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POOL REPORT # 2

Bush goes Truckin'

August 5, 1992
(Reno, Nevada)

Before taking off from JFK, the president stopped by JFK Port Authority's fire station where he met with a few dozen members of the Crash, Fire and Rescue Team, the unit that put out the fire on the TWA Lockheed 1011 at JFK last week. Lt. Matura, tour commander on the day of the accident, escorted Bush as he shook hands with the firefighters and engaged in small talk. Bush could be heard asking one, "Did you put some foam on it."

After being presented a firefighter's jacket, Bush climbed aboard a lime-green fire truck that carries 2,500 gallons of water and 410 gallons of foam for the trip back to Air Force One, about a half-mile or so. Aides swore the event was spontaneous. One of the firefighters had told Bush he should ride the truck the next time he came by. Bush said he was ready to do it right away. The President climbed into the passenger side of the truck and fastened his seat belt. A firefighter sat in the middle and drove. An agent sat to the left of the driver. Marlin, asked whether this was New Hampshire revisited, pumped his fist in the air, shouting "Yes. The campaign is on."

The truck lined up in the motorcade where the presidential limousine ordinarily would have been and took off for AFI with a loud blast of its horn. As it lumbered down the tarmac, it passed the charred hull of the TWA jet.

Bush would not respond to any questions about Yugoslavia.

Travel otherwise uneventful.

Upon landing in Reno, the president was greeted by a couple hundred cheering supporters. He worked the rope line with his suit coat off. One local told him it was time to "get out the big stick." You heard Bush's comments.

Torie Clarke, asked about the firetruck ride in New York, said it was not scripted. Although she didn't see it, Torie said: "I think he looked a little more studly than Dukakis in the tank." Marlin said there was no discussion of Yugoslavia aboard Air Force One on the flight.

Michael Busch says the President will leave for Kennebunkport at approximately 3:30 p.m. from the South Lawn with no stops along the way.

Charlie Green, Knight-Ridder
Tim Zimmerman, US News

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

(Colorado Springs, CO)

August 5, 1992

For Immediate Release

The President today announced the appointment of Charles A. Gillespie, Jr., as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Mr. Gillespie, an experienced career diplomat, will be Senior Director for Latin America and the Caribbean at the National Security Council.

Mr. Gillespie was Ambassador to Chile from 1988 through 1991 and Ambassador to Colombia from 1985 to 1988. From 1983 to 1985, he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Caribbean and Deputy for Operations in the State Department's Inter-American Affairs Bureau. While in that position he was named Chief of Mission in Grenada as United States forces landed there in October 1983.

Mr. Gillespie is a career Minister in the U.S. Foreign Service, which he entered in 1965. His early assignments included Embassies at Manila, Jakarta, Brussels, Mexico City, Managua, and the U.S. Mission to NATO.

Born in Long Beach, California, Mr. Gillespie graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles. He served as a commissioned officer in the U.S. Army in Europe. He has done graduate work at Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Public Affairs and is a graduate of the National War College. Mr. Gillespie is married to Vivian Havens; they have two children.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Reno, Nevada)

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert W. Kostelka, of Louisiana, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Louisiana. He would succeed Thomas E. Stagg, Jr.

Since 1983, Judge Kostelka has served on the Louisiana Fourth Judicial District Court and since 1990 has served as Chief Judge. Prior to this, he served as a partner with the firms of Kostelka & Blackwell and Kostelka & Swearingen, 1972-1983; District Attorney for the Fourth Judicial District of Louisiana, 1970-1972; an Assistant District Attorney for the Fourth Judicial District of Louisiana, 1964-1970; and an associate with the law firm of McKeithen, Mouser & McKinley, 1957-1964.

Judge Kostelka was graduated from Louisiana State University Law School (LL.B., 1957; J.D., 1968). He was born February 18, 1933 in Shreveport, Louisiana. Judge Kostelka is married, has four children and resides in Monroe, Louisiana.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1992

The President has signed the following legislation:

S. 249, which reimburses Trevor Henderson the sum of \$48,878.04 for a six and one-half year period during which his military survivor benefit was not paid.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of Saint Vincent's Center of Timonium, Maryland, as the 852nd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Some 50 volunteers care for children and youth, helping them develop good character and values.

Founded in 1857, Saint Vincent's Center provides a nurturing environment for over 70 children ages 18 months to 10 years who have behavioral and emotional problems and who have suffered abuse or neglect. Volunteers help speed the children's recovery by offering them friendship and by providing three support programs.

The "off-grounds" program matches each of 34 children with a volunteer. The volunteers spend at least one day a week with their young friends, giving them guidance, companionship, and love. They take the children to movies, baseball games, or the park, and some even spend an occasional weekend with their young friends. These one-to-one activities allow the children to form a special bond with the volunteer, rebuilding their trust in adults and enabling them to regain confidence and a sense of self-worth.

Fifteen other volunteers work on a rotating schedule with the in-house and tutorial programs. In-house volunteers devote all of their time to the children at the facility. They offer youngsters needed attention throughout the day, playing with them, reading to them, lending a listening ear, and providing companionship. Tutorial program volunteers help the teaching staff by assisting the young people daily with reading, writing, and arithmetic skills.

Last year, 25 children were placed back into stable homes with specialized foster care families, relatives, and adoptive parents.

The President salutes the volunteers of Saint Vincent's Center for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Reno, Nevada)

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS CONVENTION

Reno Hilton Hotel
Reno, Nevada

5:02 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. And let me tell you that it is a great pleasure to renew old ties -- greet new friends. And, of course, I want to thank Cleveland Jordan for the introduction. He said he persuaded me to come. This man's tough; you get the arm up behind the back, twist the elbow here, and here I am. And I am very, very pleased. Sorry that I missed the other one, but delighted to be at your side and congratulate you on your service to this wonderful national organization.

Butch Joeckel greeted me earlier, the National Adjutant; Jesse Brown, the National Executive Director of the D.A.V. And, of course, I want to single out and salute a man who's helped me enormously -- Ed Derwinski, our Secretary of Veterans Affairs. (Applause.) And may I also mention Robin Higgins. Cleve most appropriately mentioned Colonel Higgins, and I want to salute her here.

And thanks to all of you who represent America's disabled veterans, their families, their survivors -- they're fully 1.4 million strong. (Applause.)

I was just asking Joe about the vintage of some of you all, and I must say, looking out at the audience -- and I don't want to put everybody in this category -- a lot come out of the same war that I was in. And I don't want to say that you're old guys, but -- or women -- but nevertheless -- (laughter) -- you kind of make me feel at home here. So I'll leave it there.

But I also want to bring you best wishes from a great friend and fan of yours named Barbara. (Applause.) She and I were talking about coolness under fire. I told her, the more I'm criticized, the more I turn it into humor. You know her; she said, "The rate you're going, you'll soon be funnier than Johnny Carson." (Laughter.)

Last September, I was very honored to be with many here, but honored to attend your Salute to the Persian Gulf Veterans. Today, I'm proud to salute the American Veteran. The American vet deserves safe streets, a sound economy, strong families, a world at peace. You believe -- and I agree -- America should serve those who served their country.

That's why my administration has not wavered in our commitment to you and your families. We must change our health care system in this nation, and we will. But let me be clear -- we will not change our commitment to the integrity of veterans health care. No program is going to change that. (Applause.)

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If, in all this talk about change, Congress sends me legislation to dismantle the V.A. system, I will whip out my veto pen and knock down that incoming SCUD missile -- (applause) -- that SCUD missile aimed right at your very well-being.

If you ask how many V.A. hospitals I'll close -- I'll say not three -- not two -- not one. (Applause.) If anyone again suggests taxing your benefits, I'll say what I have said before -- don't take it from our veterans. (Applause.)

Now, I know you're concerned about having your voice heard as the Washington bureaucracy debates your health care future. So just yesterday, I created a special panel there in the White House to guarantee your leadership's involvement. We will listen and we will act to stand by those who stood up for America. (Applause.)

I am very proud of the progress that we've made together. Your leadership has sensitized all of us, brought the problems to us, worked cooperatively when there were difficulties. And I can't tell you how much cooperation we've had, but they've never held back, saying we must do this, we must do that. They've been strong leaders.

We have created specialized centers. We funded new outpatient clinics and moved more resources into VA medical care, too.

And I also am proud of how we have built on these beginnings. Two years ago we passed the Americans With Disabilities Act -- that is the most sweeping civil rights legislation since the '60s. And it will help the disabled enter the mainstream -- that's the -- enter the mainstream. And it's just about time that this country did that. (Applause.)

Three years ago, as Cleve mentioned, I was on my way to address this convention, your convention. You know what changed my plans. It concerned a husband, a father, an American hero. And again, with us today is the wife of Colonel Rich Higgins, Major Robin Higgins. And on behalf of every American, let me just once again tell you I admire your courage from the bottom of my heart. We all do. We're very, very grateful to you. (Applause.)

Two years ago this week, I made a decision that I think every Commander in Chief, every President dreads having to make -- to send our men and women in the Armed Forces into harm's way at the beginning -- this one was at the beginning of Operation Desert Shield. No President, no father, no parent makes that decision lightly. But I acted because America must stand for freedom -- and we must stand by those who preserve it. (Applause.)

I don't want to start telling war stories here because then I'd have to listen to you guys. (Laughter.) And I don't have time. But let me tell you this: From my own experience, I learned firsthand what it means to know that America will never abandon its fighting men, whatever their fate. My family never had to face the agony of a phone call in the night or a knock on the door. Let me say to the families waiting still for their loved ones we will not forget you. (Applause.)

I am pleased that the League of Families just last week strongly supported our administration's efforts and commended my administration's programs. But though dramatic progress has been made, all are not accounted for. I will fight to make sure that America stands with you, the veterans, until the fate of every POW and MIA is known. (Applause.)

Over the last three and a half years, America's heroes have helped a wall crumble in Berlin. From Kuwait to Panama, helped free those once enslaved. Our soldiers were not wounded in vain. You helped end the Cold War -- those who served at whatever time in recent history helped end the Cold War. And America won the Cold War. (Applause.)

Having won, we worked with the republics of the former Soviet Union to reduce strategic nuclear arms. But President Yeltsin and I have agreed to go even further. You may remember my meeting with him a couple of months ago. We agreed to eliminate the most destabilizing of all those terrible multiwarheaded ICBMs, those great big -- in their case -- those SS-18s that have cast fear into the hearts of everybody.

And by that agreement we have reduced the threat of nuclear war. And this is something that every family in America, every child in America is grateful for. (Applause.)

And let me make another point about that. Our victory in the Cold War means that our defenses can be smaller. And so earlier this year, based on the recommendations -- and I emphasize this point -- based on the recommendations of Secretary Cheney and our distinguished Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Colin Powell, I made some responsible cuts. I responsibly cut our long-range defense budget. But we cannot lose sight of the fact that for all the great gains that we have made for freedom, for all the peace of mind that we have secured for our children, the world remains a dangerous place.

And the Soviet bear may be extinct, but there are still plenty of wolves in the world -- renegade rulers, terrorists, outlaw regimes, Baghdad bullies. And as long as I am President I will not allow a madman to get a finger on the nuclear trigger. We will stay strong as the United States. (Applause.)

You know, today some have forgotten every hard-won lesson of this American century. I know you haven't. So some propose to cut our national defense -- to cut \$60 billion in defense beyond what our military experts deem responsible for the national security of this country.

Well, let me answer them: Yes, I know this is a political year. But the defense budget is more than a piggy bank for people who want to get busy beating swords into pork barrels. And we are not going to have that. I owe it to you, the veterans of this country, to be able to certify to you that we are keeping our national security at proper levels. (Applause.)

And I know this fundamental truism, that to keep America safe, we have to keep American strong.

And that's why when the other side says let's ravage the Strategic Defense Initiative, I say, remember the lesson of Desert Storm. We will not leave the world defenseless against nuclear attacks. We will push forward with SDI.

And think for a moment about what a strong America has helped achieve. Think about the worries we once faced -- and the world we face today: not a Europe in flames; not a world at war, touched off by the death throes of the Soviet empire; but a world at peace, a new birth of freedom. Not a Latin America consumed by revolution and resentment that has plagued that area for so long, but a hemisphere moving toward free trade and free government. Not a Middle East dominated by a dictator, but a region where ancient enemies at long last are talking peace -- sitting across from each other at the peace table. Something that people thought was impossible to bring about. And our policies and your backing help make all of this possible.

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And so when the Sunday strategists say that I've spent too much time on foreign policy, let me just put it this way: I will never apologize for a single minute spent keeping America strong, safe and free. (Applause.)

Well, where do we go next? Well, I think about our challenges. When I do that I'm reminded of a football story -- a football story. A story about a freshman football player thrust into a close game -- the close of a tie game, late there in the fourth quarter, with the ball on his own team's one-yard line. And the coach grabbed the quarterback and he said, "Don't take any chances. Just fall on the ball three times and then punt." Well, on the first snap, a huge hole opened up in the line and the quarterback scrambled all the way to the 50. And the next snap, another huge hole and down to the 25 he went. And on the third play, the quarterback ran through an opening wider than the River Nile and fell just one yard short of a touchdown.

The crowd was going crazy, screaming for victory. And the freshman took the fourth snap, stepped back, calmly punted the ball completely out of the stadium. (Laughter.) And on the sideline the coach was tearing his hair out. And he ran onto the field screaming, "What could you possibly be thinking?" And the freshman replied, "I was just thinking, you must be the dumbest coach in the entire world." (Laughter.)

As the coach of the American foreign policy -- or foreign policy coach, it would be the height of stupidity for me to suggest that we just ignore our foreign commitments, as some suggest now. And by the way, I'm tempted to say that now the world playing field is so competitive, I'm not sure we should trust to a team a rookie quarterback. But that's something else again. (Laughter.)

Now, my point is -- my point is, we can't punt our foreign concerns. We have important work to do. And first we must do all we can to bolster the process of democracy, especially where democratic friends have replaced totalitarian enemies in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union. And I hope you will stand with me and urge Congress to act immediately to approve this Freedom Support Act, to lend a helping hand to the former Soviet Union, take out a insurance policy on democracy. And after World War I, we ignored the summons for help and we paid dearly -- we paid dearly for that. And after World War II, we lent a helping hand, and our lives are richer for it. So let us not ignore the lesson of history. Let us act now to support freedom and free enterprise.

Our second challenge is not to turn our back on the world economy. Seventy percent of our economic growth the last four years has come from exports -- 7.2 million American jobs are tied to trade. I will work to open foreign markets, to strengthen our schools so that we can compete. Because what is true today will be true tomorrow: Give an American worker the chance, and he will beat the pants off of the competition. (Applause.)

Over the past three and a half years, America has changed the world -- just as we're now ready to change America. Building the kind of nation here many of you fought so valiantly for abroad.

Think of what you fought for: An America of better jobs and better schools, and safer neighborhoods and equality for all. A land where our kids and grandkids would live in prosperity and peace. Think of what we can now achieve: An America which eclipses even its greatest triumphs. But I need your help.

Landing here in Reno this afternoon, and being greeted by our very able Lieutenant Governor Sue Wagner, who's here with us right now, I had an incredible treat. I was met by a Nevadan, a guy

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from Carson City named J.C. Crume -- who has joined me here at the convention today. I think he's here; he was trying to get on in. And I met him -- this is a little history -- 50 years ago, 1942. I was 18 years old. He was my first flight instructor at the naval air station there in -- in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He took a scared 18-year-old kid and put me behind the stick of a Navy plane. And J.C.'s hair looked a little grey, but he told me that it wasn't age. It's the lingering effects of the terror he felt 50 years ago with this young kid sitting in the back seat. (Laughter.) And very frank and honest guy that he is. (Laughter.)

But more seriously, I did learn something from him and from my other soul mates and comrades in arms in the Navy. I learned about teamwork and I learned about the importance of sticking together -- from Mr. Crume and all the other guys in the Navy. I learned to depend on my wingman -- for friendship, for support, and even for survival.

As you may know -- some of you may know this history, but after I left basic training, J.C.'s great instruction, I was assigned to the Pacific. One day, my plane was shot down -- TBF flying over the island of Chi Chi Jima, just off the island -- and parachuted into the water. When I was swimming in the middle of the Pacific, one of my wingmen pointed me to a life raft that had fallen from the plane, while another wingman then helped keep the enemy at bay. They put boats out from this island of Chi Chi Jima.

After the Navy, I didn't wear my uniform every day, but believe me, friends have been part of every good fortune in my life -- every good fortune. And now I'm about to embark on another political battle, and I know this is a nonpolitical convention, but I would be remiss if I did not express my thanks to those who have helped here and to those, regardless of party, who have done so much to strengthen -- whatever our politics -- strengthen support for the American veteran. (Applause.)

And I am saying -- some things transcend politics, and I'm just saying to all of you, let's stay together. Let's stay together. Let's not the wingman peel off as we fight for the proper recognition of and support for the American veteran.

Thank you all very, very much. And may God bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

END

5:22 P.M. PDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS ANNUAL
SUPREME COUNCIL CONVENTION

Marriott Marquis Hotel
New York, New York

11:04 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much for that warm welcome. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause.) Please be seated, and thank you all. May I salute Virgil Dechant, my friend of longstanding, and thank him for that most generous welcome here. Your Eminence, Cardinal O'Connor, it is a great pleasure, an honor, sir, to see you again. May I salute Cardinal Baum, Cardinal Gagnon, Bishop Daily; another old friend, Ambassador Tom Melady, who is doing a superb job for our country, representing us at the Vatican; clergy; and ladies and gentlemen.

And may I salute a man who used to be -- whose house made him a neighbor, Archbishop Cacciavillan, from Washington, the Nuncio there -- a good man, a good friend. Nice to see you. I'm glad you're here, sir. (Applause.)

And I have only one regret, Virgil. My timing was such that I did not hear the fitting and warm and wonderful ovation that you gave Mother Teresa yesterday. I understand it was really fantastic. (Applause.)

A report came across my desk the other day. It stated that most people in the Western world "felt exceedingly gloomy about the future." It said that "institutions were decaying, well-meaning people were growing cynical." These are exact quotes. And my first thought was that's what happens when people spend too much time watching the evening news. (Laughter and applause.)

I'm going to pay for that one tonight on that first 20 seconds. (Laughter.) Just kidding, Dan. (Laughter.)

No, but what I was reading was not a report about 1992. It was a history of public attitudes in Europe in 1492.

Public moods are prone to change, of course. We know that the gloom of 1492 was not to last for long. It was dispelled by the achievement of a man of humble birth, a man of vision, of courage, a man named Christopher Columbus.

Now, I know that every speaker comes before you and says they identify with Columbus. But I really mean it. Think about it. The guy was faced with questions at home about whether his global efforts were worth a darn. (Laughter.) Some critics wanted him to cut his voyage short. (Laughter.) He even faced the threat of mutiny. (Laughter.) And yet Columbus persevered and won -- not a bad analogy in my view. So I know this isn't political. (Laughter and applause.)

Now, I admit, Columbus also had to worry all the time about a lack of wind. (Laughter.) I don't have that problem with Congress. (Laughter.)

This year, as in Columbus's time, we hear a lot of talk about change. And sure, change is natural. But maybe a better word for the United States of America is renewal -- because the changes we need must be based on principles that never change.

I think my parents were like yours: They brought me up to understand that our fundamental moral standards were established by Almighty God. They taught me that if you have something for yourself, you should give half to a friend. They taught me to take the blame when things go wrong and share the credit when things go right. These ideas were supported by society.

Only recently -- His Eminence and I were talking about, not in this detail, but talking about this subject just a few minutes ago -- only recently in America have we seen the rise of legal theories and practices that reject our Judeo-Christian tradition. Cardinal O'Connor eloquently describes this as an "invasion of values." It's a deeply disturbing trend -- and it is diametrically opposed to my idea of the kind of change that's good for our great country.

Last month, just 12 blocks from here, there was another convention. (Laughter.) Now, I was very lucky, I did not -- and this is the honest truth -- I didn't hear any of the speeches. I was out fishing in Wyoming with Jim Baker. But I understand one of the speakers, known for his florid language, called me "the captain of the ship of state." I'm not sure he meant it as a compliment, but believe me, as a Navy man at a Knights of Columbus convention, the term suits me just fine. (Laughter and applause.)

I look at this office that you've entrusted with me as a lot of things, as more than managing the economy, more even than being Commander in Chief. I stake my claim to a simple belief: The President should set the moral tone for this nation.

And all around us, we see evidence that America's moral compass has gone awry. We seem to be moving away from the enduring idea of taking responsibility for our actions. Our city newspapers are filled with stories of drive-by shootings -- the taking of human life made more horrible by the awful anonymity through which it is accomplished. And recently I read a story of a kid from a good neighborhood charged in a gun store robbery. He told the police who caught him, "It's not like I'm a criminal, I'm on the Dean's List."

What is happening to America? As a nation, we face enormous challenges in education, crime, drugs. And yet each of them come back to the challenge of pointing our moral compass in the right direction.

And so I believe that a central issue of this election year should be, who do you trust to renew America's moral purpose? Who do you trust to fight for the ideas that will help rebuild our families and restore our fundamental values?

I believe -- and I've tried hard on this -- I believe I've earned your trust. And I am committed to fighting for ideas that help repair this great nation's moral fiber. (Applause.)

Welfare is one example. We all know that our welfare system has literally destroyed the concept of personal responsibility -- tearing families apart, with no incentives for people to work and save and improve.

I want something different. I have fought for a new welfare system that says yes to human potential. And today, as we speak, we are granting waivers to states so they can change welfare rules, encourage families not to fall apart, not to live apart, but to stick together. States are saying to recipients, either you get training or you don't get a check. Some states are even going so far as to make a very tough call of saying to parents, if you can't

afford another child, don't expect the taxpayer to pick up the added costs.

Now, these are tough choices -- (applause.) These are very tough choices, but they're all intended by the states to promote responsibility.

And the other side says they agree with the ideas. But if you look close, some argue that ultimately the only solution to welfare is a guaranteed government job for every recipient. I ask, is this any way to promote responsibility? If we guarantee everyone a government job, how can we reward initiative? Our reforms may sound tough, but not as tough as a lifetime of despondency and despair; a lifetime that strips every recipient of his or her dignity. Let's give people hope; let's give them opportunity.

Let's take a look at education. We know that to renew America, we literally must renew our schools. And I happen to believe that competition can be the greatest force for change in our schools in an entire century.

The other side says they agree -- almost. And the almost is what troubles me. Remember how old Henry Ford used to tell his customers they could have any color Model T that they wanted -- so long as it was black? (Laughter.) Well, the other side says their ideal is that parents could choose any school for their kids -- so long as it's run by the government.

If you'll excuse one blatantly political comment in which you'll have to concede has so far been a nonpartisan, almost, speech -- (laughter) -- my opponent won the teachers union endorsement by saying he's "unalterably opposed" -- those are his words -- "unalterably opposed" to letting Catholic parents and other private school parents have a fair share of education benefits.

And I believe that it's time to have the courage to fight for a different approach. Right now, if you want an alternative to public schools, you have to pay twice -- first for tuition and again through taxes. And a couple weeks ago I was in Philadelphia, hosted by Cardinal Bevilacqua. And a group of parents told me, "we want our kids to go to Catholic school, but we just can't afford it." So my solution is something called the G.I. Bill for Kids. Like the original G.I. Bill, my new approach offers scholarships or vouchers for students to take to any qualified school -- not only public schools, but Bible schools, yeshivas, Catholic parish schools. And when it comes to schools, I say let the parents choose -- public, private or religious. (Applause.)

What about promoting religion as a force for good in our society? I'm reminded of the story of a small boy who once began a prayer this way: "God bless Mother and Daddy, my brother, my sister. And, God," he said, "do take care of yourself. If anything happens to you, we're all sunk." (Laughter.) Maybe there's some doubts, but America is still the most religious nation on Earth. And I want to strengthen our faith further.

And, again, there are wide differences. Some think it's okay to hand out condoms in schools, but oppose amending our Constitution to allow our kids to put their hands together to say a prayer. I disagree. I call again on the Congress to pass a constitutional amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our classrooms. (Applause.)

The Senate opens its meeting with a prayer. The House of Representatives opens its meeting with a prayer. Nobody doubts that they both need it. (Laughter.) But let's allow the faith of our fathers back into those schools.

And there's a national tragedy: More than a half a million abortions in this country every year. And we know -- we know there's got to be a better way -- human alternatives like adoptions and abstinence. Seven times I have ignored the polls and acted on what I believe is fundamental principle and vetoed, as Virgil very generously pointed out, abortion legislation. And I promise you again today, no matter the political price -- and they tell me in this year that it's enormous -- I am going to do what I think is right. I am going to stand on my conscience and let my conscience be my guide when it comes to matters of life. (Applause.)

