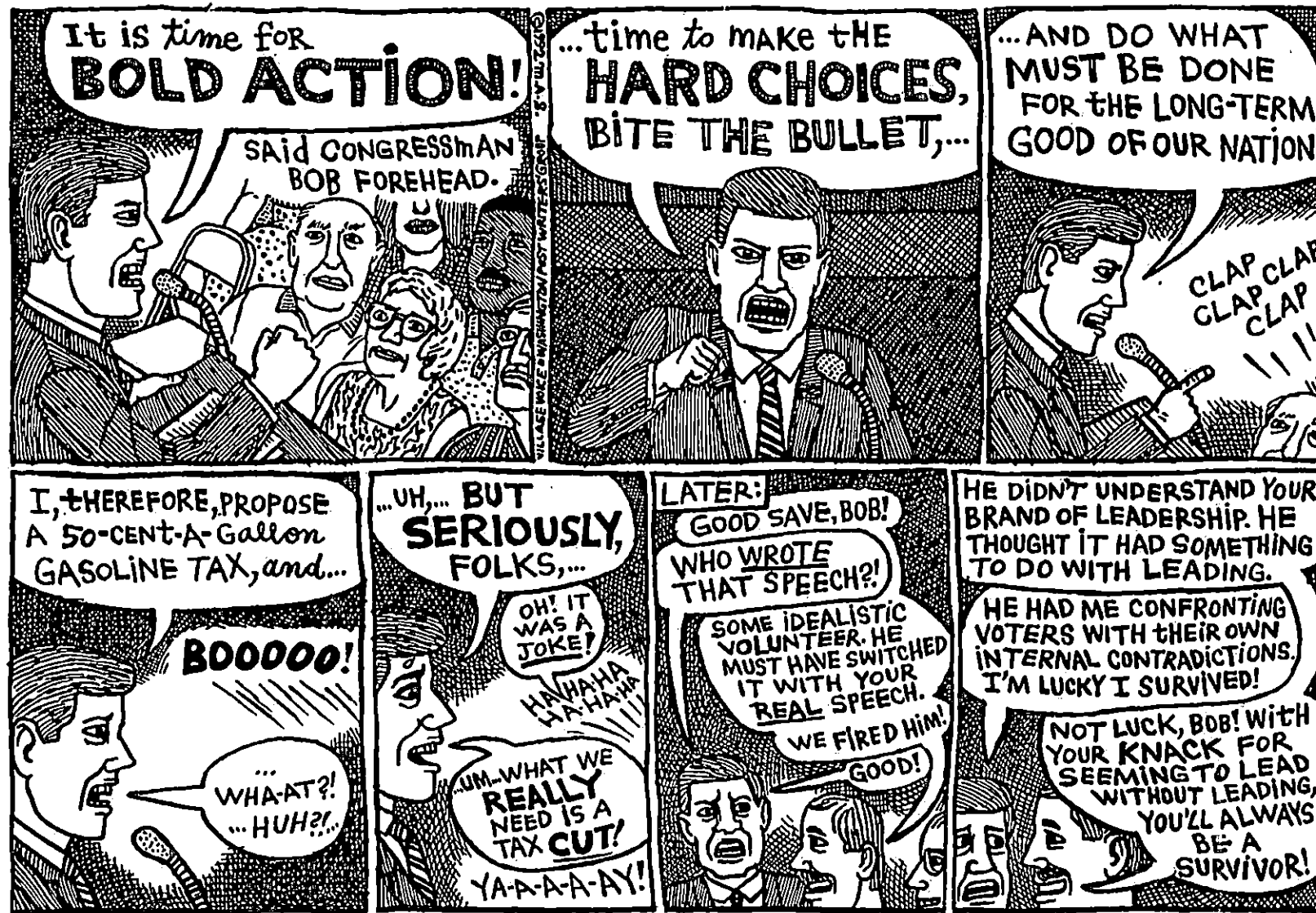
The Commission's Preliminary Report acknowledges that investment of million of dollars on public housing sites "without stimulating any neighborhood revitalization would be counterproductive," but there is as yet no call for significant additional funds to initiate this stimulus.

Instead, despite a renewed commitment to sustain the public housing stock, the Commission's Preliminary Report cannot resist multiple forays into the Kempian fantasy of homeownership. In the end, though, it is not the ideals of the public housing homeownership advocates that are at fault; it is the superficiality and disingenuousness of their commitment in the context of extreme socioeconomic deprivation that must be called into question.

The writer is a professor of urban development at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

WASHINGTON[®]

Mark Alan Stamaty



The cartoonist is a contributor to the Village Voice.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Atrocity in Bosnia

HORRIFIC IMAGES and eerily reminiscent accounts are flowing out of the Bosnian war—reminiscent, more and more witnesses are saying, of the Nazi era. In the areas marked out by Serbian forces for so-called “ethnic cleansing,” 2½ million people have been forced to leave their homes. Before they leave, usually at gunpoint—so say scores of refugees who have reached asylum in Croatia, Germany or Austria—they must sign papers saying they abandoned home and possessions voluntarily. In areas where Muslims, Croats and Serbs coexisted for centuries, entire non-Serb villages have been emptied and the inhabitants (mostly Muslims) deported in sealed boxcars. Some prisoners have spent up to four days on trains without food or sanitation facilities, and others, turned back at borders, have been crammed into refugee camps operating at three and four times capacity. In Goradze, a mostly Muslim town cut off by Serbian shelling, 75,000 civilians are trapped and sending out frantic radio appeals for international assistance. The help they want is military; a humanitarian aid convoy from the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, carrying food, attempted to reach them but was attacked and forced to turn back.

Images like these have not come out of Europe since a war whose depredations and atrocities—it has been agreed again and again—would never be allowed to recur. The analogy is more than just pictorial. Like then, the massive displacement of desperate people is not, as in most wars, a side effect of the conflict but its major purpose. Serbian leaders have said openly to U.N. observ-

ers that they aim to expel all non-Serbs from the lands they hold and bring in more Serbian inhabitants later. Prewar Bosnia was roughly 44 percent Muslim, 13 percent Croat; some areas now being “cleansed” are 80 percent Muslim.

For those who look back at World War II with perplexity, who wonder and can't grasp how the world stood by, it is now possible to observe several forms of inertia that are playing a role. For Americans, it's all too easy to view the Yugoslav tragedy as a far-off, impenetrable and even perhaps faintly comical ethnic muddle, source of clever words like “balkanization” to apply to other regions and of endless, ponderous place-names. The many-sided politics of the war are in fact stupefyingly complex, and talk of possible military action, such as easing sieges by bombing Serb artillery emplacements, bogs down swiftly in practical and political calculations.

But the Bosnians' situation at this point is neither comical nor theoretical; they are people upon whom unbelievable and impermissible barbarities are being visited by an army whose stated purpose no civilized government can condone. The State Department in June called the “ethnic cleansing” policy “totally abhorrent and savage,” but throughout denunciations, sanctions and U.N. presence the outrage has, if anything, escalated. The practical difficulties and the politics of going further remain complicated and ambiguous, but what the Serbs are doing is not. The moral imperative to somehow stop them is overwhelming.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Yes, Veto the Tax Bill

JACK KEMP says that the president should veto the Senate Finance Committee tax bill if it reaches him in its present form. The irrepressible housing secretary is absolutely right, but unfortunately for all the wrong reasons. Most of the tax cuts that second-rate buffet contains would do little economic good and aren't really paid for, so that in the aggregate, by increasing the deficit, they would do considerable harm. The unregenerate Mr. Kemp's supply-side solution to the problem would be to exacerbate it; a bill without a cut in the capital gains tax—at least such a cut within enterprise zones—is not worth having, he says. His cure would make the problem worse, not better.

This bill was written and seems likely to pass much more for political reasons than for any economic virtue. The president has accused the Democrats of contributing to the economy's weakness by failing to pass his "growth initiatives." The bill would give him most of these minor adjustments; the table of contents comes largely from his budget. He gets most of his program at the cost of an issue; the Democrats neutralize the issue, shift the finger of blame back to him and have a legislative trophy to wave besides. Government works; that will be part of the message you will hear from both parties.

But not many people are seriously claiming that the bill itself will work—that the provisions as distinct from the parliamentary achievement will make that much difference. Senate minority leader and Finance Committee member Bob Dole was climbing off the measure even as he helped to send it to the floor. "It's not going to change

the economy in three months very much, but at least it's an indication we can get things done," he was quoted as saying.

One provision from the president's budget is an "investment tax allowance" or special depreciation rate for equipment bought in the next year. But the government then would quickly recover the taxes forgone, or most of them, because the businesses would have that much less depreciation to claim later; the stimulus is a deferral only. Another provision would give a \$2,500 credit for the rest of this year only to first-time home buyers; what will that turn around? The alternative minimum taxes on profitable corporations and well-off individuals were slightly eased; the minimums are meant to make sure that such companies and people pay something no matter how good their tax attorneys are. A number of minor breaks were also given to the hurting real estate industry.

There's more, but none of it calculated to give much lift to a \$6 trillion economy. The most important provision is a huge, unwarranted and unfunded future giveaway to the better-off in the form of a new IRA, or individual retirement account. It would add \$10 billion a year to turn-of-the-century deficits and the inability to govern. Instead of debating that, the administration and senators are debating what the capital gains tax rate should be in a handful of enterprise zones. This is a debate over symbols, not substance; the bill itself is a symbol of a government that has ceased to function in a serious way.

The Washington Post

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The Discoverers Are at It Again

THE AMERICANS and the French are bickering over more than NATO these days. They are also reviving an old feud over the discovery of the AIDS virus. It's an argument that drags in complex science, prickly personalities, the pride of nations and, of course, money.

For years, Dr. Robert Gallo and his laboratory at the National Cancer Institute have been described as "co-discoverers" of the AIDS virus. They've been sharing the honor—and the patent royalties from the blood tests—with Dr. Luc Montagnier and his lab at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Unfortunately, it was not collegiality that led to the mutual recognition but legal actions.

The great race to find the cause of AIDS was characterized more by fierce competition than friendly collaboration. The American and French laboratories, filled with various isolates, cultures and viral contaminants, were working toward the same conclusion at about the same time. But it was Dr. Gallo, in a highly publicized press conference, who first seized credit for the discovery. The French, who already had filed a patent application for a diagnostic test to detect AIDS antibodies, grew disgruntled and suspicious. The virus identified by Dr. Gallo was remarkably similar to an isolate sent to him by Dr. Montagnier.

What ensued was a messy legal battle over blood-test patents and a heated personal and political battle over credit that continues today—despite a 1987 settlement agreement that stipulates the royalty distributions. For years, Dr.

Gallo was coy about the scientific value of the Pasteur samples, saying they were not the origin of his discovery. He steadfastly refused to acknowledge fully the French contribution. Then last year he made an admission in the journal *Nature*: The virus "discovered" in his laboratory was indeed the virus isolated and identified by Dr. Montagnier.

This belated admission changes everything, the French claim. The Pasteur Institute now wants the royalties reallocated in its favor. A million or \$2 million more a year would mean far more to the small private French lab than it would to the Department of Health and Human Services and its sprawling research institutes.

The U.S. government apparently hesitates to renegotiate the settlement agreement—in part because of the continuing investigations, civil and criminal, surrounding Dr. Gallo's conduct at the time of the patent application and later on. The recurring question: What did Dr. Gallo and U.S. representatives know, and when did they know it? Allegations of perjury and patent fraud dog Dr. Gallo.

The inquiries are important, and they should lead to answers. Meanwhile, renowned scientists on both sides of the Atlantic are diverted from the most urgent inquiry of all—the elusive cure for AIDS. The quest for reward shouldn't quash the spirit of scientific cooperation both teams once pledged to uphold.

The Washington Post

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JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEN

Buchanan Aims Right Toward 1996

The late senator George Aiken (R-Vt.) had a famous plan for ending the Vietnam War: Declare victory and get out. Former Republican presidential challenger Patrick J. Buchanan will follow a similar strategy in Houston by declaring victory and endorsing the Bush-Quayle ticket.

After a bloody and bitter battle to unseat an incumbent whom he regards as a traitor to the cause, Buchanan hasn't changed his mind about Bush as much as he has reconciled himself to reality. He will bow out in Houston gracefully, but not before claiming some measure of vindication and victory in veering the GOP back to the Reagan right. With time running out before the Republican convention, Buchanan isn't talking. He told us this is his "down time."

Some of his victories seem trivial. Buchanan will take credit for forcing John Frohnmayer out as chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, a favorite right-wing target, over its funding of controversial art. Days after Bush's close call in New Hampshire, where Buchanan won 37 percent of the Republican vote, the White House forced Frohnmayer's resignation.

"I think the Republican Party is going to be a Buchanan Party by 1996," Buchanan said in a recent meeting with supporters. "And one of the reasons I think so is when people refuse to debate and argue, and simply call names, it shows an intellectual weakness that can't be sustained. They kept me out of primaries. They can keep you out of conventions. They can keep you off ballots. They can disinvite you to dinners. And they can keep me out of the Houston convention. But that's not the way you're going to win the country."

The battle-lines are already visible for a war in 1996 among conservatives vying for the heart and soul of the party. Buchanan will be promoting what some have called "paleoconservatism," protectionism, "America First," and anti-immigration. Buchanan's followers are fewer than the "brigades" he once referred to, but they are die-hard and surprisingly young.

His early rivals—including Dan Quayle, Jack Kemp, former drug czar William J. Bennett and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm—represent a wing of Republicanism that could relegate Buchanan to the

role of outcast. This wing is more interventionist, internationalist and pro-Israel. Despite these schisms, his differences with rival conservatives have become more personal than political. Bennett suggested at one point that Buchanan was "flirting with fascism," and Buchanan vowed not to forget the attack. Kemp referred to his "nativism" and GOP Chairman Richard N. Bond even made a comparison once between Buchanan and David Duke. Even for a streetfighter like Buchanan, some of those punches seemed to wobble him.

What made Buchanan run in the first place? Conservative Caucus Chairman Howard Phillips had initially urged Buchanan to run as a third-party candidate, which Buchanan never seriously considered. Buchanan's friends say he wouldn't have ever made the run had it not been for what he viewed as Bush's caving in on the principle of quotas, a "betrayal" that followed the breaking of the tax pledge.

Houston will be the place not so much where Buchanan ends one presidential quest, but where he launches a new one for '96. Buchanan is a man biding his time, taking names and planning for another day. Behind the smile there's a scrappy Irish kid pawing the ground for another fight:

"We're [Republicans] behaving like the liberals did before the Reagan landslide when they said, 'You know the conservatives; you can ignore their arguments. They're irrelevant. You don't even have to listen to them,'" Buchanan told supporters.

Dan Quayle may not be able to spell potato, but he has proved himself to be an adept vote counter and Capitol Hill emissary for George Bush. Even Democrats grudgingly concede that Quayle has been Bush's secret weapon during tight legislative battles.

In the maddening days leading up to the Senate's final vote on Clarence Thomas's confirmation to the Supreme Court, for example, Quayle worked the Hill like a precinct captain, keeping rank-and-file Republicans on board and coaxing some Democrats to vote with the administration. "The White House ignores him until it comes to a real close vote and they need some help," says one member of the Quayle fan club. "Then Quayle's on the phone talking to the Democrats."

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Bosnian War Yields New 'Weapons'

City Using Women and Children as Political Levers

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

BIHAC, Bosnia—Politicians in this shell-blasted Slavic Muslim city of 70,000 steadfastly refuse to allow pregnant women and small children to flee the violence.

They refuse despite acute shortages of food and medicine, despite the lack of bomb shelters and despite daily shelling by Serb militia forces from nearby hills, which has killed and wounded scores of children since June. One mortar shell last month killed four small girls who were playing in the street.

Ludmila Nenadovic, a pediatrician who heads the local children's clinic, wrote a letter a month ago to city authorities, pleading that 8,000 children under 6 years of age and 1,000 pregnant women be allowed to leave Bihac and go to neighboring Croatia as refugees. "I don't want children to be held hostages as a solution to a political problem," Nenadovic said in an interview.

Thousands of Bihac parents agree with the doctor. Every day about 150 of them visit the International Red Cross office here, demanding that their children be evacuated. But local

leaders are ignoring the pleas, insisting that their city must stay intact. They say that staying together, even in the face of overwhelming firepower, is the only way to stop the Serb militia campaign of "ethnic cleansing," in which non-Serbs are driven from territory they control by threat and terror.

"It is true that people want to leave. But it is not acceptable because it is the first sign of weakness," said Irfan Ljubijankic, the senior Muslim politician in the city. "It is difficult to ask people to stay, but we must survive. If we were to get out of this area, we will never come back," he said.

The dilemma over what to do with the children and pregnant women of Bihac is echoed across other areas of war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina where Muslims still manage to hold out against powerful Serb attacks. Muslim political leaders, badly outgunned by Serb forces with access to the huge Yugoslav army arsenal, say that women and children are two of the most valuable defensive weapons they have in the four-month-old Bosnian conflict.

Not only does their presence help the mo-

See BOSNIA, A14, Col. 3

BOSNIA, From A1

role of the men who are fighting, but it gives the Muslims—Bosnia's largest communal group and the main target of Serb attacks—a humanitarian trump card in coverage of the war by the international media. That point was illustrated Saturday in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, when a busload of orphans came under machine-gun fire, leaving two children dead. The incident received intense coverage from European and American television.

The Muslim-led Bosnian government is demanding foreign military intervention to halt what it describes as genocide, and many here believe that the best way to goad Western governments into action is with media coverage of the suffering of children and pregnant women.

Ljubijankic insists that the only way for his city to survive daily shelling is for the West to launch air strikes on Serb artillery positions. And although he does not say so explicitly, he does not deny that the presence in his city of women and children can be used to increase world revulsion over the Serb attacks. "It is very offensive when we hear that there are two sides in this conflict," said Ljubijankic. "There are not two sides. There is the side that is attacking and there is the side that is trying to survive. We are really in a horrible situation."

After four months of warfare in Bosnia, Serb forces control two-thirds of the republic and have driven hundreds of thousands of Muslims

from their homes, creating the worst refugee crisis in Europe since World War II. At an emergency conference last week in Geneva on the refugee problem, Western countries supported the idea of using U.N. soldiers to create "special protection zones" inside Bosnia. The zones, in theory, would protect Muslims in their homes and dam the flood of refugees.

Bihac, in northwestern Bosnia, is described by U.N. military observers and International Red Cross relief specialists as the ideal candidate to be the first such protected zone in Bosnia. Muslim politicians here enthusiastically support the idea because it could mean that armed U.N. forces would silence the Serb guns pounding the city. Again, the presence of women and children in Bihac, without sufficient shelter from the shelling, can be used to add extra pressure on the U.N. Security Council to approve the protection plan.

In the meantime, however, the pediatrician who has demanded the evacuation of the pregnant women and small children continues to argue that Bihac is an "inhuman place" to raise kids. "We have a lot of children whose only food is bread and water," said Nenadovic. "There will be more and more sickness because they don't have proper food. Very soon they will start dying of malnutrition-related illness."

Parents who agree with Nenadovic complain that some local politicians are keeping other people's children hostage while their own have been evacuated. Ljubijankic sent his two young children to Croatia before the shelling began in June.

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Serbian American Group Complains Post Is Biased

75 Demonstrate Outside Newspaper Building

By Patrice Gaines-Carter
Washington Post Staff Writer

About 75 demonstrators marched in front of The Washington Post building yesterday afternoon to protest what they called the newspaper's biased coverage of the war in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia and Croatia.

"There has been one-sided reporting . . . which says the only victims are [Bosnian] Muslims and Croats and portrays the Serbs as butchers," said Danielle Sremac, speaking to the group on the steps of The Post building on 15th Street NW.

Protesters said that Post coverage of the war uses "exclusively interviews from Muslims and not Serbs" and that there "has not been a single photograph or story in regard to the 400,000 [Serb] refugees from Bosnia."

Post Foreign Editor David Ignatius said, "Our reporters have worked hard to cover all sides of the conflict . . . and to be as fair and balanced in our coverage as possible."

At one point Ignatius talked with protesters and listened to their criticisms. In a letter to Managing Editor Robert G. Kaiser, a group called the Serbian American Committee for Fairness in the News requested a

meeting with editors. Ignatius assured demonstrators that he was willing to meet with them.

Some protesters carried signs, including one that said, "Freedom of the Press is not Freedom to Lie." Another said: "You know next to nothing about our history! Be ashamed." After Sremac spoke,

*"There has been
one-sided reporting
. . . which says the
only victims are
Muslims and
Croats."*

—Danielle Sremac

there were several chants of "Washington Post: Print fact, not fiction."

Nikolaos Stadvrou, a professor of international affairs at Howard University, said he was neither Muslim nor Serb but joined the demonstration because he was outraged by the unfairness of the coverage.

"The Washington Post has to talk about Serb suffering as well as Muslim suffering," Stadvrou said.

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U.S.-Japan Trade Talks Resolve Little

JAPAN, From A12

to "revitalize" the initiative during his ill-fated trip to Japan in January.

Outside government, however, some of the most successful sectors of U.S. industry are moving in the opposite direction.

Instead of complaining about Japan's differences, American companies are teaming up with Japanese industry in an ever-expanding network of interconnections. In the fields of computers, communications, semiconductors and chemicals, new multimillion-dollar agreements are being signed every week for engineering and manufacturing consortiums.

Some American firms signing agreements with Japanese firms may be doing so just to get a foothold in Japan's notoriously hard-to-crack market. But most of the biggest joint ventures involve companies such as IBM, Intel and Texas Instruments that have long had a solid presence in Japan.

In these joint ventures, American firms are taking advantage of the very Japanese traits—the commitment to long working hours and long-term investment at the expense of current consumption—that the U.S. government is trying to change through the structural impediments talks.

One of the chief points U.S. officials raised in the talks last week was something the American side calls the "savings and investment issue"—that is, the fact that the Japanese save more than Americans and invest more in industry. Ironically, the Japanese willingness to make long-term investments is one of the attractions American companies regularly cite when they form joint ventures with partners here.

In an era where there is increasing interdependence, is there room left for the Structural Impediments Initiative?

"When you look at the way the real world is moving, the government's fixation on SII has become a

joke," said a prominent American trade lawyer, who asked not to be named. "The problem is, the Bush people sort of invented this concept and they can't admit it didn't work."

The U.S. negotiating team that traveled here last week acknowledged some frustration with the results of this latest round of talks. "We had hoped for some commitments to short-term improvements, but we expect the results will be in medium term and long term," one official said.

But the Bush administration says it still looks to the talks as its chief forum for improving the trade numbers. "There has been a dramatic improvement in the U.S. trade balance" since the process began, said Olin L. Wethington, assistant U.S. treasury secretary for international affairs.

The U.S. merchandise trade deficit with Japan rose steadily through the 1980s, to a peak of \$52.1 billion in 1987. Since Bush took office in January 1989, the number has dropped, hitting a low of \$38 billion in 1990.

But this year, the combination of strong Japanese exports and a slump in imports to the slowing Japanese economy makes it certain that the deficit will rise again, perhaps even surpassing the 1987 record.

Many American businessmen say that the targets set by the Bush administration's approach are remote from the actual problems of companies that are trying to compete against the Japanese.

"The basic problem with the SII talks is that they focus exclusively

Unique U.S. Approach to Japan Trade Talks Raises Questions

By T. R. Reid

Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO—With the U.S.-Japanese trade imbalance zooming this year toward record levels of red ink for the American side, top officials from the world's two richest countries met here last week for the most important bilateral trade negotiations of 1992.