Here's something else that bothers me. In some places, a 13-year-old-girl cannot get her ears pierced without parental permission -- without bringing her mother and father along. But some believe that the same girl should be able to get an abortion without parental consent. And I think most Americans believe this idea is crazy, and I'm going to fight to see that that doesn't happen. (Applause.)

So these issues are all -- they all come up in an election year. They'll be part of campaigns in the fall all across the country. And today I make the same appeal to you that I'll make to every voter. Look beneath the rhetoric, take a look at the ideas to determine who has the courage to stand up for changes that are morally right for America.

And I'm going to take my case to the American people. And if you're looking to restore America's moral fiber, why buy synthetic when you can get real cotton? (Laughter and applause.)

But I do believe America needs a leader willing to do what's right, not merely what is politically popular at the moment. And nowhere is it more clear in the decisions a President must make every day to build real peace, to establish freedom and democracy -- not the mere absence of war.

Saint Ignatius said, "Work as though all depended upon yourself, and pray as though all depended on God." The practice of that motto conquered communism. Ceaseless prayer and tireless work halted the Cold War and spared us from the catastrophe of a third world war. Believers behind the Iron Curtain defied persecution; believers in the West defied indifference.

Over four decades, our servicemen trained -- our taxpayers paid \$4 trillion -- to keep our defenses strong. And as a consequence, the Iron Curtain is no more and our kids no longer go to bed at night worrying about that dreadful specter of nuclear war.

But while the Soviet bear is no more, there are still plenty of wolves in the woods. And when we faced our first big challenge after the Cold War, we didn't shrink. We stood up to Saddam's aggression and expelled him from Kuwait. We protected the people of Israel and Saudi Arabia. And now we've brought age-old adversaries to the peace table for the first time. His Holiness, Pope John Paul, has spent many days and nights at work and in prayer for peace in the Middle East. As long as I am President, I assure you I will do everything I can to bring about that peace that so many pray for. (Applause.)

And so, in conclusion, let me say this: This is the year of change, change, change. The election will all be about change because change really is the natural condition of our land. This isn't something new. I believe that now we've changed the world, we are poised and ready to change America, to make America even better. But we must keep something important in mind. Now that our moral values are victorious around the globe -- we cannot and we will not abandon them at home.

We didn't stand together to see courageous moral values rise in Russia, only to be ignored here at home. We did not

sacrifice so that personal responsibility could triumph in totalitarian regimes, only to become passe here in this great nation.

It's time to get back to some basic American values. And so I am going to defend the principles for which you stand so firm. We will keep our sights on what's good in America. We will keep our focus on the potential in our families and, most of all, in our young people, in our kids. We'll keep a reliable compass. We'll put our ship of state in finest sailing trim. And as this nation has so many times before, we will sail on to shining new horizons.

Thank you. May God bless you and our beloved country, the United States of America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:25 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

August 5, 1992

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON MANAGEMENT OF THE AGENCY
FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (AID) PROGRAMS

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to establish in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. 2), an advisory commission on the management of the Agency for International Development (AID) programs, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment. There is established the "President's Commission on Management of the Agency for International Development (AID) Programs" ("Commission"). The Commission shall comprise five members from the private sector appointed by the President. The President shall designate the Chairman of the Commission from among its members.

Sec. 2. Functions. The Commission shall advise the Administrator of AID in the review and implementation of recommendations provided in the report to the President issued by the previous commission on management of AID programs (which was established by Public Law 101-513 and which terminated on May 16, 1992). The Commission shall also report to the Deputy Secretary of State on the progress made in implementing the recommendations.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) To the extent permitted by law, the Administrator of AID shall provide funding for the Commission.

(b) Members of the Commission shall serve without any compensation for their work on the Commission. While engaged in the work of the Commission, they shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707).

(c) The Administrator of AID shall provide on a reimbursable basis such administrative services as the Chairman of the Commission may request and the Administrator of AID deems appropriate.

(d) To the extent permitted by law, the Chairman may, through the Administrator of AID, procure temporary and intermittent services.

more

(OVER)

Sec. 4. General Provisions. (a) Notwithstanding any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, that are applicable to the Commission, shall be performed by the Administrator of AID in accordance with the guidelines and procedures established by the Administrator of General Services.

(b) The Commission shall terminate not later than September 30, 1992.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 4, 1992.

#

Commander William E. Edwards,
U.S. Navy, Ret.
7736 Moanalua Way
Bay St. Louis, Mississippi 39520

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 5, 1992
(aboard Air Force One)

Dear Bill:

I, too, feel there has been overkill on the Tailhook incident. The guilty should pay the price, but our great naval service should not be blanketly condemned. Incidentally, I met with the Lieutenant who was brutalized by the drunks, and she was very impressive and very loyal to the Navy.

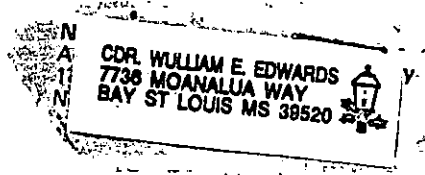
Leave it to you to remember the wild party we had at the Alexander Homes. My memory is slightly different. True, I was the "spokesman", but look at it this way, somebody had to defend you wild submariners who took Diamondhead by storm.

I am glad your son is happy in his work. These are tough political times, but I remain convinced that I can turn things around and that we will win.

Warm regards,

✓cc: R. Zamaria
(in/out)
1 copy

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'R. Zamaria', written in a cursive style.



7736 Moanalua Way
Bay St. Louis, MS 39520
31 July 1992

President George W. BUSH
c/o Mr Don Rhodes
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dictate

Dear Mr President(Dear George):

I would like to take a moment to reflect on several subjects of which I think is deserving of your attention.

First: I would like to thank you and Don Rhodes for endorsing our son, Bill Jr's appointment as Executive Assistant to Mr Scott Sewell, Head of Mineral Management Section of the Department of the Interior. He has been on the job several months now and has just returned from Russia and China as part of Secretary Lujan's entourage.

Second: Your reelection campaign seems to be stuck on "top dead center". I sincerely hope that your campaign picks up steam. Your oppone Governor Bill Clinton of my home state of Arkansas is not even admired by the voters of his own state according to personal friends of mine in Little Rock. I truly hope that the upcoming Republican Convention will give you a chance to unviel your plans for doing away with the Democratic resurgence. You need to "jump start" your campaign and the best way is to drop Dan Qyayle and put Jim Baker in as your running mate. Vice President Quayle is not popular with the electorate and will not help you win the election. You may carry him to victory but he is not going to add one thing to your ticket. Jim Baker has the personality, the knowledge, the experience to be President and would help your chances immensely.

Third: I am shocked at the recent events in the naval chain of command over the alleged sexual harrassment charges stemming from the Tailhook 91 convention in Las Vegas. Since when do we pillory senior officers over the complaints of a young female officer. The recent transfer and reduction in rank of VADM Jack Fetterman over a reported SEX HOTLINE phone call is ludicrous. The cancellation of orders to OP05 for VADM Jerry O. Tuttle was aresult of an incident at the Naval Academy in 1989!!! What else can we do to play into the hands of a hostile press? The relief of the four Navy Captains at NAS Miramar was justified in that they knowingly lampooned Representative Patricia Shroeder in a skit at NAS Miramar. Coming on the heels of Tailhook 91 they were deserving of their fate/



During my 26 years of active service I have personally known and visited numerous "snake ranches" as enjoyed by squadron bachelors where I presume under the present rules everyone in attendance could have been cashiered into oblivion. In October 1944 you, Tom Keene, and James Beckman hosted the officers of the USS FINBACK to a party at the Alexander Homes near Diamondhead, Hawaii. The party was a racous affair with numerous females in attendance. Under the present rules the party would be classed as inappropriate, wild and bordering on an orgy. Since you were there and became the spokesman versus a Marine Major who ordered us to leave the premises for loud, vulagar, performance I presume we all could have been court martialed under the present guidelines. Thank God there was a war on and they needed our assistance.

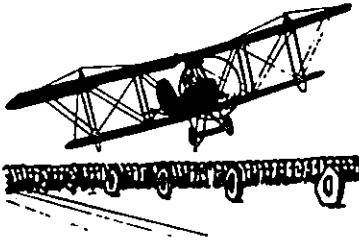
My recommendations is for you to instruct Secretary Cheney to wind up ths bullshit fast and close the files. The negative publicity is not doing the Navy any good and has damaged the reputation of the Tailhook Asspciation, a group of dedicated, loyal flag officers of the Navy. I am enclosing the letter from the Board of Directors of the Association outlining our position.

This completes my views on the above subjects. Please give each item some thought and take whatever action you deem appropriate. Best of luck at the Houston convention and best to Barbara from our family.

Your friend,

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

William E. "Grogan" EDWARDS



THE TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION

P.O. Box 40
Bonita, CA 91908-0040



Phone: (619) 689-9223

AN OPEN LETTER FROM THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

17 June 1992

Dear Tailhook Member,

Over the past nine months there has been considerable publicity and speculation concerning alleged incidents of sexual harassment reported to have occurred at the Las Vegas Hilton Hotel during the 1991 Tailhook symposium weekend. As a result, the Tailhook Association has been tarred with the sexual harassment label. The board of directors owes you an accounting of the facts and actions that have followed the alleged incidents of the '91 symposium, and now is the time to tell you our side of the story.

Prior to now the Association board of directors concluded that public comment on the matter was inappropriate for three reasons: (1) investigations were in process, (2) it was futile to wage a public relations "contest" in the press, and (3) the advice of legal counsel. Little was to be gained by appearing to pit the Tailhook Association against the Navy it exists to support. Accordingly, the decision was to have no comment, to weather the storm, and -- most importantly -- **to wait until the results of the official Navy investigation were made public and the facts were known.**

Those results are now public and things have been placed in better perspective. The initial focus of attention has properly shifted away from the Tailhook Association to where it belongs -- the individuals responsible -- and we are working actively to place behind us the undeserved linking of the Tailhook Association with sexual harassment.

The reported sexual harassment was apparently perpetrated by a relatively small group of as yet unidentified individuals, and those guilty of wrongdoing must be held accountable for their actions. Steps have been or are being taken by the Navy and the Tailhook Association to prevent similar incidents in the future. However, it is emphasized that the vast majority of those attending the 1991 symposium -- nearly 3,000 persons, active duty or otherwise -- were not involved in or responsible for whatever may have happened on the third floor of the Las Vegas Hilton.

The following facts concerning the sexual harassment alleged to have occurred in Las Vegas are germane:

... to foster, encourage, study, develop and support the aircraft carrier, sea-based aircraft, both fixed and rotary wing, and aircrew ...

OPEN LETTER TO TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION MEMBERS - continued

- ▶ The Association has nearly 16,000 members, about 25% of whom are active duty military personnel. The remainder are retirees, reservists, and civilians with some affinity for or professional connection with carrier aviation.
- ▶ The registered attendance at the 1991 Las Vegas symposium was about 3,000. Of that number, 60% were active duty personnel.
- ▶ The reported incidents of sexual harassment occurred outside the Tailhook symposium area after all symposium events were completed for the day.
- ▶ The reported incidents occurred on the hotel's third floor in and around a group of suites reserved by active duty and reserve Navy units.
- ▶ Reports indicate that, along with persons connected with the reserved suites, third floor activities involved "guests" from the local community, elsewhere in the hotel itself, a nearby Air Force base, and a local university.
- ▶ Shortly after the conclusion of the symposium, the Tailhook Association board of directors was informed of some of the misconduct alleged to have occurred on the hotel's third floor. The board's immediate reaction was to condemn such conduct and to direct the Association president to communicate immediately with Navy officials, informing them of the reported incidents.
- ▶ The news media gained access to a copy of the Tailhook Association's communique which became the basis, in part at least, for the initial news releases regarding the alleged sexual harassment.
- ▶ On the day the news broke, the Secretary of the Navy directed severance of all Navy relationship with the Tailhook Association. He also ordered two separate inquiries into the matter by the Navy Inspector General and by the Naval Investigative Service. By implication, those actions and the related news coverage made the Tailhook Association a guilty party and thus the initial focus of media attention.
- ▶ The Tailhook Association is a private, non-profit corporation that has no direct authority over the conduct of active duty personnel, on or off duty. Nonetheless, following the reported incidents of misconduct, the Tailhook Association board took several steps to address related matters that were within its jurisdiction:
 - It adopted a resolution deploring the reported actions of some individuals present during the 1991 symposium weekend.
 - It pledged full support and cooperation in the investigations of the reported misconduct and the identification of those responsible.

OPEN LETTER TO TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION MEMBERS - continued

- It reiterated its policy against sexual harassment at any Association-sponsored function or activity.

- It coordinated action with the host hotel to discourage, and eliminate if possible, the rental of suites to groups of persons attending future symposia.

- It notified all Association members of the intense scrutiny to which future symposia will be subjected.

- The subsequent reports of the Navy's official investigations of the Tailhook '91 matter indicate that as many as 70 active duty military personnel may be implicated in alleged misconduct or obstruction of an investigation.

- To date, names of individuals reportedly implicated in the misconduct have not been made public. It is not known whether any of those implicated were, in fact, members of the Tailhook Association and/or registered to attend the symposium.

- The Navy Inspector General's investigation report recommended seven conditions to be met if future Navy support to the Tailhook Association is to occur:

- a) There should be evidence of strong remedial action to assure inappropriate behavior will not reoccur.

- b) The location of the symposia should be changed.

- c) Active duty personnel should be required to wear uniforms during business portions of the symposia.

- d) There should be a ban on the availability of alcoholic beverages during symposia programs or in the exhibit area.

- e) Commanding officers should be accountable for behavior in hospitality suites and for personnel of their commands.

- f) Alternatives to open bars in hospitality suites should be developed.

- g) Symposium registration should be a requirement for qualification for government airlift in connection therewith.

- As detailed throughout this letter, the Tailhook Association has taken action on the first recommendation. It must be recognized, however, that the Association itself has no jurisdiction over the conduct of military personnel outside of the symposium area. To be

OPEN LETTER TO TAILHOOK ASSOCIATION MEMBERS - continued

valid, any such remedial action must be mutual and cooperative, and the Tailhook Association will cooperate with Navy leadership to the fullest extent possible.

- The Tailhook Association has taken action on recommendations b) and d). Locations, other than Las Vegas, for the siting of future symposia are being explored. Alcohol will not be served during future symposia events.

- Responding to recommendations e), f), and g) is not within Tailhook Association purview but the Association will cooperate with Navy officials to the fullest extent possible in their implementation. As indicated above, the Tailhook Association already has taken action to discourage rental of group suites by those attending the annual symposia.

- The Tailhook Association does not agree with the recommendation c), regarding uniforms. The misconduct reported during the 1991 symposium weekend occurred outside of the symposium area after symposium hours. Thus, the wearing of uniforms during symposium events is an unrelated issue. Additionally, a key feature of past Tailhook symposia has been the "Flag Panel" in which senior naval officers responded to questions and concerns voiced by junior officers in an informal "town hall" atmosphere. The Flag Panel has proven to be a positive and productive forum for a two-way flow of information and guidance between high level Navy leadership and those in the cockpits. To require wearing of uniforms during such an event would, in effect, keep military personnel on duty in the every day chain-of-command structure and stifle the free flow of communications.

The Tailhook Association applauds and fully supports the strong stand and actions the Navy is taking against sexual harassment, and endorses the educational programs being pursued with regard to core values, personal behavior, and deglamorization of alcohol.

Navy actions in the wake of their investigations of the Tailhook '91 matter have not yet been brought to a conclusion. The board of directors has decided that, in the best interests of both the Tailhook Association and the Navy it exists to support, it would be inappropriate to hold a 1992 symposium while the actions are ongoing. The Association will continue to cooperate with Navy officials toward a final resolution of the matter.

Tailhook '92 has been canceled. The other professional functions of the Association -- our high quality magazine, The Hook, our college scholarship program, our free distribution of The Hook to schools, and the newly-formed Tailhook Foundation -- will be continued. The board is already looking forward positively to Tailhook '93. We will work diligently toward overcoming the unfortunate sexual harassment label and toward restoration of the the image of professionalism, cohesion, and camaraderie that our organization and symposia have developed over the years.

The Most Reverend Theodore E. McCarrick
Archbishop of Newark
31 Mulberry Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102

cc: (in/out)
✓ R. Zamaria
1 copy

Nevada to Colorado

8-5-92

Aboard Air Force One

Dear Archbishop McCarrick,

After seeing you today
I headed West. On the way
I read your moving account
of the horrible situation
in "the Former Yugoslavia".

I am very reluctant
to inject American troops
into this tragic arena. We
are working the U.N.
Security Council and are
helping on the humanitarian
front. It was a pleasure
seeing you. My respectful best wishes

Ag B

Archdiocese of Newark

31 Mulberry Street Newark, New Jersey 07102 20159614000

Office of the Archbishop



August 3, 1992

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have just returned from a mission to the former Yugoslavia as chairman of a delegation of American bishops and staff who went to that area at the invitation of the Catholic bishops of Croatia and Bosnia. As a result of our visit, we have come away with a feeling of great sadness and alarm at the violations of human rights and at an historic tragedy which seems to be engulfing so much of that part of Europe.

At the urging of His Eminence, Bernard Cardinal Law, I am moved to send you a very brief one-page analysis of what we saw. I believe that this is a situation to which the United States of America must give special attention. Because of your efforts in the past, Mr. President, our nation has been able to exercise a great moral and political leadership in the world. We will lose that leadership if we hesitate too long in responding to the terrible situations that exist in the old Yugoslavia today.

Grateful to you, Mr. President, for your willingness to receive this brief report, and promising you and your family a continuing place in my prayers as you exercise your awesome responsibility as leader of our nation, I am

Very sincerely yours,

+ *Theodore E. McCarrick*

Most Reverend Theodore E. McCarrick
Archbishop of Newark

Enclosure

The Situation in the Former Yugoslavia Today

As a result of our week-long visit in Croatia and Bosnia, I believe that there are three areas that must be considered as the major elements of this terrible situation. They are the refugee situation, the political situation, and the question of human rights.

The Refugee Situation

It is estimated that there are more than 700,000 displaced persons in Croatia today. This is about 15% of the population. A parallel would be if, in the United States today, 40 million refugees were suddenly to be within the borders of our country. The Croatian Government is the victim of its own success. They have accepted these refugees without discrimination and have tried their best to accommodate them, even at the total expense of their own tourist industry since they have put them in their tourist hotels. The rest of the world has not helped either in providing shelter or financial support. This is truly an intolerable situation and cannot continue. Croatia has now said they can no longer accept refugees and it is understandable, although terribly regrettable. Our country needs to help either financially or through willingness to accept these fleeing people.

The Political Situation

Although we have all tried to be evenhanded in our consideration of the aggression, there is no doubt but that Serbia is the major aggressor by far. We must continue to make that clear and to condemn the violent aggression of Serbia in no uncertain terms. The blockade, the boycott and all other possible sanctions short of military action should be applied to the Serbian Government and its agents in the other parts of the old Yugoslavia. As much pressure on the European community and the United Nations should be exerted by our country to isolate Serbia and thereupon hopefully to affect an immediate change in their government policy. The old borders of the Yugoslav republics must be restored. This has to be our constant policy.

Human Rights

Through a system of "ethnic cleansing", the Serbians are driving out Muslims and Croats from the areas that they are conquering. They force the people to leave, having signed a paper indicating that they are leaving voluntarily. They have destroyed villages where people have given them opposition. We have seen Catholic villages in Croatia totally leveled to the ground because the people resisted. There is increasingly a policy of attacks on churches and convents. In the northern part of Bosnia, which is primarily Muslim to a great degree, the population has been driven out, with many deaths and many wounded. This cannot continue, and the international community must use all possible pressure to bring this ghastly situation to an end.

+ Theodor E. Vilander
Archbishop of Newark

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable John A. Gavin
Suite 2050
1999 Avenue of the Stars
Los Angeles, California 90067



THE PRESIDENT

8-5-92

Dear Tach,
Thanks for your note
from the Grove - a great
offer. I've told Teeter -
Love to Connie -
Hartely

cc: (in/out)
R. Zamaria
1 copy

BOHEMIAN GROVE
20601 Bohemian Ave.
P.O. Box 128
Monte Rio, Ca. 95462-0128



Gavin

31 July 1992

Dear Mr. President,

If your team could
use another hand, I
will arrange to take
leave of my duties for
most of September and
the month of October.

Sincerely,
Jack Gavin

(707) 865-2311

The Hon. George Bush
The White House

By courtesy of
D. H. Kendall, Esq.

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting



THE PRESIDENT

(aboard Air Force One)

August 5, 1992

Tom,

When you get to Houston, please call
Rose Zamaria at our staff office in the
Houstonian. She will know my schedule and
will try to work something out.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", written in a cursive style.

Daily 8/5



THE PRESIDENT

(aboard Air Force One)

August 5, 1992

Tom,

When you get to Houston, please call
Rose Zamaria at our staff office in the
Houstonian. She will know my schedule and
will try to work something out.

Regards,

A handwritten signature, likely of George H. W. Bush, consisting of a stylized 'G' followed by a horizontal line.

P.S.- The number for our staff office in
Houston is (713) 956-0808.



8/10 Faxed to
Amb. Stroock
in Wyoming.

OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT
COVER PAGE

TO: The Honorable Thomas F. Stroock

FROM: The President (Nancy Huang)

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 2
(including cover page)

DATE: August 10, 1992

TIME: 11:20 a.m.

MESSAGE:

If you have any questions or problems with the transmission, please call:

(202) 456-2328

*Embassy of the United States of America*

USEMB AMB - UNIT 3302
APO AA 34024

August 4, 1992 - Guatemala

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dictate

Dear Mr. President:

I will be at the big convention in Houston as a member of the Wyoming Delegation staying at the Holiday Inn next to the Hobby Airport.

If at all possible, I would very much appreciate an opportunity to visit with you - on either a social or business occasion - would it be convenient for you to see me? Please let me know by fax here in Guatemala City thru Thursday, August 6th (011-502-2-318885), or from the 7th thru the 15th at our fax number in Wyoming (307-234-1576) where Maria and I will be on a one-week vacation with our family.

Everyone in our house sends everyone in your house our warmest and best regards.

Cordially,

Thomas F. Stroock
Ambassador

AUG-4-92 TUE 14:39

P.01



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FAX NO. _____

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

DATE: August 4, 1992

TIME: _____

TO: The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House

FROM: Ambassador Thomas F. Stroock

United States Embassy

Guatemala, C.A.

OFFICE PHONE NO. 202 - 456-2990

OFFICE PHONE NO. 502 - 2 - 343839

FAX PHONE NUMBER 202 - 456-2397

FAX PHONE NUMBER 502 - 2 - 318885

INTERNATIONAL
COUNTRY CODE _____

INTERNATIONAL
COUNTRY CODE _____

Number of Pages in transmission:
(Excluding this page) 1

URGENT MESSAGE: _____

YES

X

NO _____

SUBJECT: Republican Convention in Houston

REMARKS: Att: Ms. Robin McLean

Dear Ms. McLean: Would you please pass this letter on to the President?

Many thanks.

Rita Howell

Rita Howell - EXO

Transmitted BY: _____



Embassy of the United States of America

USEMB AMB - UNIT 3302
APO AA 34024

July 22, 1992 - Guatemala

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I must be in Washington all day next Wednesday, July 29th, on State Department/Guatemala business. Would it be at all possible to see you anytime during that day? Word reaching here is that the campaign organization is changing and, once again, I would like to volunteer to help in any way that I can be used. Have desire - will travel!

Our best to you and Barbara -

Thomas F. Stroock
Ambassador

Schedule is tight

any interest

yes — no —

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FAX NO. _____

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEETDATE: July 23, 1992

TIME: _____

TO: The Honorable George BushFROM: Ambassador Thomas F. StroockPresident of the U.S.A.United States EmbassyC/o Nancy HuangGuatemala, C.A.OFFICE PHONE NO. 202-456-2990OFFICE PHONE NO. 502 - 2 - 343839FAX PHONE NUMBER 202-456-2397FAX PHONE NUMBER 502 - 2 - 318885INTERNATIONAL
COUNTRY CODE _____INTERNATIONAL
COUNTRY CODE _____Number of Pages in transmission:
(Excluding this page) _____URGENT MESSAGE:

YES _____

NO _____

SUBJECT: __________

_____REMARKS: __________

Transmitted BY: _____

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

For General SCOWCROFT

This is the letter
from Ambassador STROOK
which is mentioned
in memo # 5234

B. L. PRYCE

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

June 29, 1992

at -

still more than willing to leave here
- roll up my sleeves and go to work
- in fact, that is what I
to do! Please call me if this

s.

see me in Houston for the Convention as
a delegate from Wyoming and would like to
visit with you there, if your schedule will
permit.

Best -

Tom Storch

Guatemala City.

Los Angeles Times

Iran-Contra Figure Tells of Bush Meeting

■ **Trial:** Ex-CIA operative testifies he did not discuss secret efforts to supply rebels with the then-vice president.

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A former CIA operative who coordinated arms shipments to the Nicaraguan Contras testified Tuesday that he changed his mind about leaving Central America after a 1986 meeting in the office of then-Vice President George Bush.

The testimony by CIA operative Felix Rodriguez, which came at the perjury and obstruction trial of former CIA spy chief Clair E. George, did not implicate Bush because Rodriguez said the secret 1986 efforts to supply the Contras were not discussed in Bush's presence.

But the introduction of Bush's name indicates the high political stakes surrounding the trial of the highest CIA official to be indicted in the Iran-Contra affair.

The affair during the Ronald Reagan Administration involved funds from covert arms sales to Iran that were secretly funneled to the Nicaraguan Contras.

Rodriguez said he had requested the meeting with Bush to notify him he was planning to leave El Salvador because his idea of introducing helicopter tactics to the El Salvadoran air force had caught on and he wanted to be reunited with his family in the United States.

But Rodriguez said he changed his mind after he drew praise at the meeting from then-U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Edwin G. Corr for the "magnificent" work he had been doing to help fight Communist-backed insurgents. Corr also said he wanted Rodriguez to stay in El Salvador for as long as he was ambassador there, Rodriguez said.

Four of the nine counts against George accuse him of giving false statements to House and Senate committees in October, 1986, about his knowledge of Rodriguez's involvement in the Contra resupply work. While Rodriguez testified that he did not meet George until just last month, his testimony did corroborate that of the government's main witness, Alan D. Fiers Jr., former chief of the CIA's Central American task force.

In trying to introduce his "helicopter concept" to the El Salvadoran struggle in 1985, Rodriguez said he turned to Donald Gregg, then Bush's national security adviser. Gregg, now U.S. ambassador to South Korea, had been his CIA superior in Vietnam in 1970-72

when Rodriguez developed the helicopter tactics, which included operating at near-treetop level.

Gregg arranged a meeting with an assistant secretary of state, and Rodriguez also met Bush in January, 1985, where they discussed the helicopter concept but not Contra resupply, Rodriguez testified. Two months later he was in El Salvador, where he stayed until 1989, flying 288 missions with that country's air force.

Rodriguez said he became involved in the Contra resupply at the request of then-National Security Council aide Oliver L. North. In a Sept. 20, 1985, letter to Rodriguez, introduced as evidence at George's trial Tuesday, North asked for help in lining up El Salvadoran cooperation in the secret effort.

Rodriguez persuaded Salvadoran officials to provide the requested assistance and did other coordinating work for the resupply flights, he testified under questioning by chief prosecutor Craig A. Gillen.

He said he later became concerned about the resupply work, noting that the Contras were being charged \$9 for \$3 hand grenades and that a former CIA official involved in the program had a questionable past. In August, 1986, he relayed these concerns to Gregg, he said.

When he received word that a Contra resupply plane had been shot down by Nicaraguan government forces on Oct. 5, 1985, he said he attempted to notify Gregg, but was unable to reach him. Instead, he said he reached Gregg's deputy, Sam Watson, and asked him to pass the word on.

Testifying earlier Tuesday, Rep. Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.), a former member of the House Intelligence Committee, said he expected truthful answers from George at a hearing nine days after the plane was shot down, but was deceived.

"I took the word of the witnesses that we had," McHugh said. "I was prepared to believe they would not violate the law and they would tell us the truth."

George's lawyer, Richard A. Hibey, portrayed the committee's hearing as part of a political battle between the Democratic-controlled House and the Republican Administration over Central American policy.

McHugh, however, would not go along with the description. "My own view is that it was not a partisan question, but that there were genuine differences of opinion over the wisdom of the policy."

Los Angeles Times

Marines Hit the Beach as Kuwait Games Begin

By MARK FINEMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KUWAIT CITY—Kuwait's new air-raid sirens screamed, and a squadron of American attack helicopters roared overhead as 1,900 U.S. Marines hit the beach near Kuwait city Tuesday morning in the first of three major military exercises clearly meant as Washington's answer to continuing Iraqi defiance to cease-fire terms.

The mock assault force of Operation Eager Mace, the largest joint U.S. military operation in the Persian Gulf since the end of the war that drove Iraqi forces from Kuwait last year, was officially billed as a symbol of "the U.S. commitment to security and stability in the Gulf region."

Speaking to reporters on the narrow beachhead of the port of

Shuwaik as the 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit splashed ashore, U.S. Navy Capt. Braden J. Phillips, commander of Amphibious Squadron 1, stressed that the exercise had been planned since last November under agreements signed between Kuwait and Washington after the tiny Gulf state was liberated from Iraq.

But Phillips conceded that Baghdad's recent intransigence toward U.N. weapons inspectors, which escalated the war of words between Washington and Iraq, spread tension throughout the Gulf and will make "the training that we intended to accomplish here . . . a little bit more realistic."

For the Kuwaitis—who, despite their vast oil wealth, are still struggling to rebuild not only their small armed forces but also a

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KUWAIT: Marines Hit Beach

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nation still littered with land mines, vast oil spills and desert fields of wrecked armor—the joint U.S.-Kuwaiti exercises are a critical message both to Iraq and to their own people.

"First, there is its psychological effect on the people of Kuwait. . .," said Faisal Haji, Kuwait's ambassador to Bahrain. "Secondly, I think it's very effective to the Iraqi regime, a statement that 'We are here.'"

Clearly, the message was not lost on Iraq, whose state-run media blasted the Kuwaitis as "stooges" caving in to America's ambition to control the flow of the Arabs' oil.

Calling the U.S.-Kuwaiti war games "provocative," Iraq's ruling party newspaper, Al Thawra, declared: "Washington aims at keeping the rulers of Kuwait captives to their illusions of what the White House calls the security umbrella."

Even before Tuesday's dramatic amphibious landing, Baghdad used the second anniversary of its Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait to restate its claim to its southern neighbor as Iraq's "19th province," a claim that Baghdad had promised to relinquish in a series of U.N. cease-fire agreements it signed to end the war.

In a menacing signal from Baghdad on Tuesday, a U.N. bus was reported stoned by Iraqis angered by the continuing presence of several hundred U.N. guards and staff members trying to enforce those cease-fire resolutions in several parts of the country.

The United Nations, meanwhile, an-

nounced that another 26-member weapons-inspection team, this one led by a Russian, plans to visit Iraq on Saturday.

Referring to the signals the exercises are meant to send to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Kuwait's Defense Ministry spokesman, Col. Mohammed Sirri, said: "We are exercising all year 'round, whether he watches or not. But the message is, 'We are always ready.'"

The heavily armed and camouflaged Marines, launched from the four ships commanded by Capt. Phillips a few miles at sea while attack helicopters whirled overhead, are the first of more than 5,000 soldiers, sailors and Marines who will ultimately take part in two weeks of war games with the Kuwaiti military involving three separate exercises.

Already, many of the Marines who landed on Kuwait's urban corniche Tuesday, most of them from Camp Pendleton, sensed that their training mission could well change into something more serious.

As Capt. Phillips put it: "There is nothing to lead one to believe there is a threat at this point. But it's difficult to put myself [inside] the head of the guys that might be a threat."

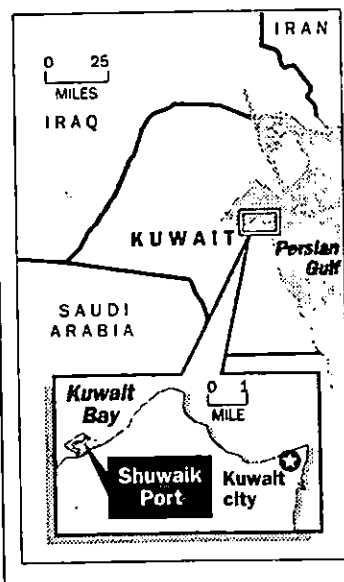
Whether or not another threat emerges, though, the landing itself illustrated that threats to this tiny nation still abound, even

16 months after the last shot was fired.

The steady stream of Marines and vehicles hit the beach inside a 100-yard-wide cement ramp because much of the beach is still believed to be mined.

Marines Land for War Games

U.S. Marines landed near the port of Shuwaik, the first of 5,000 troops to take part in maneuvers with Kuwaitis. Most of the Marines will move to a desert camp about 40 miles from Kuwait city.



AP Los Angeles Times

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN ONE

When the Sky Isn't the Limit

■ NASA's new chief is on a mission to restore the bold old days on a tighter budget. Posing basic questions about the agency's purpose, he stirs both hope and anxiety.

By JUDY PASTERNAK
TIMES SCIENCE WRITER

WASHINGTON—Daniel S. Goldin, the new NASA chief, is seeking advice and he is asking everyone imaginable: eminent physicists, corporate leaders, Russian rocket scientists, writers, artists, cabbies . . . not necessarily in that order.

Why, he wants to know, does the United States need a space program?

He is soliciting opinions from the 24,000 employees of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

And he says that he intends to hold town hall meetings on the subject all across America.

Goldin was installed in April, an outsider with a mandate to restore the bold old days at a bargain-basement price. In his zeal to recharge the troubled agency, he seems willing to reinvent it, or at least to entertain all notions offered.

Inside NASA and out, the arrival of this hard-driving, emotional aerospace executive has inspired a melange of hope, anxiety and skepticism. When he says of NASA employees that "I want to open up their creative bubbles," some of his listeners say he's just the man to make the space program soar again. Others think his unorthodox approach borders on the absurd.

Everyone, though, admits to extreme curiosity about Goldin's intentions.

"This man is almost frantically, energetically reaching out in every direction," said John Logsdon, director of the Space Policy Institute at George Washington University. "It's got a lot of people confused. Change is coming, but the outlines of where it's headed are not clear."

In 1962, the reply to Goldin's most basic of questions would have been simple and swift: This country needs a space program to beat the Russians.

In 1992, with the Cold War over and the budget tight, the answer is much less clear. From various quarters come seemingly conflicting sentiments:

- Let's learn about our place in the heavens, how we got here and what our future is. Shelve human flights, which are much too risky and expensive; concentrate on sending cameras and instruments to explore the universe. Include a good look at the environment of Earth.

- We need to colonize, we need heroes, we need adventure. Get people to the moon, establish an outpost there, head to Mars.

- We should promote world harmony—a nice turnabout from the space race based on distrust and fear. Join with the Russians, perhaps also the Europeans and the Japanese, on some spectacular

Continued from A1

project. We can save money that way too.

- We should help our country's economy. Make sure we keep those high-wage, high-tech jobs at home. Develop innovative instruments and methods that can be used in other industries too.

- We don't need it. Shut the whole thing down and use the money for housing and schools.

The choices, so long avoided, won't be easy. "There's going to be hamburger all over the highway," said John Pike, space policy director for the Federation of American Scientists.

The shaping of the nation's space program is the most visible piece of the debate over the value of big science, as the federal government struggles to decide how much and what kind of research it can afford. Major, multibillion-dollar projects, from the space station to the space shuttle to the Cassini probe's planned rendezvous with Saturn, could be redesigned, put aside, jettisoned or propelled to the top of the nation's agenda, depending on how NASA's goals are defined.

As Goldin sifts through the suggestions, he knows just one thing for sure: He wants to steer what he calls "the new NASA" away from the stumblebum image of its recent past, away from the NASA that presided over the fatal explosion of the space shuttle Challenger, the mirror on the Hubble Space Telescope ground beautifully to the wrong shape, the jammed antenna on the Galileo spacecraft heading toward Jupiter, countless huge cost overruns and lengthy delays. Away from the NASA that, numbed by its failures, "is not trying to be on the leading edge of something," as astronaut Daniel Brandenstein told his hometown Wisconsin newspaper.

"I'm on a mission," Goldin said, seated in a conference room next to his new office. The unremarkable headquarters building is a block from the Smithsonian's Air and Space Museum, which documents the NASA triumphs of the 1960s. "I'm not here for a job. I'm on a mission because I'm worried about the future of our country."

In his frequent pep talks to NASA employees, Goldin never fails to recite his mantra, a phrase reduced by his rapid-fire, South Bronx-flavored cadence to a single word: *Fasterbettercheaper*. The agency must reweave its tattered credibility, he preaches, before embarking on its new crusade—whatever that may be.

In a recent talk at Pasadena's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, he said: "It's time we face the fact that we have real problems in the way we're managing our space programs. We must do much more with the dollars we spend."

That wasn't happening, he said, when he arrived in Washington after 25 years with TRW in Redondo Beach. He discovered that NASA was basing its decisions on expectations of a \$15-billion allotment in 1993 and, more critically, on significantly higher budgets in the future.

That thinking he describes as "a disaster in the making." A more realistic view, he said, is to plan for no financial growth at all, perhaps even for cuts.

To that end, Goldin has started a color war of sorts within the agency, forming 16 "blue teams" and "red teams" to recommend cost reductions of 20% to 40%. The "blue teams" are made up of people who examine the project they work on. The "red teams," NASA employees from other programs, play devil's advocates.

The teams will be a way of life at NASA as long as Goldin is administrator. Get used to it, he warned employees at Langley Research Center in Virginia. "The train is leaving the station. Choo choo," he said, deadpan, from an auditorium stage. "All aboard."

He has also vowed to trim bureaucratic layers that he believes create unnecessary delays. "NASA headquarters," he said, "is going on the UltraSlimfast diet."



AL STEPHENSON / For The Times

'It's time we face the fact that we have real problems in the way we're managing our space programs. We must do much more with the dollars we spend.'

DANIEL S. GOLDIN
National Aeronautics and Space Administration chief

Still, the linchpin of success, in Goldin's mind, is for everyone to reach a consensus on NASA's reason for being. His pinched professorial features stay calm when he talks about it, but his voice quavers and rises as he interrupts himself.

"If we could get some alignment . . . a set of values for NASA," Goldin said, "I believe we'll get away from going to this crossroads and that crossroad and this crossroad and that crossroad."

Futurist Alvin Toffler, one of Goldin's legion of informal advisers, says a clearly expressed purpose should also help NASA woo back popular support. The agency has so many scattered activities, Toffler said, "it doesn't add up to a pattern. There is an assumption that [the space program] doesn't do any good for the American people."

The call went out weeks ago to NASA's astronauts, scientists, technicians, managers. All were invited to contribute their ideas. Toffler plans to convene a panel of young intellectuals to add theirs. Goldin spends many hours on Capitol Hill with members of Congress, who decide how much money NASA projects should get. On Saturday mornings, he augments his engineering background with a crash course in life sciences.

Numerous blue-ribbon panels have examined NASA since the Challenger accident in 1986: the Rogers Commission (headed by a former secretary of state), the Stafford Commission (headed by a former astronaut), the Augustine Commission (headed by the chairman of Martin Marietta).

But Goldin's re-examination is billed as being much more thorough, and is the first to include agency employees. More important, Goldin's effort is the first to be headed by someone with the power to push

Los Angeles Times

changes through.

Some worry that he will—"there are a lot of scared middle managers around here," an employee at NASA headquarters said.

And some wonder if he will—"So far, it's just rhetoric," said a member of the JPL staff. The NASA-wide employee committee responsible for the "vision statement" has come up with a working paper that lists "the same old vague goals that NASA has always kind of seen for itself. I would have liked to see something a little more specific," he said.

A preliminary draft centers on "the peaceful quest for knowledge" and being "explorers, discoverers and innovators." America should "lead a global effort," remaining "the preeminent space-faring nation," the committee's paper says.

Goldin, for now, is withholding comment. He wants to let everyone else collaborate first, in the belief that he will be more likely hear others' true opinions if they don't know his. "I bite my tongue," he said, "every day."

This much is apparent. When it comes to people in space, Goldin is an unabashed romantic. Forty-six years ago, when he was 6, he grew obsessed with Flash Gordon and Buck Rogers on the screen at the Wood Theater on Westchester Avenue in the South Bronx.

Forbidden to play contact sports because of his poor eyesight, Goldin read science fiction instead. On camping trips with his father, he stared at the stars, wondering if there were planets around those pinpricks of light, and if there were people on those planets. He still believes some other civilization must be out there.

After his 1962 graduation from the City College of New York, Goldin wrote an application to NASA that read like a fan letter. The young engineer landed a job at NASA Lewis Research Center in Cleveland, designing an electrically propelled, nuclear-powered spaceship for a crew of eight on a theoretical journey to Mars.

His five years at NASA coincided with the first push by humans into space, the high-adrenaline era of Mercury and Gemini and the move toward the moon. The possibilities appeared as endless as the galaxies sweeping toward the outer limits of the universe.

But TRW was recruiting him for similar work in Redondo Beach. "I needed growth and I thought I could get it there," he said. He eventually moved into management and into defense work, including projects for the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars."

He expected much from those he supervised. Some thrived. An executive at times exchanged shouts with Goldin, but says he relished being free to speak his mind. Others felt intimidated, and one filed an age discrimination suit against Goldin and TRW. "It's an active case," Goldin said, declining comment.

Goldin rose through the ranks, becoming head of his division, then his group. But he was passed over for chief of the defense and space sector. This was a great disappointment, said UCLA management professor Moshe Rubinstein, another adviser and friend. But "he had told me his dream job, and it wasn't to run TRW," Rubinstein said. "He wanted to be science adviser to the President or the head of NASA."

Now that he's apparently where he wanted to be, Goldin hasn't given up his love affair with human space travel.

While he watched his first shuttle landing as NASA administrator, Goldin's eyes glistened with tears. He recalls his dreams as a grammar school student. "Here I am, I was at P.S. 93 . . . I'm going to walk to the shuttle and meet the astronauts," he remembers thinking. "I still feel like the child I was."

In June, he tacked an ad-libbed benediction straight out of "Star Wars" on the end of a speech to a surprised group of military officers and aerospace contractors. "May the force be with you," he said.

Informed observers say that one reason Goldin's predecessor, Richard H. Truly, was forced out was his unenthusiastic response to President Bush's pronouncement that the United States should establish a permanent outpost of people on the moon and send astronauts to Mars by 2019. Though a special space exploration office was opened, it was "lip service," one insider said.

Goldin says he is excited about the prospect of visits to Mars, talked about since the post-World War II days of Werner von Braun.

But don't expect anything soon, he warned.

He said that NASA will probably reduce the percentage of its budget devoted to human space flight. "I don't think we're going to the moon [again] in this century," he said.

And he added: "My contention is, if we had a half-trillion dollars, we'd go to Mars right away. But we don't have a half-trillion dollars."

He says the way back to the moon and to Mars can be paved by sending robot scouts to both bodies, a relatively inexpensive method of gathering information.

He muses aloud about phasing out Truly's beloved space shuttle program over the next decade. "When I moved from California to Washington, I came on an airplane, but my worldly goods moved on a truck," he said. As a parallel, he said, perhaps humans can occasionally travel to space on a smaller, less expensive version of the shuttle, he said, with satellites launched on even less expensive rockets.

Goldin recently returned from a trip to Russia, where he agreed that NASA will host a cosmonaut on the shuttle, an astronaut will spend five or six months aboard the Russian space station Mir and the two craft will rendezvous three years from now.

But he also pushed strongly for the \$30-billion U.S. space station Freedom. When the House of Representatives voted by a slim margin last week to continue funding for the project, Goldin counted it as a victory. He argues that America must study the effects of long-term space life on humans if the country is to ever send astronauts to stay for extended periods on the moon and Mars.

In doing so, he resists a chorus that includes Caltech Planetary Sciences Chairman Bruce Murray, Planetary Society Director Louis Friedman, former Apollo astronaut Buzz Aldrin and former Soviet Space Science Director Roald Z. Sagdeyev.

All urge NASA to make more use of the Russian Mir instead, paying for remodeling if necessary and saving billions. Aldrin says the United States could even send up an "addition"—an American capsule that orbits in tandem with Mir.

Freedom's huge expenditures—which the General Accounting Office believes could rise again—"put us in a place where we are squeezing out the [interplanetary] science," Friedman said.

Goldin wants to help outfit Mir. But, he adds, "we agreed we're going to spend a year or two working together before we rush in."

Besides, he said, if Congress had killed Freedom, the project's billions probably would have gone to veterans or housing or even reducing the deficit—anything but space. "He had to lobby for it," one of the station's critics said. "He's keeping his options open."

So how will Goldin cut? Trying to do too much has been NASA's classic pitfall, said Norman Augustine, who chaired the last outside review of the agency.

His commission's advice then was to do a few things well and that was based on a 10% annual growth in the budget. Priorities must be set and soon, Augustine said.

"Norm Augustine is correct," Goldin said. "On the other hand, I don't think America can walk away from the space program. We're going three steps forward, one step back; four steps forward, two steps back. We're making progress."

Los Angeles Times

Senate Panel Grills Pentagon Over POWs

■ **Southeast Asia:** Defense Department's debunking of live-sighting reports draws intense scrutiny from senators.

By MICHAEL ROSS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Members of a Senate panel clashed with Pentagon officials Tuesday over the Defense Department's handling of hundreds of live-sighting reports indicating that U.S. servicemen may have been imprisoned in Southeast Asia long after the end of the Vietnam War.

The newly declassified reports and the Pentagon's rationale for debunking them came under intense scrutiny on the first of two days of hearings by the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs, the special committee set up last year to investigate the fate of the 2,266 Americans still listed as missing in Vietnam and Laos.

Earlier hearings have uncovered evidence that the Nixon Administration, preoccupied with the unfolding Watergate scandal and eager to extricate itself from Vietnam, prematurely closed the books on as many as 133 servicemen who could have been alive and in captivity after the last POWs were repatriated during Operation Homecoming in 1973.

Committee Chairman John Kerry (D-Mass.) announced that 90 of those prisoners have now been accounted for, with further investigations determining that many of them died before 1973. But "valid questions" remain concerning 43 servicemen who at one time were known to have been POWs but whose fate remains a mystery, Kerry said.

With most of the senators now clearly inclined to doubt the Pentagon's longstanding assertion that there is no evidence that any POWs were held after 1973, the new hearings were called to analyze the Defense Department's handling of more than 1,500 live-sighting reports of possible POWs received since Operation Homecoming. The reports were among some 30,000 pages of POW/MIA documents declassified and released by the Pentagon last week in response to an executive order signed by President Bush.

In one of several testy exchanges, Sen. Robert C. Smith of New Hampshire, the panel's Republican vice chairman, accused the Pentagon of failing to properly investigate scores of reports from about 70 different sources about a secret underground prison in Hanoi where U.S. POWs were allegedly held as recently as the late 1980s.

"The story of American POWs long after the war ended sounds like something out of a Tom Clancy novel, but these reports are not from fictitious people," Smith said. "They are from real people telling us what they said they have seen and heard."

The reports came from Vietnamese refugees who claimed to have either worked on the construction of the prison—said to have been located beneath a Hanoi military complex known

as the Citadel—or to have seen Caucasian prisoners there as late as 1988.

While speculation about the prison's existence is not new, Smith said the panel's analysis of live-sighting reports over the last 20 years shows that a large number of them are clustered around Hanoi in a pattern that could only be explained by the existence of a secret detention facility.

"The presence of a secret underground facility for American POWs in Hanoi at the Citadel is the only rational explanation for all of these sightings and reports over the years," he said.

But a panel of senior Pentagon officials and analysts, including Lt. Gen. James R. Clapper Jr., director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, disputed Smith's assertion, saying most of the reports have turned out to be false, with many of them fabrications by refugees seeking financial rewards or help in immigrating to the United States.

"We can find no evidence that will sustain the belief that there is an underground prison in Hanoi," said Gary Sydow, the chief of the DIA's office of analysis, who argued that the water table in Hanoi precluded the construction of either tall buildings or large underground complexes in the soft soil under the city.

Smith and Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa) said the sheer number of the reports suggested that at least some must be valid, especially because more than 600 of them turn out to be clustered around Hanoi and three other areas.

The DIA analysts, however, disputed this "cluster analysis," saying the size of the clusters shrink when the individual reports that compose them are determined to be false. In the case of one cluster of six reports that all seemed to corroborate one another, it turned out that "one of the six sources had told the same story to the other five . . . and that the one source admitted lying about his original story," said Lt. Paul Maguire, one of the DIA analysts.

Robert DeStatte, another DIA analyst who recently returned from a 10-month tour of Vietnam, said he found no evidence of the prison's existence.

Bob Sheetz, director of the DIA's POW/MIA Office, sought to discredit one report from a Vietnamese doctor of herbal medicine, who said he saw four or five tall Caucasian men in prison uniforms standing behind a locked gate when he was called to a house in the Citadel complex to treat a general for kidney stones in December, 1986. The doctor said he was informed by the general's 30-year-old son that the prisoners were U.S. pilots and were among more than 30 POWs being held at the compound.