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Shuffling piles of papers and sipping cups of barley tea, they labored mightily and produced, well past midnight on the last day, the diplomatic equivalent of a mouse: a thick but vacuous document that both sides agree will have no short-term impact on the trade imbalance. The American team agreed that Washing-

ton will "make an effort" to eliminate the \$400 billion U.S. budget deficit.

The Japanese agreed to "make an effort" to reduce housing costs in Japan by about 30 percent—a task that is as utopian as balancing the U.S. budget.

"When you look at what they achieved, you have to ask: What's the point?" said John Stern, Tokyo representative of the American Electronics Association. "Should we really spend all this energy and taxpayers' money on a process that will not increase the exports of any American product or service?"

The process in question is the Structural Impediments Initiative—called "SII" by diplomats—a new kind of trade negotiation the Bush administration launched with fanfare in 1989.

The concept of this process represents the political ascendancy of the "revisionist" school of Japanese studies in the United States. This view holds that "Japan is different" and must be made more like the United States before its chronic trade surpluses can be trimmed.

The idea, based on the work of scholars such as Chalmers Johnson of the University of California at San Diego, is that basic structural change in Japan's economy and society is required to remove built-in impediments to American imports.

The initiative has had no discernible impact on some of the most important U.S.-Japanese trade disputes, including bilateral trade in semiconductors—the crude oil of the computer age. This week, the United States is

expected to issue a report showing that efforts to increase U.S. semiconductor sales in Japan have flopped.

"The numbers on semiconductor sales aren't getting any better, so I wonder why the government sent this big team here to talk about SII," said Roger Mathus, who heads the Tokyo office of the California-based Semiconductor Industry Association. "It always amazes me the type of subjects they put all these hours into."

The Bush administration has held firmly to the Structural Impediments Initiative approach during three years of recurring negotiations. President Bush expressed his desire

See JAPAN, A16, Col. 3

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on some professor's idea of how the Japanese economy works," said industry representative Stern, whose job is to sell American electronic equipment in Japan.

U.S. officials are able to cite one key result of the approach: the revision of Japan's restrictive "large retail store law," which made it almost impossible for big American retailers to open branches in Japan. Because of recent changes brought about by U.S. government pressure, some well-known retailers, such as Toys R Us, are opening stores in Japan.

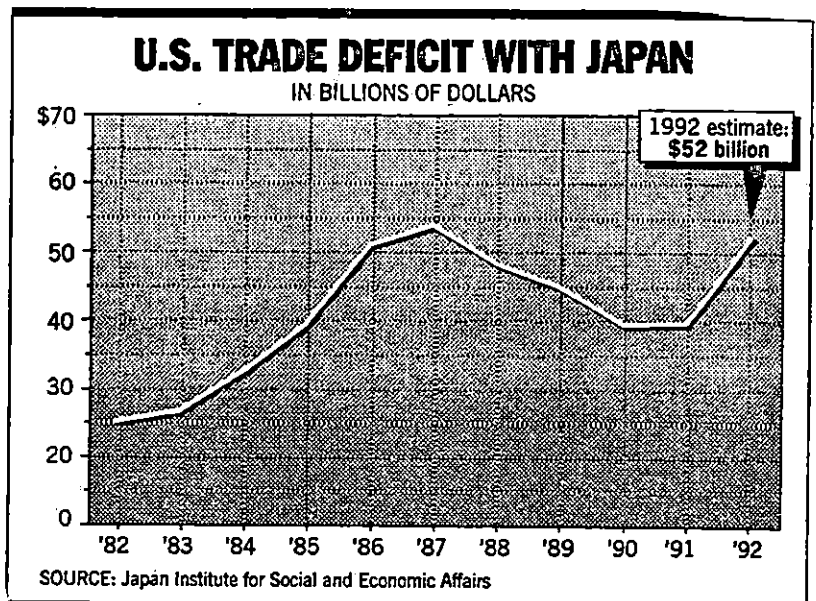
While the resulting price competition is clearly beneficial for Japanese consumers, it is not clear what benefit this provides the United States.

Administration officials contend that the introduction of discount merchandising in Japan will create demand for lower-cost American products. This has not happened at Toys R Us, however. Most of the products it sells come from Japan, China and Southeast Asia.

For the Japanese, the U.S. negotiating approach serves as an important locus of *gaiatsu*, or outside pressure, a lever the Japanese government often uses to justify making changes at home.

"SII has been quite effective for us," said Atsushi Kuse, an analyst of U.S.-Japan relations. "Without it, we wouldn't have Toys R Us."

"It's shameful, really, that we need *gaiatsu* to improve our lifestyle, but the fact is, we need this pressure to make changes in our society," Kuse said.



BY CAROL PORTER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Shock in Jordan at Iraqi Executions

Elite Reacts to Killings of Businessmen Accused of Profiteering

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

AMMAN, Jordan—For the last week, Jordanians and Iraqis have flocked to the homes of three wealthy families here to console relatives of prominent merchants executed last week by the Iraqi government.

The government of President Saddam Hussein arrested several hundred Iraqi businessmen recently and, on July 26, executed a number of them who were accused of profiteering. Others reportedly were tied to telephone poles near their shops, and the public was invited to insult them. Most accounts by Iraqis here say more than 40 men were put to death. A London-based opposition group, the Iraqi National Congress, said it confirmed the deaths of 15 merchants.

The executed businessmen were from wealthy, long-prominent Iraqi families and included both Sunni and Shiite Muslims. One victim was Saleem Hamra, in his sixties, who was a former chairman of the Iraqi Chamber of Commerce, according to the Iraqi National Congress and several Iraqis here. Hamra's brother and nephew also were executed, they said.

Such punishment is nothing new for Baghdad. But these killings shocked many in Amman and ripped through the waning, but still notable, reservoir of sympathy for Saddam. This time, his victims were the counterparts—and frequent business partners—of Amman's upper-crust Jordanians and Palestinians.

"I've heard people say it's the action of a madman just before he leaves," said a Jordanian reporter. "At a minimum, it's making people think. Even columnists who are pro-Iraq . . . don't know how to justify it. They stayed mum on this. People just can't accept the lack of humanity. . . . Everyone is talking about it."

Still, some Jordanians were more skeptical. The exe-

cutions are "being treated as rumors," said economist Fahed Fanek, who has been supportive of Iraq throughout its confrontation with the West in the Persian Gulf. "It could be part of the disinformation that the CIA is making against Iraq," he added.

Relatives of some of the men executed were in Amman at the time, a fact that heightened the impact here of the killings. A few reportedly flew quickly to Europe, fearful of Iraqi intelligence agents here.

Others remained, but took precautions. One, who asked not to be identified, said he carries a pistol. He said Saddam's government has confiscated the business inventories of those executed, and many Iraqis said that when the families in Baghdad received the bodies, they were ordered not to hold the traditional open house for those wishing to convey condolences.

When the United Nations imposed economic sanctions on Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait two years ago, Baghdad lifted restrictions on private traders to keep goods, particularly food, coming in. But hyperinflation caused by the government's printing of money and a shortage of foreign currency steadily forced prices up. Low-income Iraqis find the prices of staples rising above their means.

Prices went still higher during the latest confrontation between Iraq and the United Nations as Iraqis, fearful of a U.S. airstrike, hoarded goods. The Iraqi dinar also fell to its lowest value ever: four to five U.S. cents per dinar. Officially, in Iraq, a dinar is worth \$3.

As complaints rose, Saddam condemned the merchants. On the day of the executions, he excoriated some food importers for "siding with the foreigners" by charging too much. Why, he asked, should not "the law be used to break the necks of those who do not deserve to remain alive?"

See IRAQ, A16, Col. 1

IRAQ, From A12

"Our hope was for merchants to . . . offer people commodities at cost and to say: We are working to achieve the satisfaction of God . . . since the people are experiencing hard times," Saddam said. "Regrettably, some merchants . . . were carried away by the misgivings of the devil," he said.

Neither Saddam nor the Iraqi press mentioned those who many Iraqis say are profiting most in Baghdad's marketplace: Saddam's own family. Elder son Udai, according to Western and Iraqi sources, has cornered whiskey, beer and cigarette imports. Before Jordan tightened up on illicit trade with Iraq, his middlemen were shipping plane loads of cigarettes from Cyprus and Malta via Amman to Baghdad, the sources said.

The executions may backfire on the government by causing food shortages if Iraqi traders stop importing. "Hardly any Iraqi trader sent anything to his country from our warehouse" since the executions, a Jordanian exporter told the Reuters news agency. "They tell us even if the goods are given to them for free, they are not ready to risk their lives."

Some Iraqis and Jordanians sug-

gest that Saddam sought not only to find scapegoats for high prices, but also to warn against political dissidence.

Two Years After Invasion, Iraq Again Claims Kuwait

From News Services

KUWAIT, Aug. 2—Two years after Iraq invaded Kuwait, starting the Persian Gulf war, President Saddam Hussein's government repeated its former claim to the emirate, which it had formally dropped as part of the cease-fire last year with U.S.-led forces.

State-run radio said "zealous Iraqis" would continue historical claims "to repossess Kuwait, because it is part of Iraqi territory." A government newspaper, al-Jumhuriya, said Iraq's pullout did not mean it had given up its right to the emirate.

Iraq's renewed claims raised widespread fears among Kuwaitis, which seemed only partially assuaged by the arrival of U.S. troops for a month of joint military exercises. "Kuwait is Free," the English-language Arab Times trumpeted, while the daily al-Watan ran the headline "American forces have reached Kuwait."

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Economic Ills Turn California Dream Into a Nightmare

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES—California's economy is in tatters, and public confidence in its political leadership has fallen to an all-time low.

Aerospace plants stand idle or work skeleton shifts. In Southern California, where the recession is worst, moving companies that carry disillusioned families out of state make up one of the few boom industries. On the state's north coast, the salmon fishing industry has been virtually shut down by the drought. Housing sales continue to tumble throughout the state. One of every 10 Californians is out of work.

In Sacramento, the state capital, the budget process is nearing collapse. The state government for a month has been paying its bills with IOU's known as registered warrants, but California's largest banks plan to stop honoring them Wednesday. Polls show that the favorable rating of Gov. Pete Wilson (R) has dropped to 20 percent and that of the Democratic-controlled state legislature to 9 percent.

These are the lowest such approval figures ever recorded by nonpartisan pollster Mervin Field, who has been surveying public opinion in California since World War II. But Field thinks the public will be even less approving once it feels the "real pain" of the cutbacks needed to close an \$11 billion budget gap.

"It's an article of faith with Californians that tomorrow will be better and, if not tomorrow, the day after that," Field said. "These days people feel the state is going steadily downhill, and they can't see the bottom."

The nature of the budget battle in Sacramento suggests the dimension of the problem. Wilson, who has refused to carry over any of the deficit into 1993, seeks

See CALIFORNIA, A8, Col. 1

CALIFORNIA, From A1

a \$2 billion cut in education spending while the Democrats propose \$600 million. The state's education establishment solidly backs the Democrats, who even so are proposing cutbacks that would have been unthinkable two years ago.

On the other hand, hard-pressed city governments are up in arms against the legislature, which wants to make more cuts than Wilson does in allocations to the cities. Local government officials warn this could mean reduction of basic services in communities that have already squeezed them.

Whatever formula is eventually devised, both sides agree that the results are likely to be horrendous.

"This is a horrible budget," said Jim Lewis, spokesman for Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D). "We're cutting basic medical and other services that many of us thought would never be touched."

"We face abhorrent choices," said Bob White, Wilson's chief of staff. "We can't do what we want to do or what we probably should do—we can only do the best we can."

In an interview Friday, Wilson said that the plight of California reflected "external factors" of aerospace layoffs and national recession and the unwillingness of the legislature to improve an inhospitable business climate that he said is causing a massive job flight.

"The state is very vulnerable," Wilson said. "The economy is driven by aerospace and by real estate, which is flat as a pancake. The weakness of these two pillars has put the state at risk."

In June, the last month for which state-by-state figures are available, California home sales fell 14.5 percent, seven times the national drop.

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Wilson said that California must make itself competitive by reforming a costly system of workmen's compensation and reducing the regulatory burden on small businesses, which have been providing 85 percent of the new jobs.

"You need some 80 permits to get a business going in Los Angeles," Wilson said. "That's an inconvenience for General Motors, which has an army of lawyers, but it's an intolerable burden for small businesses, which are increasingly going elsewhere."

The legislature has refused to make most of the regulatory changes that Wilson wants, and Democrats complain he exaggerates the problem for political purposes. State Controller Gray Davis (D) observed that during the past two years the state government has reduced allocations to cities and counties by \$1 billion, cut welfare costs by 12 percent and imposed a five-year freeze on cost-of-living increases for state employees.

While agreeing that California is "among the least hospitable places to do business in America," Davis said that Wilson hurts the state by dwelling on its drawbacks rather than on its advantages. "California needs a leader, not a critic," he said.

Last year Wilson and Assembly Speaker Brown teamed up to push a \$7 billion tax package through the legislature. The tax hikes and an equivalent amount of budget cuts were supposed to close a projected \$14 billion gap between spending and revenue. Conservative Republican legislators refused to vote for the tax increases, which also caused a severe slide in Wilson's public approval ratings.

This year it is liberal Democrats who are disillusioned. Assembly Ways and Means Committee Chairman John Vasconcellos (D), who was supportive of Wilson last year,

said that California will be "morally surrendering its future" if it makes the education cuts the governor seeks. Vasconcellos said California will be "abandoning its ideals" if it solves its budget problems at the expense of the poor and school children.

The current budget predicament exists because neither the tax hikes nor the budget cuts enacted last year closed the budget gap. The deepening economic slump boosted the welfare rolls and the demand for health services, and the new taxes generated far less revenue than had been predicted.

The higher taxes also spurred California industries to move to such western boom states as Arizona, Utah and Nevada, which have fewer regulatory obstacles and lower tax rates.

During the past two years California has lost an estimated 500,000 jobs—about 30 percent of all jobs lost in the nation during the recession. This trend has begun to change, but many of the new jobs being created, such as in the textile industry, pay less than the defense plant jobs they replaced.

But it is not the recession alone that stirs economic concern.

The state has become the principal destination for immigrants from Mexico, Central America and Asia. California is now home to one in eight Americans and topped the 30 million population mark in 1991. California's population grew by 670,000 during the 12-month period, including a net migration of 276,000 new residents, 88 percent from foreign countries.

California traditionally has been enriched by immigration. But the flight of middle-class families and an influx of young, poor immigrants with a high need for government social services has contributed to economic stress and ethnic and racial

tensions. A Los Angeles moving company executive who asked not to be identified said his firm has a waiting list for "upscale families" who are moving to northern California or out of state. In contrast, he said, many of the people coming here cannot afford a moving company.

In addition to recession and immigration, California has also suffered from well-publicized calamities that include the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in northern California, this year's riots in Los Angeles and a drought that is now in its sixth year.

The salmon fishery, for instance, has been largely closed down by federal and state agencies because of insufficient water releases from the state's large reservoirs into northern California rivers. The runs of salmon and striped bass have dropped so precipitously that commercial fishing and most sports fishing has been halted to protect the remaining fish.

Legislators and Wilson have been negotiating all weekend. They are expected to continue this week to make attempts to resolve the budget impasse. As reflected by a relatively light volume of mail to legislators and the governor's office, the public has remained largely detached from the crisis, but this could change when the banks stop honoring the IOU's.

Through Friday, the state had issued 770,000 warrants for \$1.6 billion. The largest banks decided to stop honoring them on grounds the warrants had become part of the problem and were prolonging a solution to the budget impasse.

"When nursing homes can't serve their patients and state employees can't cash their checks, there will be a lot of anger directed at all of us," White said. "I hope it doesn't come to that."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

By Ruth Marcus and Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writers

A soaked President Bush, demonstrating his determination to win reelection, endured a driving Illinois rainstorm yesterday to campaign on behalf of a Republican Senate nominee and renew his pledge to "go after that opponent" after the GOP convention later this month.

"He's been on my case for six months," Bush, wearing a Secret Service raincoat, told the drenched crowd, massed in tents and shielding themselves with campaign placards at the 12th annual Northwest Suburban Republican Family Picnic in Elk Grove Village, Ill.

His prepared speech rained out, Bush slogged through puddles to work the crowd and, with the downpour tapering off, headed for a picnic. There, in response to a question about an editorial in the Orange County Register calling on him to withdraw, the president hoisted a half-eaten ear of corn but offered no clue about the meaning of that gesture.

The Democratic vice presidential nominee, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), referred to the editorial during a campaign stop in California's Central Valley, saying Bush and Quayle were in such a "panic" that they were "huddled in the White House trying to figure out what to do."

"With your help," he told a breakfast crowd of 3,000 in Stockton, "we'll run them out of office in November."

Several hundred of the invited guests raised their hands when Gore asked how many were Republicans or former Perot supporters. "Welcome, welcome, welcome," Gore told them.

Whether Bush and Vice President Quayle should continue their reelection quest also was the topic of debate on television talk shows yesterday.

"The president should follow the example of Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and step aside, preserve his place in history and do his party and his country a great service," conservative activist Richard Viguerie said on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday."

Burton Pines, chairman of the National Center for Public Policy Research, said on CBS's "Face the Nation" that Republicans should replace Bush with Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, former Delaware governor Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont IV, former drug czar William J. Bennett, Secretary of State James A. Baker III or "anybody."

But South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. said conservatives such as Pines should "quit cannibalizing themselves and . . . get the job done."

Republican guests on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" said neither Bush nor Quayle would or should be dropped from the Republican ticket. "The team is in place that is going to run," said Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.).

Before the rain-soaked picnic in Illinois, Bush addressed a fund-raising luncheon for Republican Senate candidate Rich Williamson and edged closer to uttering his opponent's name as he assailed Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's health care proposals.

"Understand what's at stake here," Bush said. "If the governor of Arkansas is elected with a Democratic Congress

and a new Democratic senator from Illinois, within a year the government will run health care in this country, and our health care system will combine the efficiency of the House Post Office with the compassion of the KGB."

Yesterday's daily attack on Clinton from Bush campaign headquarters took the form of 22 questions and answers, one of which again raised the issue of Clinton's married life, asking: "Which campaign had to spend thousands of taxpayer dollars on private investigators to fend off 'bimbo eruptions?'" Answer: "The Clinton campaign," quoting Clinton aide Betsey Wright.

Bush's focus on health care continues a series of pointed attacks the Bush campaign has launched at specific Clinton proposals, following assaults last week on welfare reform and defense cuts designed to highlight differences between the two candidates.

Bush has proposed helping those without health insurance through tax credits and deductions for lower- and middle-income Americans, combined with reforms designed to cut costs, spur small businesses to offer insurance, and make health insurance more accessible.

Clinton has proposed a "play or pay" system of universal coverage in which employers would be required to provide health insurance for their workers or else pay into a fund that would provide insurance to those without coverage.

Calling the differences between the two plans "wider than an Illinois cornfield," Bush said the Clinton proposal "will dump 52 million Americans into a new government bureaucracy, and my plan will help 90 million Americans afford private insurance to take care of their health care needs."

Clinton, speaking on the steps of the governor's mansion in Little Rock, Ark., minutes after Bush's remarks, said Bush and the Republicans "don't have any credibility" on the health care issue and accused Bush of once again "trying to raise fears instead of solve problems."

Clinton said Republican administrations "have presided over the biggest explosion in health care costs in history."

Williamson, who served as a Bush campaign official four years ago and was a White House aide and State Department official during the Reagan administration, is the underdog in one of the year's most closely watched Senate races. He is running against Democrat Carol Moseley Braun, the Cook County recorder of deeds, for the seat now held by Sen. Alan Dixon (D), who lost to Braun in the March primary.

At the fund-raiser, Williamson invoked an issue that Bush used to great effect four years ago by accusing Braun of voting "against the Pledge of Allegiance" in school.

Bush, still struggling for an equally effective attack on his opponent this time around, picked up on the signal, closing his remarks by "asking all of you to listen once again to these familiar words" and reciting a snippet of the pledge.

Marcus reported from Illinois, Gugliotta from California. Staff writers David Maraniss in Arkansas and Shari Rudavsky in Washington contributed to this report.

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest

Rain-Soaked Bush Vows to Fight, Dismisses Call for His Withdrawal

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

A Paper's Political Afterlife

Ex-Arkansas Gazette Houses Clinton's HQ

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—The words GAZETTE BUILDING are etched in stone below the pillars of a Greek Revival edifice at the corner of Louisiana and Third Streets, and the place still has the haphazard feel of a newspaper office. It has a mail room and an accounting section and a wire editor and slate-sked rows of eager college graduates hustling after the glory story. The top floor houses the usual gallery of powerful preeners with private secretaries and more private plans.

But the grand old Arkansas Gazette is defunct; it died last year, and the building has been seized by an occupying army: it is Democrat Bill Clinton's national campaign headquarters. Working journalists are consigned to a cubby-holed detainment cell/press office in a protected section of the first floor. They are not allowed past the security guards without assigned escorts. Red alerts go out if stray scribes are seen wandering from their pen in the former circulation department in search of information in the erstwhile newsroom.

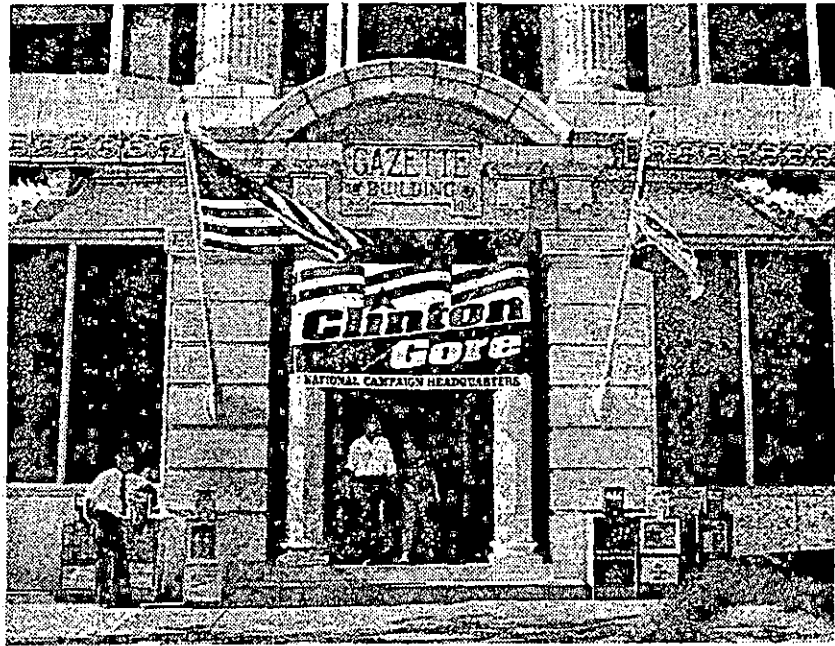
There is a certain eeriness to the scene: Newspapers have played a part in toppling federal administrations in Washington before, but this might be the first time a newspaper office, even a deceased one, served as the nerve center for a presidential campaign. In three months, win or lose, the building will be stripped and emptied again, but for now it is perhaps the hottest political spot in America.

Here then, is an annotated tour of headquarters—a.k.a. the Gazette.

■ **Ground floor:** The key guy on this floor, and some say in the whole building, is Sarge Lozano, a retired but not retiring Little Rock native who has worked in Clinton's campaigns for more than a decade. Lozano runs the mail room now, an operation that has been taking in more than 10,000 letters a day since the Democratic National Convention last month in New York. According to the volunteers who open the letters and sort them, they've been running positive lately at a ratio of about 9,999 to 1.