The doctor, however, also told interrogators that he had extrasensory perception and conversed with the dead, Sheetz said.

Los Angeles Times

NEWS ANALYSIS

Strike Boosts ANC, May Revive S. African Talks

By SCOTT KRAFT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—The black strike that gripped this country Monday and Tuesday exacted a heavy toll in lives and lost wages, but it also brought the African National Congress and the white government significantly closer to reviving constitutional negotiations.

The strike, which ended Tuesday, was designed to put pressure on President Frederik W. de Klerk's government to halt widespread township violence and relinquish its demand for an effective white veto over the country's future.

But the protest also was a black referendum on Nelson Mandela's ANC. And the overwhelming black support for the strike, despite opposition from other important black groups, has strengthened the ANC's bargaining position and improved the prospects for its return to the table.

Herman Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said Tuesday that the strike "has demonstrated the strength of the ANC." Cohen, who is in South Africa for meetings with Mandela, De Klerk and other leaders, said the protest could help restart talks by giving Mandela a clear mandate to continue negotiations.

The strike held firm Tuesday. Townships were deserted, commuter trains ran empty and many businesses remained closed.

The ANC said 4 million of the country's 7-million-member black work force stayed home both days, although business leaders put the figure slightly lower. And a business group estimated that the protest would cost \$100 million in lost production and millions more in potential international investment.

Police said 17 people died in strike-related violence Tuesday, bringing the two-day toll to about 30, only slightly higher than usual. Five people were shot to death Tuesday in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra, and three ANC members were killed in Ratanda, east of Johannesburg, when supporters of the ANC rival Inkatha Freedom Party opened fire on a funeral procession.

In the nominally independent black homeland of Ciskei, heavily armed troops massed on the border to prevent thousands of ANC supporters from marching on the capital, Bisho. Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a fierce opponent of the ANC, had vowed to open fire on the protesters, but the march was allowed to continue after lengthy negotiations.

The United Nations' 10-member monitoring team rushed to several trouble spots to avert other confrontations. In Krugersdorp, west of Johannesburg, 40 members of the right-wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement tried to block 8,000 ANC supporters from marching on the town. But the march went ahead after a U.N. official intervened.

The strike was the centerpiece of the ANC's monthlong "mass action" campaign of marches, rallies, sit-ins and other protests, which continue today when Mandela leads a march on the seat of government in Pretoria.

To be sure, political apathy is widespread in the impoverished townships. Previous ANC protests have been poorly attended, and many blacks joined the strike, often forfeiting two days' pay, more out of fear of reprisals from ANC supporters than out of genuine political commitment.

Nevertheless, the two-day strike has proved that the ANC still has the power to

to a halt, a lesson not lost on the government, which has been the harshest critic of the ANC's tactics.

Willem Kleynhans, a political analyst in Pretoria, said the strike sent a strong signal to whites that "blacks will not be satisfied with a constitution in which minority groups have special powers" to reject laws passed by a government elected by a majority of the country.

Analysts likened the strike to the white referendum that gave De Klerk a mandate in March to negotiate his government out of power. This "black referendum," as some are calling it, was a strong endorsement of Mandela's plan for the future and his hopes for a peaceful transfer of power from the privileged white minority to a multiracial majority.

The ANC suspended talks seven weeks ago after the massacre of more than 40 blacks in Boipatong, an attack apparently carried out by Inkatha supporters from a nearby migrant worker hostel.

Since then, the ANC and the government, despite their war of memos and often-bitter rhetoric, have moved steadily closer to resolving their dispute.

The government has indicated that it is prepared to make further concessions to ANC demands when this week's protests have ended. De Klerk already has taken some steps to bridge the gap. And while the ANC has publicly rejected those steps as inadequate, ANC leaders say privately that they soon may be in a position to ask their followers to resume negotiations.

One hopeful sign was the resumption of talks between the government and the ANC last week. Those discussions, the first direct contact between the two parties since the Boipatong massacre, focused on the 400 political prisoners that the ANC says remain behind bars in South Africa. The release of at least some prisoners is believed to be imminent.

The ANC also has demanded that the government allow international experts to monitor the violence and that it ban the carrying of dangerous weapons, phase out the system of migrant worker hostels and accept the principle of majority rule in a new constitution.

De Klerk says the dispute over majority rule, in this country where blacks outnumber whites 5 to 1, can only be resolved when negotiations resume. But on the other demands, he has made important concessions, even though it has cost him political capital.

He invited British experts to oversee the police investigation into the Boipatong massacre and endured the experts' sharp criticism of the police for their poor investigative techniques.

The government also, for the first time in its history, agreed to allow a U.N. team into the country on a fact-finding mission.

The report by team leader Cyrus R. Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state, is due to be released later this week, and it is likely to recommend that a U.N. team continue to monitor violence and South Africa's progress toward a new constitution.

The U.N. presence, which has included a team to monitor the protests this week, has been hailed by the ANC as a victory.

And although the United Nations is playing only an advisory role here, the ANC will be able to point to the international team as a key government concession when Mandela decides to return to the

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■ **Conflict:** Grandmother is seriously wounded. Surviving children reach Germany, four days after terrifying journey began.

By TAMARA JONES
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SCHOENEBECK, Germany—A busload of dazed orphans who survived a hellish odyssey from war-ravaged Sarajevo arrived Tuesday in Germany, while back home, mortar shells rained down on the funeral for two youngsters shot to death during the harrowing escape from the Bosnian capital.

A fleet of ambulances rushed the 38 children to hospitals and orphanages after a chartered Russian plane brought them from the Croatian city of Split to the eastern German state of Saxony-Anhalt four terrifying days after their journey began.

Five of the children were hospitalized for treatment of exhaustion, dehydration and pneumonia, relief workers said, but the others appeared to be in good condition despite their ordeal.

A 2-year-old girl and a 1-year-old boy were killed when the bus came under fire as it left Sarajevo on Saturday, speeding through the city's notorious "Sniper Alley."

After the bus set out again the next day, Serbian militiamen stopped and boarded it and herded off five children they identified as of Serbian heritage, according to adults on the bus.

Even as German caretakers greeted their new charges with stuffed animals and hot lunches, mourners, including children from the Bosnian orphanage the others had left behind, scrambled for cover behind tombstones when a mortar attack disrupted the Sarajevo funeral for the two children killed aboard the bus.

The grandmother of one of the slain children—the child's mother had given her up for adoption—was seriously wounded in the attack, which was broadcast on German television. The footage showed one round exploding di-

Please see ORPHANS, A3

ORPHANS: Funeral Shelled

Continued from A1
rectly in the path of weeping relatives. Their ragged sobs quickly turned to shrieks of terror that have become familiar in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Meanwhile, controversy simmered around the daring mission to rescue the orphans, who had been reported trapped without adequate food or medicine in the basement of an orphanage caught in the violence in the suburbs of Sarajevo.

The two German politicians who organized the operation denied that disorganization or derring-do on their part was responsible for endangering the children and the eight adults who accompanied them on the bus.

The Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees has criticized the private rescue mission as "almost criminal" because the bus left the orphanage at a particularly dangerous time of day and without waiting for U.N. troop protection. Opposition party members in Germany accused the two politicians of "playing pirate" and risking children's lives for publicity.

The politicians, Juergen Angelbeck and Karsten Knolle, both members of the state Landtag, or Parliament, in Saxony-Anhalt, had said they would try to bring the orphans to safety because the United Nations and other organizations were doing too little.

"We took along a number of adults who were far more familiar than we are with the security conditions in Sarajevo," Angelbeck told a news conference after the chartered plane arrived at the old Soviet airstrip, 55 miles southwest of Berlin, on Tuesday morning.

"And they got on board the bus and were overjoyed to be brought out of that caldron, even without U.N. protection—the so-called U.N. escort that's being played up so much now," Angelbeck said. "That means they factored in the risks, as every Sarajevo resident must to go anywhere at all, that they could be shot by a sniper."

Both the state and federal governments distanced themselves from the rescue operation, which underscored more than a year of frustration that many Europeans have felt as they watched the bloody war in what used to be Yugoslavia unfold nightly on their television screens.

Germany has taken in more than 200,000 refugees in the last year alone, including 5,000 Bosnians who arrived last week. Trains

carrying another 5,000 from Bosnia-Herzegovina are due in Saturday.

Other members of the European Community have taken in relatively few war refugees in comparison, causing German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his government to sharply criticize what they consider a shirking of responsibility.

But just how far good Samaritans should go when bureaucrats seem to be doing too little is a question no one feels comfortable answering.

"If this mission were 100% successful and the two babies hadn't been killed, Mr. Knolle and Mr. Angelbeck would be considered heroes," said Steve Stehli, director of the Johanniter emergency relief organization in the region.

"We were told the children had hardly a chance to survive otherwise," Stehli added. An unknown

At the children's funeral, the mourners' ragged sobs quickly turned to shrieks of terror that have become familiar in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

number of youngsters remain behind in the orphanage. This trip focused on children from ages 6 months to 6 years.

A young orphanage worker who accompanied the children, Natasha Zoric, shook her head sadly as she struggled for words in English to describe the ordeal.

"It was terrible. Awful," she said, stroking the matted hair of a toddler who stared dully at the television cameras and clamoring reporters in the courtyard of the Marienheim orphanage in Schoenebeck, just outside Magdeburg.

"Someone just started shooting at us, and we all lie down. Two children were killed. We were supposed to go the following morning at 8, but they said we must go today at 4.

"That was the mistake," she said. She did not know whether the decision to leave was made by the orphanage's administrators, the Germans or the Bosnian aid organization, Children's Embassy, which was helping to coordinate.

"That was the first time these babies had ever been on a bus," Zoric said, adding that the ride in the van-like ambulances to the

orphanage Tuesday had frightened some of the children, reminding them too much of the blood-spattered bus they left behind.

Stehli said there were no further plans to "go down and get children out in this type of singular action" again.

Although offers have been pouring in from German families eager to adopt the Bosnian children or provide foster care, the youngsters will apparently remain in orphanages.

"We're able to provide round-the-clock care, and a doctor visits regularly," said Waltraud Kasperczyk, the Marienheim director who interrupted her vacation to greet the 18 Bosnian refugees brought to her orphanage.

The orphanage, which normally houses about a dozen children, filled its nurseries with donated toys and even put vases of flowers on the tiny tables to welcome the children.

"I'm glad it's over," Kasperczyk said. "We'll do everything we can to give the children some security."

Some children were so exhausted that they slept through the wail of sirens on the ambulances that brought them here.

Pale and disturbingly quiet, they seemed numb to the commotion surrounding them. None of them cried. And none of them smiled.

Los Angeles Times

U.S. Likens Serb Acts to Nazi Crimes

■ **Balkans:** Key State Department aide says that while atrocities are being committed, Washington now cannot confirm reports of systematic killings in camps.

By **NORMAN KEMPSTER**
ES STAFF WRITER

BALKANS: Serbs

Continued from A1

In a statement issued by his Little Rock headquarters, Clinton said: "I am outraged by the revelations of concentration camps in Bosnia and urge immediate action to stop this slaughter. . . . The United States and the international community must take action. If the horrors of the Holocaust taught us anything, it is the high cost of remaining silent and paralyzed in the face of genocide."

Niles insisted that economic and political sanctions already imposed on the Serb-led remnants of the Yugoslav federation may yet prove to be enough to force Serbia to end its aggression. He heatedly denied charges that the Administration's policy was dictated by the approaching November election.

Responding to questions from angry members of the House European subcommittee, Niles said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher was misunderstood Monday when he said U.S. authorities "know from our own reports" that Slavic Muslims and Croats have been tortured and killed in Serbian-run detention centers.

Niles said Tuesday that the government has obtained information suggesting the operation of death camps, but he said these reports cannot be confirmed with certainty because independent observers have not been allowed to visit the facilities. Inspectors from the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross have entered some internment camps on both sides of the conflict but have been denied access to many others.

"I did not deny the existence of atrocities, totally unacceptable acts, by the Serbian authorities," Niles said. "[But] we do not have confirming information that the reports of systematic . . . deaths in these detention facilities are true."

He said the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, the Serbian and Yugoslav capital, reported that the Bosnian government "released a list of 105 concentration camps and prisons; 94 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, plus 11 in Serbia-Montenegro, where Serbian Defense Forces have allegedly been holding non-Serb civilians. Now, the allegation has been made . . . that in some of these facilities a large number of prisoners have in fact been killed."

Niles said the U.S. government is disgusted by the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing," a systematic

campaign to drive Muslims and Croats out of vast areas of Croatia and Bosnia.

"I share entirely, and all of us do, your sense of outrage [and] disgust at the policies adopted by the Serbian authorities as they relate to Bosnia-Herzegovina," Niles said.

U.S. officials said detention camps unquestionably exist and that efforts are being made to determine what is going on inside them. One official acknowledged that spy planes and satellites probably will be used to get independent confirmation of the concentration camp reports.

Another well-placed official said bluntly: "We believe there are POW/concentration camps . . . and believe civilians in them are dying." But the official said it is difficult to determine the extent of the killing.

Officials said the public disclosure of the possibility of death camps forced the issue to a top priority at national security agencies throughout Washington.

"There has been concern all along, but the public spotlight has already had a big impact," a senior Administration official said.

Democrats on the House committee bluntly accused the Administration of appeasing the Serbs to avoid election-year military action.

"By God, Mr. Niles, there is plenty of confirmation," said California Rep. Tom Lantos (D-San Mateo). "There is what is called ethnic cleansing, a most sickening, despicable, disgusting term, and we are [doing no more than] talking about discussing the possibility of the need for additional United Nations resolutions."

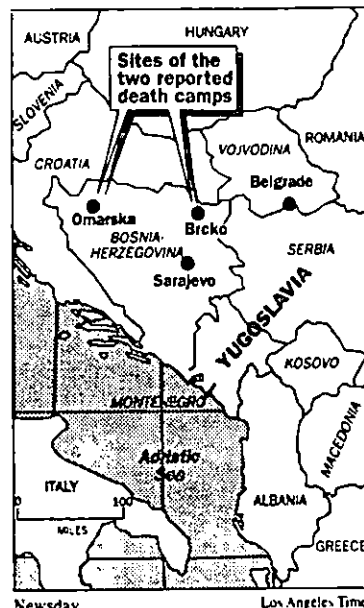
"Well, let me tell you what the problem is," Lantos said. "The problem is that there is an election in 90 days, and this election paralyzes the Administration."

Niles, a career Foreign Service officer, recoiled from the suggestion that policy was dictated by politics.

"Mr. Lantos, I think there is absolutely no relationship between the fact that we happen to be in a presidential election year and the policy that we have adopted in dealing with the crisis," Niles said.

"There isn't a 10-year-old child who believes you," Lantos shot back.

Niles said the most pressing problem is to get food and medicine



Newsday Los Angeles Times

to the besieged population of Sarajevo and other towns in Bosnia.

Niles said the Administration is urging the Security Council to authorize the use of military force to keep the relief supply line open.

When committee members demanded faster action, Niles said "It's not a question of reluctance by the United States, it's a question of building a coalition in the Security Council where you have nine vote for the resolution. . . . That's what we're engaged in right now. Members of the Security Council . . . are understandably reluctant to commit themselves to use military force. . . . So they're approaching this with a certain amount of care and caution."

"This does not depend solely upon the United States," he said. "If it did, I can assure you that the action would have already been taken."

As evidence that the Administration was taking the issue seriously, a White House official said that Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger telephone Belgrade early Tuesday to demand that international inspectors be permitted access to the detention centers.

The official said there has not yet been any indication that Serbian authorities would comply with the request. In the meantime, congressional sources said a White House team had been dispatched to Capitol Hill on Tuesday morning to offer a closed-door briefing about the Administration's knowledge of the detention centers.

Times staff writers Douglas Jehl and Melissa Healy contributed to this story.

WASHINGTON—The State Department's top Europe expert on Tuesday accused Serbian military forces of engaging in acts reminiscent of the crimes of Nazi Germany, although he said the Bush Administration has been unable to prove allegations that the Serbs are systematically killing their ethnic foes in special detention camps.

Hours after the statements by Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Niles, the U.N. Security Council demanded that all warring factions in the former Yugoslavia open their detention facilities to inspection by the Red Cross or other neutral observers to test the accusations of large-scale torture and killing.

The council statement, issued at the urging of the United States, is not binding under international law. But U.S. officials said impartial inspections may be the only way to prove or disprove the charges that Serbian authorities have established concentration camps to exterminate Slavic Muslims and Croats.

Canadian Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, who led U.N. peacekeepers at Sarajevo airport, said at the United Nations that he had received complaints from all factions about concentration camp atrocities, wire services reported. He said the complaints were first received about five months ago, but the pace of the allegations increased about two months ago as the Serbs' "ethnic cleansing" campaign accelerated.

Niles, in testimony to a House subcommittee, said, "It is an . . . almost poignant tragedy that the Serbian people, who suffered so terribly at the hands of the Nazi occupiers of Yugoslavia during the Second [World] War, are engaging in practices which are in some respects reminiscent of some of the things that happened during the [Nazi] occupation," he said.

Fending off congressional demands for firmer U.S. action to stop atrocities in the former republics of Yugoslavia, Niles said the Administration is pressing the Security Council to authorize the use of military force to deliver food and medicine to besieged cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said the United States would contribute Navy and Air Force units to such a U.N. force.

The controversy over President Bush's Yugoslavia policy emerged again as an issue in the election campaign when Democratic challenger Bill Clinton demanded Tuesday that the United States and the world community "discover who is responsible for these actions and take steps to bring them to

Los Angeles Times

Shuttle Performs an Orbital Ballet With Tethered Satellite as Partner

By RUDY ABRAMSON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KENNEDY SPACE CENTER, Fla.—With flight controllers serving as choreographers, the shuttle Atlantis on Tuesday stepped out on a daunting dance through space with a diminutive partner held on a string as thin as a shoelace.

The orbital ballet saw astronauts reeling a 1,000-pound satellite out of the shuttle's cargo bay on a mission hailed as the harbinger of future orbital operations.

But the experiment hit a potentially ruinous snag almost immediately.

The reel letting out the tether jammed Tuesday night after unwinding only 570 feet, and for about two hours the Atlantis crew and flight controllers struggled to free it. They finally succeeded by pulling the satellite back in by about 30 feet, creating slack in the line. They then released it, firing the satellite's small thrusters to help it gather speed, and jerking the fouled line loose. In the following minutes, the satellite climbed to a distance of 855 feet above the shuttle, where its ascent again stopped, but officials said the fouled line crisis had been resolved.

With shuttle commander Loren Shriver successfully maneuvering the orbiter to keep the connected vehicles stable, the satellite again started to edge away.

Shriver and mission specialists Jeff Hoffman, Marsha Ivins, and Franklin Chang-Diaz, who had battled through the day to carry out the deployment, planned to stay on duty until the satellite reached a distance of about 4 miles, and then turn it over to their relief crew—pilot Andy Allen and mission specialists Claude Nicollier, and Franco Malerba.

The venture is considered perhaps the most exacting exercise ever attempted by the shuttle. It was designed to send the satellite to a distance of 12.5 miles about 5½



Associated Press

Satellite separates from boom attached to shuttle Atlantis.

hours after its deployment.

Once the satellite is successfully reeled out, the tether and the shuttle will form a huge electrical generator in orbit as the combined vehicle flies through the Earth's magnetic field. With the satellite collecting electrons as it passes through the Earth's ionosphere, the system is expected to generate an electrical potential of 5,000 volts, sending a current of about 1 ampere down the tether to the shuttle.

The release procedure began Tuesday afternoon, with Atlantis flying backward with its nose pointed down at the Pacific. The gleaming white satellite rose from

a four-story boom extended from the shuttle's open cargo bay.

Bathed by the setting sun, the satellite was pushed from its cradle by tiny thrusters shooting bursts of nitrogen gas. At a snail's pace, the satellite rose from the mother ship.

The beginning of the deployment at 2:50 p.m. PDT came after hours of frustration, including one aborted release when astronauts saw unexpected movement in the tether linking the satellite to the shuttle.

Because of the delays, flight planners scrambled to devise a new plan.

During the early portions of its ascent into the black sky, the satellite rose so steadily that its movement was barely perceptible. Half an hour after its release, it had moved upward 138 feet, its speed had reached one-tenth of a foot per second, and it was accelerating.

Then came the snag, which raised the additional concern that a prolonged problem with an immobile reel would use up maneuvering fuel required for the satellite to carry out several scientific experiments planned as it flies at the end of its line.

Initial plans had called for the satellite, designed and owned by the Italian Space Agency, to remain at its 12.5-mile distance for about 10 hours, and to be reeled back into its cradle some 30 hours after its release.

But because of the long delay in carrying out the deployment Tuesday, flight controllers tentatively planned to extend the operation by another eight hours so that astronauts could rest before the recovery operation.

Although the satellite rose straight upward on its tether, computer projections were that it would eventually begin to sway from side to side, requiring shuttle commander Shriver to move Atlantis about to remain beneath it.

The operation is sufficiently delicate and mysterious that NASA Administrator Daniel S. Goldin ordered an additional safety review

before giving the mission final clearance.

While the plan is to reel the satellite back, recapture it and return it to Earth, officials emphasized that the mission will be successful as long as they carry out the electrical generating exercise and other scientific experiments and gain an understanding of tethered vehicles' behavior.

Tuesday's first delay came when a plug at the end of an umbilical cord carrying communications and electrical power to the satellite

from the shuttle failed to disconnect. When astronaut Hoffman sent a command for a small motor to pull out the electrical plug, nothing happened.

For more than two hours, Mission Control in Houston and the shuttle crew struggled with the problem, first turning the shuttle so the cable remained in the sunlight, hoping that the warmth might encourage it to disconnect.

When that did not work, tension on the tether between the spacecraft and the satellite was released,

leaving only the umbilical holding it in its cradle atop the boom.

Atlantis flew more more than half an hour with the balky plug and umbilical connection facing the sun, until the temperature reached about 150 degrees. The last bit of tension on the tether line was released, and shuttle commander Shriver was ordered to fire maneuvering thrusters, pushing the vehicle downward.

Suddenly, the plug came out. In the Mission Control room in Houston, a cheer went up.

Satellite on a String

One of the shuttle crew's main missions is to launch a satellite tethered by a spaghetti-thin electrical cord. In an experiment reminiscent of Benjamin Franklin's kite, the satellite will pick up energy from Earth's magnetic field and shoot it down the cord to the shuttle.

Casting It Out Into Space

1. 41-foot boom moves satellite beyond the payload bay.
2. A thruster maintains tension on the tether until the satellite is three-quarters of a mile away.
3. At that point, the satellite's higher orbit is expected to exert an upward force and—along with the shuttle's natural tendency to drop—maintain tension on the tether until it is 12.5 miles out.

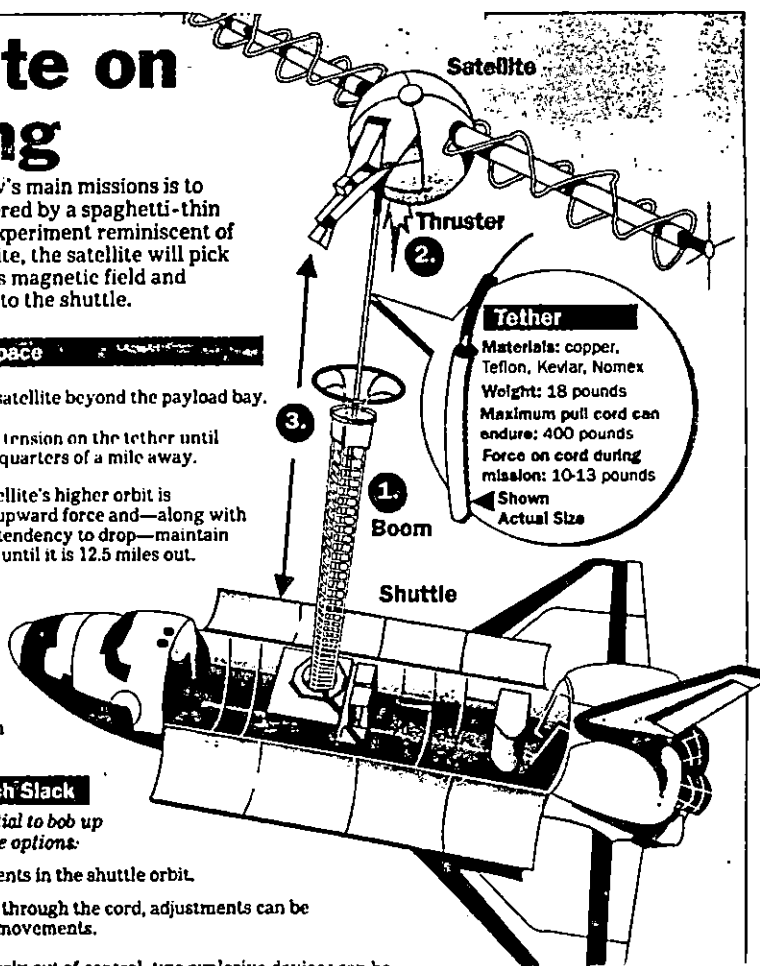
The Goal

If the experiment works, such tether-satellite arrangements could be used in the future to recharge space stations or dispatch robot explorers on interplanetary voyages.

The Danger: Too Much Slack

The satellite has the potential to bob up and down like a yo-yo. The options:

1. Crew can make adjustments in the shuttle orbit.
2. Since current is flowing through the cord, adjustments can be made in the flow to offset movements.
3. If satellite gets dangerously out of control, two explosive devices can be



Los Angeles Times

GOP's Attack-Faxer One of New Breed of Political Operatives

Fast thinking and blunt spoken, they often eclipse candidates. Matalin has ties to Clinton camp counterpart.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
and DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—In bygone days politicians regularly wrote their own speeches and slung their own mud. But the 1992 presidential campaign is far removed from that simpler era—and just how far was demonstrated this week by the case of Mary Matalin, deputy manager of President Bush's beleaguered re-election campaign.

Fast thinking and blunt spoken, the 38-year-old Matalin is a member of the growing breed of political operatives who have taken over so many campaign responsibilities that they sometimes seem to eclipse their own candidates.

That is what happened when Matalin—in a few not-so-well-chosen words—stirred a public furor that reminded voters of the allegations of infidelity that had plagued the early campaign of Democratic standard-bearer Bill Clinton. She then issued a grudging apology at the personal request of the President.

In a mock campaign quiz distributed to the press, Matalin included this question: "Which campaign had to spend thousands of taxpayer dollars on private investigators to fend off 'bimbo eruptions'?"—a reference to the Clinton campaign's early effort to stifle rumors about alleged instances of the Arkansas governor's infidelity.

That thrust was in keeping with Matalin's feisty character. In the councils of what many Republicans feel has been an excessively subdued campaign, her deep, raspy voice has often been the most aggressive.

But what added a soap opera-like aspect to the episode is Matalin's 18-month involvement with her approximate counterpart in the Clinton campaign, James Carville, a craggy-faced 49-year-old Cajun with a reputation for political gut fighting that comes close to matching that of Matalin's own mentor, the late Lee Atwater.

Matalin's relationship with Carville has long been controversial within Republican circles. Then-White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu called Matalin on the carpet over it last fall. At the time, she was chief of staff to the Republican National Committee and Carville was

running Harris Wofford's successful U.S. Senate campaign against former Atty. Gen. Dick Thornburgh.

Last December, when Matalin moved over to the Bush campaign and Carville joined the Clinton team, Matalin said publicly that they were putting the relationship on hold until after the election. But she has made no secret to friends that the relationship has continued.

Not surprisingly then, the "bimbo blowup" created an awkward situation for Carville. Indeed, as Carville sought to play his accustomed role for Clinton of counter-attacker-in-chief against opposition charges, it almost seemed as if he was as much on the spot as Matalin.

Carville sought to shift the focus of attack from his candidate to the opposition, questioning Bush's claim that he had issued an edict commanding his campaign staff to avoid "sleaze."

"The President said he put out a written statement against this [form of campaign literature]," Carville said, his eyes flashing. "Where is the written state-

ment? Who got the written statement? What did it say? Who did it apply to?"

But the usually self-assured Carville seemed uncommonly uncomfortable, as the questions from the press corps kept turning back to Matalin, who was the direct cause of the controversy.

"I don't want to get into a thing of defending Mary," he said. "That's not what this is about. This is about George Bush saying he put out a written statement. Where is his written statement?"

The flare-up clearly tangled the ties between the two, but the political impact was harder to assess. Some Republican critics of the Bush campaign called it another example of the clumsiness that has hindered the President from developing a message to counter Clinton's post-convention surge in the polls.

"We needed a big day and we managed to blow it again," said one Bush aide, vexed because the Matalin-Carville-bimbo story had overshadowed accounts of one of the first successful rallies of the Bush campaign in Jacksonville, Fla.

But some Democrats felt it was Clinton who suffered the most damage because the flap over Matalin's attack could revive questions of trust and character that hobbled him in the primaries.

"She got the words 'bimbo eruption' and Bill Clinton on TV," said one Democratic strategist, "and Bush was able to stay at arm's length. I think the press could end up helping Bush because the press thinks Americans want to tut-tut this stuff. . . . The Republicans are just trying to get a different conversation started about Clinton, and they did that."

But whatever the ultimate impact on the struggle for the White House, the incident made for the most memorable moment in Matalin's political career. It began in 1981, when she joined the Republican National Committee's voter education operation, and did not really go anywhere until she joined Bush's 1988 drive for the GOP nomination and came under the wing of campaign manager Atwater. He made her Midwest field coordinator, and after the campaign when he

became GOP national chairman he selected her as his chief of staff.

Within the Bush campaign, some of whose leaders still seem preoccupied with their outside business interests, Matalin stands out for her intensity and her street-wise grasp of presidential politics.

Other Bush strategists, including senior adviser Charles Black and campaign manager Frederic V. Malek, are put forth more often to present the candidate's position on television. But officials say the Matalin in fact has become the top deputy to campaign manager Robert M. Teeter.

Colleagues say she has appeared increasingly frustrated in recent weeks as the campaign has been unable to decide how it might restore Bush's standing.

"It seemed like, all the boys at the top couldn't make up their minds, and Mary just wanted to show them that a girl could do it better," one campaign official said. Matalin was authorized to launch the operation of faxing press releases that attacked Clinton on a new issue each day, keying on the Democrats' alleged "hypocrisy" for complaining about negative GOP campaigning despite the frequent attacks Democrats have made on Bush.

But the operation was only a few days old when Matalin, working on a Sunday and without seeking approval from Teeter or Malek, issued the release that at least for one day threw the presidential campaign—and perhaps her own personal life—into turmoil.

At a senior staff meeting Monday, campaign officials were said to have loyally defended Matalin—in what one source called a sign of respect. Even after Bush disavowed her statement, senior officials pointed out what they said had been her intent—to highlight the attacks Democrats have already made on Bush.

Last week, Matalin had sat aboard Air Force One as the President traveled to Texas and then on to California, helping to rework a Bush speech to include sharper attacks on Clinton for the defense-spending cuts he has proposed.

But on Monday, it was Bush who was calling Matalin to demand that she apologize for the memorandum. And on Monday evening, an aide who usually works with Matalin late into the night had unusual news for a reporter who called. Matalin, he said, had gone home. But she could not waste much time brooding.

On Tuesday, she was back on duty, attending the weekly meeting at the White House aimed at finally getting Bush's re-election campaign on track.

Times staff writers Thomas Rosenstiel and

The Republicans' Mary Matalin



Mary Matalin, a high-ranking Bush campaign aide, in her office.

BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

Mary Matalin's bare-knuckled rhetoric caused an uproar in the political world. It also cast a spotlight again on her relationship with Clinton aide James Carville, right. Here is some background on Matalin:



- **Born:** Aug. 19, 1953.
- **Education:** Bachelor's degree from Western Illinois University; attended Hofstra School of Law.
- **Career highlights:** Began political career in 1980, working in Illinois Senate race. Worked in Republican National Committee's voter education operation in 1981 and spent next several years working various jobs within the organization. In 1988, she was appointed Midwest field coordinator for Bush's 1988 nomination campaign, where she worked for campaign manager Lee Atwater. Later appointed Atwater's chief of staff. Currently a deputy campaign manager for Bush/Quayle '92.
- **Personal:** Divorced, no children. Matalin is in a "suspended" relationship with Bill Clinton's adviser "ragin' Cajun" Carville. Matalin, the granddaughter of Croatian immigrants has been nicknamed "the ragin' Croatian" for her attacks on the opposition.

Los Angeles Times

Los Angeles Times

Bush Delivers Pep Talk to Republican Senators

■ **Politics:** The President sends signals he intends to blame Congress for the sluggish economy. Democrats attack him on health care.

By WILLIAM J. EATON
and DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Brandishing a pair of boxing gloves he received from the group, President Bush delivered a pep talk to Republican senators Tuesday amid signs that he intends to blame the Democrat-controlled Congress for the nation's feeble economic recovery.

Later, in an interview with editors of USA Today, Bush described himself as a "fighter" and expressed confidence he can overcome the large lead Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton has taken in various national polls.

"I like to fight back," Bush said in the interview, portions of which were broadcast on television stations owned by Gannett Corp.

"I like to take on the odds. . . . Let the big front-runners coast along. We're going to fight back and win" the November election, Bush said.

Meanwhile, in the latest eruption of bipartisan slash-and-bash politics on Capitol Hill in the normally slow days of summer, 10 Democratic senators accused Bush of callous indifference to Americans' health care needs.

Sen. John D. (Jay) Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.), a leader on the health care issue, belittled the President's proposal to deal with the issue, saying: "It combines the compassion of his anti-recession policy with the efficiency of his savings and loan bailout . . . I look upon his actions with disdain."

Sen. Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) added: "It's like a cancer patient being told to take a couple of aspirin."

Bush, spotlighting health care as a major difference between him and Clinton, on Sunday had blasted the Democrat's proposals on the issue as "a prescription for disaster. And on Tuesday, the White House quickly arranged a news briefing to rebut the criticism from the congressional Democrats.

In his meeting with the GOP senators, Bush sought to mute mounting congressional criticism of his campaign by assuring the GOP lawmakers that he would wage an aggressive battle after the Republican Convention in Houston ends on Aug. 20.

In a good-natured gesture, Bush was given a pair of boxing gloves—one labeled "Democrat" and the other "Congress"—and a plaque with an oversize Olympic gold medal marked "heavyweight champion."

And after the meeting, Bush's Senate allies displayed determined optimism despite the President's current lag in the polls and the snail-like pace of economic recovery, indicating that some degree of party unity has been achieved.

The meeting, according to one campaign aide, was "a sign that we're finally beginning to recognize that we need to get the Republican house in order."

According to Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), the President focused his fire on the Democratic majority in both houses of Congress and charged that it has blocked his economic recovery program at every turn.

Simpson also said: "George Bush is fully engaged, ready to let her rip."

Joining Bush at the session was Vice President Dan Quayle. Although his place on the GOP ticket seemed a bit tentative only a few weeks ago, Quayle received sustained applause.

Later in the day, Quayle made a brief campaign stop in Mobile, Ala., and targeted Clinton for attack by linking him with Michael S. Dukakis, the 1988 Democratic nominee.

"They look different, they talk different but substantively there is no difference at all. As a matter of fact, Bill Clinton is going to raise taxes more than Michael Dukakis would have. Bill Clinton is going to increase federal spending more than Michael Dukakis."

Echoing criticisms Bush has aired within the last week, Quayle also charged that under a Clinton Administration, "you're going to see dramatic, Draconian cuts in national defense and national security. You're going to see socialized medicine."

Bush, in his interview with the USA Today editors, scotched talk that he might abandon his reelection campaign and angrily accused Clinton of using "sleaze and dirty campaigning" against him.

"I'm not only not going to drop out [of the presidential race], I'm confident I'm going to win," Bush said. He added that his health was good "in spite of all these nutty rumors that float around the press room."

Asked what kind of President the Ar-

kansas governor would be, Bush started his reply with a compliment, saying Clinton had "done some good things."

"Now I have to stop saying nice things and start doing what he's been doing to me for six months—six months! He has no trouble going after me for six months, challenging me about whether I should be paying taxes in Maine, accusing me of being a tax evader."

Bush was referring to comments Clinton has made about the President's reasons for establishing his voting residence in a Texas hotel room even though he spends most of his time away from the White House at a vacation home in Maine.

Bush asked rhetorically: "Where's the outrage?" over Clinton's comments. "How many editorials showed up in USA Today or other places on sleaze and dirty campaigning?"

The issue of election tactics is a sensitive one for Bush, who Monday was forced to disavow a campaign news release that revived allegations of marital infidelity by Clinton, a topic that Bush had previously said would be off-limits.

Some Republican leaders, reflecting on the questions that have arisen about Bush's

strategy for winning reelection, said the President would have to combine a positive approach with a hard-line attack strategy to win. Bush's own campaign aides agree and were reported to be developing a new agenda for a second term.

Sen. Arlen C. Specter (R-Pa.), who also is facing a tough reelection battle, has been telling voters: "The President has to get the economy moving if he wants to win."

Senate Democrats, believing that Bush is vulnerable on the health care issue, mounted their major drive to depict the President as callous and indifferent to the feelings of ordinary Americans.

They launched the attack even though Democrats in both the Senate and House have been unable to come to agreement yet on a single plan for providing comprehensive coverage and cost containment.

Also Tuesday, White House policy adviser Gail Wilensky appeared at a briefing to assure reporters that Bush, in fact, has a 94-page health care plan. It was announced last Feb. 6, although some parts of it have not been proposed formally.

Times staff writer Paul Richter contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

Women Set to Challenge Dole, Bond

By DAVID G. SAVAGE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—In what has been dubbed the "Year of the Woman" in American politics, two more female candidates appeared to have won Democratic primary elections for the U.S. Senate on Tuesday, but they would still face uphill fights in November against incumbent Republicans.

In Kansas, Gloria O'Dell, a former assistant to the state treasurer, apparently won the right to challenge Bob Dole, the Senate Republican leader. She said her motto will be "Gloria vs. Goliath."

In neighboring Missouri, St. Louis County Councilwoman Geri Rothman-Serot was leading in a crowded Democratic field. She would be matched against Christopher Bond, who is seeking a second, six-year term in the Senate.

Victories by the two women Tuesday would bring to nine the number of women running for the Senate—eight of whom are Democrats. That is one short of the record 10 female candidates who sought Senate seats in the 1984 general elections.

Only one of those—Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas—proved victorious.

Elsewhere in voting Tuesday, the scandals in the House of Representatives may have claimed another victim—ironically, a prominent Republican who had trumpeted the call for sweeping change in the lower house. In early returns, Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, who has served 26 years in the House and chairs the National Republican Congressional Committee, was trailing Republican primary opponent Peter Hoekstra.

Vander Jagt, along with Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia, led the attacks against the Democratic leadership over the scandals involving the House bank and post office, contending that the time had come for wholesale changes in the House.

But back home in western Michigan, the Republican incumbent had been labeled "Congressman Vander Junket" after he had been photographed lounging on a Barbados beach on trip that had been paid for by taxpayers. While denouncing the Democrats for bouncing checks at the House bank, Vander Jagt had defended Republican colleague Rep. Robert W. Davis, who was a leading abuser with 878 overdrafts. Davis chose not to seek reelection.

In Missouri, President Bush's cousin was losing in his first bid for elective office. George Herbert Walker III, a brokerage executive, was trailing James M. Talent, a state House leader, in a bid for the Republican nomination for Congress. A firm foe of abortion, Talent would challenge first-term Democratic Rep. Joan Kelley Horn, an abortion rights advocate.

Los Angeles Times

Comment

ON THE NATION

Clinton Isn't
Dukakis All
Over Again

Republicans have deceived themselves in thinking that 1992 is just 1988 + 4. In fact, it marks a sea change.

BY KEVIN PHILLIPS

WASHINGTON

Now that Secretary of State James A. Baker III is weighing re-enactment of his 1988 campaign role as the steel behind George Bush's clay, the question of whether a Bakerized 1992 campaign can also bring off a second election miracle is one of the summer's most misleading. A national political sea change is at work in the 1990s, and if the GOP doesn't revise its strategies quickly, the White House will be lost this year instead of in the expected quail-shoot (Quayle Shoot) of 1996.

Far from repeating 1988 circumstances, 1992 reflects a much more advanced stage of domestic and economic problems—and Bush weaknesses—that were only beginning to emerge four years ago. Meanwhile, from upbeat Clinton-Gore bus rides through flag-waving small Midwest towns to Democratic attacks on Bush as a second Herbert H. Hoover, one senses that this time the party of Andrew Jackson, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman finally understands its challenge, and that the soufflé of Bush's never-fulfilled promise to the electorate—dismissed even by 30% to 40% of Republicans—will be unable to rise twice.

For the new revitalized Democrats, losing to Bush with Michael S. Dukakis has become recognized for what it was: a sign of ideological and tactical inadequacy. Real leaders don't lose to George Herbert Walker Bush. This spring, Bill Clinton, who has understood that 1988 was an incipient Democratic opportunity, wisely immersed himself in the Democratic equivalent of a critical studies program—studying Dukakis' mistakes and understanding the potential approaches, generally populist, that Dukakis had failed to grasp. July's Democratic convention reflected this new

Bush is no longer a probable failure but, in many respects, a proven failure. His string of record and near-record negatives is extraordinary.

aggressiveness. So did post-convention polls giving Clinton an average 25 percentage point lead over Bush.

By contrast, until the Clinton sea change started sinking in two weeks ago, Bush and his strategists were happy to stroll down Memory Lane. Winners in 1988 despite a 17-percentage-point July poll deficit, they assumed they'd win again in 1992, especially if Baker came back, because American voters wanted Republican Presidents and values in the White House.

Ahem. A tougher Democrat than Dukakis might have won even in 1988. In June of that year, 45% of Americans viewed Bush unfavorably, and a majority didn't want to make him President—until a critical swing bloc ultimately decided, quite plausibly, that they wanted and liked Dukakis even less.

This year, by contrast, Bush is no longer a probable failure but, in many respects, a proven failure. His string of record and near-record negatives is extraordinary.

- The biggest job-approval collapse in American presidential history—down almost 60 points from spring, 1991, to summer, 1992!

- The first incumbent President to be beaten in election trial heats by an independent presidential contender who had not yet declared!

- The first chief executive to choose a vice president rated in public opinion polls for four straight years as unfit to become President!

- The weakest economic growth during a four-year presidential term since Hoover!

- Possibly the largest ratio of Americans (83%) ever to rate the country as being "seriously off on the wrong track."

- Arguably the longest economic downturn since the 1930s, with the lingering possibility of what would be an unprecedented "triple dip."

- And, unfortunately, the first President to go to war against a foreign dictator he himself had built up with U.S. money and technology—only to mismanage the war's end so that the dictator survived to keep thumbing his nose!

None of these debacles or indictments.
Please see PHILLIPS, A5

Kevin Phillips is publisher of American Political Report and Business and Public Affairs Fortnightly.

Los Angeles Times

Clinton, Gore Attend Funeral of Fund-Raiser

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Al Gore, paused Tuesday to attend funeral services for one of their campaign's key fund-raisers.

Clinton, Gore and their wives joined mourners Tuesday at a service for C. Victor Raiser II, 52, and his son, R. Montgomery Raiser, at Washington's National Cathedral.

Raiser, a lawyer and chairman of American Mobile Satellite Corp., served as national financial co-chairman of Clinton's campaign. He and his 22-year-old son, a recent Princeton graduate, died last Thursday in the crash of a small plane near an Alaskan fishing village.

The candidates will resume their break-neck campaign pace today with a four-day bus trip that begins in East St. Louis, Ill.

While in Washington, Clinton and Gore met privately with Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), an expert on foreign policy and defense matters. Congressional aides said the session was called at Clinton's request and was aimed at briefing him on defense and foreign policy issues.

Later, before they departed for Little Rock, Ark., the candidates met with a group of Democratic senators, including Frank R. Lautenberg of New Jersey, Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut and Harry Reid and Richard H. Bryan, both of Nevada.

Throughout the day, Clinton declined to talk with reporters, citing the somber nature of his trip to Washington.

The Democrats' bus tour kicks off with a rally at a high school in East St. Louis, a predominantly black town. By day's end, they plan to have stopped in Hannibal, Mo., and Burlington, Iowa.

The tour, due to end Friday in Minneapolis, is patterned after the candidates' six-day bus trip across much of America's heartland immediately following the Democratic Convention last month.

On this week's journey, five busloads of journalists are to follow the lead vehicle. Campaign aides, meanwhile, have sought to play down comparisons with the first trip, apparently fearing that smaller turn-outs along this tour's route would reflect poorly on the campaign.

In other campaign developments, Clinton on Tuesday sought another \$1.79 million in federal matching funds. He based his request on more than \$3 million in private contributions he received in July, the campaign's best fund-raising month ever.

The money will be used to retire Clinton's debts from the primary elections, which soared to nearly \$4 million in May before dropping to closer to \$2 million at the end of July.

Los Angeles Times

Comment

ON THE WORLD

Pollution: Will It Be a Byproduct?

A North American free-trade treaty will give unprecedented attention to U.S. and Mexican environmental concerns.

BY WILLIAM K. REILLY

As President Bush comes closer to signing a North American free-trade agreement with Mexico and Canada, critics are expressing fears that it might hurt U.S. workers and the environment. They worry that it will cripple the environment by increasing pollution along the U.S.-Mexico border, by luring high-pollution firms to Mexico or by lowering U.S. environmental standards in the name of comparability.

In many ways, these concerns reflect old thinking about the environment—a fear that economic growth must pollute, and that trade agreements will ignore such important matters as the quality of water and air. That's not the way President Bush views the world, and that's not the way his Administration views this free-trade agreement.

Work on this agreement is setting a new high standard of environmental sensitivity and innovation. It promises to strengthen the relationship between jobs and ecological stewardship, and it invites once-hostile factions to join in crafting a treaty that will help us all.

No trade agreement in history has invited or withstood the kind of environmental scrutiny accorded the North American free-trade agreement. The United States and Mexico have agreed on an array of joint activities that complement the environmental provisions of the agreement. At the same time, the Environmental Protection Agency and its Mexican counterpart developed an integrated plan that addresses many of the concerns related to pollution in the border area, and our two countries have committed substantial funds to its implementation.

Last month, Congress cut the funds, reducing support for sewage treatment in San Diego-Tijuana, Nogales and other areas, but we still expect to spend far more on the border environment than ever before. The United States is helping Mexico to improve its ability to solve its environmental problems. This includes such areas as technology cooperation, environmental education, chemical emergency response, technical training and support, data exchange and enforcement training and cooperation. We're even conducting joint plant inspections.

Mexico, meanwhile, has taken important steps to clean its environment while opening up its economy. Mexico's comprehensive environmental law, passed in 1988, is as strong as the panoply of U.S. environmental laws.

Mexico has devoted considerable resources to environmental law enforcement. President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, at a breakfast meeting I attended early last year, told a group of industrialists that he was interested in improving the quality of life in Mexico. "I am not interested in dirty jobs," he said. "We know dirty jobs. That is our past. It will not be our future."

Mexico now requires complete environmental impact assessments for new investment, public and private.

The Mexican government has conducted 7,700 environmental inspections during the past six years and had shut down 1,926 factories by 1991 (109 facilities were closed permanently).

Our nations have worked hard to ensure that the trade agreement safeguards not only our environment but also our ability to develop rigorous standards for protecting it. The agreement permits the United States—and our states—to set standards even where they exceed international norms.

As the Mexican economy grows, so will its devotion to environmental protection and its ability to pay the costs of ecological stewardship. The North American free-trade agreement, like the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, reflects a growing realization on the part of governments around the world that we will not have the resources to deal with environmental needs unless we also foster economic growth, and we will not have the kind of growth we want unless we attend to our environmental needs: clean air, clean water, land free of pollution.

The North American free-trade agreement presents a unique opportunity for the United States, Mexico and Canada to improve the economic and environmental prospects for hundreds of millions of people, to enhance our own economic opportunities and environmental conditions and to show the rest of the world that environmentalism and economic expansion together hold the keys to a better future.

William K. Reilly is the administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

Los Angeles Times

NARCOTICS

Friendly Fire in Front Lines of Drug War

By MARJORIE MILLER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MEXICO CITY—Efforts by the United States and Mexico to fight narcotics trafficking have been strained by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling allowing U.S. agents to kidnap suspects abroad and the Bush Administration's refusal to amend its extradition treaty with Mexico to ban such abductions.

Angry over U.S. meddling in Mexico, Mexican Atty. Gen. Ignacio Morales Lechuga announced last week that his government will reject the more than \$20 million a year in U.S. aid to maintain a helicopter fleet to eradicate marijuana and heroin-poppo crops.

The decision, Morales Lechuga said, reflects "President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's interest that Mexico be economically self-sufficient in this area and, with dignity, continue along the lines established in the National Program for Drug Control."

Deputy Atty. Gen. Jorge Carillo Olea added that Mexico would turn down the aid "as an act to ratify sovereignty, independence and self-management."