Since the political road is still primarily a paper trail, very little goes in or out around the building without Lozano knowing about it and having an opinion or two. Whenever big shots come by—chief of staff Eli Segal, say, or press secretary Dee Dee Myers—Lozano greets them with a rhetorical query, "Does [so-and-so] work for you?" and then some advice on how so-and-so can save the campaign a lot of money by using a cheaper express mail service.

Along with the mail room and the cordoned-off press center, the first floor is largely the domain of anonymous volunteers who answer phones and distribute campaign memorabilia. It also is the home of the payroll division, which actually has a function again since Clinton won the Democratic nomination and took in \$55 million in federal funds for the fall campaign. Salaried employees recently got checks that made up for the two pay periods during the primaries when their checks were sharply cut



BY JEFF MITCHELL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

This may be the first time a newspaper office became the nerve center of a presidential campaign.

and one period when they were forsaken altogether.

■ **Second floor:** This used to be the news floor, and it still looks the part. It is dominated by two spacious rooms that might be the political equivalent of the news and lifestyle sections of a paper. The news section is where the press and scheduling operations are located. Dozens of hyperactive twentysomething political junkies work at rows of desks, with phones jangling and paper everywhere and the atmosphere appropriately chaotic. Each row has a function of sorts noted by a cardboard sign. There's Hillaryland and Scheduling Town and Media Monitoring, all self-explanatory.

The theme of the room is captured by two posters, one of Saint Elvis, Clinton's nickname, and the other of an old Buffalo Springfield line: "There's something happenin' here. What it is ain't exactly clear." Nothing is exactly clear on this floor, including who runs the press operation—national press secretary Avis Lavelle or traveling press secretary Dee Dee Myers. They share an office but Myers's in-basket is on top.

The pseudo-lifestyle section houses the national field operation. Here the desks are arranged in neat clusters, the energy and decibel levels are lower, and the functions are more precise, at least in theory. The field is separated into six geographic sections—West, Midwest, industrial Midwest, South, mid-Atlantic, Northeast—and each section provides local and state operations with press assistance, surrogate speakers, tactical advice.

"The cluster approach is a revolutionary concept in a Democratic campaign; it's so organized," said Myers. "We'll see if it works."

Until recently there was a third newsroom of sorts on the second floor, perhaps the political equivalent of the sports section—delegate tracking. But now that the convention is history, the once-bustling tracking room has been dismantled. John Hart, who ran the operation, was seen the other day huddling in a corner with one assistant, at a bare chair without even a desk, rummaging through some papers.

"This is what they did to me," Hart joked, "and the body isn't even cold yet."

■ **Third floor:** In the old days, according to the Gazette directory still in place in the lobby, the third floor was home to Credit, Marketing and Accounting, and those words still apply, in different contexts, to the work done on the top floor now.

One wing of the floor is consultant James Carville's domain. It is where the marketing strategy for candidate Clinton is debated and devised. Carville has a chalkboard in the middle of the room, where he lists the basic rules of how to present the campaign. The

key rule never changes. In Carville's blunt language, it is: "The economy, stupid." Another rule is to contrast Clinton's message of change with the Bush presidency's "more of the same."

Another wing houses a row of VIPs who share the credit for running the campaign: communications director George Stephanopoulos, campaign chairman Mickey Kantor, campaign manager David Wilhelm and chief of staff Eli Segal. While there is no apparent animosity among these four men, their roles seem to blur. But there is an implicit understanding of who the real campaign manager is: Bill Clinton.

The third wing on the top floor is where Betsey Wright operates her ever-expanding research empire, whose mission is to accumulate information about everything that happened or might be alleged to have happened in Clinton's past, from policy statements to alleged extramarital affairs. Wright, who was Clinton's gubernatorial chief of staff for most of the 1980s, is both sensitive and obsessed with defending her longtime friend and boss.

One minute Wright is hiring a private detective on the West Coast to track down "the bimbos," as she calls them, who have alleged that they had affairs with Clinton. The next minute she is combing through a storage room that contains 1,200 boxes of Clinton-era documents, searching for the right piece of paper to rebut an opposition charge. Wright bought a computer scanning machine recently and is having all the important documents transferred by scanner into the computer data base.

Among Wright's dozen or so assistants are several professors on leave from the University of Arkansas, including Dick Atkinson, a law professor who went to Yale Law School with Bill and Hillary Clinton in the early 1970s.

Atkinson has spent the last week combing through the list of 128 items that the Republicans claim amounted to tax increases during Clinton's tenure as governor. His favorite, he said, is a 3.5 percent tax on mixed drinks sold in Little Rock to fund a professorship on alcohol and drug abuse.

Down the hall from Wright is what used to be a company cafeteria. It is now the smoker's den, which means it is the informal office of image advisers Mandy Grunwald and Frank Greer when they are in town. Grunwald was in there the other day for hours, smoking and talking and, as she said, "plotting the future of the free world."

Such grand discussions may have been few and far between in the old days, when the printers and the pressmen and the sales people and the sportswriters would gather there to eat cheeseburgers and shoot the bull. Now they can't even get near the place.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

In a System Divided, Partisan Politics Has Stranglehold on Progress

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

As President Bush and Congress prepare for the November elections, few can recall a time when relations between the two branches of government have been more contentious in manner, barren of substance and infuriating to the American people.

Their legislative scorecard might read:

- The soaring federal deficit—gridlock.
- Violent crime—gridlock.
- Campaign finance reform—gridlock.

- Revitalizing the nation's public schools—gridlock.

More often than not, Congress's Democratic majority rejects Bush's proposals, Bush vetoes proposals from the Democrats, and Congress cannot override the vetoes.

Bills are delayed or killed, and vital matters are ignored, trivialized or manipulated for partisan advantage.

The more Bush and Congress slide in the polls, the more they harden their positions, seeking political salvation in blaming the other side. And the more they engage in what lawmakers of both parties describe as a "blame game," the more they slide in the polls.

As a way to describe it, Americans have embraced a word more often associated with traffic jams than governance—"gridlock."

"It's the worst I can remember . . . pressures have built to the breaking point," said Sen. David L. Boren (D-Okla.).

"There's an unwillingness by both sides to work together," said Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.), blaming narrow partisanship as the two parties, from their entrenched bunkers at each end of

Pennsylvania Avenue, try to erode each other's base of power.

Disputes in Washington also arise from principled, philosophic differences over issues ranging from fiscal policy to the balance between the rights of individuals and the rights of society. But these disputes are often eclipsed by more self-serving interests.

Serious efforts to reduce the nearly \$400 billion budget deficit—and the \$4 trillion national debt—have been torpedoed by political gamesmanship and sunk by a refusal on the part of the White

See GRIDLOCK, A9, Col. 1.

GRIDLOCK, From A1

House and Congress to risk the political consequences of raising taxes or cutting popular spending programs.

Efforts to address the nation's widespread concern about crime have continually bogged down in political and ideological point-scoring by the two parties, both of which appear more interested in convincing voters they are tough on crime than they are in compromising to produce legislation.

Compromise on overhauling laws governing Congress's loophole-ridden campaign finance laws has remained beyond reach, largely because both parties have been intent upon preserving their fund-raising advantages or securing new ones.

Attempts to cope with problems in the nation's schools have foundered as the Bush administration and Democrats have fought over emotional "hot buttons," such as whether taxpayer money should be used to help pay for private school tuition.

Even though voters set the stage for the paralysis by electing a divided government—Republicans to the White House and Democrats to majorities in Congress—lawmakers say the public's impatience with the results ranks near the top of their complaints in this gripe-filled election year.

"People say government is not attacking the problems" that they care about, said House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.). "They're frustrated and looking for the cause of their frustration, and they see it in what they refer to as gridlock."

End-the-gridlock-in-Washington has become a kind of mantra for this year's political candidates, including incumbents as well as Bush and Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton.

It was a driving force behind Texas billionaire Ross Perot, and lawmakers say it has not gone away with Perot's exit from the race.

"We must break this gridlock . . . and the way to do that is Republican control of the House, Republican control of the Senate. You give me a Congress like that and you watch this country move again," Bush said in Universal City, Calif., on June 20.

In a June 4 interview on CNN's "Larry King Live," Clinton said he had passed "sweeping economic and education reform programs" through the state legislature as governor of Arkansas and added, "I know how to do that. I know how to get it done." As a Democrat working with a Democratic Congress, Clinton said he would have a better chance than Bush of breaking the gridlock.

Vice President Quayle, in a July 22 interview with King, went so far as to suggest: "If you're going to vote for Bill Clinton, I'd say vote for your Democratic congressman . . . It's a controversial viewpoint, and it's not shared by all the people

This debate about gridlock ignores accomplishments by Congress that range from civil rights for the disabled to new clean-air rules during President Ronald Reagan's last two years and Bush's first two years.

It also ignores the likelihood that the record of the 102nd Congress will probably look far better when it adjourns in October than it looks now.

In the last few weeks, agreement was reached on a higher education bill to expand access to student loans, extension of unemployment benefits and short-term aid to cities after the Los Angeles riots. An energy bill appears on the road to enactment, and disputes over a long-term tax and urban-aid package are expected to be worked out.

Perhaps even more significantly, spending bills for fiscal 1993 have been shorn of many of their usual costly frills and are moving briskly forward for Bush's signature in time to avoid an embarrassing pre-election repetition of the governmental shutdowns that sometimes used to mark the start of a new fiscal year.

But the damning rhetoric about Washington strikes a responsive chord with million of Americans because the behavior of the White House and Congress constantly reinforces the public's suspicions.

Congress raised its pay—and a majority of House members enjoyed free overdrafts at the now-defunct House Bank—while the federal budget deficit soared out of control. Senators spent hours berating federal grants for erotic art but fumbled

when it came to recognizing the importance of sexual harassment in dealing with allegations by Anita F. Hill during the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.

With a frequency that seems to have increased as the November elections approach, Republicans are forcing Democrats to cast votes on sensitive issues that can be used against them in the campaign. The Senate, for example, recently voted on a proposed constitutional amendment to balance the budget, which Republicans demanded even though the House had already killed the amendment.

With no less frequency, Democrats are passing bills on other volatile issues in hopes of forcing Bush into vetoes that can be used against him.

An example is legislation pending in both houses to guarantee a woman's right to abortion. Bush has vowed to veto the bill, and Democrats have acknowledged they have no hope of overriding the veto.

Together, both parties—with a frequent assist from the White House—reduce important, complex matters to fights over headline-grabbing issues such as the death penalty in dealing with crime and private school choice in dealing with education.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Deficit Compounds Problems

The roots of the problem run wide and deep, say lawmakers of both parties.

The normal difficulties of reaching accommodations when the executive and legislative branches are controlled by opposing parties, which has been the case during 20 of the past 24 years, have been compounded by spending constraints imposed by the huge budget deficits and an unusually long recession. No longer is it so easy to use money to grease the wheels of compromise because the money is not there.

"It's always difficult to build coalitions in divided government and it becomes even more so when resources are scarce," said

Mark A. Peterson, a Harvard professor of government who has studied the Eisenhower-to-Reagan era of divided government.

Add a president "who neither knows nor likes domestic policy" and a Congress that has lost much of its earlier cohesion and discipline and "you have a recipe for lack of movement," he said.

With Democrats controlling 268 of 435 seats in the House and 57 of 100 in the Senate, Bush lacks the votes to pass legislation, while Democrats lack the two-thirds margin necessary to override his vetoes and the 60 votes necessary to break Republican filibusters in the Senate.

Other presidents have vetoed more bills, but none has surpassed Bush's record in winning veto fights: 31 vetoes, none overridden. Bush has won even more battles by threatening vetoes that cannot be overridden, forcing Congress to compromise on terms favorable to the White House, as he often does on domestic spending bills.

A government of two "counterpunchers," as Norman Ornstein, congressional scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, calls it.

Campaigning on themes such as "Read my lips: No new taxes," Bush never sought nor received a mandate in 1988 for action on domestic needs, and, after being burned by conservatives for agreeing to tax increases in 1990, appeared wary of deals with Congress.

"The president changed his mind on taxes and paid a grievous price for it," said Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.). "It did not leave room for another such exercise."

Democrats claimed a "mandate" as strong as that of Bush from their reelection to control of Congress in 1988. But, as it turned out, their mandate—or their ability to act on it—was just as weak.

"The Democrats said they wanted to be taken seriously, but they did not have many new and original ideas either," Lugar added.

Over the years, Congress's lines of authority have been weakened in a variety of ways.

Party discipline within Congress has been eroded as party loyalty outside of it has weakened, and both parties have been riddled by factional fights.

Post-Watergate reforms to democratize the legislative process, including curbing the powers of seniority, have produced a more lively but less disciplined process—most of which is now on public display via cable television. Increasing campaign costs and the corrosive campaign "money chase" have elevated the influence of special interests, making it more difficult to reach consensus in the broad national interest.

And the resulting frustration with inaction is robbing Congress of some of its most valued members, such as Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.) and Rep. Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.), who figure they can achieve more in another calling.

In the kinder, gentler spirit of 1989, Bush and Congress worked with a fair degree of harmony and cooperation in the first two years of the new administration. But, as euphoria over victory in the Persian Gulf War gave way to gloom over the relentless recession at home, the momentum slowed.

Agreements paving the way for action last year on civil rights and extension of unemployment benefits came only after what amounted to a legislative version of trench warfare, intensifying the partisan rancor.

Democrats say Bush went into a defensive crouch as this year's elections approached and his popularity plummeted, offering ever fewer proposals while spurning Democratic initiatives and overtures for compromise.

"Deadlock is a direct result of presidential inaction . . . or action that is transparently designed to give a perception of dealing with problems rather than dealing with the problems themselves," said Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine).

Republicans respond that Democrats automatically reject any ideas from Bush. "What they do is give some piece of trash a glorious title, pass it and make him veto it . . . All they're doing is sending time bombs to the White House," said Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.).

Abortion Caught in Middle

The record indicates there is truth to both sides.

In addition to disputes over the deficit, education, health and crime, abortion-related issues—including lifting the current ban on abortion counseling at federally funded clinics and guaranteeing abortion rights that the Supreme Court has curtailed—are headed for vetoes that probably cannot be overridden.

Legislation to expand opportunities for voter registration, including registering people when they apply for driver's licenses, died in that fashion, with Bush contending it could lead to voter fraud. Legislation to guarantee workers unpaid leave from jobs to care for newborn infants and sick family members, already vetoed once by Bush as excessive mandating of workplace rules, is expected to be passed again and almost certainly vetoed again. A proposed nuclear test ban is also

The White House and Congress have not begun to fight, although they surely will if Bush is reelected, over proposals to expand health-care coverage and contain the mounting costs of care.

Even Russian President Boris Yeltsin got caught in the squeeze, leaving Washington after his two-day summit with Bush earlier this summer without so much as a penny from an aid package that was supposed to have been ready for his arrival. The Senate approved the package last month; the House, insisting on more domestic spending before dealing with foreign aid, has not acted on it.

Although some of the logjams could break open as Congress nears adjournment in October, many lawmakers believe that only a clearer sense of national direction from the voters—a "massive wringing out of the political system," as Rudman calls it—can break the gridlock.

They look wistfully to the November elections to clear the air and can write scenarios that, regardless of the outcome, point toward either more of the same or something new.

Bush could continue or even intensify the deadlock, or win a stronger mandate and a more cooperative Congress.

Clinton and Congress could pull together with the rare force of a unified government, or, following the example of the difficult relations between congressional Democrats and former president Jimmy Carter, fight and bicker as though they were members of opposing parties.

Lawmakers remember the optimism they shared in January 1989, and confess that they do not have the faintest idea how it will all turn out in January 1993.

Staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

NEXT: The Deficit

The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

grid•lock (grid'lāk) *n.* a traffic jam, as at an intersection, in which no vehicle can move in any direction

WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY

Gridspeak: The Language of Immobility

President Bush has complained about "gridlock" more than a dozen times since he took office. Only four times was he talking about traffic.

American voters "want action," Bush said in December, "and they can't understand the political gridlock that too often paralyzes Washington, D.C."

Politicians first plucked "gridlock" from the language of transportation policy more than a decade ago. But 12 years of divided government have turned this metaphor for congressional inaction into the campaign mantra of 1992—and gridlock is a bipartisan issue.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, some of his Democratic primary opponents and

Texas billionaire Ross Perot all have joined Bush's calls for an end to gridlock in Washington. The lament is also turning up more often than ever before in House and Senate debate. "Gridlock" appeared 130 times in the Congressional Record during the first six months of this year—more than in all of 1991.

Transportation officials in New York City coined the word in the early 1970s to describe how traffic can become paralyzed block by block in massive roadway tieups. "'Gridlock' is to highway engineers what 'meltdown' is to nuclear engineers—a panic inside a nightmare inside a worst case," New York Times etymologist William Safire wrote in 1980.

In April 1980, the chaos of an 11-day transit strike in New York pushed the word into the public's vocabulary.

Gridlock's emergence in politics came with the 1982 congressional elections, when redistricting and a 16-month recession threatened the GOP's newly won control of the Senate and recent gains in the House. Some congressional Republicans began to use the word at that time to warn voters about the hazards of fur-

ther dividing government powers between the two parties.

One of the earliest of these comments can be attributed to then-Rep. Trent Lott (Miss.), the Republican whip who used the word to describe his party's frustration over legislative delays by House Democrats. "We have almost reached gridlock in the House," Lott said in March 1982.

Late that September, then-Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. (R-Tenn.) used the word after Republicans failed in their third attempt to end a Democratic filibuster and Democrats failed in their attempt to table a GOP measure.

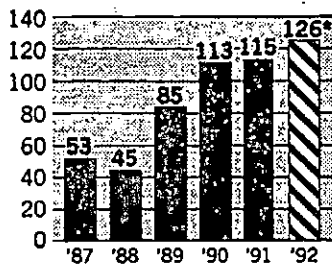
"It may be we've created legislative gridlock," Baker said.

—Mark Stencel

In September 1982, then-Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr. told his colleagues that "it may be we've created legislative gridlock."

One of the first in Congress to use the term "gridlock" was then-Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), who invoked it in March 1982.

Use of the word "gridlock" in House and Senate debate, as measured by appearances in the Congressional Record.



* Through June
SOURCE: Legislative



The Washington Post

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992

Names & Faces

Takes Out at the Ballgame

■ Folks willing to show up at Oriole Park at Camden Yards a bit early tonight, 6:30 to be exact, will not only get a jump on the beer lines but have the chance to appear as—guess what?—baseball fans in director Ivan Reitman's upcoming film "Dave." The romantic comedy about political life stars Kevin Kline as presidential stand-in Dave Kovic. Extras will be asked to cheer on cue and participate in crowd scenes as Kline, as Kovic, throws out the ceremonial first pitch before the O's begin eviscerating the Detroit Tigers. Dress is casual.

Here's Johnny's Turf

■ Jay Leno may not be able to get his predecessor to stop in for a chat on the couch, but that hasn't stopped the "Tonight Show" host from donating \$15,000 toward the construction of a playground at Johnny Carson Park. Funds are being raised for the park in the L.A. suburb, across the street from the NBC-TV studios in beautiful downtown Burbank, by 5-year-old Jenna Berger and her mother, Claire, after the girl questioned the lack of recreational facilities on the 17-acre spread. "A 5-year-old can raise a pretty convincing case for a playground," Berger said—apparently convincing enough to gather \$31,000 so far for what city officials agreed they can name the Tonight Show Children's Playground.

Ailing Michael Jackson

■ Axl Rose isn't the only musical icon going from the stage to the sickbed (the Guns N'Roses front man was forced to



The day before calling in sick, Michael Jackson presented a \$350,000 charity donation Friday to Prince Charles, right. Watching are manager Jim Morey and concert promoter Barry Clayman.

cancel recent shows due to a throat ailment). On Saturday Michael Jackson pulled out of a London stadium concert engagement at the last minute, leaving some of the 72,000 fans weeping in their seats. The 33-year-old plastic surgery buff complained of dizziness and said later that he was "extremely disappointed" at the cancellation, the result of doctor's orders.

The Pope, on the Mend

■ Michael and Axl may be temporarily sidelined, but not so Pope John Paul II, who marked his departure from the

disabled list yesterday by making a brief appearance from a balcony at the apostolic palace in Castel Gandolfo, Italy. The pope gave a short speech to the assembled tourists and pilgrims, his first public outing since the removal of a tumor, described as benign, on July 15. The 72-year-old pontiff looked to be recovering well, and expressed his gratitude to the crowd. "I have felt the solidarity and closeness of so many people," he said. "For this I thank the Lord. I thank everybody."

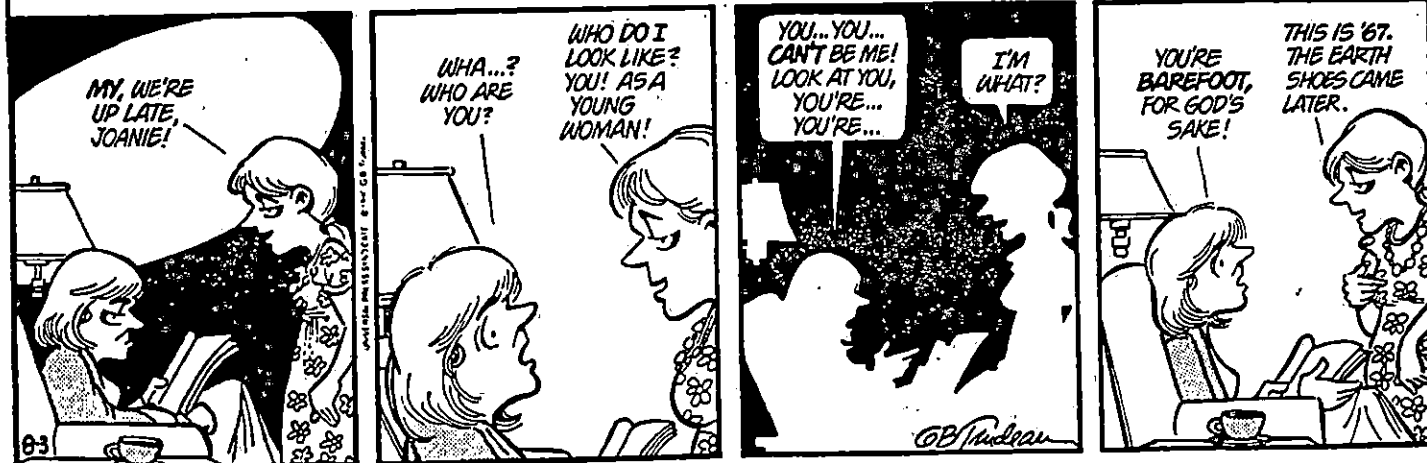
—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Peter Gilstrap

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

Lois Romano is away. Her column will resume tomorrow.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The New York Times

The Democrats

Gore Warns of G.O.P. Ads

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special to The New York Times

STOCKTON, Calif., Aug. 2 — Senator Al Gore, the Democratic nominee for Vice President, joked today that television networks should apply a "lie detector test" to commercials from the Bush-Quayle campaign before agreeing to broadcast them.

Mr. Gore, speaking at a morning rally here in the Central Valley of California, was responding to news reports that the President's advertising advisers were planning to be selective about which television shows they would put their commercials on.

Officials with Mr. Bush's campaign have said that they would allow the commercials to be only on shows that promote "family values." Shows like "Murphy Brown," on which the title character had a baby out of wedlock, would not be deemed suitable for the President's commercials.

Without specifically mentioning them, the Tennessee Senator reminded the crowd of the Bush campaign's hard-hitting commercials against the 1988 Democratic nominee, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts.

"You remember their commercials last time around?" Mr. Gore asked the crowd of about 3,000 gathered in a lakeside park. "I think the television stations ought to apply a lie detector test before they accept the commercials."

Mr. Gore repeatedly attacked Mr. Bush and Vice President Quayle today for what he termed their sorry economic performance and their willingness to engage in character assassination.

"They're worried," Mr. Gore



Associated Press

Senator Al Gore at a rally yesterday in Stockton, Calif.

said at the Stockton rally, early in a day of California campaigning. "They've driven this country into a ditch and now they're reaching down to get double handfuls of mud."

Representative Richard H. Lehman, a Democrat from Fresno, said Mr. Bush's problems in conservative Southern California, meant he would have to expend time and resources in that part of the state, leaving him less time and money to appeal to swing voters in places like the Central Valley.

The New York Times

The Republicans

Bush Campaign Issues Stinging Attack

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 2 — President Bush's re-election campaign tried to revive the accusations of marital infidelity against Gov. Bill Clinton as a campaign issue today, giving a sharply vituperative new turn to the exchange of charges between the Presidential campaigns.

Mr. Bush has said that the candidates' personal lives are off limits and that he has ordered his aides to stay away from them. But as the President himself said Mr. Clinton's policies would lead to a health-care system

with the compassion of the K.G.B., his Washington campaign headquarters and the White House's traveling press staff distributed a mocking news release that said Mr. Clinton had had to hire private investigators to deal with what it called "bimbo eruptions."

The news release, which threatened to drown out the President's own message as he campaigned in suburban Chicago, reflected the increasing level of anxiety among Republicans as they head toward their convention with Mr. Clinton holding a double-digit lead over Mr. Bush in national public-opinion polls.

Mr. Clinton's campaign was quick to respond. "President Bush's edict is being disobeyed daily by his own staff," said George Stephanopoulos, communications director, referring to Mr. Bush's oft-repeated insistence that his staff stay away from what he calls "sleaze."

Mr. Stephanopoulos added, "It's time for him to take responsibility for his own staff and his own campaign."

Calling the new attack "sleaze mongering," he said, "Once again, he's failed to keep his word."

As Mr. Bush campaigned here, trying to talk about health care and lend new impetus to his re-election quest, his Washington headquarters issued the three-page news release that was written in a baiting, personal tone extraordinary for a Presidential campaign.

The release, the latest in a series of daily efforts to undermine Mr. Clinton's credibility, scooped at the Arkansas Governor as "Slick Willie" and ridiculed everything from his eating habits to his family life. It was headlined "Sniveling Hypocritical Democrats: Stand up and Be Counted. On Second Thought, Shut Up and Sit Down!"

Using Harsh Quotations

The news release, prepared by Mary Matalin, the campaign's political director, was intended to demonstrate that it was the Democrats, not the Republicans, who started the negative campaigning about which Mr. Clinton's staff has been loudly complaining in recent days.

Presented as a "Sunday puzzle" for Mr. Clinton, the news release was organized into a series of questions. The last question read, "Which campaign had to spend thousands of taxpayer dollars on private investigators to fend off 'bimbo eruptions?'"

On the last page, the news release said the quotation was based on articles in The Washington Post about Bettsey Wright, a Clinton campaign aide who described herself as having to deal with "bimbo eruptions," claims by women saying they have had extramarital affairs with Mr. Clinton.

Reference to Weight Struggle

The reference to taxpayer dollars appears to have been justified by the Bush campaign on the ground that the Presidential candidates use Federal money for their election campaigns after their nominating conventions.

Using other quotations that she attributed to Mr. Clinton, Ms. Matalin then referred indirectly to Mr. Clinton's struggle to keep his weight down.

She wrote: "You feel like a 'one-man landfill?' (Bill Clinton on 'This Week,' 2/16/92) No, Willie, it's not those Wendy's burgers or Dunkin' Donuts or even those scrumptious home-baked cookies. It's that Alka-Seltzer feeling

has started to attack Mr. Clinton.

"If the Governor of Arkansas is elected with a Democratic Congress and a new Democratic Senator from Illinois, within a year the Government will be running health care in this country," Mr. Bush said at a fundraising luncheon for Rich Williamson, the Republican candidate for the Senate from Illinois.

Reaching for what he likes to call a "red meat" line, Mr. Bush added: "Our health care system will combine the efficiency of the House Post Office with the compassion of the K.G.B."

As the President left Washington this morning, his campaign had tried to brush off a series of editorials calling for him to leave the race, including one in The Orange County Register in California, an influential newspaper in a heavily Republican area.

At a rain-drenched Republican picnic in Elk Grove Village, the President ignored questions about the editorial, and ones like it in two Connecticut newspapers, The Waterbury Republican-American and The New Britain Herald. Inexplicably, he held up a half-eaten ear of corn when asked a question about the editorials.

But a campaign spokesman, Mitchell, said, "It would be disappointing to say limits of credibility to the Republican."

Republicans resurrect marital infidelity as an campaign issue.

you get when you're the leader of the 'garbage' (Clinton, AP 7/31/92) party.

The news release continued, "We respectfully request you and your fellow Democrat sniveling hypocrites read our lips: SHUT UP AND SIT DOWN so we can get back to work, highlights of the Clinton record. If we're at your 'belly button,' (Washington Post, 7/31/92), it feels like Mount Everest compared to your lower-than-a-snake's-belly campaign."

Citing Attacks on Bush

In her news release, Ms. Matalin included a series of sharp attacks on Mr. Bush that she attributed to Mr. Clinton and others. She quoted Mr. Clinton as telling Mr. Bush a "snake" because he lists his official residence as Texas, which does not have a state income tax.

The news release was Mr. Matalin's latest volley in a long war of charges that began last week when

said the campaign had avoided repeating accusations that referred to Mr. Clinton as a "philandering, pot-smoking draft dodger." In response to that, Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic national chairman, termed the Bush campaign's recent strategies "state-of-the-art sleaze."

Asked about the genesis of Ms. Matalin's news release, Charles Black, a senior Bush campaign adviser, said bluntly: "It's Mary's, but she has the authority to do it. It's a product of the interplay we've been having for the past week or so." Mr. Black said that he did not know if Bob Tetter, the campaign chairman, had approved of the document, but he added, "We'll stand by it."

Asked specifically about raising the issue of infidelity, Mr. Black said "Bettsey Wright had herself discussed the issue in an interview with The Washington Post."

The day was also noteworthy because the President abandoned a practice of many months: protesting that he was not in a "political mode" and not acknowledging his challenger.

Speaking Directly of Opponent

Mr. Bush spoke directly of the Democratic nominee for the first time — not exactly by name, but at least by title — as he added health care to the growing list of issues on which his organization

The New York Times

White House Likely to Block Oregon's Medical Rationing

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2 — Bush Administration officials said today that they were unlikely to approve Oregon's pioneering proposal to expand medical benefits for the poor through a system of health-care rationing, because as it now stands the plan appears to discriminate against people with physical or mental disabilities.

The Administration's objections to the Oregon plan are a surprise. Officials had said earlier that they were looking for every possible way to approve the plan, in keeping with President Bush's desire to encourage states to experiment with new ways of controlling health costs and providing care.

Expansion and Reductions

The Oregon plan ranks all health services according to their costs and benefits. It would make Oregon the first state to expand Medicaid to cover all state residents below the poverty level, which was \$10,857 for a family of three last year. But the state would reduce the level of services, refusing to pay for certain medical treatments for some people enrolled in Medicaid.

Administration officials, including experts at the White House, the Justice Department and the Department of Health and Hu-

man Services, have expressed concern that the Oregon plan may violate the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. Their concerns were reported in this week's issue of U.S. News & World Report.

The law, signed by President Bush on July 26, 1990, says that "no qualified individual with a disability shall, by reason of such disability, be excluded from participation in or be denied the benefits" of any public program.

Quality-of-Life Criteria

An Administration official said, "It looks difficult to give final approval to the plan as Oregon has presented it to the Federal Government."

The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, added: "Oregon's formula for ranking procedures explicitly took account of quality of life. Under the plan, a person without a disability is, in some circumstances, more likely to get reimbursement for health care because it is assumed that he or she will have a higher quality of life after being treated."

"Is that discrimination by reason of disability?" the official asked. "It sure looks like it. It looks like denial of reimburse-

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White House Likely to Block Oregon's Health-Care Rationing Plan

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ment by reason of disability."

Oregon's proposal would reduce benefits that are provided to some people, including children and women of childbearing age, under Medicaid, the Federal-state program for low-income people. The state cannot make the proposed changes unless it first gets approval from the Federal Government.

Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, has described the debate over Oregon's proposal as "the single most important debate on the future of health care in the United States." In April, he urged Mr. Bush not to approve the Oregon plan.

"This plan is seductive to policy makers, but dangerous to the people who really need help," the Senator said, warning that it "leaves poor women and children at risk."

In recent months, groups representing people with disabilities and some anti-abortion groups have appealed to the President to block the Oregon plan.

Douglas Johnson, legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee, said tonight: "The Oregon plan systematically devalues life with disability. It employs quality-of-life criteria that have the effect of invidiously

Fears that the disabled might be slighted.

discriminating against people who may well have extended life expectancy but with some degree of disability."

He added, "If the outcome of a proposed course of therapy is indefinite survival with a serious disability, a person with that type of prognosis is less likely to be treated under the Oregon plan than is a person who can be restored to health without disability."

Mr. Johnson said that Robert G. B. Powell of Galveston, Tex., a vice president of the National Right to Life Committee, made that argument at a meeting with Mr. Bush several months ago. "Robert, a cancer survivor with a disability resulting from radiation treatment, said he would not have survived as a child had the Oregon criteria been in place where he lived," Mr. Johnson recalled.

Under the Oregon proposal, formally presented to the Federal Government last August, the state would refuse to pay for medical treatments ranking below 587 on a list of 709 procedures.

Under Oregon's ranking system,

medical services thought to improve the quality of a person's life were generally assigned a higher priority than services that simply extend life.

An unusual feature of the Oregon plan is its use of a public opinion poll to help assess the "net benefit" of various treatments. In ranking medical services, state officials considered the quality of life that resulted from the use of particular services.

Oregon Residents Polled

State officials asked Oregon residents to help assess the quality of life associated with various disabilities and chronic ailments. In the opinion poll, Oregon residents were asked to assess the damage done to a person's quality of life by various conditions, including being confined to bed, having to use a wheelchair or suffering vision or hearing problems.

Oregon officials will have an opportunity to respond to the concerns of Federal officials, and the state can then revise its proposal.

In an interview tonight, Representative Ron Wyden, Democrat of Oregon, said: "The Oregon plan expands access to health care for all low-income citizens, including the disabled, and therefore it ought to be approved. We are eager to work with the Administration on any concerns it may have. No one in the Administration has indicated to me that this is a final turndown of

the state's plan."

Roger Auerbach, human resources adviser to Gov. Barbara Roberts of Oregon, said that the state's lawyers believed that the Oregon plan complies with Federal law.

"If we violate the Americans with Disabilities Act," he said, "then every Medicaid program in the country violates it," because no state provides unlimited services to all disabled people regardless of income.

Ruling Was Due on June 21

Oregon officials have already said the Administration is taking too long to rule on their application. Louis W. Sullivan, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, had said the Administration would rule on Oregon's request by June 21. But the concerns about possible adverse effects on disabled people are relatively new, and have still not been fully analyzed.

Liberal groups like the Children's Defense Fund have criticized Oregon's plan on the ground that it eliminates Medicaid coverage for some children and pregnant women in families above the poverty level.

Under current law, people under 21 years of age are entitled to all medically necessary services if they are enrolled in Medicaid. Under the Oregon plan there is no minimum set of benefits, and critics say that coverage will be cut back as costs rise.

The New York Times

Political Memo

Republicans' 'Electoral Lock' Is Looking Much Less Secure

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 2 — There are many ways to measure President Bush's problems these days, but a glance at the political map may be the most telling: He is at risk of losing the Republicans' renowned "electoral lock."

For a generation, Republicans began most Presidential campaigns with the comforting knowledge that the South and much of the West were conservative bastions. This dominance of the Sun Belt, where more and more of the votes and the people are, gave the party an enormous edge in winning the White House — what many analysts described as a lock on the Electoral College.

Now comes the 1992 election, and that Republican base looks decidedly shaky. In the South, a Democratic ticket headed by natives of Arkansas and Tennessee means that Mr. Bush will have to fight for part of that region, which was largely unnecessary when the Democratic nominees were Northern liberals.

At the same time, Mr. Bush faces a far greater danger in the West: California, which accounts for a fifth of the 270 electoral votes needed to win the

Presidency, is slipping further and further out of Republican reach, in the view of some analysts. Moreover, in states like Texas that are crucial to Republican Presidential candidates, Mr. Bush continues to suffer repercussions from Ross Perot's canceled candidacy.

"I don't think it's going to be a lay-down in Texas," said Fred Meyer, the Texas Republican chairman. "I think it's a fight in Texas. I think it's a fight everywhere."

In fact, while 1992 has repeatedly shown how quickly and fundamentally the polls can change, Mr. Bush now faces a dauntingly competitive map. When an incumbent Republican feels compelled to campaign frenetically, as

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The New York Times

Political Memo

G.O.P. 'Lock' Looking Less Certain

Continued From Page A1

Mr. Bush did last week in California's Orange County, the true-believing heart of Reagan country, the world has clearly changed.

Democrats, who have grown accustomed to predictions of their predetermined defeat, are quietly euphoric.

"Once you remove California from one side of the equation, the electoral lock collapses," said Stan Greenberg, the poll taker for Mr. Clinton. "If you look now at where Democrats have a base and Republicans have a base, it's almost comparable."

But Horace Busby, a former aide to Lyndon B. Johnson who has long analyzed the electoral lock, says reports of its demise may be premature. "You have to wait really until September to see what is happening," he said.

Indeed, any discussion of the electoral map in early August should begin with some caveats: Almost no one believes that Mr. Clinton will sustain for very long the double-digit lead that he has in many public-opinion polls, both nationally and in numer-

Republicans can't count on their old strongholds in the South and West.

ous states. In 1976, for example, Jimmy Carter left the Democratic convention with a 33-point lead over President Gerald Ford, but the actual election margin was far closer.

"You don't get any polls that mean anything in this race until a week after Labor Day," said Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign. Given that polls now show Mr. Bush running behind Mr. Clinton even in a state like Arizona, which has not voted for a Democrat since 1948, Mr. Black's skepticism is understandable.

Still, the dangers to Mr. Bush are apparent. Even before the Democratic convention and Mr. Clinton's surge, Mr. Bush was vulnerable in California. Four years ago, Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee whose campaign was hardly masterful, nevertheless came within 3.5 percentage points of carrying that state.

Today, the California economy is ailing, the political mood is angry, and Democratic strategists believe they finally see an anchor for a new Presidential majority. Add Washington and Oregon, which Mr. Dukakis carried in 1988, and Democrats could take 72 electoral votes on the West Coast.

The Field Poll that was made public last week showed Mr. Clinton leading Mr. Bush in California by an astonishing 62 percent to 28 percent and the Democratic nominee attracting the bulk of the people who had supported Mr. Perot. Again, such leads are widely regarded as ephem-

eral, but the President is clearly in trouble there.

"We know it's going to be a tough state," Mr. Black said, "but traditionally in California if you have a high-profile race between a conservative and a liberal, the conservative usually wins."

Republicans See Strongholds

The Bush forces seem less frantic about other regions. Much of the Mountain West was a hotbed of Perotism, but is expected to return to the Republican fold.

Looking South, Mr. Bush's strategists say they are confident about holding that region, including the Florida and Texas (a total of 57 electoral votes), despite the Democrats' all-Southern ticket.

Republican anxiety about the South was higher during the heyday of Mr. Perot, who was widely expected to splinter the white vote, thus opening the way for a Democratic victory in several Southern states with a strong black vote. Warren Tompkins, a senior Bush consultant in the South, said, "I'd be less than candid if I said the Perot withdrawal didn't help us in the South."

Despite Mr. Clinton's efforts to campaign as a Southern moderate, Mr. Tompkins said he considered the Democratic nominee to be vulnerable on a range of social issues in the region, from his failure to serve in the military to his support for abortion rights. Such issues "galvanize the evangelical movement if we do our homework and plan our campaign appropriately," Mr. Tompkins said.

Still, Democrats say Mr. Bush will not walk away with the South without a fight, as Republicans have in the past. Besides the nominees' home states of Tennessee and Arkansas, Democrats say they have high hopes for Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina and Louisiana and are keeping careful watch elsewhere in the Deep South as well.

Even with a Southern ticket, the Democrats have a Northern base. While Mr. Clinton showed real weakness in New York and New England in the primary season, Democratic strategists say he has firmed up that base in recent weeks. For example, John Marino, chairman of the Democratic Party of New York, says, "We're in solid shape right now in this state." In New York, and elsewhere in the Northeast, the economy is the crucial issue.

Midwest Battleground

All of these calculations set the stage for a fierce struggle in the industrial Midwest, particularly Illinois, Michigan and Ohio. "That's the most questionable area and the real battleground," said Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution.

Some of the outlines of the Bush strategy for this region are emerging. Republican efforts to cast Senator Al Gore as "an environmental extremist" are clearly aimed at the industrial Midwest.

The Republicans are also making a strong appeal for Catholic voters, an important bloc in both the Midwest and the Northeast. For example, Mr.

Bush is highlighting a school choice proposal that would give students vouchers they could use to pay for parochial schools. And some Bush strategists argue that Mr. Clinton's strong support for abortion rights will also hurt him among Catholics.

But Mr. Greenberg, the Clinton poll taker, said Catholics were "the quintessential middle-class squeeze voters," implying that they might react well to Democratic promises to get the economy moving.

Campaigns make their decisions on targets — where to direct money, resources and the candidate himself — in stages. But the early calculations are clear. Mr. Clinton will be back in his bus this week, rolling through Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. And Mr. Bush, who was just back from a campaign swing in California, was in Illinois today.

"In the dog days of summer, it's very easy to be attracted to the new candidate," Mr. Bush told a group of Republicans at a luncheon in Chicago.

Later in the day, at the 12th Annual Northwest Republican Family Picnic, he promised a tough fight against Mr. Clinton. "He's been on my case for six months," Mr. Bush said. "We are going to define him, and we are going to win the election."

As the map stands now, Mr. Bush will need every bit of his competitive edge.

The New York Times

Editorial Notebook

On August 3, He Put to Sea

"We departed Friday the third day of August of the year 1492 from the bar of Saltes at the eighth hour."

Thus, in Columbus's own words, did the Niña, Pinta and Santa Maria set out 500 years ago today from the little Spanish port of Palos de la Frontera on a voyage that would change the world. Ten weeks later, in the small hours of Oct. 12, a crewman aboard the Pinta sighted land, at last, and the three ships lowered sail to wait for daylight. "At dawn," Columbus wrote in his journal, "we saw naked people, and I went ashore in the ship's boat, armed."

That Columbus kept a journal is remarkable in itself; so far as is known, he was the first explorer to do so. The original, which he presented to Queen Isabella, has been lost; likewise the copy that royal scribes made for Columbus. But the essential content, much of it verbatim, survives in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional in a detailed abstract of the duplicate copy.

This priceless documentation was done by Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican friar and friend of the Columbus family, who spent years recording West Indies history and exposing Spain's mistreatment of the natives. The best English translation was published in 1989 by Oliver Dunn and James Kelley, two American scholars; another, Robert Fuson, has done a more fluid, less precise version, fleshed out with detail from other writings by Las Casas and Columbus's son Fernando, and transposed into an imagined first-person narrative throughout.

From these two works one learns, for example, what Columbus thought when the Pinta's rudder broke on the

Columbus's Journal Logs the Journey

third day out: sabotage, by her owner and a crewman. "Neither of these men wanted to make this voyage," he wrote, "and even before we departed Palos they attempted to

delay or prevent the enterprise."

The damage forced a long layover in the Canary Islands while Columbus sought another ship and finally repaired the rudder. After four weeks' delay, the westward voyage resumed on Sept. 6.

Sept. 9: Mindful of the crews' marginal commitment to his mission, Columbus admits in his journal that he plans to give them false reports on each day's progress, so that "they might not think themselves so great a distance from Spain as they really were."

Sept. 15: "I saw a marvelous meteorite fall into the sea." To some of the crew it was a bad omen. He told them not to worry; he'd seen many before. But in private he wrote, "I have to confess that this is the closest a falling star has ever come to my ship."

Sept. 23: Concern for his own safety. Inconstant winds and a flat sea have "led the men to believe we will never get home," he wrote. "Later, when the sea made up considerably without wind, they were astonished: I saw this as a sign from God. As with Moses when he led his people out of captivity, my people were humbled."

Not for long. The next day he says "a few trusted men (and these are few in number!)" have reported talk of throwing him overboard some night if he persists in sailing on.

He persisted.

RICHARD E. MOONEY

The New York Times

Let's Contain the Supercollider

The superconducting supercollider, an enormous and costly instrument for probing the structure of matter, poses a stark issue for the Senate today:

Should the nation, faced with recession and budget deficits, continue to build an \$8-billion machine to explore scientific questions that are of great intellectual interest but may have little practical payoff? Or should it write off the \$1 billion spent so far and terminate the project?

The House voted in June to cancel the project as unaffordable. But President Bush traveled to the construction site in voter-rich Texas last week to declare support for "one of the greatest scientific projects in the entire world." The Senate is expected to approve further funding today, setting the scene for a showdown with the House over whose view will prevail.

On the merits, the mammoth machine is worth building — provided it can be financed without robbing a host of other vital scientific projects.

The supercollider will be a huge underground instrument, 54 miles in circumference. It will accelerate two beams of protons in opposite directions around a giant ring lined with magnets. When the protons smash together, they will release showers of debris from which scientists hope to divine a deeper understanding of the fundamental forces and particles that shape the universe.

Unlike the controversial space station, which is primarily an engineering feat, the supercollider is at the cutting edge of research in two important fields. It is a key to further advance in high-energy physics, which seeks to find the most elementary particles and forces from which everything else is made. And its findings will shed light on events at the very creation of the universe, the domain of cosmology.

Even critics don't quibble that the supercollider will perform good science. But its relative

importance remains in dispute. Some critics note that a large accelerator now being built in Europe may answer some of the same questions. Others contend that less costly small-scale physics is even more important because it involves more scientists and students, and it studies phenomena that are relevant to the every-day world.

Proponents have greatly exaggerated their case. They suggest, plausibly, that the machine might revolutionize our understanding of force and matter. But they neglect to mention that it may prove a dud, finding little of interest. And they predict spinoff benefits for industry and medicine without acknowledging that \$8 billion invested more broadly in science might yield even greater benefits.

Proponents have repeatedly low-balled their cost estimates, only to revise them upward. And they insist that foreign nations will foot part of the bill, with little to show for their optimism.

In the past, this page has opposed the collider for fear its escalating costs would divert funds from more fruitful research. But with care and determination, it now looks possible to do both. Project managers seem finally to have stabilized their costs and surmounted the most worrisome technological hurdle — the huge superconducting magnets.

The collider should be completed because it will perform pioneering research in a field long dominated by the U.S. but where Europe is taking the lead. It would be a shame for a great nation to shrink from this intellectual adventure.

The project should be canceled only if it threatens to damage other fields of science, thus doing more harm than good.

Congress could assure the happier outcome by continuing the collider while setting firm limits to the total budget for high energy physics in future years. That way the new machine could be financed largely by shrinking or closing its obsolescent predecessors. Resources would not need to be drained from other vital research.

Three Air Forces Too Many

The U.S. has four, count them, four air forces. They belong to the Air Force, the Navy, the Marines and the Army. Each service wants its own planes and helicopters instead of jointly developing aircraft that can be used by the others.