Morales Lechuga insisted that Mexico would continue an aggressive campaign against drug trafficking. But U.S. officials fear that the Mexican helicopter fleet will deteriorate without U.S. aid and vigilance.

Also, although U.S. and Mexican drug agents continue to work closely to intercept shipments of South American cocaine bound for the United States, U.S. officials worry that cooperation could be interrupted too.

In turn, some U.S. officials are irked over the public bashing that U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents have received from the Mexican government since the recent Supreme Court decision.

The Supreme Court ruled that the DEA-arranged abduction of Dr. Humberto Alvarez Machain from Guadalajara in 1990 was legal because it was not explicitly prohibited by the extradition treaty. The gynecologist was taken to the United States to stand trial in connection with the 1985 murder of



PATRICK DOWNS Los Angeles Times

Dr. Humberto Alvarez Machain describes a gun being held to his head during abduction by U.S. agents.

DEA agent Enrique S. Camarena.

After the decision, the Mexican government suspended DEA activities in Mexico for a day and demanded a treaty amendment and Alvarez Machain's return. President Bush promised that the U.S. government would not kidnap any more Mexicans but refused to amend the treaty or return the doctor.

U.S. and Mexican officials met Wednesday to negotiate further cooperation in the drug war. "We will respect the wishes of the Mexican government," a U.S. official said afterward. But he added that "any transition to lower levels of material support should be carried out in such a way as to not undermine our cooperation, which continues to be excellent."

In fact, Salinas has worked more closely with the U.S. government to fight drug trafficking than any previous Mexican leader.

Despite the Alvarez Machain kidnapping, the Mexican government in 1990 established a special Northern Border Response Force to coordinate with the United States to intercept drug flights from South America.

Mexico has seized a record 159 metric tons of cocaine in the last three years, most of it by the response force, according to a U.S. official.

So far, the Mexican government has not indicated a desire to interrupt this program, a U.S. official said. Rather, the Mexican government is halting the aid it received to maintain another fleet of about 105 helicopters used to spray drug crops.

Mexico once produced 85% of the heroin consumed in the United States. That has been reduced to about 30%, in part because of eradication efforts.

Los Angeles Times

EDITORIALS

of THE TIMES

The Sorrows of Somalia

With wars on two continents, must U.N. relief officials decide between Africa and Europe?

Starvation is stealing the young of Somalia. Drought and famine are sending thousands of youngsters to common graves before they reach the age of 6. And civil war is blocking the tons of food, medicine and other relief supplies that could save many of these tiny victims.

Tens of thousands of Somalis have died since January of 1991, when their corrupt and ruthless leader, Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre, fled the fighting. That death toll includes a fourth of all the preschool-age children. How many more must die?

As many as 1.5 million Somalis are in imminent, mortal danger, according to the United Nations. Such a toll would parallel the death count of civilians and soldiers claimed by the Vietnam War. The scale of the disaster in Somalia demands massive international attention.

At the prodding of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, himself an African, the Security Council



late last month approved an airlift to deliver relief supplies to Somalia.

The planes cannot get through, however, because the airport is closed. Armed thugs stole nearly 1 ton of medicine and five tons of food

in June. To reopen the airport in Mogadishu, the United Nations must send guards, just as it did in reopening the airport in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, for humanitarian reasons.

Security is the primary roadblock to relief efforts in Somalia; tons of food are in the port but people are starving a few blocks away.

The weapons of destruction so prevalent in Somalia are not home-made. The former Soviet Union and the Western superpowers feverishly armed Somalia and Ethiopia during a fierce competition to control the strategic Horn of Africa. The legacy of that Cold War rivalry is guns everywhere and butter nowhere.

The fighting is neither ideological nor tribal. The battles are for power in Somalia, just as they are in the former Yugoslavia. These war-torn regions need help. The United Nations must not make either-or choices between areas so desperate for relief from relentless death.

Needed: An All-Out Bench Press

9th Circuit offers first systematic look at gender bias in federal courts

A Gender Bias Task Force report on sexism, prepared for the U.S. District Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit by a group including lawyers, judges and social scientists from throughout the circuit, offers a valuable and rigorously documented view of the interactions of lawyers, litigants and judges in that system. Though the sexism there is largely subtle, it is evidently also pervasive. And that's disturbing.

"Gender bias is alive and well," concluded one female attorney. "It has just gone underground. Instead of calling women 'girls,' they say things like 'You are not aggressive enough' or 'You need to be tougher.' It will take generations to eliminate it—if ever." This lawyer's comments mirror the report's conclusions. The 9th Circuit—which includes federal courts in California and 10 other western states and territories—gen-

erally has more women on the bench than other parts of the country. Still, 88% of the judges and magistrates are men; although 40% of new lawyers now are female, 84% of the lawyers in practice in the circuit are male. Men also still control the bar committees, judicial panels and partnership committees, a dominance that many view as responsible for the continuing male hegemony in the circuit's professional hierarchy.

This huge numerical gap, says the report, often produces "destructive" interactions for female attorneys and disparate treatment for female litigants at the hands of judges and lawyers. Gender still counts—and sometimes it counts a lot. The report documents how women attorneys are still often judged by their appearance rather than their ability, how women's injuries are considered mere irritations, how the testimony of fe-

male witnesses is often given little weight and how legal doctrines, in practice, often unconsciously reflect the view that a woman's injuries are "worth less" than a man's.

The 9th Circuit should be commended for taking the first systematic look at gender bias in the federal courts. But the report's findings are, sadly, consistent with those of 30 states that in the last decade have documented discrimination in their own judicial systems.

Because the report found little difference between the attitudes of older and younger lawyers, the authors doubt that gender bias will just fade away. Rather, they urge judges "to lead by example," to use their "authority and influence to ensure that the federal courts offer truly equal access to men and women."

We second that call and extend it as well to leaders of the federal bar.

Los Angeles Times

A10 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

A Matter of Conscience —as Well as Policy

Security Council warns Serbia about detention camps

There is a dream which keeps coming back to me at almost regular intervals; it is dark, and I am being murdered in some kind of thicket or brushwood; there is a busy road at no more than 10 yards distance; I scream for help but nobody hears me, the crowd walks past laughing and chatting."

The year was 1944. The writer was Arthur Koestler. His essay's title was

"On Disbelieving Atrocities." Koestler was writing because even at that late date many refused to believe that the Nazi death camps existed. Those bringing back tales of horror, the skeptics said, had an ax to grind. There was something wrong with them.

Koestler countered: "Clearly all this is becoming a mania with me and my like. . . . But the characteristic symptom of maniacs is that they lose contact with reality and live in a fantasy world. So, perhaps, it is the other way round: Perhaps it is we, the screamers, who react in a sound and healthy way to the reality which surrounds us, whereas you are the neurotics who totter about in a screened fantasy world because you lack the faculty to face the facts."

Are there death camps in Bosnia, run by Serbs determined to "cleanse" the territory they claim of Muslims and Croats? *Judenrein*. That was the unspeakably hideous word the Nazis used: "cleansed of Jews." The U.N. Security Council on Tuesday demanded that detention camps operated by all factions be opened to neutral international agencies.

We do not know all the details. But even before the most recent, sickening reports reached the world, there

was abundant cause for the relevant international bodies to consider—and urgently—military action against Serbia.

Another Vietnam? Those who peopled Koestler's dream, who stand at the intersection 10 yards distant, laughing and chatting, would like to end the debate with the one word *Vietnam*. But it would be culpable blindness to claim that the United

States' only options are a 20-year guerrilla war and utter inaction.

The Gulf War coalition's ground troops did not wage war on Iraq as such. Pursuit of the retreating Iraqis did not carry the allied ground forces even as far north as the southern city of Basra. And yet, in March, 1991, U.N. inspectors could write of the damage done by air strikes alone: "Iraq

has, for some time to come, been relegated to a pre-industrial age, but with all the disabilities of post-industrial dependency on intensive use of energy and technology."

Perhaps NATO should send a copy of that report to Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic, accompanied by a list of infrastructure targets and a tentative calendar of attack dates. Saddam Hussein has been compared to Hitler for his treatment of the Kurds. Milosevic deserves the comparison, from everything we now know, at least as much for his treatment of the Croats and, most of all, of the Muslims. We do not propose unilateral U.S. action. But the Bush Administration should recognize that this nation has, in this transitional period, a morally inescapable leadership role to play. The moment calls for courage—and for speed.



Bus attack survivor: Orphan near bullet-marked windshield in Bosnia.

Los Angeles Times

In a Dying Nation, an Elderly Man of 10

■ **Africa: Civil war has driven 300,000 Mozambicans into drought-devastated Zimbabwe, where all they have is memories.**

By MICHAEL DORRIS

To a new arrival, "camp" must seem a bizarre designation for Tongogara, a colonial plantation turned refugee center near the eastern Zimbabwe border where 42,000 displaced Mozambicans wait for their particularly vicious civil war to wind down. Zimbabwe has taken in 300,000 Mozambican refugees so far—this in a Montana-size country where 4.5 million people—half of the population—are suffering the seventh consecutive year of drought. Every moving vehicle, every running child, is announced by a cloud trail of the fine ochre dust that eventually coats everyone and everything with the same earthy skin. In an ever-widening circumference, the thorn trees have been chopped down or stripped of their branches by residents seeking fuel for cooking or warmth against the Southern Hemisphere winter nights.

At the reception area in sight of the former owner's swimming pool, now chain-link-fenced and dry, today's cluster of displaced persons sit dazed on packed dirt, "guarded" by a contingent of bored soldiers lest one of the emaciated women and children be an infiltrator, a saboteur. Most speak a dialect related to Shona, the predominant tribal language of Zimbabwe, and so I'm able to communicate through Mark Nyahada, a deputy director of Save the Children's southern Africa operation.

Mark is in Tongogara to supervise a new

program, run cooperatively by his agency, the government and a U.S. team of psychologists and social workers from Duke University, aimed at both reuniting separated family members and counseling the youngest witnesses to unspeakable violence. "Some of these children," he tells me in his very British accent, "have seen terrible things. They've been forced to kill their parents. Made to carry ammunition across enemy lines. Seen people locked inside houses that were then set on fire."

In the late morning torpor of the reception area, where the only sounds are the buzz of flies and the murmur of the soldiers talking among themselves, it's hard to imagine such atrocities—until I see the eyes of one little boy, who looks to be about 10 years old. His expression is exhausted,

■ **LAST OF A SERIES**

devoid of curiosity, the match in listlessness to that of the old woman beside him.

Mark notices the direction of my gaze. "That's his grandmother," he tells me. "His mother is still somewhere in Mozambique. They hoped the father would be here, but so far we haven't been able to locate him."

Mark beckons, and the boy comes over, joins us, and in the manner of men conversing, we squat facing each other. Unmoving, the grandmother stares through us as if watching another place and time. There are stretched holes in the lobes of her ears where jewelry once dangled. Mark estimates that she's no more than 50, and yet she appears to me at least 20 years older than that.

There's nothing childlike about this boy, nothing playful or energetic. Like so many people I've met in these camps, he has

about him an air of distilled dignity, as if, stripped of every other possession, he has quietly guarded possession of himself.

The story he elects to tell us is, within this inhumane context, undramatic, even typical. Yes, he has gone days without eating. Yes, he and his grandmother have walked shoeless from a long distance. Yes, he's hoping to find his father, who ran away from their village some time ago to avoid execution for being the brother-in-law of the wrong person. The boy is neither impatient nor especially interested, just tired. He has never been to school but clearly he's intelligent, a survivor. If it weren't for his size, for the absence of lines on his face, I'd think I was in the presence of a very elderly man.

Mark promises that he'll circulate the boy's photograph throughout the several refugee centers scattered along the frontier; he'll even send it along to his counterpart in Malawi, where more than 1 million Mozambicans have fled. Perhaps the lost father will see it and contact authorities. Perhaps the story will have a resolution.

The boy nods, agrees, then rejoins his grandmother. Mark and I stand, brush off our knees and walk toward our Toyota. We're running behind schedule, late for a meeting. Before I get into the car, however, I turn back for one last look. The boy is in the cradle of his grandmother's thin arms. His mouth is at her empty breast.

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.

OPINION USA

In an interview with USA TODAY, President Bush says he's about to come out fighting. He promises to sell his own record, expose Bill Clinton's flaws, attack the Democratic Congress and keep sleaze out of the campaign.

'I think I'm the best one to bring change'

Bush says he's changed the world; recovery is imminent; Quayle will stay on the ticket; and he's hungry for another term.

Q: Mr. President, how do you feel about the constant criticism, the portrayals of being maybe a loser and the calls for you to step aside? Do you ever just say, aw, the heck with this?

A: No. It makes me fight harder. ... I think most people know that there's been a little bit of a piling-on syndrome in the political process this year. ... It has not been pleasant, but when I came to be president, I said I would never wring my hands and talk about the loneliest job in the world, or complain, and I've tried to keep an even disposition, stay strong. ... And I'm convinced that some of that will turn around. ... The American people are fair. And so it'll sort itself out.

Q: One criticism is that there's not enough vision. What's your vision for the second administration?

A: We have dramatically changed the world. ... What we need to do now is move this country ahead for growth and opportunity for people, and that means a brand-new education system. It means addressing ourselves to the problem of health care. ... We've got to find ways to strengthen the family. And that means welfare reform, it means jobs, it means a lot of things. ... It means winning the drug fight. So these: change the world, let's make things better for the American people, growth and opportunity.

Q: Is there any chance whatsoever that you will drop out of this race, as some columnists have suggested you should, or that you will drop

Dan Quayle from the ticket?

A: There is no chance whatsoever on either of those. ... I not only am not going to drop out, I really remain confident that I'm going to win this election. I feel very, very confident about it. ... Not only am I in good health, but I'm determined to take my case and take these principles to the American people and win. And people who know me know I don't quit, and I certainly am going to stand by Dan Quayle. ... He'll take on [Al] Gore in these debates, and he'll do very, very well. He's substantive, he's knowledgeable.

Q: What would you say to an undecided voter?

A: I'd say we've been in a tough economic time. I'd say we're poised for an outstanding recovery. We've got low inflation. We've got low interest rates — and that's going to happen. I'd say I have been trying standing up against the one institution that hasn't changed for 38 years: the Democratically controlled House of Representatives — and also the Senate, except for six. My opponent is out there talking about change, change, change. And yet the one thing that is blocking significant change — change the way the American people want it, whether it's in education or a strong crime bill or whatever — is an old-thinking United States Congress.

Q: Do you think you have a problem communicating the accomplishments of your administration?

A: In this climate, maybe I do. ... It wasn't many months ago that many people gave me credit for magnificent mobili-



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

zation of the free world in Iraq, for example, and I can understand that that's not permanently on the radar screen, but that was big. That was major. The deal we worked out with Yeltsin the other day. We agreed to eliminate all these SS-18s, the most destabilizing nuclear weapon. I think that's a very important thing. ... I think if people understood it, they'd be for my stand on crime and opposed to the soft stand of coddling the criminals that I believe my opponents have supported — certainly

those in the House.

Q: Even some of your friends have wondered aloud if your heart is in this. Do you want it? How badly? Why?

A: I want it because I think I'm the best one to bring change to the people in the direction that I've talked about here. And I think I've got a demonstrated presidency in which the people do, in spite of all the negative stuff, still have great trust in the president. I want to ... take the accomplishments and make things

better in terms of our own domestic hopes. ... There's a unfulfilled agenda, and I would move this country forward to much happier days. That's the message. ... And I'll make it specific ... and I'll talk about my dreams and what my hopes are. I'll lay to rest some of this conventional wisdom that I don't know where I'm going, because I do. All I need is little change up in Congress and we'll get you there.

► Ready for a fight?, 1A

On the recession: It's over

Q: If we change and give you a Republican Congress, what's to say you can work with them when many Republicans in Congress have been fighting with you about your economic policies?

A: But we're very close together with the Republicans of all sectors on economic policy. You'll have some nuances of difference. But that's the one thing that hasn't been tried.

Q: The economic indicators show a decline. Don't you think the people have a right to hold you accountable for this? We've elected you to take care of these kinds of things.

A: And they've elected the Congress to take care of the thing. So let's not try to place the blame. Let's say what we do to change things. And I'll tell you who also ought to get some of the blame: Who is it that convinces the American

people ... that everything is bad in terms of an economy that has been growing? The American people think we're in recession and we're not. We've had four quarters of positive growth. ... I'm saying there's a distortion out there. ... When 92% of the news coverage says everything is bad economically, I think it's distorted.

Q: Do you think there will be a mandate for doing something about the deficit?

A: Yes, but it's going to take making tough decisions. And

our proposal that is before the Congress right now calls for putting a cap on the mandatory spending programs, leaving out Social Security — and there is no way that we're going to get this deficit down until we have the courage to do that.

Q: Will that be enough?

A: Yes. ... You've got to continue to control discretionary spending. ... But I believe that right after the first of the year, when a new Congress comes in here, I can get that done.

On his job and other issues

Bush on other subjects:

On the presidency: I think people understand it's not the world's easiest job and sometimes you have to make very difficult choices. You got to say, "Here's what I'm for; here's what I'd do." And I think I've demonstrated an ability to make tough decisions. ... In the final analysis, I think people do ... seem to understand I can do that.

On the USA and the world:

I am not a pessimist. America is still No. 1. We're not the laughingstock, or whatever the opposition called the United States. We're the most respected country in the world. And our economic problems, incidentally — this is of no comfort to the American voter — are less severe than most of our major European trading partners'.

On elections and man-

dates: The best time to get something done, regardless of who controls the Congress, is in the early stages of an administration, where a president has had to take his case, as I will do, to the American people. Then there's a mandate. Even if the vote's close, landslide, whatever, there's a certain mandate, and that's the good thing about an election process that can be something other than particularly pleasant.

On reports Secretary of State James Baker will take

over the Bush campaign: I told you to stay tuned and I would let you know as soon as a decision was made.

On the Olympics and the USA's men's basketball team made up of NBA pros:

The Dream Team is marvelous. Everybody says well, these guys are rubbing it in too much. I remember a few years ago when they were saying America's vaunted skill in basketball is overrated. Well, now they've had a little taste of American skill in basketball.

On beating Bill Clinton

Q: You've met Bill Clinton, you've worked with him on things like educational reform. What kind of a man is he? What kind of a president would he be?

A: He's not without redemption. But I think it would be a little inappropriate, when I just haven't started going after him, to start telling what a wonderful guy he is. ... He's done some good things. But now I have to ... start doing what he's been doing to me for six months ... and that is pointing out his record. ... But in terms of personal kind of guy, nice fellow. ... And I give him a little credit on some of the things that we worked on — The thing I take credit for on our education program. He was helpful in getting some of those education goals.



Clinton

Q: This week we saw the difficulty of going after an opponent without negative campaigning. (Bush disavowed staffer Mary Matalin's attack on Clinton's campaign for trying to downplay charges of infidelity.) Can you define

for us where that line is for you?

A: He's had no trouble going after me ... challenging me about whether I should be paying taxes in Maine, accusing me of being a tax evader. Where's the outrage? How many editorials showed up in USA TODAY?

Q: Do you think that was sleaze?

A: Absolutely. Because it's not true. And for somebody to suggest that, and then suddenly take a little offense at something. ... Mary Matalin, in whom I have full confidence, made a mistake, admitted it right away, apologized and somebody told me Clinton accepted the apology. ... If that's true, let's leave that to rest, because the sleaze business, personalized business, has no business in this at all.

On high court and abortion

Q: Gov. Clinton has assured abortion-rights supporters that he would appoint a Supreme Court justice who supports *Roe vs. Wade*. Can you assure abortion opponents that you would select a justice who would overturn *Roe*?

A: That is a litmus test, and I can't assure that. And I'm surprised, very candidly, to see Gov. Clinton say that he'd do that.

I understand he's backed away from it a little bit. So I don't want to be addressing a premise that might be wrong. But I have said there shouldn't be, and I will stay with that position. We've appointed outstanding judges, and the criterion is excellence and interpretation of the Constitution, not legislation from the bench.

That's what a justice ought to do, and I'm very proud of our appointments to the federal bench, district circuit and Supreme Court. So I think we do have a difference.

On pursuing Saddam ...

Q: Would it have been your preference, despite allied objections, to go on to Baghdad and get Saddam?

A: No. Look, we had an international mandate ... to kick Saddam out of Kuwait. Now we have a lot of second-guessing. There are people that I had to drag to support our objectives criticizing that we stopped too soon. ... I'm very interested at this historical revision, but I also know the facts, and I know we were right. ... Am I happy he's there? Absolutely not. Will he comply with the remaining U.N. resolutions? Yes. Will we ever have to use force? Who knows?

Q: Will you ever use force for political reasons?

A: This isn't something you play politics with. I've seen suggestions like that, but I hope people know I have enough honor not to do something of that nature.

Q: What would be the consequences today if you had decided to go it alone?

A: First place, you'd have had the coalition fall apart. ... The United States would've been alone. Secondly, I could make a case that we would still be bogged down in an urban guerrilla war in Baghdad, and I'd like to hear somebody honestly refute that case.

We've had similar worries about Yugoslavia. ... And we're trying to help on a humanitarian basis. And now we have some people coming at me saying "Commit American forces." Before I'd commit forces to a battle, I want to know what's the beginning, what's the objective, how's the objective going to be achieved and what's the end. ...

I'm old enough to remember Vietnam, and I'm old enough to remember World War II, ... and I learned lessons from both. The first one in World War II was get the job done. Win it. Don't tie the hands of the military. Do what it takes. And the second one in Vietnam is don't get bogged down in a guerilla war where you don't know what the hell you're doing and you tie the hands of the military. If I send a kid into battle, the force is going to be there to be sure he, or her, are on the winning side and fast.

... and saving Yugoslavia

Q: Is military force an option for us in Yugoslavia?

A: It is an option that I haven't thought of yet. ... Where military force can help, and it's helping now, is in humanitarian work. ... I'm not going to rule anything in, or out, but I have given you my philosophy, and I don't see the answers to my questions in terms of the use of substantial American force in Yugoslavia. ... [We can] try to effect a cease-fire, support humanitarian relief, work with the United Nations. ... But I don't see a short-run easy answer.



Saddam

Bush vs. the deficit

On another topic, USA TODAY believes only responsible leadership can get us out of debt.

President Bush, in an interview Tuesday with USA TODAY, acted the aggrieved party to a congressional villain driving up the deficit.

Why do we have sky-high deficits? Because Congress hasn't put a lid on the skyrocketing increases for entitlements, such as Medicaid and Medicare; it hasn't approved his budgets, he said.

The president is right. Congress hasn't acted responsibly in cutting the deficit.

But, then, neither has he.

Like it or not, Bush cannot duck a share of blame. He has been president for three-and-half years and was vice president for eight. During most of that time, the White House and Congress glibly pretended taxes could be cut, defense spending increased and entitlements left uncapped with no ill effects.

So, the national debt grew \$3 trillion — \$1 trillion in Bush's term. In all, that's put \$12,000 in added debt on the shoulders of each man, woman and child.

Such stratospheric debt is a major reason the economy has been dragged down. It's eaten up the nation's savings and made the country dependent on foreign lenders for investment.

Now, voters must decide who is responsible enough to clean up the mess.

Congress doesn't seem up to the task when it saves wasteful projects. Bush pretends that limited entitlement cuts will do the job by themselves. Democratic candidate Bill Clinton evades entitlement cuts and suggests that we can spend our way out of the deficit.

Candidates who show the courage to confront hard tax-and-spending choices that economic security demands are the ones who deserve election this fall. Mr. President, Gov. Clinton, Congress, you have yet to make that case.

Today's debate is on **REPORTING YOUR CREDIT**
and the best way to protect you from mistakes.

Don't wipe out state credit-reporting laws

OUR VIEW Consumers need both federal and state laws to protect them from credit-reporting mistakes.

Even if you live an exemplary life, your credit report can sneak up and wreck your reputation.

Just ask the 10,000 people who complained to the Federal Trade Commission last year that inaccurate credit reports kept them from getting jobs, mortgages and apartments. Or the 1,400 taxpayers of Norwich, Vt., all erroneously recorded as tax delinquents and bad credit risks. Or the citizens of south Middlesex County, Mass., who suffered the same fate months later.

Fortunately, the House is poised to vote on a bill that would help remedy this mischief. The Fair Credit Reporting

To register your opinion, call or write your members of Congress:
Phone: 202/224-3121
Addresses:
Member's name
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Act of 1992 would make it harder for credit bureaus to get away with making errors and easier for consumers to find out about and correct mistakes.

Unfortunately, the bill has one pesky flaw; it would do away with all current and future state credit-reporting laws, some stronger than the federal proposal.

The House — and later the Senate — should kill that idea and pass the bill.

Consumers in states with no credit-reporting laws need the bill's protections. But people in states that have even better laws shouldn't have to settle for less.