As a result of such madness, the services now spend tens of billions every year flying fighter planes and helicopters, much of it unnecessary. They are planning to spend well over \$350 billion for new planes now on the drawing boards when a fraction of that will do.

On the ground, the Army has five light infantry divisions for rapid deployment to brush-fire wars and the Marines have three, costing \$2 billion apiece per year. The Pentagon is spending billions more on fast sealift ships to transport the Army, amphibious ships for the Marines and prepositioning ships to store equipment and supplies for both.

Such duplication of effort wastes billions of dollars and still leaves holes in America's defenses. As defense budgets shrink, it will be imperative to reshape the armed forces to retain their potency despite reduced rations.

That's why Senator Sam Nunn is bravely mounting a frontal assault to redefine service roles and missions. His colleagues in Congress would do well to rally to his cause.

Each service fights for its preferred roles and missions and tries to keep its rivals from performing them. Marines complain, for example, that they were left offshore as decoys during the Persian Gulf war while the Army got the glory on the ground in

Each service also insists on having its own capabilities to carry out its preferred roles and missions. Each resists borrowing men or equipment from other services or acquiring capabilities that would allow it to support other services.

The Air Force, for example, wants to do strategic bombing, like attacking targets in Iraqi cities, but shuns close-air support of ground troops. Indeed, Congress had to compel the Air Force to buy the A-10's that worked so well supporting ground troops in Kuwait. Similarly, the Navy prefers strategic bombing and protecting the fleet to providing air cover for troops.

Neither the Navy nor the Air Force wants to buy airlift to transport troops and equipment rapidly to the fighting front. So the Army and the Marines have air forces of their own to carry and cover their troops. Army helicopters, however, aren't deemed good enough to transport Marines. The Marines want to spend billions on a competing aircraft, the part-helicopter, part-plane Osprey.

Back in 1948, an agreement was negotiated in Key West, Fla., to divide responsibilities among the services. It barred the Army, for example, from having fixed-wing aircraft. But changing military technology and expanding bureaucracies have made the existing division of responsibilities obsolete. There is no good reason today why the Army and the Marines need different helicopters, or the Air Force needs helicopters at all.

As the Persian Gulf war showed, the military that can integrate forces for combined operations has an enormous battlefield advantage. If the services can now redefine their roles and missions, they

The New York Times

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Yesterday's Man

The men were taken from the village at gunpoint and forced into freight cars. As many as 180 were jammed, standing, into boxcars measuring 39 by 6 feet. They were kept that way for three days, without water or food, as the train moved slowly across the countryside.

Nazis transporting Jews in 1942? No, Serbs transporting Muslim Bosnians in 1992: one glimpse of the worst racial and religious bestiality Europe has known since World War II.

When Bill Clinton called for meaningful action to stop such Serbian atrocities, the Bush campaign denounced him as "reckless." Marlin Fitzwater, President Bush's spokesman, said Governor Clinton was "unaware of the political complications in Yugoslavia."

That Fitzwater phrase reminded me of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain explaining in 1938 why Britons should not care about Nazi designs on Czechoslovakia: It was, Chamberlain said, "a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing."

Neville Chamberlain, his country and the world learned the price of ignoring Hitler's aggression against a faraway country. And similarly, what the Serbs call "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and Herzegovina — the murder and transport of Croats and Muslims — has the gravest implications for Europe and the world.

The Serbian onslaught is, in fact, the model of the next great challenge to international peace and order. The West, which marshaled its political and military resources to maintain the peace through the cold war, must now confront the problem of ethnic conflict overlapping national boundaries.

President Bush has been a veritable Neville Chamberlain in refusing to face the challenge in Yugoslavia. He has dithered, deferred to a Europe that was looking to him for leadership, refused to call for the international military action that everyone knows is the only way to stop the Serbian aggression.

The excuse for his inaction has been that the Serbian war on the other peoples of what was Yugoslavia has not aroused the American public. But Americans were not greatly exercised about Iraq's occupation of Kuwait either — until George Bush skillfully used all his powers as President to bring the country into the Persian Gulf war.

But there was oil in Kuwait, the Bush people say, and there is no such

American interest in Yugoslavia. No, nothing except the European stability that has been at the heart of our international policy for decades.

Again it is argued that the ethnic situation in what was Yugoslavia is complicated. True. But the essence of what has happened there is simple. Michael T. Kaufman of The New York Times, after traveling in four of the Yugoslav republics, wrote:

"What has been going on is fundamentally a Serbian war of aggression waged largely against civilians. ... It is guns and ammunition supplied by Belgrade that are killing civilians in

Bush, the Serbs and Chamberlain.

areas beyond the borders of Serbia. ... Serbian forces everywhere have resorted to the same tactic of sustained artillery shelling of cities, towns and villages."

President Bush compared Saddam Hussein to Hitler. I am against such analogies, because they cheapen the Holocaust. But if that one is to be used, it better fits the Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic, the inventor of "ethnic cleansing."

Governor Clinton's statement on Yugoslavia took up ideas suggested by many international observers. The economic blockade of Serbia should be tightened, he said. The United States should ask the U.N. Security Council to authorize air strikes against those who attack relief convoys, as the Serbs have been doing. American forces should be lent to that operation. And Mr. Milosevic should be charged under international law "with crimes against humanity."

If President Bush had had the courage or the vision to act, the horror in Yugoslavia would have ended long ago. When Serbian gunners began lobbing shells into Dubrovnik a year ago, a few air strikes would have stopped them — and headed off the tragedy that has followed. ♦

In denouncing Governor Clinton last week for his call to action in Yugoslavia — action long overdue — the Bush campaign inadvertently advertised its own candidate's inability to respond to new realities in the world. It showed George Bush for what he is: yesterday's man. □

The New York Times

Attention, Kmart, Wal-Mart...

By Peter Osnos

Earvin (Magic) Johnson is co-captain of the "dream team" at the Barcelona Olympics, despite carrying H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS. But at home, his efforts as an advocate for AIDS education, especially for young people, have run into dismaying obstacles.

Johnson has said he will probably resign from the National Commission on AIDS, in part because President Bush has failed to provide adequate financing for AIDS education and research. In addition, three leading chain stores are refusing to carry his paperback, "What You Can Do to Avoid AIDS." All profits from the book (published by Times Books) are going to the Magic Johnson AIDS Foundation. The American Medical Association has said: "Everybody — especially teen-agers and parents — needs to read this book. This book could help save lives."

There are important signs of success. Many schools and civic organizations are reviewing the book for distribution. Nearly a half million copies are in circulation at \$3.99

Peter Osnos is the publisher of Times Books, a division of Random House.

(many in supermarkets and drug-stores). An audio version is available. A Spanish-language edition is about to be shipped, and translations are being prepared in about 12 languages.

But getting Magic Johnson's message across will be a lot more difficult if the negative attitude of such retailing giants as Walgreen's, Wal-Mart and Kmart continues. "We found some of the material inappropriate," said a Walgreen's spokes-

man. Wal-Mart, with 1,747 stores, first stocked the book but removed it for what a representative called "obvious reasons." A Wal-Mart spokesman told The Detroit News, "The language was not in keeping with what our customers tell us they would want to read." Kmart, which also calls the language inappropriate, prefers that the book be sold in the Waldenbooks chain, which it owns. A Kmart representative was quoted in The Chicago Tribune as saying that

the book "doesn't fit the family orientation of a Kmart shopper."

That orientation apparently isn't compromised by Jackie Collins's steamy "Hollywood Wives," for example, and a recent issue of Cosmopolitan, which carries an article on the etiquette of oral sex. Kmart sells both.

Magic Johnson advocates abstinence as the only completely safe approach to sex. He writes: "If you don't know what you're doing about sex... don't do it. Wait."

So what is the problem with the chain stores? The book uses street slang (in parentheses) for anatomical parts, such as the anus, on the principle that some teen-agers are more familiar with those terms than the clinical ones. There is also a diagram showing how to put on a condom. "I'm not trying to offend anyone," Johnson says. "I'm trying to educate everyone in the best and most direct way possible."

That is what makes the decision to ban "What You Can Do to Avoid AIDS" so baffling. Every day, Americans are inundated with images of sex and violence. No book on the dangers of AIDS can reasonably adopt a stance that ignores the real world. Silencing Magic Johnson's message will not make the problem better. There is a distinct likelihood that it will make matters worse. □

**Magic Johnson's
book on AIDS is
not 'inappropriate.'**

The New York Times

The Elements Defy Hungry Zimbabwe

By Michael Dorris

I CHUNGA, Zimbabwe went to Zimbabwe, the House of Stone, and met a child named Disaster. She was born in September 1991, a daughter of the Tonga tribe, and now — and until she reaches her fifth birthday or dies — she is eligible, through a joint emergency program of Save the Children and the Zimbabwean Government, to receive one meal of corn mush a day. Even so, she hasn't gained any weight since April.

Sometimes when she's able, her mother, Angeline, who cares for four other children, including two whose parents died of AIDS, varies the diet with a wild fruit she must gather, cook, peel and cook again with ashes, to neutralize its natural poison.

"Is it good?" I ask her in the way of ordinary conversation.

Angeline looks at me as if we have experienced a language problem. "It's food," she corrects.

Most Zimbabweans, unlike their counterparts in Ethiopia, the Sudan or Somalia, have never before had to worry about basic sustenance. Their 13-year-old country normally exports grain, and in and around Harare, the capital, the aquifer-fed sprinklers still keep golf courses and lawns green. The prosperous city looks like the rest of Zimbabwe before the rains stopped coming in February, before this year's crops failed, before the river beds turned to dust. For those who still manage to live as they used to, depleting in the process the finite underground water, the imminent prospect of famine seems the stuff of someone else's very bad dream.

And yet by most estimates Southern Africa has an immediate and desperate need to import five times the tonnage of food that the nations of the Horn required during the worst hungry years of the 1980's.

When Disaster — whose name was chosen not for its meaning but because it sounded exotic — grows up, she'll spend most of her time walking the eight miles to the shallow well near the river where she'll compete with impala and elephants for water. She'll try to catch five gallons, lug it home and return again to the muddy hole — hoping not to meet a starving lion like the one that killed a cousin, implicitly trusting, because she has no choice, that the silty, loamy soil will act as an effective filter against typhoid bacteria.

If she takes after her mother, Disaster will be beautiful, smiling, shy and strong. She'll own one dress at a time and no shoes. She'll curtsy to strangers and live in a society of women; the men are mostly off at commercial fishing companies or the mines. Her homeland to the north was flooded to make a dam, and now she dwells in a dusty lower veldt, a place where the January summer temperatures can reach 120 degrees and where, in winter, the skies fill with the smoke of slash-and-burn fires.

Several hundred miles to the south, in Mutema, water is the chief concern of a pump minder, Jonathan Bhizeki. Only five of the 35 deep wells and one of the 14 bore holes for which he bears responsibility have water, and

they are rapidly becoming exhausted. For the 12,000 people in and around this plateau, it has been a calamitous year. Not a single crop could be harvested, there is no food in the shops and no rain is expected until November. Handsome and distracted, Jonathan Bhizeki looks almost embarrassed, as if the sky's failure were his own. Dressed formally, as befits his position, in a tan tie beneath a maroon and white argyle sweater, Clever Gwenzi, principal of the local elementary school, is not hopeful. Even his father, born fewer than 15 miles away, has never seen such a drought. Children are fainting in the classrooms from lack of food. And it would cost an impossible 700 Zimbabwean dollars (about \$140) to provide healthful lunches to the 423 students each week. If the well that serves the community clinic and the school — in addition to much of the area's population — fails, everything will close down.

In the dazzling African sunset, aridity is invisible. Stark white buildings stand in relief against a red-orange, cloudless sky, and not even the sound of birds intrudes on the silence. There's a dying tree in the center of a circle of stones, a gesture toward landscaping. I ask the species, but no one knows. It's not indigenous.

"I had a farm in Africa," quotes Gerry Salole, Save the Children's regional director. And I understand my host's allusion to Isak Dinesen, for indeed, the romantic European view of Africa is gentler than the parched bed of the nearby Save River, marred with animal carcasses.

One of the worries of emergency relief workers is that Zimbabweans are not psychologically prepared for catastrophe. The country, formerly the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, has had a healthy, varied economy, and so the population is schooled in optimism. "Rain will no doubt come," I was told again and again by urban and rural people. "It always has. It must."

But, according to meteorologists, it won't, barring a miracle. And even with ideal weather, no crops will be ready for harvest before late May. In the interim there are several crucial needs, none of them impossible to meet.

Existing wells must be deepened, at an average cost of \$600 each. New dug wells cost \$3,000. Trucks to transport the emergency food supplies en route must be leased or bought.

Philanthropic and supplementary feeding programs now in place must be sustained at current levels, despite the decline in contributions experienced by many international charities — often attributed to a malaise on the part of the fortunate known as "famine fatigue." Enough goats and cattle need to be kept alive through the next six months to form the core of communal livestock herds.

These things are matters of life and death. The longer-term social issues will have to wait: a minimum monthly wage roughly equivalent to the cost of 10 Wimpy double cheeseburgers (about \$30); the residual "racism," as it's locally termed; the fact that most of the affluent believe they must hire a poor man to stand outside their

homes all night to deter intruders. In the advent of a disaster, complication is a luxury necessarily deferred.

Zimbabwe, after all, even with about half of its population in need of food assistance, is the success story of a region that includes Mozambique, Angola, Malawi and Zambia — all far worse off in one way or another. Zimbabwe has the political infrastructure, the good roads, the system of dependable communications to be stable — but not if it must impoverish itself in order to merely survive,

A child named Disaster.

not if it must buy food with money set aside for economic development.

There are 641 foreign nongovernmental organizations registered in Zimbabwe. Some, like CARE, Save the Children, the Red Cross and Africare, are working directly to mitigate the suffering caused by the drought, but they depend upon philanthropy and that, in turn, depends on sustained human empathy, even over long distances, even with the repetition of demand. If the font of global generosity dries up, along with the water, Southern Africa will face a food and water crisis of truly enormous proportions.

Disaster, Angeline's daughter, needs a response, and she needs it before her stomach swells with hunger, before pellagra sets in, before her shallow bowl is completely empty. When it doesn't rain, she simply needs a deeper well. □

Michael Dorris is author of the forthcoming novel for children "Morning Girl."

Bush staff has Sunday fun with 'sniveling hypocrites'

ROSEMONT, Ill. (AP)—The Bush campaign, accused by Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton of mudslinging, responded yesterday by unleashing a vitriolic compendium of nasty things that Mr. Clinton and other Democrats have said about Mr. Bush.

The campaign styled its broadside in the form of a who-said-what quiz for Mr. Clinton and other "sniveling, hypocritical Democrats."

Among its questions:

- "Which campaign had to spend thousands of taxpayer dollars on private investigators to fend off 'bimbo eruptions'?"

- "Which candidate ... admitted

there was a deliberate 'pattern of omission' in his answers on marijuana use?"

- "Who called George Bush a tax evader ... 'that fellow who claims Texas so he doesn't have to pay taxes in Maine'?"

The answer to these, according to the Bush campaign, was Mr. Clinton and his aides.

But other questions include shots at Mr. Bush fired by Sen. Tom Harkin, Iowa Democrat, Rep. Maxine Waters, California Democrat, Democratic Party Chairman Ron Brown and others.

The release, faxed to news organizations and distributed to reporters

traveling with Mr. Bush, capped a weekend of increasingly sharp charges and countercharges between the Bush and Clinton camps.

Bush campaign political director Mary Matalin stirred a controversy last week when she was quoted in the New York Times as saying, "We've never said to the press that [Mr. Clinton's] a philandering, pot-smoking draft dodger." But she said there was "nothing nefarious or subliminal going on."

On Friday, the Clinton campaign issued a page of quotations from Mr. Bush vowing to avoid negative campaigning and statements from Democratic vice presidential nomi-

nee Al Gore and Mr. Brown.

"It is clear this is part of a pattern," Mr. Brown said. "The same Bush-Quayle campaign that questioned Ross Perot's sanity and commitment to the Constitution and impugned Al Gore's patriotism is now trafficking in tabloid trash about the Clinton family."

Mr. Clinton on Saturday defended Democratic tactics, saying they were "very different from the selective and personal and negative and often distorted kind of tactics that our adversaries have adopted already in this election."

"If they want to stick to the issues, then fine, knock off the cheap shots,"

Miss Matalin said yesterday. "We haven't done anything but contrast our record with his. Back off, boys."

As to the tone of the release, Miss Matalin said: "It's Sunday. I was having a little fun."

The release calls Mr. Clinton "the leader of the 'garbage load'" and said, "If we're at your 'belly button,' it feels like Mount Everest compared to your lower-than-a-snake's-belly campaign."

Last week Clinton strategist James Carville characterized the Bush strategy as having "started at the belly button. They'll be at the ankles here in a couple of weeks."

"We respectfully request you and

your fellow Democrat sniveling hypocrites read our lips: Shut up and sit down so we can get back to more highlights of the Clinton record," the release said.

Its tone was unusually snide even by the standards of attack politics.

One GOP quiz question quotes Mr. Harkin, who challenged Mr. Clinton in the primary, as saying that Mr. Bush "better be ready to protect the family jewels."

It quotes Mrs. Waters as calling Mr. Bush a racist and Mr. Brown as saying he had "the worst record of racial division since 'massive resistance.'"

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *

Bush's attacks on Clinton off to soggy start

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ELK GROVE VILLAGE, Ill. — President Bush yesterday launched an attack on "the governor from Arkansas," his first campaign mention of Democrat Bill Clinton, but heavy rains and angry blue-collar Republicans dampened his offensive.

"Understand what's at stake here. If the governor of Arkansas is elected with a Democratic Congress ... within a year the government will run health care in this country," Mr. Bush said at a rain-shortened Republican picnic here.

"Our health care system will combine the efficiency of the House post office with the compassion of the KGB," he said.

Within minutes of Mr. Bush's speech, according to the Associated Press, Mr. Clinton stood outside the governor's mansion in Little Rock, Ark., to say, "Once again, the administration is trying to raise fears instead of solve problems."

Mr. Bush has refused to put together a cost-containment plan on health care because he is afraid to take on the special interests involved, such as insurance companies, the Democratic nominee said.

At a campaign fund-raiser for embattled Illinois GOP Senate candidate Richard Williamson in nearby Rosemont and at the picnic, Mr. Bush finally set out to define his fall election issues, relying on several played out in the 1988 campaign.

As he helped raise \$500,000 for Mr. Williamson, a State Department aide in the Reagan administration, Mr. Bush said there is a "Grand Canyon of philosophy that separates the two sides in this election."

Using health care to exemplify those differences, Mr. Bush said he supports a conservative approach that would provide the poor with vouchers to buy their own health insurance while the Democrats and Mr. Clinton support a program demanding corporate America pick up the tab.

see BUSH, page A8



Pact may pay off at polls

By Anne Veigle
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration is pushing to complete last-minute details of a free-trade pact with Mexico before the Nov. 3 election, hoping that a signed deal will boost public confidence in the languishing U.S. economy.

An agreement could be a political gain for President Bush, who has come under fire for failing to heat up the tepid economic recovery. A trade deal could help convince voters that the administration is taking steps to assure a more prosperous economy in the near future.

The goal of the agreement is to remove tariffs on most goods crossing the border. Although it would have little immediate impact on the U.S. economy, it sets the landscape for future trade that eventually could draw in countries from the Southern Hemisphere, with Chile first on the list.

see PACT, page A8

• Move of U.S. firm to Mexico brings home trade issues. B4.

BUSH

From page A1

Mr. Clinton backs a version of "play or pay" that would require employers to provide coverage for their workers or pay into a pool to cover the uninsured.

The president claimed such a plan would drive small businesses into bankruptcy, boost the cost of medicine and encourage frivolous lawsuits.

He came close to naming his opponent, scrapping an earlier plan to ignore the Democrats until after the Republican National Convention in two weeks.

While Mr. Bush's "us vs. them" approach was embraced by those who paid \$1,000 each to hear him, his effort to describe the Republicans as conservatives fighting against liberal Democratic tax-raisers fell flat on the ears of many Republican blue-collar workers gathered at a GOP picnic here.

"What has he done for us lately? Nothing," said Bob Soucek of neighboring Schaumburg. Mr. Soucek, a barber, joined several thousand other Republicans at a picnic here expecting to hear a message of hope from the president.

But, the lifelong Republican said, Mr. Bush's message ignored the economic troubles families are facing.

"I'd vote for Clinton. He can't be any worse," Mr. Soucek said.

"I'm not happy with him," said Paul Froehlich, who wore a T-shirt with former President Reagan's face painted on it.

"He's a weak candidate, and we're in trouble," said Mr. Froehlich, 41, also of Schaumburg. "There's a lack of strong conviction. With Reagan, you knew where his heart was."

Mr. Froehlich plans to vote for Mr. Bush, "but not with the same intensity."

While a picnic organizer tried to get a cheer of "four more years"

moving through the rain-drenched crowd, many families huddled under tents and trees discussing the faults of the president, mostly focusing on Washington's inability to boost the anemic economic recovery.

As the rain slowed, Mr. Bush, dressed in a Secret Service slicker but no hat, took to the stage with an

abbreviated plea for votes. Playing up his themes of change and trust, Mr. Bush said, "I need your help in ... changing this country for the values we all believe in."

In a dig at the ticket of Mr. Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, Mr. Bush said to cheers: "I'm going to go after that opponent. He's been on my case for

six months. We are going to define it and we are going to win the election."

Mr. Bush ignored the growing chorus of conservative newspaper editorials calling for his withdrawal from the race. Several arrived on his doorstep yesterday, including one from the Orange County Register.

Mr. Bush made a rare Sunday

campaign trip to help Mr. Williamson, who is trailing Democrat Carol Moseley Braun, the Cook County recorder of deeds who defeated Sen. Alan Dixon in the spring primary. She leads Mr. Williamson 55 percent to 20 percent in public-opinion polls and has easily won the fund-raising race.



President Bush greets members of the Air National Guard as he arrives at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport during a campaign swing yesterday.

PACT

From page A1

By freeing the flow of goods between borders, the trade pact would spur business investment and is likely to boost exports — the key to growth in the U.S. economy for the past six years. The administration estimates that each \$1 billion increase in exports creates 20,000 jobs.

"If you want a job machine, you want to have exports, and if you want to have exports, you look to your fastest-growing market," U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills said in a speech last week promoting the agreement. "This is a vibrant market opportunity."

Exports have accounted for 40 percent of U.S. economic growth since 1986, and economists predict that international trade will account for nearly one-third of the U.S. economy by 2000.

States most likely to benefit from the free-trade pact include California, Texas, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Illinois, all of which have industries heavily involved in cross-border trade. Virginia and Maryland rank in the mid-

dle in trade volume among states that export to Mexico.

There is wide disagreement over how many jobs the trade pact would create. Estimates range from the Bush administration's prediction of 44,000 to 64,000 new jobs over the next 10 years to the Washington-based Economic Strategy Initiative's forecast of 900,000 lost jobs over the same period.

But if jobs are created, they won't appear right away. Even if it is signed before the election, the agreement requires the approval of both houses of Congress, where it faces a blistering battle from opponents representing a huge array of special interests likely to be unhappy with the deal.

Key Democrats already have promised a long, hard fight if the agreement doesn't adequately protect workers and the environment. Some industry groups also are drawing battle lines in case the outcome doesn't meet their expectations.

While environmental issues will be high on the list of lawmakers' concerns, the displacement of jobs is the topic likely to provoke the most attention on Capitol Hill, particularly as the U.S. economy flounders. Labor groups are worried that U.S. companies will take advantage of

loosened trade rules to move plants to Mexico, where wages are cheaper.

Hourly wages in Mexico for manufacturing jobs averaged \$1.85 in 1990, compared with \$15.94 in Canada and \$14.83 in the United States, according to the U.S. Labor Department.

Lower wages have influenced a number of U.S. companies to move parts of their operations to Mexico in the past decade, although there are no accurate figures for how many jobs were affected.

Smith Corona announced July 21 that it was closing a New York typewriter plant and moving to Mexico. And, closer to Washington, American Telephone & Telegraph Co. two years ago closed a plant in Radford, Va., and moved some of its operations to Mexico.

Labor groups say the relatively small wage difference between Canada and the United States prompted a number of Canadian firms to move below the border after the two nations signed a trade pact in 1989.

Canada has lost more than 330,000 of slightly more than 2 million manufacturing jobs since the agreement took effect, but it is not known how many of the losses were due to the world recession that began in

mid-1989. Many Canadians blame the agreement and don't want Canada to take part in the U.S.-Mexican talks.

The Bush administration acknowledges that the trade pact will cause some losses in certain industries and has pledged to set up a program to help workers who lose their jobs because of the agreement.

The International Institute of Economics, a Washington-based research group that supports free trade, recommends that at least \$1.2 billion be set aside over five years for such a program. The institute estimates that about 150,000 jobs will be lost by 1995 because of the agreement.

Other groups say this figure is too low. The Economic Policy Institute, a Washington research group sympathetic to labor, says the trade agreement would cut 290,000 to 555,000 jobs over 10 years and cut an average of \$1,000 from the yearly wage of 70 percent of the nation's workers.

"Real people have real concerns about what the proposed NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] means to them and their families," House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, Missouri Democrat,

said last week at a luncheon speech to trade groups.

Mr. Gephardt proposed that the administration enact a tax on cross-border transactions to pay for programs to help dislocated workers and clean up pollution.

Mrs. Hills called such a tax "bad economic policy." She said the draft agreement contains "extraordinarily good" environmental measures that will live up to the promises Mr. Bush made to environmental groups in the spring.

Aside from debate on job losses and the environment, the trade pact is likely to win the support of most business groups, although some industries have threatened to reject the agreement if it doesn't meet their concerns.

Right now, U.S. tariffs on Mexican products amount to about 4 percent; the corresponding Mexican tariffs on U.S. exports average around 10 percent. And there have been numerous restrictions on agricultural goods and transportation equipment.

Removing those tariffs would increase exports to Mexico at an annual rate between 11 percent and 25 percent for the next five years, according to a March 1992 survey of top U.S. manufacturing firms with

total exports to Mexico of \$653 million in 1990. Overall U.S. exports to Mexico totaled \$33.2 billion in 1991.

But the overall impact of the trade agreement on the U.S. economy would be negligible. The U.S. International Trade Commission said in May that the country's gross domestic product would increase 0.5 percent or less while employment gains would range from 0.5 percent to 2.5 percent.

But specific industries will gain from the deal, including financial services, banking, agriculture, steel, pharmaceuticals and transportation. The U.S. textile industry hopes to use the agreement to stem imports from Asian countries.

And drug and computer companies are enthusiastic about new rules in the agreement that increase copyright and patent protections. Furthermore, changes in investment rules will spell out ownership rights and tax obligations more clearly for foreign companies doing business in Mexico.

One of the most sensitive aspects of the negotiations has been for an agreement that could open Mexico's energy sector, an area that the Mexican government has declared off limits, to some type of U.S. investment.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Money, honey

We've noted Bill Clinton's nondiscriminatory policy when it comes to asking for money. In a fund-raising feeding frenzy, he's included any number of longtime loyal Republicans on his mailing list, addressing them as though they were part of the Democratic fold. In keeping with his "work every angle, milk every list" policy, Mr. Clinton is also attempting to raise money from those who long since ceased to concern themselves with such earthly considerations.

"I am enclosing one of two certificates thanking my husband for the special role he played in preparing the Democratic Party for victory in 1992," writes Mrs. Russell R. Baker of Rockville.

"My husband died Nov. 24, 1983," she notes.

Well, Mr. Baker may have gone on to his reward, but Ron Brown wouldn't mind if Mr. Baker would share some of it with the Democratic Party. "Your immediate, generous contribution of \$100, \$50, \$25 or even \$20 will help us build the national, grass-roots campaign it's going to take to win in 1992," Mr. Brown wrote, adding that it is "essential that you join our efforts with as generous a gift as you can possibly afford."

While Mr. Baker does seem unlikely to respond to Mr. Brown's plea, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee has shown that he's a fighter when it comes to fund raising. In another note, Mr. Brown tells Mr. Baker that he's not upset that his target hasn't replied despite three letters.

Mr. Brown generously offers to extend the deadline for reply and even offers to throw in a Clinton Team lapel pin. "Please join me today," Mr. Brown concludes. Well, we certainly wouldn't wish it to be the other way round.

Hillary's hair

The headband has given way to side-swept bangs, but Hillary Clinton's adventures in coiffure are not over yet, according to Hollywood hair-snipper extraordinaire Christophe. "The initial goal was to shift the media focus from Hillary's headband to Hillary's face," Christophe explained to the Los Angeles Times the other day. He'll take another whack later this month, hoping to provide Mrs. Clinton with a warmer color of blond,



Can Hillary Clinton be an "international beauty image?" Only her hairdresser knows for sure.

among other subtle changes.

Christophe was on hand for the Democratic convention, at which Mrs. Clinton proved quite the task mistress. "I popped in rollers and combed it," he said of her new style, "but 15 minutes is all she allows for hair."

What Christophe is really looking forward to is a Clinton victory. "It will be the first time since Jackie Kennedy that we have had a youthful first lady," he enthused. "That's when she will become an international beauty image. And there is no doubt she has that potential."

Hey, Billy Jack

Thunderation, we almost forgot about ol' Billy. But actor Tom McLaughlin, better known as the crusading, romantic black-hatted peace-loving warrior in four movies in the early '70s, is back. He's not pursuing his candidacy for the presidency of the United States, but he is talking politics with a two-hour Sunday afternoon talk show anchored in the historic Telford Hotel in White Springs, Fla.

Mr. McLaughlin hosts the show, featuring supporters of Ross Perot calling in from across the country. Mr. Jack, or McLaughlin, dropped out of sight temporarily after failing to make much of a splash in the New Hampshire primaries. He has since thrown his support to Mr. Perot.

Local radio stations can pick up

Mr. McLaughlin's broadcast via Galaxy 2, Transponder 3, at 74.9 SCPC NB, or via the Satcom C-1 Transponder 2, 7.5 audio subcarrier.

'Doomsday Plan'

Now that various reports, including this newspaper's account of a congressional hideout buried beneath the Greenbrier resort in West Virginia, have shown a massive federal effort to save top hides in the event of nuclear war, Time magazine has pulled the loose ends together into what is called "The Doomsday Plan." The overview of federal survival plans will be published in Times' Aug. 10 issue.

With a helicopter squadron at the ready at Olmstead Air Force Base in Pennsylvania, government leaders would have been ferried to Raven Rock, the underground Pentagon near Gettysburg, Pa., or Mount Weather, the hollowed mountain near Berryville, Va.

At the latter site, shoot-to-kill orders would have prevented access by anyone not on the official roster, whether family members or other officials or locals. A television studio at Mt. Weather housed pre-recorded messages by Dwight Eisenhower and Arthur Godfrey advising citizens that the government continued to function.

In addition to the Greenbrier facility, others unearthed so far include the Federal Reserve Board's radiation-proof bunker near Culpeper, Va., equipped with tons of \$5, \$10, \$50 and \$100 bills stacked 9 feet high in a special vault.

One curiosity mentioned in the report concerns a priority list of national treasures to be saved, drawn up by the secret Cultural Heritage Preservation Group. The first painting to be saved would have been Leonardo da Vinci's "Ginevra de Benci" at the National Gallery of Art. The Gutenberg Bible and the Gettysburg Address were also listed, as was the Declaration of Independence, followed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

As to why the underground bunkers weren't built right in Washington, it was explained that a hydrogen bomb blast would turn the city into a deep lake and anyone who survived underneath it would subsequently drown.

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *



Al Gore wipes his face while campaigning in Stockton, Calif., where the heat has been brutal. AP

Gore slams Bush's family value ad slots

STOCKTON, Calif. (AP) — Al Gore yesterday denounced plans by the Bush campaign to run re-election commercials only on TV programs compatible with the administration's family values ideals and said television stations should "apply a lie detector test" before accepting the spots.

Campaign aides have said in letters to the three major networks that the president's 30- and 60-second spots would appear only on shows that are in keeping with the family values theme promoted by President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle.

But the Democratic vice presidential nominee told about 3,000 supporters that the White House is trying to apply a moral test to the shows on which the commercials are aired.

"I think the television stations ought to apply a lie detector test before they accept the commercials," Mr. Gore said.

Bush campaign officials have not said where or when the ads would appear. But a spot is slated to appear on at least one station — Kansas City, Mo., CBS affiliate KCTV — during a Mary Tyler Moore anniversary special set to air Friday.

Mr. Quayle initiated the administration's family values campaign when he criticized

the CBS show "Murphy Brown," whose title character, a single woman, became pregnant and decided to have a child.

Aides to Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and Mr. Gore have said that when the Democrats begin their advertising, the shows will be selected primarily on their audience, not their moral values.

Mr. Gore also accused the Republicans of "reaching down to get big ... handfuls of mud" to sling at their Democratic opponents because they have no solutions to cure the nation's economic ills.

"You'd think they'd be meeting with their economic advisers and shaking up their Cabinet and coming up with a new set of proposals to try and fix the problems instead of just throwing mud and saying we're going to have to stoop even lower," the Tennessee senator said.

"That's why people are fed up with politics," he added.

Earlier, Mr. Gore worshiped at the Quail Lake Baptist Church, where he was met by about 50 sign-waving pro-life activists. The group sang hymns and patriotic songs outside the church during the hour that Mr. Gore was inside.

Despite critics, Bush is in race for long haul



Sen. Phil Gramm

ASSOCIATED PRESS

George Bush is staying in the presidential race despite calls for his withdrawal by newspaper editorials and some conservatives, leading Democrats and Republicans agreed yesterday.

Transportation Secretary Andrew Card, asked on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday" whether there was any chance of President Bush either withdrawing or dropping Vice President Dan Quayle from the ticket, replied, "None."

Mr. Bush's rival, Bill Clinton, said he didn't expect the disarray among Republicans to last.

"What you see now is not what's going to happen in the next 90 days," Mr. Clinton told reporters in Little Rock, Ark. "I expect this to be a very tough campaign."

"If I know anything about George Bush, it is that he is not a quitter," Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican,

said on ABC's "This Week."

As to replacing the vice president, Mr. Gramm said, "That issue is dead. The team is in place that's going to run."

House Democratic leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri said on the same program, "I don't think there's going to be a new Republican ticket. I think what you see is what you get."

Retiring conservative Rep. Vin Weber, also on CNN, predicted Mr. Bush would stay in the race. "It's going to be a very close election, and he has every opportunity to win," the Minnesota Republican said.

But Mr. Weber said the president "needs to sharpen his message, particularly on the economy," and demonstrate "that he's willing to fight for the conservative policies that he has advanced in the past."

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, asked on CBS' "Face the Nation" what Mr.

Bush should do, replied, "I would like to see the president as the fighter pilot that he is."

Criticism of the president reflects "the frustration that the American people feel, as well as all the variations of the conservative movement, over the state of the economy," he said.

The Orange County Register, which has a Sunday circulation of 400,880 in one of Southern California's most conservative counties, said in an editorial yesterday that Mr. Bush "can render his presidency most successful only by giving it up, voluntarily, before his party's convention opens in Houston a fortnight from now."

The Waterbury Republican-American in Connecticut also editorialized yesterday that "George Bush can best serve his country and save the Union by declining the nomination."

MARTIN SIEFF

I hope our own Ben Wattenberg is watching the 25th Olympiad in Barcelona, for it's proving the thesis of his recent splendid book. The United States draws the best part of its greatness from its nature as the world's first "universal nation." The background of many of our greatest athletes proves it.

Pablo Morales, winning his long-deserved gold medal in the 100-meter butterfly, is the son of immigrants from Cuba. His family was there to see his triumph. A brilliant young gymnast, Betty Okino, has a Romanian mother and a Ugandan father.

Cuba, Romania, Uganda — all of them beautiful, rich lands, historically enjoying prosperous inhabitants and rich cultures, but all of them transformed in the second half of the 20th century into totalitarian and gangster hellholes, raped and ruined by totalitarian gangsters. Where so many died, many, many others who could, fled. And this country, as it has for so many scores of millions, for so long, welcomed so many of them in, giving them sanctuary under that broad, generous Constitution and government tradition that, as George Washington said, "gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

Pablo Morales proudly stood after his gold-medal triumph while "The Star Spangled Banner" played. He powered his way to victory, not to give glory to some tyrannical ideology that demanded the sacrifice of an infinite number of lives, but for his family, his friends and his country. The old, simple verities. Japanese-American figure skater Kristi Yamaguchi displayed the same

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Reflected in the Olympics

exuberant pride when she struck gold in the Albertville Winter Olympics.

There are many who fear, just as many have always feared, that massive immigration will dilute and destroy the essential nature of this nation. The same arguments were thrown against the Irish immigrants of the 1850s, the Eastern and Southern European immigrants of the 1890s, the Jewish immigrants of the 1920s. Now we hear the same tired old lies thrown against Hispanic and Asian ones.

But the opposite development has always proved to be the case. This country remains, as it has always been, a miracle of alchemy. It takes the tired, the poor, the huddled masses yearning to breathe free — the wretched refuse of so many teeming shores — and transmutes them into a people who share a deeper, different culture: more optimistic, more hard-working, more enterprising and far, far more adaptable than their counterparts in the tired old lands of East and West. America remains forever young, a torch of hope, thanks to its magic elixir — the energetic blood of its new immigrants, their children and grandchildren.

Fifteen-year-old Tamara Levinson from Silver Spring, a rising hope in rhythmic gymnastics, is coached by two immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Catherine Yakimovich and Inna Savanekova.

The first week of the 25th Olympiad also saw unexpected good news about our long-troubled auto industry. Ford and Chrysler are looking good, and industry analysts believe that even troubled General Motors

may be finally turning the corner. The analysts put the transformation down to the ability of Big Three managements to implement new production strategies and management philosophies.

The underlying reason for this unexpected resilience is the same one that has produced so many brilliant Olympic athletes from first and second generation immigrants. With all our manifold failings, no other country remains as open, as receptive, as generous and — therefore — as flexible as the United States. Where other nations resent and react against new talent, our proudest boast should be that we welcome it.

The most optimistic and far-seeing champions of our political and economic values — leaders like Ronald Reagan, Jack Kemp and Mr. Wattenberg — instinctively grasp this. They realize that, to paraphrase Alexis de Tocqueville, America is great when she is generous to those who seek to become part of her dream, part of her great adventure. It is not new immigrants, or their children, who form the hard-core of our drop-outs and criminals, the home-made wretched refuse of our welfare culture. That has been produced by the curse of welfarism inflicted on our people by Lyndon Johnson, whose curse was to corrupt even where he sought to help. But for all our economic and social problems, major immigration, as Mr. Wattenberg has cogently argued, serves to alleviate them rather than make them worse.

The Great Depression could not have held down the United States for

so long in the 1930s had not major immigration, one of the most powerful engines of economic growth, been cut off by the infamous immigration act of 1924. Nor was it any coincidence that the prosperity of the Reagan years, the longest peacetime boom in U.S. history, came at a time of record immigration, too.

President Bush, with his unerring ability to sound an uncertain noise, even when he has been given a fine trumpet, has never grasped this connection. His administration's less than glorious record on offering refuge to political refugees from China and Haiti is consistent with his failure of nerve in pursuing economic growth policies. No wonder, therefore, that his re-election struggles in dire straits, requiring far more than a skilful campaign manager to save it.

That long derided "vision thing" now looks set to cook the president's electoral goose, unless he radically changes his political recipes at the 11th hour. For starters, he should tune into the Olympic coverage and see where the root of so much of America's greatness comes from. Like the astronauts who died on the Challenger space shuttle, our Olympians truly are our best and brightest. They display an example the most sedentary of us should rejoice in. They are the fruits, the results, the outcome of the hope and generosity that made our nation great and keeps it that way. And because of the dazzling variety of race, color and creed they stem from, you don't even have to be American to root them on and share in their victories. In their triumphs lie our future, and the hope of the world.

DANIEL MITCHELL

Tangled web of tax rules

We've all experienced the horrible complexity of filing income tax returns. It takes the average taxpayer more than two full working days to complete his federal income taxes — and when he's through paying the professional tax preparers, the whole process has cost the economy some \$700 billion.

But the individual income tax code is a model of clarity compared to the tax laws governing business. Many provisions are now so complex that corporate tax specialists privately admit that their companies' tax returns are simply guesses.

Take, for example, the rules governing one business buying another. How do you figure out how much of the price of the business being bought can be deducted from the taxes of the buyer?

See if you can follow this: First, the value of the business bought must be divided, so that different kinds of value can be taxed differently. The value of "tangible" assets such as land, machinery and buildings cannot be deducted the year the business is bought — it must be deducted over a period of years.

Second, the value of a company's "intangible" assets — computer software, customer lists, credit files, distribution networks, contracts — must be measured. This involves a good deal of guesswork. De-

spite this, their assigned value must be deducted over a period of years. Meanwhile, the time periods for deductions must match the length of time that the "intangibles" will remain valuable (a guessimation at best).

Third, another category of "intangibles" referred to as "goodwill" — consumer loyalty, name recognition, etc. — can't ever be deducted, even though it is clearly part of the value of the company being bought. Got it?

What this all means, of course, is that businesses cannot simply deduct the full purchase price of a company they buy in the year that they buy it. Why? Because a policy like that might minimize government inefficiency and maximize economic growth — and we couldn't have that.

Instead, businesses must gamble that the money it costs them to buy another business will eventually be offset by deductions put off into the future and by profits. The chances of this are lessened because the value of future deductions depreciates with inflation. The complex tax code thus discourages long-term investment decisions.

Worse, all the guesswork involved in the tax treatment of intangible assets has made them the second most litigated area in the tax code, with an estimated \$9 billion in dispute between the Internal Revenue Service and taxpayers. The IRS estimates that each case takes 6,000 man-hours and \$160,000 tax dollars to resolve.

Why all this complexity, you ask? Because the current tax code still suffers from a bias against people

and businesses earning money and keeping it. A combination of class-warfare ideology, bad economics and myopic budget policy has been superimposed over simple numbers. The number of taxpayers, the dollars they earn and the percentage the government wants to take are scattered into bizarre combinations and categories that no one, not even the experts, can figure out. This is all done to make sure success is properly penalized, and every step toward it made more difficult.

But the American people are catching on, and the lawmakers know it. There is no legitimate reason why the tax code must be so complex. What finally emerges from the current tax negotiations in Congress will send a strong signal as to whether lawmakers are ready to simplify the tax code.

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MARTIN GROSS

First of five articles

For the first time in decades, the majority of Americans are seriously debating the integrity and judgment of their federal government. Not that they are fully armed with information — they are not — but there is a gnawing concern, an undercurrent of grumbling overheard in supermarket checkout lines and voiced in public-opinion polls.

"Why does Uncle Sam spend so much money?" people ask. And unspoken is the obvious question: "Why don't I seem to be sharing in

From the book, "The Government Racket: Washington Waste From A to Z," by Martin L. Gross. Copyright (c) 1992, by Martin L. Gross. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, Bantam Books. Distributed by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

Taking money under false pretenses

THE GOVERNMENT RACKET:

Washington waste from A to Z

the rewards of my own government?"

There's little doubt that the

American public is confused and frustrated by what's happening in Washington. Every few months, a supposed debate about "government waste" erupts in the capital and infuriates the nation.

There is either a rash of bounced checks, or a campaign contribution scandal, or a fight about spending \$500,000 to construct a memorial to Lawrence Welk. Or the president of the United States gets angry at Congress for wasting the nation's money on pet "pork barrel" projects.

The Republicans point an accusing finger at the Democrats who control the Hill. The Democrats respond that the last two Republican presidents have more than doubled the federal deficit. It becomes a partisan brouhaha with great pulses of

heat, but no illumination.

The people seem smarter than the politicians. They suspect that something even messier than "pork" is involved, and they're asking the right questions:

"Is the government truly my friend? Or if not my enemy, is the government indifferent to my concerns? Is the current \$1.5 trillion budget, almost 25 percent of which is borrowed, and which is supported by record-high taxes, necessary? Is the money being legitimately spent or is it being squandered by bureaucrats and politicians instead of benefiting the American people?"

Americans are asking these penetrating questions regardless of party or ideology, and not always in the nicest of tones. A consensus of

disappointment with Washington that transcends partisanship is developing, making for a confrontation of "them" vs. "us."

People are suspicious that something is fundamentally wrong in Washington. And they are right. Hundreds of billions of dollars are being taken from them each year under false pretenses. In fact, waste of enormous proportions is built into the federal system, though most of it is expertly hidden. Waste is more prevalent than efficiency; more common than good works. If it continues at its present pace, not only will it bankrupt the nation fiscally, it will destroy us morally as well.

Unfortunately, few people under-

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stand how Washington really works. The reported scandals are mere blemishes on the national skin, eruptions that don't truly reveal the erosion going on within the body politic. If the public were to know the full story, they would probably conclude their federal government is an expensive, arcane, often irrational, self-serving, self-perpetuating operation that has to be radically reformed.

One reason for people's frustration is that they feel detached from Washington — that most of what

Promises to eliminate the deficit have all proved hollow. People are beginning to fear that, like slick salesmen, politicians know that they can't possibly deliver on their claims.

goes on is not directly connected to their own lives. And their suspicions are correct.

We can relate to local, even state, government, which provide tangible services, from garbage collection to police protection. But what does the federal government — which takes the lion's share of our tax money — actually do for us?

We're all aware of the national involvement in defense and foreign affairs. But how does the government affect the life of the average American at home?

What is generally not taken into account is the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, the last item in the Bill of Rights. It leaves to the states and the people all powers not specifically granted to the federal government, which are very few in number. To circumvent that amendment, Washington has developed thousands of projects on which it spends trillions, but for which it is seldom held accountable.

The result is a strange system — one that exists nowhere else in the developed democratic world — in which Washington collects our money, but provides few direct services.

The Department of Education does not teach a single one of our children. That's a local function, to which Washington contributes only 6 percent of the cost. Our roads and highways are mainly paid for by states and municipalities.

The Department of Energy does not pay our utility bills and provides cheap power for only a relative handful of Americans. The Department of Health and Human Services does not furnish the great majority of Americans with medical care. And if we're senior citizens, our benefit checks are being diluted every day by the government's wanton use of the money paid it for the aged.

There's no doubt that some of the frustration stems from the exaggerated promises of government, which we have naively accepted. Listening to politicians over the last two decades, during which the federal budget has grown an average of 10 percent per year no matter which party controlled the Congress or the White House, one would expect that a golden deliverance was about to come from Washington.

But people are becoming more sophisticated and beginning to realize that big government does not necessarily mean beneficent or responsive government. After decades of time and trillions of dollars, government loses its claim to legitimacy when it fails to fulfill its obligations. The nation begins to doubt, as it now has, that the promises were made in good faith. Government is then seen as a failure, a fallacy, a myth, a racket.

In some ways, in fact, our federal establishment — which bears little resemblance to the one set up by the Founding Fathers — might be compared to a numbers racket. If you're lucky, you'll beat the odds and get a payoff. If not, all you're left with is a stub.