Vermont residents, for example, can now get free credit reports every year. The House bill calls for free reports only when a bad credit rating is to blame for denial of a loan, job or other application.

A proposed measure in Illinois would bar using credit-report data for marketing purposes, while the House bill requires only that marketers who use credit information tell people how to remove their names from future mailing lists.

Credit-reporting legislation should enhance consumer protection, not diminish it. By eliminating the pre-emption of state laws, the Fair Credit Reporting Act of 1992 would do just that.

Make credit law uniform

OPPOSING VIEW Those who'd kill this consumer-oriented bill are working against the consumers' interest.

In politics, as in war, truth is sometimes the first casualty. And truth, if not dead, has been wounded seriously by some consumer groups and members of Congress.

H.R. 3596, the Consumer Reporting Reform Act of 1992, would update legislation that governs the credit-reporting industry. The bill contains 45 significant consumer-protection provisions, far more than any current state legislation.

So why do some members of Congress and consumer groups want to kill the bill? Because it would provide uniform regulation of credit reporting in all 50 states.

Credit reporting is truly an interstate

business. People have credit cards and home loans which are issued by out-of-state companies. The interstate nature of credit reporting is what allows a consumer who lives in California to obtain a credit card from a bank in Delaware in a matter of hours rather than weeks.

H.R. 3596 would not pre-empt any state unfair-trade practices or privacy laws. It would not prohibit state attorneys general from initiating any action on behalf of consumers. In fact, H.R. 3596 specifically grants additional regulatory authority to the state attorneys general.

There are numerous instances where federal law has taken precedence over state laws regarding consumer protection. The current Fair Credit Reporting Act, in fact, already pre-empts state laws. Eliminating pre-emption simply means additional costs without an increase in consumer protection.

However, critics of pre-emption are attempting to kill this consumer-oriented bill. If they succeed, those who purportedly look out for the best interests of consumers will have failed their constituents.



By D. Barry Connelly, executive vice president of Associated Credit Bureaus.

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Free Trade and Jobs

CAMPAIGNING through Georgia this week, President Bush put in a good word for the agreement—now being negotiated—to create a North American free trade area from Mexico to Canada. Since industrial wages in Mexico are about one-seventh the level here in the United States, one immediate question is the impact of free trade on American labor.

In the town of Dalton, which manufactures carpets, Mr. Bush observed that since 1989, when Mexico began to open up its market, American exports there of carpets have risen 60 percent. He went on to say that the North American Free Trade Agreement—NAFTA—will create 300,000 jobs throughout this country over the next several years. But that's only part of the story.

NAFTA will probably create about 325,000 new jobs in this country in its first five years, according to research done at the independent Institute for International Economics. But at the same time it will cost about 150,000 present jobs, for a net gain of 175,000 jobs. Like many other things going on in and around this country, free trade is good for people with advanced skills and bad for people without them.

The president, as you would expect, is focused on the benefits to people equipped to take advan-

tage of change. The Democrats, as you would also expect, are much more concerned about the people being left behind. What's to be done for them? The right answer is education, training and constant retraining.

But that's expensive and leads directly into the quarrel over paying for it. Rep. Richard Gephardt, the House majority leader, proposed last week a "cross-border transaction tax"—otherwise known as a tariff—on goods moving through the free trade area. That's a second-best idea. As the Bush administration was quick to point out, a tariff runs counter to the whole point of the agreement. But Mr. Bush is silent regarding what he'd do instead. On the record of the past 3½ years, it appears that he doesn't plan to do much.

That's central to the American economic dilemma. To take advantage of the great changes in the world, Americans will have to invest much more public money in education and technical training. But Americans don't want to pay for it, and they punish politicians who suggest it. Taxes are now lower in the United States than in any other industrial country in the world. The failure to invest adequately in the quality of the American labor force is increasingly contributing to the economy's poor performance in general and its vulnerability to imports in particular.

Kindergarten Questions

WHILE IT WAS the Montgomery County teachers and administrators who took the hardest punches during this year's budgetary fight, it was the parents of 5-year-olds who complained the most. They were protesting the near-elimination of the all-day kindergartens operating in about a quarter of the county's elementaries. Late last month, the council refused to restore the \$1.7 million necessary to keep the classes in all 36 schools. It also voted against charging tuition for them, something the board had proposed in a desperate attempt to hold on to the popular program in a recession-wracked county.

The council was right to reject the tuition plan. Taxes, not user fees, should finance public education. A program, even a supplementary one, that's open only to those who can afford it is an ominous development in a public system. Montgomery need not join the ranks of other districts in this country that have begun charging for extracurricular activities and textbooks.

Whether the council should have maintained the all-day kindergartens is another question. What began as part of Montgomery's effort to integrate the schools in the mid-'70s was soon expanded throughout the county precisely because the classes

were so successful. Research pretty well establishes the benefits of all day vs. half day. The board intended to institute the program at all 122 elementaries, but that was before economic hard times set in. Next year, the county will offer a full day at just nine elementaries attended by the county's poorest children.

Parents who sought such a program—for worthy pedagogical reasons and because it matched their busy schedules—are having to scramble. They also find themselves in a county that's bucking a national trend. Full-day enrollment for 5-year-olds has risen dramatically in 20 years, from 12.3 percent in 1970 to 42 percent in 1990, according to U.S. government statistics. The District of Columbia offers full-day kindergarten at every elementary school, and other local jurisdictions are expanding their kindergarten schedules. Such programs are clearly fulfilling an academic and a social need.

If well-to-do residents of Montgomery, where most children already attend pre-primary programs and are well equipped to enter school, want full-day kindergartens countywide, they will have to pay the projected \$7 million for them. This school system, like others across the country, is expected to provide a glorious array of services, but it cannot do so without sufficient funds.

The Washington Post

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And Now, Death Camps

THE WEST is not doing "nothing" to stop the Serbs from conducting their Nazi-like war crimes in Bosnia. It has launched a political offensive, organized an economic and diplomatic embargo and is striving to move the Yugoslav wars into a negotiation. Still, the policy is woefully insufficient. The missing element is a readiness to use force. Western countries have succumbed to a paralysis spun of short-term operational and political prudence and of a patent exaggeration of the risks of involvement in another—take your pick—Vietnam, Beirut or Northern Ireland. These images of frustration have been allowed to overwhelm considerations of a realistic policy.

By now the principle should be clear. What the Serbs, principally, are doing is grievous and unforgivable. Their acts include aggression, territorial conquest, "ethnic cleansing," bombardment of cities and reportedly—for those who still need a clincher—death camps. If allowed to continue without more serious challenge, these crimes invite repetition by others—with immense consequences for world order. Whether this prospect justifies the democracies' use of force should be considered a settled question.

What is not settled is how best to apply force. The administration sloughs off the matter with worst-case scenarios and warnings of ominous

precedents, as though repeated, extravagant and doomed interventions were the only option. The president rebuffed Bill Clinton's offer of support for a targeted, internationally approved dollop of military pressure, even while, for a time anyway, supporting a similar idea himself. He would have done better to welcome the governor to a common national search for more effective ways to stop Serbia. The Pentagon has plenty of planners capable of providing an intelligent list of choices. Responding to the latest alarms, meanwhile, Al Gore suggests turning up the political heat on Serbia at the United Nations. The administration should already have done it.

The Bush team has backed itself into a strange defeatist corner. Fairly enough, it puts off an all-out Iraq-type attack. Insensibly, it adds that Serbia would respond to an incremental attack by calling an American bluff to escalate. But why prejudice, in Serbia's favor, its likely response? Why not leave open the possibility that, instead of the United States being intimidated, Serbia will be sobered? Of course, it is also possible that a graduated military approach might not work and that Americans might decide not to escalate further. But at the least, some sort of military option would then have been tested. Think about those Serbian death camps.

Abortion Rights Strategy

ABORTION RIGHTS groups expected the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade* in June, and they were prepared with legislation to undo the damage. The Freedom of Choice Act was designed to protect by statute abortion rights that since *Roe* have been protected by the Constitution. The idea is a good one and should be pressed even though the court only weakened, and did not overturn, *Roe*. But what looked like a simple task a couple of months ago has been complicated by two factors.

The first is substantive. While the court specifically reaffirmed a woman's right to abortion in the Pennsylvania ruling *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the justices changed the standard by which statutes regulating the procedure would be evaluated. The new standard opens the door to an unknown number of possible restrictions; it is the fear of these future state actions that drives sponsors of the federal law. But many legislators focus on the first part of the ruling and see no need to act quickly. In addition, polls indicate that some of the Pennsylvania restrictions approved by the court—parental notice, a 24-hour waiting period and mandatory provision of certain information about abortion—enjoy public support. Sponsors of the Freedom of Choice Act are willing to compromise on some of them, but they fear an avalanche of floor amendments that will gut the bill and send the wrong signal to the states.

The second stumbling block is political. It has been understood all along that President Bush would never sign a Freedom of Choice bill even if it were passed by substantial majorities. The bill's proponents, nevertheless, were content to provoke a politically damaging veto and set the stage for early action after the election. But now that the president has fallen so far behind in the polls, Republicans, including those who would ordinarily support this kind of bill, are reluctant to put him in that position. There may not be 60 votes to break a filibuster in the Senate, which was supposed to move first on the bill. Heads are still being counted in the House, but no action is expected before the recess for the Republican convention.

It would be difficult to concede at this time that the votes cannot be mobilized to pass this bill. But it would be worse to go to the floor and be forced to accept damaging amendments or even fail to pass a bill. Political factors on both sides may make resolution of this issue impossible before the election. The bill is sound; it should be passed as soon as possible. But if partisan considerations control the debate, a good bill may not be attainable now. The abortion question ought to be settled legislatively so that national elections and the composition of the federal judiciary will not turn on this single issue. Delay, though disappointing, may be the best strategy.

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Amy E. Schwartz

A Thousand Years Before the Maryland Primary

In Mesopotamian art, it's politics as usual.

Of the carefully dressed breakfast crowd at the Sackler Gallery of Asian Art, a fair proportion wore the "I voted" sticker on one lapel, and gallery director Milo Beach, opening an exhibition called "When Kingship Descended From Heaven," joked, "How appropriate to welcome you here on the day of the Maryland primary." That was a thousand years ago—March 3, to be exact—and the Sackler's exquisite little show about the birth of kingship, and by implication all Western politics, is now in its last days. But until it closes Aug. 9, having run slightly longer than the primary season, it will have offered the best imaginable antidote for that peculiarly Washington warp of the time sense, the one that makes a two-week drop in poll numbers drag on for millennia and turns the Maryland primary into an event that took place untold eons ago.

The Sackler in its short life has made a specialty of drawing unexpected local parallels to the faraway, long-ago art it usually shows; and in the birth-of-human-governance show, subtitled "Mesopotamian Art From the Louvre," it gets to take this characteristic flourish a long way. The major beneficiaries have been the school groups—some 750 area students came through the exhibit in group visits this spring—who, in the Sackler-produced study guide, were egged on "to compare present-day political leaders with Mesopotamian rulers."

It's not clear which category finished better. The students collected newspaper photos of the president engaged in various image-enhancing activities—then put him up against the inscribed plaque of Ur-Nanshe, king of Lagash, shown in his exalted persona as temple-builder (circa 2475 B.C.) with a basket of bricks on his head. A few chapters later, they were urged to analyze the idealized faces on their pocket change—a paltry lot compared to Gudea, some 300 years after Ur-Nanshe, who gazes from black diorite with a look of compelling wisdom and authority, helped by dramatically enlarged ears and eyes.

All in all, the newsworthiness of these ancient figures comes through to an unnerving degree. This is partly because the events that shaped these 32 objects from the Paris treasure trove loom so large in the time-telescope even now. "Beginning around 3300 B.C.," a



wall label says, "Mesopotamia was the setting for a series of dramatic events in human history: the birth of writing, the emergence of urban communities, and the development of monumental art and architecture." The objects are fantastically old, around five millennia, and they haven't left the Louvre since they were dug up in Mesopotamia—Iraq, for the headline-minded—in the 1800s.

They are here now only because of a lucky coincidence and a brainstorm: Ann Gunter, the Sackler's assistant curator for ancient Near Eastern art, noticed that the Louvre was taking everything off the walls for two years anyway to engage in a comprehensive "re-hang" for the Louvre's festive bicentennial in 1993. Since they weren't showing it, she reasoned, why not lend it? And so 32 of the finest objects made the transatlantic trip. She could have had more, Gunter admits, but she wanted to keep a tight focus on the first shapings of basic institutions.

The Sackler struggles constantly with visibility problems, not only because it is built un-

derground but also because so little of what it shows—art of China and Japan but also of Korea, ancient Iran, India, Mongolia—comes inside the visitor's usual art-history frame of reference. Even though a large slice of the potential audience here is obsessed with these regions on policy grounds, it's not always an easy sell to get them to look to these cultures' arts or art histories for further enlightenment. The Mesopotamian objects, by contrast, hit home with a piercing familiarity. As Beach noted gleefully when the exhibit was still in preparation, "It's the first thing we've ever shown that's *already* in the public schools."

They come straight out of your fifth-grade or maybe your first-grade textbook illustrations about the beginnings of civilization: the curled beards, the gods with folded hands, the bronze bull with horns caught in a thicket of jewels. The labels reinforce this feeling of standing at civilization's wellspring: They offer such observations as, "This is one of the oldest known inscribed reliefs," or, over an inscribed plate, "The earliest writing is not recognizable as a specific language."

And if the stone kings sometimes seemed almost too fierce for fifth-graders ("Real people?" one was heard to breathe, in awe, as his class approached the entrance), then the newly installed statues in March had much the same effect on adults. The first object in the exhibit, a tall greenish figure of a man, projects so much presence and quiet authority that the first gaggle of escapees from the breakfast press conference—including Louvre chief curator Annie Caubet, two publicists, a photographer and five or six guests—reached the entry arch and came to a seemingly unpremeditated halt, in a respectful semicircle, around this large sleek personage with shaved head and clasped hands. "The clasped hands," says the label, "are a gesture of worship or reverence to the gods." The figure gazed back blandly as the photographer posed Caubet and snapped pictures. Looking around the circle, the observer counted two, three, four pairs of loosely and unconsciously clasped hands.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

Daniel S. Greenberg

Misdirected Billions for Science

When the March Hare invited Alice in Wonderland to "take some more tea," she replied, "I've had nothing yet, so I can't take more." The hare responded, "You mean, you can't take less. It's very easy to take more than nothing."

The incoherence of that enchanting exchange is matched by many of the prescriptions for the American economy, particularly those that pinpoint scientific research as an elixir. The rationale is that research leads to marketplace winners. And so, more research must mean more winners. Innumerable blue-ribbon commissions are on the research bandwagon. The Democratic platform calls for shifting defense savings to research. It's a safe bet that the Republican platform will sound a science trumpet.

But hold on. The difficulty with calling for more research is that the United States already performs more research—far more than any of its competitors. The comparative numbers are staggering—and all in favor of the United States. Yet our colossal spending on research has not boosted domestic productivity, stemmed the tide of Japanese car imports or restored the manufacturing of TV sets or other consumer products to American plants. Research can't be blamed for the failures. So it would be useful to recognize that sheer volume of research is not the problem, and it's not the answer.

Consider some illuminating numbers compiled by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In 1991, U.S. spending on research and development totaled a world-leading \$160 billion. Ah, but as has often been pointed out, the United States overdoses on military research, while our competitors concen-

trate on moneymaking endeavors. True, but \$80 billion of that U.S. total was provided by business firms spending their own money to develop new products and improve existing ones. Furthermore, a good deal of the U.S. government's own R&D money was devoted to civilian goals, such as medical science and agriculture. A conservative figure for U.S. spending on civilian R&D last year is about \$110 billion.

The comparable figures for the world's other major industrial powers in that same year, or close to it, were as follows: Japan, \$55 billion; Germany, \$30 billion; France, \$22 billion; Britain, \$20 billion; Italy, \$12 billion.

The United States, of course, is far larger than any of its rivals—with twice the population of Japan and three times that of united Germany, and about quadruple the population of the other nations. Naturally, we're bigger in most statistical measures, including the scale of the national research enterprise. Reflecting that vast scale, there's scarcely a field in which the United States is not the world leader or strongly situated on a shared scientific frontier.

Thus, an overall lack of money for research is not the problem. Rather, the United States makes poor use of much of the great abundance of money that pours into research. Focusing on the bottom line, American industry tends to concentrate on quick payoffs from research, ignoring the need for long-term investment and patience, both well-recognized by Japanese industry and government. Meanwhile, university-based science, heavily financed by the federal government, tends to be aloof from industry.

Under financial duress, links have improved, but there's still a long way to go.

Washington still pours billion of dollars a year into antiquated government-owned military research centers founded during World War II or during the Cold War. Now well-rooted in their communities, many of these laboratories have outlived any sensible purpose. But they endure under the protection of congressional patrons, who will prove a challenge to the Democratic pledge to shift money from defense to civilian research. Swift termination would be best, since successful conversion from military to civilian tasks is a rare event in research institutions. You might as well try to convert a tank into a taxi.

When fretting over money for science, it's worth keeping in mind that some \$20 billion of government research money goes into government laboratories—some of them useful, many long over the hill. The cost in misdirected money is awesome. Thus, the private MIT and the government Los Alamos National Laboratory, World War II home of the atom bomb, each runs on a budget of about \$1 billion a year. With national security now defined as economic rather than military, there's no doubt about which billion provides the bigger economic payoff.

Whining about money for science is an old preoccupation of politicians and their scientist constituents. The reality is that there's plenty of money for science. A great deal of it, however, is spent in the wrong places.

The writer is editor and publisher of Science & Government Report, a Washington-based newsletter.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Baker In a Bind

The night before Secretary of State James A. Baker III left on his Mideast trip last month, Assistant Secretary Margaret Tutwiler confided to a friend that this would be "our last trip" abroad—signaling a late-August shift by Baker to the faltering presidential campaign.

What Tutwiler hinted at was declared flat-out by campaign and White House aides. As a result, the personnel shift designed to save President Bush has itself become a major problem. Baker's move to the White House is headed toward a potentially damaging Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing packed with politics.

Trying to avoid this, Baker has spent weeks denying what has become undeniable by the winks and nods of campaign and White House officials. Published reports reflecting Baker's personal feelings suggest that he does not want to move, adding to the confusion. This has placed a new burden on a campaign whose ills Baker is supposed to cure. Instead of the clean, quick break needed, the public sees another example of apparent indecision and campaign confusion, even though the decision surely has been made.

The reckoning will come before the Foreign Relations Committee's fair share of partisan Democrats, including Sens. Joseph Biden, Paul Sarbanes and John Kerry. They will pointedly ask Baker if his resignation could undermine U.S. foreign policy. They will demand to know if it signifies that Bush believes his reelection campaign should take precedence over Baker's stewardship of American interests abroad.

In the past, secretaries of state and defense have been excluded from campaigns. Senate staffers who have researched the record say there is no precedent of anybody in either post being brought into a major presidential campaign role.

Baker has no options. He must do the president's bidding, whatever the impact on foreign policy or his future. Once the switch was leaked, Baker might have done better if he and the president had agreed on an immediate announcement with a firm date and a formal statement that Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger would take over as acting secretary of state.

Instead, Baker tried to stave off political speculation while performing his diplomatic duties for another month. As he crisscrossed the Middle East in quest of a major peace breakthrough, his public squirming was not only self-defeating but hardly helped the president. Democratic senators are also planning to cite Baker's words as evidence from the secretary himself that his departure from diplomacy for politics may well damage the nation's foreign policy.

In the hearing that Chairman Claiborne Pell and other committee members are discussing, Baker will be asked for a full explanation on two questions. First, why the sudden need for a shift from diplomacy to politics; second, how it might affect missions he now has underway, particularly his successful bringing together of Israel and the Arabs in peace talks. But there may also be forays into the POW-MIA dispute, U.S. policy toward Iraq before the gulf war and the charmed life of Saddam Hussein.

At last report, Baker was still trying to shore up the shaky case that no decision had been made. He told colleagues that although the move looked "likely," the president had never "directly" suggested it to him. How to explain so skilled and subtle a politician as Baker trying to spin such an implausible tale?

The answer lies in Baker's conviction that there is only one barely acceptable time for the president to announce his departure from the State Department. That time, he believed, should be after he had seated Israeli and Arab delegates at the resumption of peace talks here on Aug. 24. Against that spectacle, the president's announcement might help make it seem more natural for Baker to come to assist him in a new line of work.

Baker prefers surprise thrusts and usually carries them out. He must not have realized how badly he is needed by Bush campaign aides taking heat from Republicans around the nation. They wanted hard news of his coming, and they wanted it fast. They still don't have it, and James Baker remains suspended between politics and diplomacy.

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Fred C. Ikle

'Ethnic Cleansing': Cunning Strategy

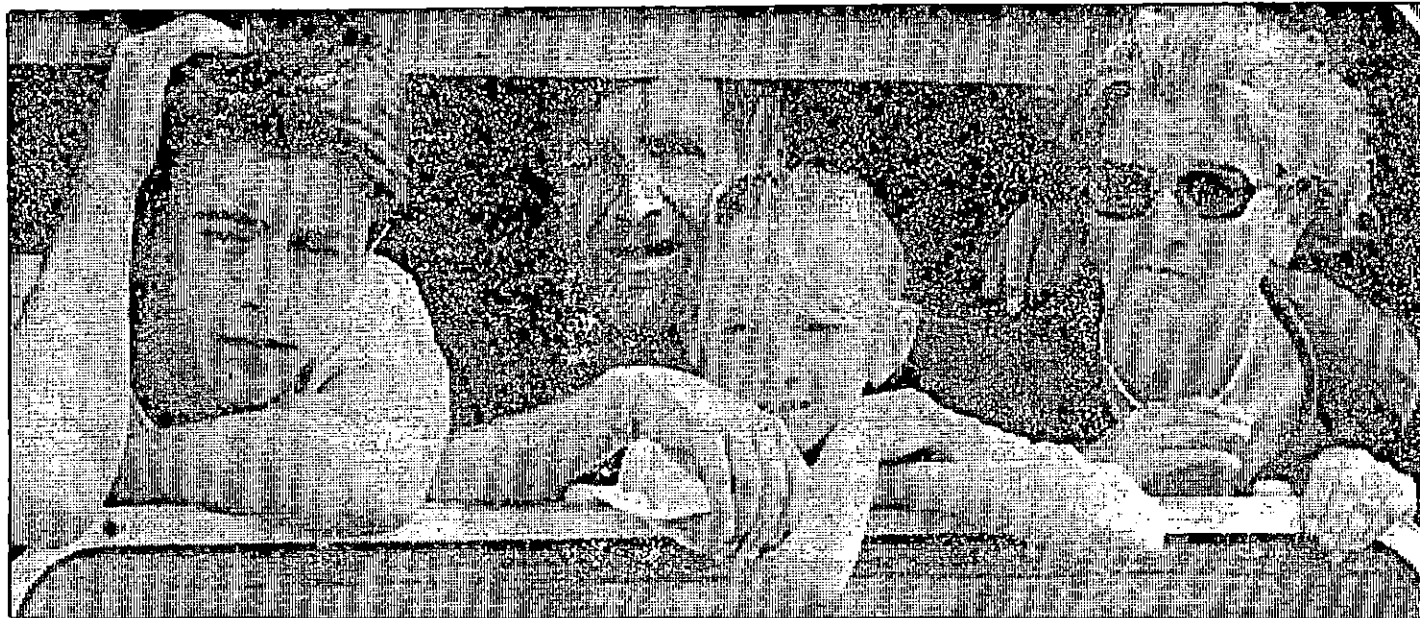
The 20th century taught us that far-out political ideas can have fateful consequences. Our vocabulary has been enriched with new words to denote these political innovations. Fascism and Leninism, gulag and concentration camp, KGB and Gestapo are all words that one cannot find in a 19th century dictionary. One more term has now been added to this list—"ethnic cleansing."

This antiseptic-sounding label denotes a cunning strategy of territorial aggrandizement that today is being perfected in Bosnia, right before our eyes and in front of the world's television cameras. The strategy has six elements.

First, its goals are sensibly limited, with none of the greed and foolishness of Hitler who—upon successfully annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia—could not stop his suicidal escalation and marched on to his own destruction. The circumscribed aims of the ethnic cleansers make it easy for the world community to look the other way.

Second, those who inspire, organize and conduct the ethnic cleansing always persist in painstakingly denying any involvement. Such shrewdness stands in stark contrast, for example, to Brezhnev's boastfully announcing his imperialist doctrine in 1968 that trumpeted to the whole world why he ordered Soviet forces to invade Czechoslovakia. Belgrade has not announced any doctrine. Serbian mortars in Bosnia? No, these are German mortars. Serbians shooting at Muslim children? No, these are Muslims killing their own children.