Much of government spending is dictated by the needs of special-interest groups — banks, lawyers, doctors and hospitals, corporations, farmers, universities, real-estate people, researchers, unions, ranchers, utilities, foreign interests, scientists, insurance companies, defense contractors, foundations, oil and gas companies. Anyone you can think of — except the working middle class, who pay the bulk of our taxes.

The most powerful special-interest group is the wasteful, inefficient federal government itself. The best comparison might be to a charity that collects a fortune in contributions, but keeps too much of it to run its own operation, then dispenses the rest without rhyme or reason.

We're often reminded of the old days of big government when Franklin D. Roosevelt presided over a nation in a deep depression. Surprisingly, it was all done with a small bureaucracy and rather cheaply. In 1938, the federal government handled welfare, the Works Progress Administration and programs too numerous to mention, with an income of only 7.7 percent of the gross national product.

Today, with supposedly "modern" government, loaded down with computers, complex theories and a large cadre of educated personnel, federal expenditures are at an all-time high — 25 percent of the total national product in 1991 with a \$400 billion deficit in 1992 to boot. Promises to eliminate that deficit have all proved hollow. People are beginning to fear that, like slick home-siding salesmen, our politicians know that they can't possibly deliver on their claims.

Abraham Lincoln, in speaking to a caller at the White House during the Civil War, remarked that "you can't fool all the people all the time." The federal government attempts to refute Old Abe's maxim, but this author is hopeful that by the time readers have finished this book, they will be expert enough on how our money is being squandered to restore Lincoln's status as a seer.

Pork galore

The oldest adage in Washington is that "all politics are local."

Congressmen never forget it, and while one eye may be focused on the national commonweal, at least one other is zeroed in on what can be wrangled for the folks back home — the voters who will go to the polls in November.

The term "pork barrel" stems back to the early 1800s when the popular meat was packed that way, and hungry farmhands reached for slabs of salt pork. In 1879, it was adopted as political slang to mean goodies for the local district paid for by taxpayers at large. Today, the expensive practice has become such an addiction that it's now more fiscally tragic than funny. Here is a list of some of the most expensive pork barrel legislation ever enacted:

- A \$60,000 Belgian endive research study for the University of Massachusetts.
- \$6.4 million for a Bavarian ski resort in Kellogg, Idaho.
- \$13 million to repair a privately owned dam in South Carolina.
- \$3.1 million to convert a ferry boat into a crab restaurant in Baltimore.
- \$43 million for Steamtown, U.S.A., in Scranton, Pa., to recreate a railroad yard of old.
- \$107,000 to study the sex life of the Japanese quail.
- \$11 million for a private, pleasure boat harbor in Cleveland.
- \$150,000 to study the Hatfield-McCoy feud.
- \$320,000 to purchase President McKinley's mother-in-law's house.
- \$2.7 million for a catfish farm in Arkansas.
- \$84,000 to find out why people fall in love.
- \$1 million to study why people don't ride bikes to work.
- \$19 million to examine gas emissions from cow flatulence.
- \$144,000 to see if pigeons follow human economic laws.
- \$219,000 to teach college students how to watch television.
- \$500,000 to build a replica of the Great Pyramid of Egypt in Indiana.
- \$1.8 million for an engineering study to convert Biscayne Boulevard in Miami into an "exotic garden."
- \$2 million to construct an ancient Hawaiian canoe.
- \$6 million to upgrade the two-block-long Senate subway.
- \$160,000 to study if you can hex an opponent by drawing an "X" on his chest.
- \$250,000 to study TV lighting in the Senate meeting rooms.
- \$100,000 to study how to avoid falling spacecraft.
- \$16,000 to study the operation of the *komungo*, a Korean stringed instrument.
- \$1 million to preserve a Trenton, N.J., sewer as a historic monument.
- \$6,000 for a document on Worcestershire sauce.
- \$10,000 to study the effect of naval communications on a bull's potency.

SUZANNE FIELDS

A lead for Ms. to follow

Ms. magazine is 20 years old this month, and it's come a long way, baby. But it still hasn't grown up.

Ms. maintains an adolescent attitude toward female sexuality, celebrating in its 20th anniversary issue the "Lesbian Herstory Archives," where all women are welcome to view lesbian memorabilia. They'll find a hard hat from a lesbian steelworker, pasties from a lesbian

stripper and other artifacts that express lesbian "courage."

In the same issue, writer Naomi Wolf tries to save sexuality for feminists who like men. But her story can be a sad story.

"We need a heterosexual version of the marriages that gay and lesbian activists are seeking," she says. And all the time we thought gay and lesbian activists were seeking a homosexual version of heterosexual marriage.

Ms. Wolf, like so many writers for Ms., holds up homosexuality as a model. She wants men and women to confirm the beauty of their differences in the way that lesbians and gays confirm the beauty of their similarities. (So that's what they do.)

Just in case we don't get it, she uses the language of deconstruction, Margaret Mead and Marxism to help us redefine a view of heterosexuality. The word "animal," for example, is deconstructed to mean a new kind of "otherness between genders," one that offers ferocity and respect: "Let us define animal as an inchoate kinship, a comradeship, that finds a language beyond our species." There's no hint as to what species she has in mind.

If you understand the language of this passage, you probably qualify as a "radical heterosexual." But that

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Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

FIELDS

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will require a vigilant awareness of weakness to overcome a female propensity for backsliding.

Left-wing sisters were enraged at Gloria Steinem when she confessed her less-than-radical heterosexuality in her book, "Revolution From Within," kissing-and-telling how she was once drawn to real-estate mogul-publisher Mortimer Zuckerman, "because he could do the things with money and power that we are taught men must do."

The sisters were also furious to discover the deceptive message of Simone de Beauvoir as revealed in her biography and letters. The French mother of modern feminism misled women with a false rhetoric that suggested she had a loving relationship with Sartre and an easy relationship with women.

Now Ms. learns that Sartre was merely an old-fashioned cad, and Ms. de Beauvoir did not enjoy her lesbian relationships all that much, anyway. Sartre not only lied to her about his affairs, but he proposed to another woman and said he'd get the other Ms. out of his life forever if she would only marry him.

Most women are put off by radical feminists because they move too far out of the mainstream of both femininity and feminism. So it is with Ms. magazine and its favorite feminist institution, the National Organization of Women. NOW will narrow its focus of feminism further when it holds a convention for a new political party — "the 21st Century Party" — later this month.

This is the "Year of the Woman," but not everyone is sure what woman they're talking about.

Radical feminists insist that the woman-as-victim is the archetypal woman we should be rallying around; Anita Hill is the inspiration

for a resurgent feminism, with sexual harassment presumed as the galvanizing force.

Sharon Pratt Kelly, mayor of Washington, now rivals Ms. Hill as the celebrity victim of harassment. When Jack Kent Cooke, owner of the Redskins, patted her on the bottom during their negotiations for a new stadium, as if she were just another of his tight ends coming out of a huddle, she pushed him away and gave him a look that would intimidate a linebacker, as if to say: "You'd better not do that again." (And I'll bet he won't.)

Nobody needs a subscription to Ms. magazine to know how to do that.

When Secretary of State James A. Baker moves III to the White House, administration officials say he plans to continue overseeing Middle East peace negotiations as well as overall government operations and President Bush's re-election campaign.

Democrats already are accusing Mr. Bush of putting politics ahead of foreign policy by asking Mr. Baker to switch jobs, but Mr. Baker's triple role points up an even graver weakness in Mr. Bush's government: The paucity of talent he can call upon to do vital work.

If Mr. Baker is the only person who can rescue Mr. Bush's presidency, what is going to happen if Mr. Bush gets re-elected and Mr. Baker heads back to the State Department? Who is going to help Mr. Bush "change America," as the president says he will do during the next four years?

Clearly, there are people in the Republican Party capable of running the government well — such figures as Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and Dan Quayle's chief of staff, Bill Kristol, come to mind — but Mr. Bush has not brought them into his inner circle.

Mr. Baker's pending appointment as White House counselor — but, really, as assistant president — means that the people Mr. Bush has

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None but Baker for the job?

put into power positions are not up to their jobs.

Meantime, the number of tasks Mr. Baker will be asked to perform raises questions about whether he can do all of them well. He will be, in effect, White House chief of staff, peace negotiator and campaign manager.

Mr. Baker functioned as chief of staff and campaign chief for Ronald Reagan's 1984 re-election, but now he will also have to handle both the Mideast peace talks and, presumably, other foreign policy crises, as well.

Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger will act as secretary of state, but he has not been at the center of most hot foreign-policy issues during Mr. Bush's first term. The former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe (including Yugoslavia), Mideast peace talks, Persian Gulf strategy and global economics all have been handled by Mr. Baker and a tiny group of aides, most of whom are going with him when he leaves the State Department.

Mr. Baker's top aide for the Mideast, policy-planning chief Dennis Ross, will split his time between

White House-campaign work and the Arab-Israeli talks, which are scheduled to resume in Washington specifically so that Mr. Baker and Mr. Ross can step into them when needed.

State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler, Mr. Baker's longtime top political operative, was his 1984 link between the White House

and the campaign and might play a similar role this year. State Department counselor Robert Zoellick, who is also undersecretary of state for economic affairs, presumably will be in charge of organizing the administration's economic message and poking holes in Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's.

Mr. Zoellick, Mr. Ross and Miss

Tutwiler all played key roles in Mr. Bush's 1988 election campaign — Mr. Zoellick as economic coordinator, Mr. Ross as issues chief and Miss Tutwiler as all-round adviser. Mr. Baker was Mr. Bush's campaign manager.

Mr. Baker's switch to the White

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KONDRACKE

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House reportedly will take place soon after Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin visits Mr. Bush at his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine. Mr. Rabin has signaled eagerness to give autonomy to Palestinian Arabs in the occupied West Bank and Gaza and to talk with Arab nations about peace.

Persuading the Arabs to take advantage of Mr. Rabin's offers and inventing U.S. "bridging" formulas could be a full-time job for any secretary of state. Officials expect Assistant Secretary of State Edward Derjian to manage the talks day-to-day, but Mr. Baker and Mr. Ross in-

evitably will have to intervene periodically.

In addition, Mr. Bush is facing other foreign policy crises in Iraq and Yugoslavia, both of which Mr. Baker likely will have to get involved in.

The administration seems to be planning to force Iraq's Saddam Hussein into either a humiliating cave-in or a military confrontation soon. The strategy is to quicken the number and intrusiveness of U.N. inspections of sites suspected of harboring nuclear, biological, chemical and missile installations.

If Saddam yields, the United States can say it has backed the dictator down. If he once again tries to bar inspections, administration offi-

cials say they will have the pretext to "hit him."

Mr. Bush told congressional leaders that France and Britain were not ready to engage in military action last week when Iraq barred entry to its Agriculture Ministry. He asked members if they were willing for the United States to act alone.

Mr. Bush got a mixed response from Democrats — "yes" from House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin, Senate Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn and House Intelligence Chairman Dave McCurdy and "no" from Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Claiborne Pell. House Speaker Tom Foley was noncommittal, asking for

assurances that Congress would be consulted.

If Saddam creates an opening for force to be used, it's likely that allied aircraft would hit military targets, including Saddam's air force, which has been in the air lately against Shiite targets in southern Iraq. Civilian infrastructure, such as the country's rebuilt electric grid and Baghdad bridges, also may be targeted.

Meanwhile, on Yugoslavia the administration currently is circulating a resolution among U.N. Security Council members authorizing the use of force to clear away resistance to humanitarian relief operations. Administration officials say they hope the resolution itself will cause Serbia to stop harassing relief convoys.

The administration apparently wants both Iraq and Yugoslavia to be tamped down as potential issues for Democrats to use to attack Mr. Bush on his supposed strong suit, foreign policy, and from his right flank, at that.

If the issues fester, however, they will fall again onto Mr. Baker's overfilled plate. He is a skilled and experienced operator, but he's not Superman. If one man has to deal with Iraq, Yugoslavia, the Mideast, the economy and Mr. Bush's re-election, the Democrats have a right to ask, who's president, anyway?

The parallels between George Bush in 1992 and Jimmy Carter in 1980 begin to pile up: malaise, economic woe, sagging polls. And now,

foreign policy: Like Mr. Carter, Mr. Bush may achieve success on the Arab-Israeli peace front but be vexed by "incomplete success" in the Persian Gulf.

"Incomplete success" was Mr. Carter's euphemism for the disastrous Desert One hostage-rescue attempt in Iran. The term more accurately describes Mr. Bush's handling of Saddam, who is far less a threat than he was before Desert Storm but is still an embarrassment.

In 1980, the Iran hostage crisis contributed heavily to Mr. Carter's defeat. In 1992, Mr. Bush is vulnerable to charges that he built up Saddam prior to his invasion of Kuwait and has let him off easy since Desert Storm.

DAVID MYERS

Contours of our social recession

After much hand-wringing about the nation's short-term economic recession, America is waking up to its long-term social recession.

Liberals and conservatives alike are taking stock of what has been wrought by the self-indulgent tendencies of both the political left ("Do your own thing") and the political right ("Greed is good").

Their common conclusion: Something has gone haywire.

Without blaming victims for the social forces that have created this recession, let's face facts. Since 1960:

- Child abuse reports have spiralled, from well under a million cases to nearly 3 million.

- Teen sexual activity has doubled, with accompanying increases in sexually transmitted diseases.

- Cohabitation has increased six-fold, nearly equalling the likelihood of marriage by age 25. (Ironically, couples who marry after an apparently successful trial marriage have significantly higher divorce rates.)

David Myers, psychology professor at Hope College in Holland, Mich., is author of *"The Pursuit of Happiness: Who Is Happy — and Why,"* just published by William Morrow. Distributed by Scripps Howard News Service.

- The 5 percent rate of babies born to unmarried mothers in 1960 has more than quintupled to 27 percent. Increasingly, everywhere in America, children are having children, many of whom are destined to educational and economic impoverishment.

- Despite the easier termination of unhappy marriages, reflected in today's doubled divorce rate, the happiness of surviving marriages has slightly declined.

- In 1960, 1 in 10 children did not live with two parents. Today, nearly 3 in 10 do not, most of whom experience diminished father care.

This meltdown of the American family recently caused American Psychological Association members to rate "the decline of the nuclear family" as the No. 1 threat to mental health. Moreover, family decline is compounded by other indicators of social recession. Since 1960:

- The known rape rate has quadrupled.

- The violent crime rate has quintupled.

- The teen suicide rate has tripled.

- The delinquency rate has more than doubled.

- The rate of disabling psychological depression has soared, to 10 times pre-World War II levels, estimate some experts.

Cool statistics, yet behind each are countless crushed lives. While standing tall during the 1980s, believing a comfortable lie that all was well in a prosperous and militarily successful America, we were losing social battles at home. Excepting a levelled divorce rate, the social recession shows no sign of abating.

One wonders: Where are we headed? What social forces account for this recession? What role is played by today's greater materialism and self-focused individualism? By the growing gap between the empowered rich and the powerless poor?

By rekindled ethnic hostilities after decades of declining prejudice? By lost spiritual roots? By our acceptance of the entertainment media's modeling of violence and sexual promiscuity?

This much is sure: Ending our economic recession will not cure our social recession.

In 1958, the year John Galbraith described us as "The Affluent Society," our per-person income, ex-

pressed in today's dollars, was less than \$8,000. Today it is \$16,000, making us the "doubly affluent society" — with double what money buys. Compared with 1958, we have twice as many cars per capita. We have color TVs, VCRs, home computers, air conditioners, microwave ovens, answering machines and \$12-billion-a-year worth of brand-name athletic shoes.

We're twice as rich. Yet today, as then, only one third of us say we're "very happy." If anything, to judge from the surging rates of depression and teen problems (during an era of doubled per-pupil expenditures in constant dollars), we're more likely to be miserable. Our wealth has not bought social well-being.

Although unemployment and poverty breed a demoralized hopelessness, economic growth into the higher regions of affluence does not appreciably improve human morale.

That being so, is it not time that we look beyond our short-term economic woes and ask: What sort of future do we wish for our children? Without nostalgically retreating to the past or squashing basic liberties, can we reshape the national consciousness? Can we encourage new attitudes, environments and spiritual

resources that will enable America to reverse its deepening social recession?

Lest we resign ourselves to present trends, consider what happened after the nation awoke to its drug problem. We changed our entertainment media's images of drug and alcohol use and undertook drug education and alcohol awareness programs. Voila! High school seniors' alcohol use during the preceding month dropped from 72 percent in the late 1970s to 54 percent in 1991. Marijuana use plunged from 37 percent to 14 percent. Cocaine use fell from 6 percent to 1 percent.

Among newly health-conscious adults, too, alcohol abstinence has increased from 29 percent to 43 percent, while cigarette smoking has dropped from 4 in 10 adults in 1972 to 1 in 4 today.

Although a drug subculture still exists, a new public consciousness has reversed earlier trends. Will the current social recession awaken a comparable resolve?

The problems are many and their solutions not simple. But renewal begins with awareness. "Change the way people think," said South African civil rights martyr Steven Biko, "and things will never be the same."

JACK PAYTON

People pick up the strangest souvenirs when they go to faraway places. Reporters are no exception, even those who've been doing it for awhile and ought to know better.

As often as not, the definitive souvenir I've brought back from the exotic places I've lived or visited is a

Jack R. Payton writes for the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times. Distributed by the Scripps Howard News Service.

A final piece of unfinished business

rock. That's right, a rock.

I've got a large chunk of pink rock in my patio that comes from the Mount of Olives overlooking Jerusalem. Sitting near it is shiny white one picked up from the top of Mount Blanc, the highest peak in the Alps.

I hold down the papers on my desk with three oddly shaped stones — one from the Khyber Pass at the

frontier between Pakistan and Afghanistan, another one I fished up while swimming across the Suez Canal and a smaller one I got in Berlin.

It's this last one I thought about this week when I heard that Erich Honecker had been forced out of the Chilean Embassy in Moscow and sent back to Berlin to face the music.

Honecker, some of you may re-

member, is the evil genius who built the Berlin Wall in 1961 when he was East Germany's security chief. The rock on my desk — a chunk of concrete and gravel, really — is a piece of that wall. I hammered it loose with a pick ax the week the wall came down in November 1989 and Berliners gave a huge street party to celebrate communism's demise.

much, refused to turn Honecker over to West German authorities. It took Mr. Gorbachev's downfall, and the rise of Boris Yeltsin, before the Russians took the Honecker case seriously.

As soon as he figured out what was coming down, the 79-year-old ex-dictator took refuge at the Chilean Embassy in Moscow, hoping he could eventually be allowed to live out his remaining days in the South American nation.

Mr. Yeltsin, anxious to cozy up to Germany and its potential economic aid, had a better idea. So do the Germans, who are keeping Honecker in a Berlin prison until his trial.

All of which makes that rough chunk of concrete and gravel on my desk — that piece of the Berlin Wall — that much more memorable to me. I've renamed it "Honecker's Folly."

Honecker's return to Germany is a final piece of really big unfinished business from the Cold War: What to do with the East Bloc leader most visibly linked to the cruelty of communism?

The Germans have decided that Honecker, unlike some communist leaders, is going to pay for his sins. They've charged him with manslaughter in the deaths of more than 350 people killed while trying to escape from East Germany to the West.

The handle on Honecker is not so much that he built the wall, but that he gave East German border guards the shoot-to-kill order when they saw anybody trying to slip over the wall or across the border. He's also the man who set up the minefields and automatic machine gun free-fire zones along the border to take care of any would-be escapees the guards might have missed.

And while they're at it, the Germans also have charged Honecker with embezzling millions of dollars for himself and his friends during the 18 years he ran East Germany as Communist Party chief.

Honecker had been holed up in Moscow for the past 17 months after being spirited out of East Germany by the Soviet army.

It's worth keeping in mind that Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Soviet leader Westerners admire so

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *

WALTER
WILLIAMS

Popular political nonsense

Are you ready for the attacks on our Constitution and the bevy of lies that we're going to be hit with as the Democratic and Republican campaigns warm up? Politicians succeed in their ruthless assault on our Constitution because most Americans are either ignorant or contemptuous of its provisions. We're going to hear calls for the federal government to invest in our cities and to create national health care programs and enterprise zones.

Read our Constitution. Tell me which, among its seven articles and 27 amendments, authorizes the federal government to invest in cities and to create national health care programs and enterprise zones. For that matter, I challenge you to find constitutional authority for two-thirds of this year's \$1.5 trillion federal budget.

No doubt, a lawyer or a politician will answer, "In the preamble to the Constitution, it says, 'Promote the general welfare.'" Since there are millions of things that promote the general welfare, including good exercise, low-fat diets and rest, this vision of the Constitution means that the federal government is authorized to mandate anything wonderful

and good that can muster a majority vote. That, I guarantee you, was not the vision held by the Founding Fathers.

Some people, mostly lawyers, politicians and other elite, will say, "Williams, times change and there are urgent needs. We can't afford strict construction; we need a flexible, living Constitution."

Hogwash! The Constitution specifies rules of the game of life. It says what is permissible and impermissible, like any other set of rules.

How about if you, I and several others play poker. We've agreed our "constitution" is the set of rules laid out in Hoyle's "Official Rules of Card Games." Suppose you have a full house, and the other players and I have lesser combinations. We start carping about your literal interpretation of the rules and argue the need for flexibility. Then we form a mob and mandate that pairs beat full

houses. You see the point? A flexible, living constitution is equivalent to having no constitution at all.

How about Reagan-tax-cuts-for-the-rich rhetoric? I've pointed out that tax payments of the top 1 percent of income earners in 1981 averaged \$68,000, 17 percent of total income taxes collected. In 1988, the average tax payment of the top 1 percent averaged \$104,000, or 27.5 percent of total income taxes. The rich are actually paying more. Here's the incredibly stupid response I often get: "But Williams, it's still unfair because you forgot to mention that the rich are earning so much more!"

Consider this simplified tax scenario. The tax rate is 100 percent, and you decide to earn zero income; government revenue from you is zero. Then the tax rate is cut to 50 percent, and you earn \$200; the government collects \$100. Is it correct to say that government revenues would have been higher if the tax rate had not been reduced? A congressman would say, "Yes, government revenue would have been \$200 instead of \$100." Next question: If you like government spending, which tax rate would you prefer?

While our scenario is a simplification, it captures the essence of an important relationship between tax rates and revenues. Thus, in one sense, we who are for liberty and limited government can blame Ronald Reagan for the current mess. When Mr. Reagan became president in 1981, tax revenues were slightly more than \$500 billion. The tax cuts he championed stimulated economic growth so much that tax revenues were about \$900 billion when he left office. Had Mr. Reagan maintained the economic stagnation of the Jimmy Carter years, and government revenues stayed at \$500 billion, no way would we be looking at a \$1.5 trillion budget this year.

Walter Williams, an economics professor at George Mason University, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

Teens, sex, rights and reason

If a 15-year-old girl has the constitutional right to choose an abortion, does it follow that she also has the right to choose to engage in sex? That is the issue recently confronted by a Florida judge who had before him the constitutionality of the state's statutory rape law. The Florida law, like many others, makes it a crime for anyone over the age of 18 to have sex with anyone under the age of 16. In the case before Judge Jerry Lockett, the rape "victims" were two 15-year-old girls who told the court that they wanted to have sex with their boyfriends, one of whom was 19, the other 20.

In a precedent-breaking decision, Judge Lockett took recent abortion rulings to their "logical" conclusion. He held that the same right of privacy and reproductive freedom that guaranteed 15-year-olds the right to have an abortion also assured them the right to engage in consensual sex without becoming "jail bait" for their boyfriends. Accordingly, he dismissed the criminal charges against their 19- and 20-year-old boyfriends.

The Florida Supreme Court had

Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

ruled back in 1990 that a teen-age girl has the same privacy rights as adults when it comes to abortion and that the state could not require parental consent. Judge Lockett concluded that "if this constitutional right to privacy extends to (abortion), it must extend to the decision to engage in sexual intercourse."

But must it? Is the logic as inescapable as Judge Lockett makes it sound? And must the law be bound by abstract logic? Or was Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes right when he said that "the life of the law has not been logic: It has been experience"?

The decision whether or not to have an abortion is a "tragic choice" for many teen-agers who did not wish to become pregnant. Neither option is desirable, but one must be chosen. If the girl chooses abortion, she will have to undergo a medical procedure that might prove physically and emotionally trying. If she opts against abortion, she will have to carry to term and decide whether to keep the child or put it up for adoption.

The choice to engage in sexual

The choice to engage in sexual intercourse is very different from the choice to have an abortion. A teen-age girl has the option of simply saying no. The choice is simply not comparable to the abortion dilemma.

intercourse is very different from the choice to have an abortion or carry to term. The teen-age girl has the option of simply saying no. To be sure, she may lose her boyfriend or may miss a sexually gratifying experience if she says no, but the choice is simply not comparable to the abortion dilemma faced by an already pregnant teen-ager.

It is the terrible nature of the

abortion dilemma that has led courts to conclude teen-age girls have privacy and reproductive rights in the context of choosing whether to abort or carry to term. But it simply does not follow that teen-agers have unrestricted privacy and reproductive freedom rights in every other context. They cannot drink alcoholic beverages. They cannot smoke. They cannot leave school. They cannot vote. They cannot sign contracts. They cannot marry. The state generally has the power to decide — within limits, of course — the appropriate age at which teen-agers may engage in various activities in which adults may freely engage.

Courts generally decide the constitutionality of such restrictions on a case-by-case basis, not by inexorable rules of logic. It may well be that punishing 19- and 20-year-old men for having voluntary sex with their 15-year-old girlfriends is so irrational — and so futile — that it should be deemed unconstitutional. But that conclusion simply does not follow from the abortion cases. Surely there must be some age at which it

is unlawful to engage in sex. In the abortion context, there are at least some biological age limits: Young girls below a certain age simply cannot become pregnant. But there are virtually no biological age barriers to sexual intercourse, as we have tragically learned from the newspapers' accounts of incest and sexual abuse involving toddlers.

The state need not make the age of consent for sex the same as the biological age at which it is possible to become pregnant and thus face the abortion decision. Nor need the state make that age the same as the age at which a young person becomes psychologically capable of consenting to sex.

Teen-age sex is, of course, a reality of modern life. But the state should be free to decide — within reasonable limits — that the immaturity of law should not be placed on sexual relations with very young people who do not have the emotional maturity to deal with risk of disease, birth control, pregnancy, abortion and other difficult issues associated with sex. It is unlikely, therefore, that Judge Lockett's "logical" decision will become the law of the land. Having sex with a 15-year-old will continue to be illegal in most places regardless of how often it may occur.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *

Bracing for the clintonized culture

PAUL GREENBERG

clin-ton-ize: To make over in the image of Wm. J. and H.R. Clinton, fin de siècle political leaders and cultural avatars of late 20th Cent. U.S.A., parents of C. Clinton, noted scientist and humanitarian who led reaction against Clintonism in 21st Cent. 2: to reform in decadent manner. 3: to make fashionable. See Clintonism, Nouveau, and Upward Mobility. — *Universal Biographical Microchip, Moon City, 2159.*

The Democratic National Convention and the Clinton-Gore buscapade are but the beginnings of a new style about to sweep the country — as distinctive as the New Look of the Eisenhower Era or the tie-dyed inelégance of the Age of Aquarius and George McGovern.

Politics and culture feed off one another, and it's hard to tell where one stops and the other starts. Just as it would have been unthinkable for the intellectually fashionable in the '50s to vote for anyone but Adlai Stevenson, so Bill and Hillary Clinton are rapidly becoming the cultural icons of the 1990s — like it or not, ready or not. Style, that most continuous of tyrannies, does not give either its exemplars or subjects much choice. We're all going to be clintonized together.

The turnaround in the polls has been mirrored by portents in the high-pop culture. It hasn't been too long since the cartoon in the *New Yorker* magazine, which depicted a matron shopping for a tailored jacket but "nothing too Hillary." That had to be the low point. Some of that feeling persists, but it begins to fade in the reflected glow, or maybe glare, of the Democrats' masterfully orchestrated national convention and all-inclusive be-in. During convention week in New York, Hillary culture-stock had risen to the point that she was being quoted in a blurb for a new musical. ("Simply magical!" — Hillary Clinton.)

Camelot, like the mini-skirt, is making a comeback. The candidate's visit to the convention hall amid the roll call was consciously imitative of

John F. Kennedy at his 1960 zenith. The Clintons walked over from Macy's basement, an unconscious statement about the merchandising of the presidency the 1990s.

The rhetorical attacks at the convention on the insidious influence of special interests alternated with elaborate receptions sponsored by special interests. (Big business

tends to shake the hand that slaps it.) This, too, will be a hallmark of the coming, clintonized culture: A gap between preachment and practice that will be hailed as the new, tough-minded idealism. The officially designated best and brightest of the generation coming to power will master this split-level morality, which will be called sophistication.

The clintonized style will not be limited to the campaign and its hangers-on, or Democrats in general, or the more fashionable quarters of the press. Independents and Republicans and malleable youth without previous political affiliation will also be drawn to Clintonism with all its Vigor (another favorite Kennedyism).

Such is the influence of fashion that the most hard-bitten Republican plutocrats and exemplars of American codgerhood will soon find themselves using clintonized expressions, wearing clintonized clothes, and thinking — or rather not thinking — in acceptable, clintonized clichés. Back in 1961, even

the dullest of tycoons eventually switched from the Trumanesque double-breasted suit and Eisenhowerian homburg to the single-breasted, hatless Kennedyesque look.

The Age of Clinton will be poll-driven. Pollsters now play the role oracles did in ancient Greece. Stan Greenberg, the candidate's pollster, is well on his way to becoming the George Gallup of the '90s, or maybe the Pat Caddell, who ran Jimmy Carter's polls.

The clintonized-gored culture taking shape will blend a thoroughgoing careerism with an unexamined sentimentality. Its ideology will be anti-ideological. It will be for Us, the country's semi-intellectual elite. (The wholly intellectual need not apply; they're dangerous and, worse, they're losers.) It will be a culture resolutely against Them, those incorrigibly stodgy, unsentimental types with cast-iron Republican souls forever lost to the cultural mainstream.

As for those who play by the rules, they will be praised in speeches but it will be made clear enough that only a fool would emulate them and expect to get ahead in the Age of Clinton. The motto of the coming, clintonized age: It's our turn now! The '90s will be an era of instrumentalism. The principal use of political thought will be to advance careers, of religion to improve society and of culture to be ornamental rather than influential.

For example: The other day, the candidate's press secretary, the always entertaining Dee Dee Myers, was quoted in the *New York Times* — that sure guide to clintonization — as saying that the candidate makes it a point to re-read the meditations of Marcus Aurelius every couple of years. Her statement stood out from the dull gray type like the news that Richard Nixon was taking up Zen. I could not have been more struck than if someone had told me that Marcus Aurelius spent his spare time reading the collected speeches of Bill Clinton. Stay tuned. A decade of such ironies awaits.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *

Defunding Dan Quayle

Democratic presidential candidates and assorted hangers-on would have you believe that Dan Quayle is some kind of intellectual lightweight — one not capable, say, of chilling a nominating convention with a 53-minute acceptance speech. But if you want to know what Democrats really think of the vice president, take a look at the appropriations bill the House just approved for government agencies.

There's \$36,000 missing, and not just any \$36,000. The administration wanted that money to fund staff salaries for the president's Council on Competitiveness, an oversight agency headed by none other than Mr. Quayle. It's a tiny body, as the funding suggests, but it does a big job. It reins in government regulators during a period the *National Journal* has called "the most imposing over-all extension of regulatory authority since Nixon."

As it happens, the council can take on only a small portion of the excesses of the bureaucracy, perhaps 50 regulations out of thousands the agencies promulgate each year. Nonetheless, it has done critically important work on issues ranging from wetlands to drug approval to the litigation explosion to Davis-Bacon reform, much as *Roll Call* editor Morton Kondracke discussed in these pages Wednesday. Lots of people out there appreciate that work even if some Democrats can't or won't.

During House debate over the missing \$36,000, Virginia Rep. Frank Wolfe took to the floor to read letters from those grateful for the council's efforts in pushing Food and Drug Administration officials to get life-saving medicine on the market. "Those with cystic fibrosis," said one letter, "thank the council." California Rep. Henry Waxman responded that it doesn't take a

competitiveness council to speed the regulatory process. In fact, however, it did. Cystic fibrosis sufferers could have waited for Congress to do the job. But had they done so, no doubt they would still be waiting to this day.

It's not that Mr. Waxman and company have anything against disease victims in particular. Such is their zeal for regulatory empire-building, however, that they don't pay much attention to the little people steamrolled along the way — the property owners who watch helplessly as wetlands police expropriate their homes for the public "good," owners of small businesses who find litigation driving up insurance costs for no apparent reason and far beyond their ability to pay.

To his very great credit, Mr. Quayle does see those people, or, given his limited resources, many of them. Notwithstanding his own comments about criticism from the cultural elite, Mr. Quayle's efforts to help them are the vice president's real badge of honor.

Sometime in the next few weeks, a Senate Appropriations subcommittee headed by Arizona Sen. Dennis DeConcini will take up the House bill and the missing \$36,000. The senator has said he has no plans to add the funding, and neither do any of his fellow Democratic partisans.

Mr. Quayle should take it as a compliment that Democrats are so fearful about what he could do with that piddling sum that they can't find it in a trillion-plus federal budget. President Bush, on the other hand, should take it as a reminder of the vice president's good work. And he should veto this legislation, which among other things is a grotesque congressional intrusion into the prerogatives of the executive branch, if it doesn't allow that good work to continue.

Death and starvation in Somalia

If providing relief to the refugees of the war-torn former Yugoslav republics is like a bad dream, then getting help to the victims of Somalia's civil war is a full-blown nightmare. It's to the credit of U.N. General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali that he managed to prod the U.N. Security Council last week into committing itself to action against the hunger catastrophe that is unfolding in Somalia. There will be a massive airlift of food and the troops necessary to protect it and see that it is distributed to those who need it.

But it's a daunting task to attempt in the middle of persistent civil war. Attempts to bring about a cease fire between the troops of self-styled President Ali Mahdi Mohammed and his rival warlord, Mohammed Farah Aideed, have proved futile. Mr. Boutros-Ghali has asked for the deployment of 500 U.N. troops to open the way for relief shipments, in addition to the 50 already there. That's not much in a country where even 5-year-olds are armed.

In the capital of Mogadishu, the flags of international relief organizations have offered no protection. Two weeks ago, a U.N. food convoy was machine gunned outside the organization's headquarters. Red Cross supplies have routinely been looted or high-jacked by guerrilla troops or sunk in the harbor while being unloaded.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali's argument was eloquent. Yugoslavia is a "rich man's war," he said. Therefore, the world has cared enough to send more than 15,000 peace-keeping troops, negotiators, convoys of food and medicine to the besieged people of Sarajevo. Yet, this far-greater crisis in the Horn of Africa has been allowed to fester since the fall of Somalian dictator Mohamed Siad Barre in January 1991.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali's point is a potent one. Somalia

has become hell on earth, a place where civilization, law and order, indeed any semblance of government, have broken down completely. Further exacerbating the distress of the Somalis has been the drought that is searing large parts of the sub-Saharan continent. Matchstick-thin children are dying while wandering through the desert in search of food and safety or waiting in line for a bowl of soup. Some 30,000 people already have lost their lives. One million have been driven from their homes. The International Red Cross estimates that if no intervention is forthcoming, as much as one-third of the country's population could die of starvation within the next six months.

In its own way, like Yugoslavia, Somalia is a victim of the Cold War — and its aftermath. Dictators like Mr. Barre were tolerated and courted for their strategic value in the days when the Soviet Union and the United States still considered Africa a vital strategic battleground. Clearly, not every ill in Africa can be laid at the door of the superpowers, but many of Somalia's problems can be traced back to the 22-year history of socialist dictatorship under Mr. Barre, who was backed first by the Soviet Union in the 1970s and later by the United States. In the 1980s, Mr. Barre was considered a valuable counterforce to the Marxist government in Ethiopia. Corruption, favoritism towards Mr. Barre's own clan, brutal suppression of rebellion in the north, utter disrespect for human rights and total neglect of the agricultural sector, all helped push the country into the downward spiral that has ended in the state of chaos we see today. The day of bizarre African Cold War dictators is over. There is no justification for coddling rulers who are indifferent to the plight of their people to the point where those people are starving in large numbers. The effort urgently required now is to help the dictators' victims.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, AUGUST 3, 1992 *

Maryland's student volunteers

Maryland's new graduation requirements are causing a stir among educators, and the fuss is offering some surprising insights into what may be wrong with education. When the state announced that its education reforms include a requirement that every high school student complete 75 hours of community service, you would have thought the military draft had been reinstituted.

Detractors immediately objected to the plan as a form of "involuntary servitude" that grates against the 13th Amendment's prohibition of slavery. Others complained that the requirement would be an administrative burden that could cost as much as \$400,000 per school district and rise as high as \$35 million statewide.

Mandated "volunteerism" may be an oxymoron by definition. But some of the shortsighted objections to the concept are foolish and irresponsible. One of the most peculiar dissents came from the president of the Baltimore Teachers Union, who believes that volunteerism has no academic value. "Education, as far as we're concerned, is generally book learning," she told the Baltimore Sun. "That's what the high school diploma signifies." One might almost want to sing a song of praise to "educationists" who are now bringing themselves to praise book learning, but the truth is that the vision expressed by the union president is a narrow one. If she is truly expressing the view of her membership, we now have a clue as to why so many children are failing not only at school but also at life.

Students should indeed be hitting the books in the classroom. But no matter how hard they do that, children will never be able to escape the realities of their communities nor the unique lessons found there and in the wider world in which they live. Books offer information and life experiences offer perspective. Whether students choose careers as brain surgeons or street sweepers, they will need to know what happens in the everyday world and where they fit in. Volunteering often is that window on the world.

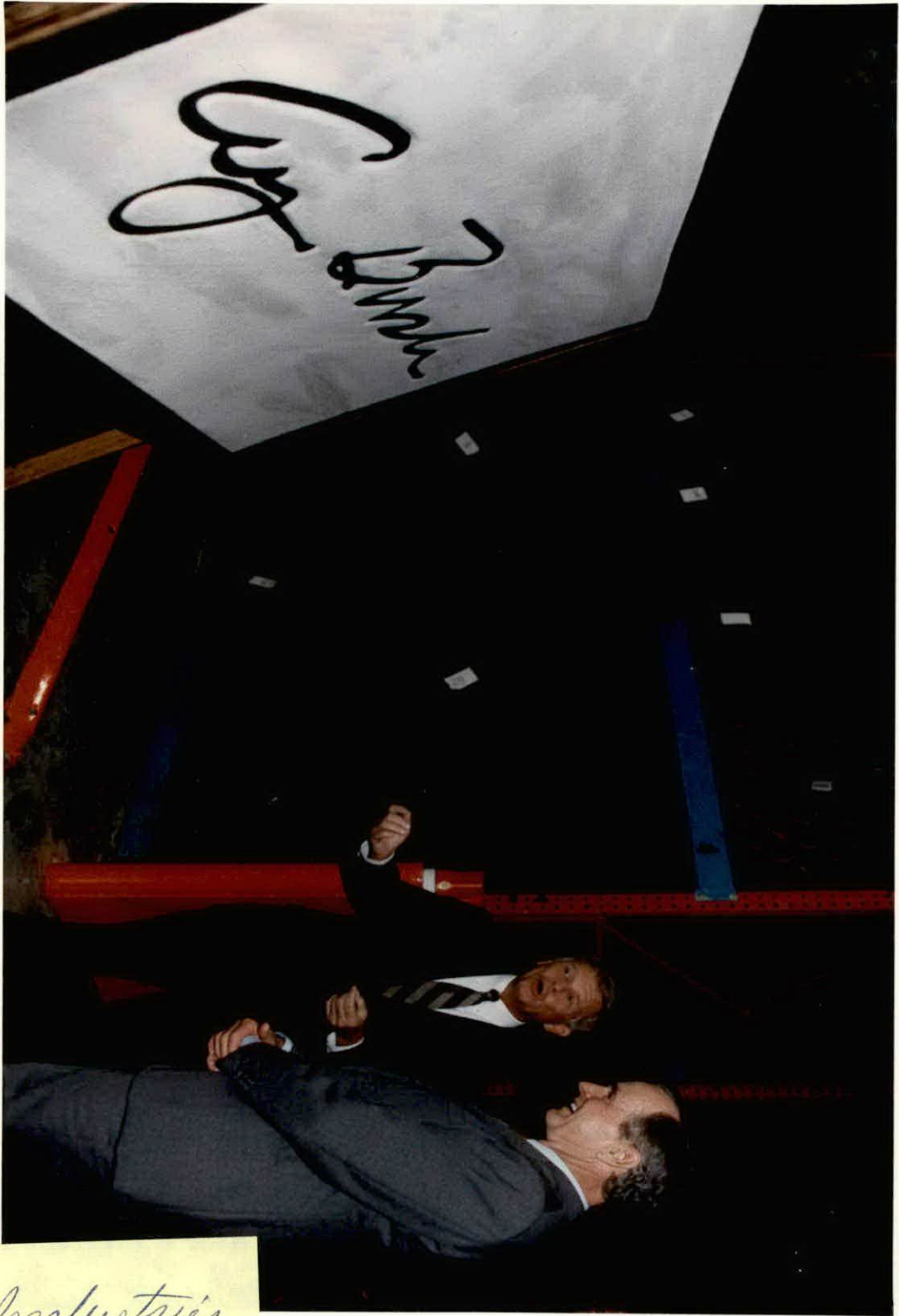
Practically, volunteerism is an expression of altruism and caring. It is most successful when generated from the heart. No one can mandate that aspect of it. But little harm is done by exposing a child whose life may reflect a poverty of caring to a need to care. School is one place that, through the tool of volunteerism, can take the lead in teaching the dwindling concept of citizenship.

Like math, science or history, citizenship involves skills that must be learned. Volunteering can expose students to enriching experiences they will never obtain from a book. Students working in a nursing home, for example, could discover firsthand the health, financial, family and other issues crucial to older people. They might also learn that old people are not the only ones confined to nursing homes.

A volunteer tutoring a younger student might discover that everyone learns differently. And since volunteering naturally provides residual benefits, the tutor might discover some things about his own teaching and learning abilities that could do more for self-esteem than a year's worth of praises. Volunteering may also be useful for young people who eventually will have to go to work. The experience offers the potential of job contacts and all-important references, whether for a first job or for college.

As for financial concerns about administering the program, the costs will expand in direct proportion to the paucity of school administrators' imagination, alas. This would be a perfect opportunity to draw parents into their children's education, perhaps by encouraging them to assist their child in selecting where to volunteer and monitoring their work.

Despite obvious benefits, the plan still has a heavy-handed feel to it. Unfortunately, we have arrived at the point in this society at which many young people — treated with a do-your-own-thing, hands-off approach — are growing up undirected, disrespectful and uncaring. Heavy-handed as Maryland's approach may be, it could well be just what is needed.



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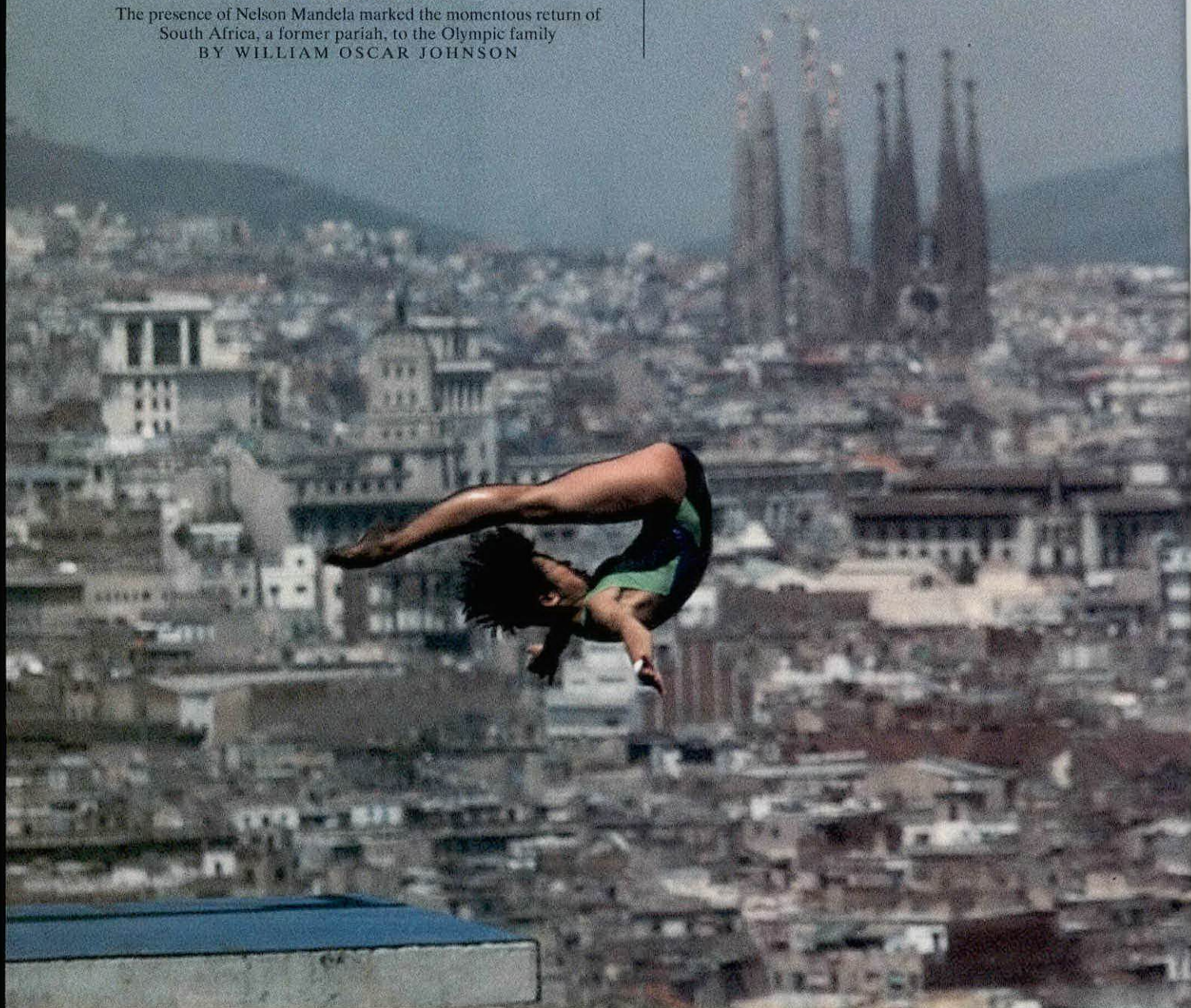
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Sky High

Against the dramatic backdrop of Barcelona, North Korean diver Kim Chun Ok soared off the Olympic 10-meter platform at the Piscina de Montjuic.

COVER
PHOTOGRAPH BY
BILL FRAKES

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