Third, the ethnic cleansing is done with a parsimonious use of force, carefully hitting civilians with discriminate precision, to avoid wasting munitions on more difficult military targets and to keep large forces in reserve. As a U.N. officer in Sarajevo recently observed, the mortars surrounding the city, if fully employed, could destroy it. Those contemplating intervention have to worry about unleashing these reserve forces. With so much weaponry of the former Yugoslav army now scattered throughout the landscape, the strategy works. It evokes the fear of The



Quagmire. Among the world's strongest military powers, The Quagmire is the most horrid specter; its apparition instantly turns the knees of military planners into jelly.

Fourth, the strategy is wrapped into an unctuous friendliness toward the United Nations and the European Community. With hand-wringing and crocodile tears, the leaders of the ethnic cleansing travel to Brussels, London and New York, regretting the bloodshed in all diplomatic gatherings and agreeing to every armistice that Lord Carrington, the hapless EC mediator, proposes. The *Fuehrer* of the ethnic cleansing campaign exhibits none of the provocative histrionics of a Goebbels, Lenin or Saddam Hussein, but always speaks soothingly and puts on a mournful mien.

Fifth, the strategy artfully turns the guilty into benevolent monitors and the monitors into the guilty. The cleansers manage to become the local police force under U.N. auspices (as of

today, for example, in parts of Croatia; tomorrow perhaps in Bosnia). The U.N. and EC monitors and relief workers, on the other hand, are forced to become accessories to the crime. They remove those targeted by the "cleansing" to distant refugee camps. And neighboring countries feel guilty for not accepting more refugees.

Sixth, the strategy implements the territorial aggrandizement with utter ruthlessness, the better to guarantee its irreversibility. Thus, the conquerors need not fear any civic resistance or future independence movements in the annexed territories. When Stalin annexed the Baltic republics, he merely thinned out the Baltic population and mixed in Russians. The strategy of ethnic cleansing will not repeat this mistake. It will achieve the truly final solution.

Success leads to imitation. If ethnic cleansing works in Bosnia, it may work in Burma. Or in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge may learn the "lesson of Bosnia" and cleanse the country of all

Vietnamese and their alleged collaborators. Or, heaven forbid, a cabal of nationalistic Russian officers might some day plan the ethnic cleansing of the Crimea or the Baltic republics. Recalling the Bosnian lesson, they might conclude that the Western response would be harmless. They will remember what the United Nations and NATO did in response to the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia and parts of Croatia. The United Nations blocked arms exports to all parties—to the unarmed Bosnian defenders as well as to the heavily armed Serbians. And NATO smartly deployed some of its finest ships in the Adriatic—but only to observe the martyred coastline from afar. Binoculars are not a good deterrent.

The writer, undersecretary of defense for policy in the Reagan administration, is with the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Robert J. Samuelson

The New Nixon

George Bush is the new Nixon. Like Nixon, he entered the White House with vast experience. Like Nixon, he prefers foreign to domestic policy. Like Nixon, he is an awkward campaigner. But what he shares most with Nixon is the overpowering obsession to remain president—and like Nixon, he could be destroyed by it.

Watergate flowed from Nixon's leave-nothing-to-chance passion to cling to power. Similarly, Bush wants to be president so badly that, in many ways, he has refused to be president. Excluding Desert Storm, his presidency has been the most risk-averse in memory. He has courted popularity by skirting controversy. It has been a losing strategy. He seems to stand for nothing and, thereby, offends almost everyone who cares deeply about anything.

Somehow, Bush has created the impression that he doesn't deserve to be president. Had 1992 been a year of faster economic recovery, the president—enjoying the triumph of Desert Storm—might still have coasted to an easy victory. A contented electorate is uncritical. But a faltering economy makes people nervous and fault-finding. What Bush intended to be cautious governance has instead become remote indifference.

The paradox for Bush (as it was for Nixon) is that the calculated effort to minimize political risk has done just the opposite. Watergate wouldn't have happened if Nixon had been more confident. He created the climate that inspired the burglary and subsequent coverup. Likewise, Bush has undermined his own popularity by his preoccupation with staying popular. He may have avoided offending this or that interest group, but the slavish devotion to public opinion has lost him a broader respect.

Now, I would not stretch the Nixon parallel too far. Bush doesn't have Nixon's acute paranoia. Personally, Bush is far more straightforward. He has a "genuinely easy and outgoing manner" and "dislikes confrontation," write Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame, *Time's* White House correspondents, in a new book ("Marching In Place, The Status Quo Presidency of George Bush").

The result is that Bush rarely poses issues in terms of basic principles, and his instinct to conciliate—often a good thing—emerges as an utter lack of conviction. Even his anger can seem synthetic, because it is so unnatural. Recall August 1990. Bush said Saddam Hussein's invasion "will not stand." At the time, the warning seemed flat and contrived. In the same way, his outbursts against domestic critics often make him look "petty, petulant, and unpresidential," as Duffy and Goodgame put it.

Nor is Bush in Nixon's league as a political cynic. Watergate wasn't the half of it. Nixon subverted the entire economy to further his reelection. A lifelong opponent of government economic controls, he imposed wage and price controls in August 1971. This enabled the economy to be pumped up in 1972 while inflation remained suppressed. The lifting of controls in 1973 resulted in an explosion of inflation that helped drive the economy into a deep recession. In his autobiography, Nixon limply says that controls were "politically necessary and immensely popular in the short run. But in the long run I believe [they were] wrong."

Still, Bush suffers Nixon's basic political predicament. He acts in ways that are self-defeating. What Americans expect in a president is something of a father figure: a leader who sets a moral tone and provides national direction. Bush hasn't been that. He seems more like a friendly uncle, who tries to be reassuring without ever becoming contentious or demanding.

His administration has accomplishments. It is slowly cleaning up the S&L mess. It has helped end the Third World debt crisis. The White House brokered a new Clean Air Act and a new Civil Rights Act. Without the modest 1990 budget agreement, deficits would be even larger. Middle East peace talks may, finally, go somewhere. But Bush deals only with problems that can be quietly settled by private bargaining among interest groups or experts.

He recoils from greater exertions. Budget deficits and health care languish as issues, because they cannot be confronted without proposing changes that would discomfit many Americans. Bush's education "reform" is mostly a sham, intended for show. Anything that might have been effective—insisting that students meet an academic standard to qualify for federal college aid, for example—would have upset too many students and parents.

Bush's expedience has gone awry, because it has made him unpresidential. Appearing to put his interests above the nation's violates the first rule of presidential politics: The best politics is not to look political. Too many of his compromises have sacrificed principle. The Civil Rights bill resembled the bill he denounced as a quota bill. The budget agreement abandoned his "no new taxes" pledge. A change of policy is sometimes necessary and responsible. But Bush changes without convincingly explaining why. He seems a creature of convenience—his own.

Indeed, Bush can hardly explain anything. He scoffs at "the vision thing." Even his public justification of Desert Storm was muddled. Bush's incoherence is no minor defect. It seems to insist that people accept what he does simply because he is doing it. In democratic America, this is a crippling conceit. People believe they hold the ultimate power and that their approval must be repeatedly earned.

Perhaps Bush has hidden advantages. In 1948, Thomas Dewey led Harry Truman by 15 points in the polls two months before the election. Polls often misjudge elections, as Ken DeCell and Alan Lichtman show in their analysis of presidential campaigns ("The Keys to the Presidency"). In 1952 and 1980, for instance, the polls didn't call the big wins of Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan. People often answer polls differently from the way they vote. They respect foreign policy success, give incumbents a big advantage and are comforted by even modest economic growth.

Bush could recover. Judging by the past, DeCell thinks he will. And that shrewd observer, Richard Nixon, recently said: "You want to remember, every time you tend to write off George Bush, he makes the big play." It could happen. But if it doesn't, Bush—like Nixon—will be the victim of his own ambition.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

State Dept. Backtracks On Atrocity Reports

Calls for Action on Serb Camps Rise

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration backtracked yesterday on the authenticity of its information that minority groups are being tortured and killed in Serb detention camps in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The administration's effort to play down its knowledge of atrocities came amid mounting public pressure to take strong measures against widely reported atrocities. Leading Democrats called yesterday for more aggressive action.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton and his vice presidential running mate, Albert Gore Jr., said the United States should lead the way in demanding use of U.N.-authorized military force, if necessary, to stop the killings in the Serb camps. Several Democratic members of Congress took similar stands.

At a mid-morning meeting chaired by Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger,

officials decided to initiate a drive at the United Nations to condemn the reported atrocities and call for full access to the camps by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Later, the U.N. Security Council adopted a statement demanding that international relief agencies be "granted immediate, unimpeded and continued access" to any camps, prisons and detention centers. [Details on Page A27.]

But at the same time, the State Department sought to water down its Monday statements, when spokesman Richard Boucher said, "We do have our own reports, similar to the reports that you've seen in the press, that there have been abuses and torture and killings taking place" in Serb "detention centers" for Croats and Slavic Muslims.

Thomas M.T. Niles, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, said on Capitol Hill yesterday that such reports do not represent "substantiated information" and

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therefore the United States "cannot confirm" that such atrocities are taking place.

Later, Boucher told reporters, "We don't have any firsthand information," although he also said, "We are treating all the reports with utmost seriousness."

A senior State Department official who asked not to be quoted by name said the pullback was ordered because pressure for action was mounting too swiftly as a result of Monday's statements.

"Our intention was to move the ball forward one step, and the [news] reports moved it forward two steps," the official said.

With Secretary of State James A. Baker III on vacation in Wyoming and reportedly preparing to disengage from diplomacy to run President Bush's reelection campaign, and his chief spokesman, Margaret Tutwiler, vacationing on an African safari, the latest phase of the administration's on-again, off-again response to the Yugoslav crisis

caught the State Department in disarray.

Western journalists in Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia have reported for many weeks that Croats and Muslims were being held, abused and killed by Serb captors, but a senior official insisted yesterday that the State Department had only limited and sporadic information.

A State Department expert on policy toward Yugoslavia, for example, insisted that the first specific information he received on location of the reported detention camps was a copy of a list of 105 such alleged camps and prisons submitted to the U.N. Security Council by the Bosnian ambassador, Muhamed Sacirbey.

Sacirbey's list, which the ambassador said he was submitting "with great grief" because of the incarceration of "tens of thousands of innocent citizens," was dated last Wednesday and distributed at the United Nations last Friday. The list reached the Yugoslav desk at the State Department on Monday, where it was considered vital new

information previously unavailable. As late as yesterday afternoon, several senior officials had never seen some of the extensive reports in the U.S. media about the Serb camps, including a series of harrowing dispatches by Roy Gutman of Newsday, giving names and details of eyewitnesses to atrocities.

Asked why U.S. diplomats, intelligence agencies and other official groups have been unable to collect and check information that is widely available to reporters, a senior official responded that no U.S. officials are present in Bosnia, with which the United States has no diplomatic relations, and that the 30 to 35 diplomats in the embassy in Belgrade and the 12 diplomats in the U.S. consulate in Zagreb have limited sources of information.

Early last week, John R. Bolton, assistant secretary of state for international organizations, received information from Bosnian representatives at a conference in Geneva alleging that atrocities were taking place in Serb-run camps. Bolton said through a spokesman that he turned

the information over to the ICRC. An emergency report published by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in connection with the conference that Bolton attended quoted a guard at a Serb camp at Omarska in northwest Bosnia as telling a U.N. monitor that the authorities planned to kill the prisoners there by exposing them to the elements.

State Department officials scoffed at the idea, proposed by Clinton and Gore in separate statements yesterday from their campaign headquarters and by Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich) in a Senate speech, that military force be used if necessary to stop the reported atrocities in the Serb camps.

It is unlikely that the U.N. Security Council would authorize such a use of military force, given the reluctance of several key nations to become involved militarily, a senior State Department official said. Another senior official said the practical difficulties of using force would be substantial and the likely result of any such military effort would be massacres of those being held in the camps.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Refugees Give Accounts Of Random Serb Terror

Brutal Militia Campaign Called Unsystematic

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

BUDAPEST, Aug. 4—Recent statements by Bosnian refugees have accused Serb militia forces of turning stadiums, schools, hotels and even garages into makeshift "concentration camps" for interrogations and executions of non-Serb captives.

But the refugee accounts indicate that the waves of arrests, beatings and executions in Bosnia—while widespread and brutal—are not systematic or carefully planned. Rather, the refugee accounts portray ad hoc campaigns of terror that vary from city to city.

In some Bosnian cities, only fighting-age men are being rounded up, according to these accounts. In others, women are included, as well as old men. In still others, cultural elites are allegedly targeted.

Some prisoners have been beaten and released, the accounts say, while others were not assaulted but were deprived of water or food for long periods. Prisoners allegedly were slain in a variety of ways—shots to the head, blows with iron bars, slitting of throats.

For example, Ivica Matkovic, a member of Bosnia's Croat minority, told The Washington Post last week that he was confined in a jail cell in the Serb-controlled town of Doboj for 30 days with 30 inmates who were fed once every five days.

Matkovic said he was transferred to a garage where 560 Croats and Slavic Muslims were held under guard. "Some Serbs who were drunk came inside and shot their machine guns at people sleeping on the shelves," he said. "I saw nine dead and 30 wounded. They came back on other nights five or six more times and shot five or six people each time."

Matkovic survived and was moved to a discotheque basement that also was crowded with male

prisoners. After 2½ months in Serb captivity, he was freed in a U.N.-supervised prisoner exchange.

Independent confirmation of the grisly reports of Serb detention camps has not been possible. What has lent credence to the initial fragmentary reports from refugees has been the detail about conditions in the camps and the number of refugees from diverse and isolated areas who have emerged with similar stories—even though they appear to have had no means of communicating with each other. Stories of starvation and disease are supported, in some cases, by evidence of dramatic weight loss.

Red Cross officials are seeking access to the "concentration camps," as Muslims and Croats refer to most of the detention facilities, but for now it is impossible to say how many there are.

In the northeast Bosnian city of Bosanski Novi, according to refugee accounts, Muslim men were rounded up and held in the local sports stadium, where guards shot over their heads from time to time and gave them water infrequently. One refugee said a Serb guard put a rifle barrel in his mouth but did not shoot. Others said the city's main hotel was used as an interrogation center because there was no more room in the jail and that corpses believed to be those of atrocity victims could be seen floating in the nearby river.

A Muslim refugee from Bratunac, another northeast Bosnian town that fell victim to the Serb forces' practice of expelling all non-Serbs from territory they control, smuggled out a handwritten list of atrocities said to have been committed by Serbs there. The list, with names and dates, said Muslims were thrown into garbage containers, doused with gasoline and set aflame.

A written account of a Muslim survivor from the Serb-held town of Bosanski Samac said that beatings



of non-Serbs there were frequent, but killings haphazard. The account, published by Newsday, said that one night a Serb militia officer ordered 45 prisoners to line up and shot some of them at random. He then asked the survivors to state their occupations and shot a few more. A total of 15 were killed, apparently selected by whim, according to the account.

In Bosanski Novi, from which more than 8,000 refugees fled two weeks ago in a convoy arranged by the U.N. refugee agency, Muslims were told by local Serb authorities that "a number" of them would be killed for every Serb who died in battle, U.N. officials said. Whether the threat was sincere or not, U.N. monitors here say, such reports hint at the widely unpredictable forms of terror being applied in Bosnia's four-month-old factional war.

Overall, refugee accounts indicate that the brutality level in northeast Bosnia often depend on the caprice, innate cruelty or sobriety of local Serb administrators. It seems clear, according to the refugees, that they are free to do whatever they like to force non-Serbs to flee conquered territory. Journalists and diplomats who have traveled through Serb-ruled regions say most towns are now controlled by local warlords and that chains of command are loose. If the drunken guard at a roadblock wants your car, there is no appeal.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

U.N. Calls for Serb Camp Inspections

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 4—Reacting to reports of widespread killings at Serb detention camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Security Council, at the insistence of the United States, today adopted a statement demanding that international relief agencies be allowed to investigate the alleged camp sites.

The move came amid confusing signals from the Bush administration on whether the camps exist. While Assistant Secretary of State Thomas M.T. Niles seemed to play down the reports and told Congress that the United States has been unable to confirm that atrocities are taking place, a senior U.S. official at the United Nations said this did not mean that "we believe [the camps] don't exist."

The Security Council statement expressed concern at the "continuing reports of widespread violations of international humanitarian law and in particular reports of the imprisonment and abuse of civilians in camps, prisons and detention centers within the territory of the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina."

It added that "the council condemns any such violations and demands that relevant international organizations, in particular the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross], be granted immediate, unimpeded and continued access to all such places."

Bosnia's ambassador to the United Nations, Muhamed Sacirbey, was critical of the statement, saying it did not go far enough and that the council had been slow to act.

"The international community has been aware of the fact that these camps have existed for at least two months, and only now that public opinion and the media have more or less publicized the issue has the Security Council taken up the very basic steps," Sacirbey said.

After a press conference here, Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, the former commander of U.N. forces in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, told the Associated Press that he had received complaints of concentration camp atrocities from all factions in the conflict. He said the warring par-

ties began making the complaints in early spring and that the pace of the allegations increased about two months ago.

In a reflection of mounting public concern over such claims, the New York-based Human Rights Watch is expected to issue a report later this week documenting what it says are Serb atrocities and calling for the United Nations to establish a War Crimes Tribunal to try Serb commanders who it believes are guilty of abuses against Bosnia's Slavic Muslim population.

Ambassadors of the Islamic Conference here told reporters that a statement by the council, which, unlike a resolution, is not binding under international law, is insufficient to force Serb compliance. "We don't think a presidential statement is very effective," said Turkish Ambassador Mustafa Aksin.

Instead, the group said it will pursue a council resolution to allow Bosnia's Muslim-led government to purchase weapons, a practice now banned under U.N. sanctions. The resolution also would call for the council to authorize U.N. military

action against Serb forces under Article 42 of the U.N. Charter, which permits the council to use military means to settle disputes.

In a bleak assessment of the situation in Bosnia, MacKenzie today virtually discarded the idea that military force could solve the problem, telling reporters that a limited military strike on Serb positions would expose U.N. personnel to attack and could render them instant hostages.

Any coordinated international military action, he said, would require a force of "phenomenal" proportions. Noting that during World War II Germany had 37 divisions in Bosnia and could not keep the peace, MacKenzie estimated that a modern force would have to number between 600,000 to 800,000 troops "as a starting point."

He also was pessimistic about the prospects of an early diplomatic solution, saying: "In my experience in peace keeping, when two sides will not talk to each other I don't know how you solve the problem unless one side wins and one side loses. And a lot of innocent people . . . get killed in the meantime."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Bosnian Battle Follows Victims to the Grave

Mortar Fire Disrupts Children's Funeral

By Tony Smith
Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, Aug. 4—A graveside funeral for two tiny victims of Bosnia's civil war became another battlefield today as an apparently deliberate mortar salvo rained down on a small party of mourners.

"My daughter is dead, and now they've wounded my mother!" cried Svetlana Glavas as her mother Ruza lay bleeding near the entrance to the cemetery. Glavas's 2-year-old daughter, Vedrana, was killed by sniper fire Saturday while riding with 45 other children on a bus that was to take them to neighboring Croatia and thence by plane to a refugee center in Germany.

The little girl and a second victim of the sniper attack, 1-year-old Roki Sulejmanovic, had just been buried next to each other when three mortar rounds crunched nearby, witnesses said. The funeral party dashed for cover behind some parked cars and a stone wall; the grave-diggers, accustomed to such attacks after four months of factional warfare here, jumped into open graves.

"We had just put them in the ground when the shells came," said Dusko Tomic, secretary general of a humanitarian aid group called the Children's Embassy, which organized the bus evacuation.

After a short pause, a fourth mor-

tar shell landed in soft earth in front of several mourners who were hurrying out of the cemetery. Flying shrapnel tore into Ruza Glavas's upper right arm, severing an artery. A British television crew filming the funeral rushed the woman to a hospital, where doctors stopped the bleeding. Early reports indicated that the arm would be amputated, but doctors said later that it could probably be saved.

Lion Cemetery—so named after the ancient heraldic symbol of Bosnia—has often been hit by random shellfire as Serb militiamen and Slavic Muslim-led Bosnian government forces battle for the city, but the timing and seemingly measured accuracy of today's barrage indicated that the attack was intentional, local authorities said. Still, it could not be determined which side was responsible for the shelling—or for the deaths of the two children. Serb forces ringing the city have been bombarding civilian neighborhoods daily for months, but senior U.N. monitors here have accused some Muslim combatants of firing on their own partisans to win sympathetic media coverage of their cause.

The two slain children, Vedrana, a Serb, and Roki, a Muslim, had been living at a Sarajevo orphanage that houses both youngsters without parents and children whose families could no longer care for

them properly because of the deprivations caused by the Serb forces' siege. A day after the sniper attack, nine other children were taken off the bus at a Serb roadblock by armed militiamen who asserted that the youngsters were of Serb heritage and that they would take care of them.

The remaining 36 children arrived in the Croatian city of Split Monday and finally reached the east

German city of Magdeburg today aboard a Russian aircraft. German relief workers greeted them with hot food and stuffed animals and whisked them off to nearby aid centers and orphanages. Five of the children were hospitalized for treatment of exhaustion, dehydration and pneumonia, but the others appeared to be in good condition despite their four-day ordeal, relief workers said.

Meanwhile, heavy fighting continued in and around Sarajevo, and U.N. officials said that renewed shelling of the city's airport had forced another suspension of the international airlift bringing food and medical supplies to Sarajevo's 300,000 besieged civilians. The shutdown, the fourth since the airlift began a month ago, will continue for at least three days while U.N. officials assess the danger to troops

and relief workers involved in the airborne aid effort.

"The situation at the airport is getting worse, not better," said Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie at U.N. headquarters in New York. MacKenzie, who was instrumental in coordinating the airlift, had commanded the U.N. contingent in Sarajevo until last week, when Canadian and French troops there were replaced by Ukrainians and Nigerians.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Foreign VIPs Soar at Taxpayers' Expense

Dignitaries Enjoy Air Force Service Provided for White House and Congress, Panel Reports

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

Foreign dignitaries have discovered what presidents and members of Congress have known for years: it's easier to see the United States when the American taxpayers foot the bill.

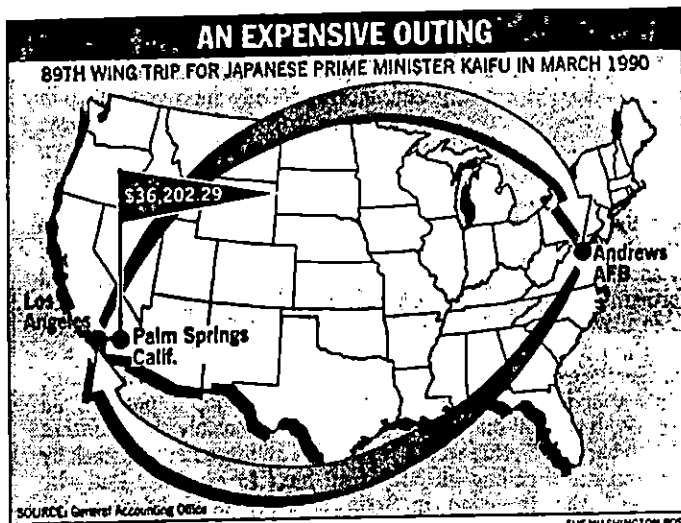
A report by a House Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee released yesterday said that the same Air Force wing that flies presidents and members of Congress also routinely provides charter service within the United States to foreign VIPs. In all, the congressional panel said the 89th Airlift Wing had flown 673 flights during a 27-month period to accommodate foreign leaders at a cost of more than \$4.8 million.

"To tell you truth, we were rather shocked that the poor nations of Japan and Germany were having the American taxpayers move their leaders around," said Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski (D-Pa.), chairman of the human resources subcommittee, which has been examining the hidden costs of White House travel. He called the trips another indication that U.S. officials "think the United States is Daddy Warbucks," a source of unending funds with no accountability.

Among the foreign VIPs who the report said flew free on Air Force planes were West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl; Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu; Italian President Francesco Cossiga; Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of French President Francois Mitterrand; Swiss Defense Minister Kasper Villiger, and members of the Greenland parliament. The report was based on flight records obtained by the General Accounting Office.

In what Kanjorski cited as one of the most questionable trips, the Air Force flew its version of a commercial DC-9 passenger jet from Andrews Air Force Base to California so it could shuttle Kaifu, then the Japanese prime minister, and 34 others in his party from Los Angeles to Palm Springs for a meeting with President Bush at the Morningside Country Club. It cost U.S. taxpayers \$36,202.29 to provide the 30-minute and 40-minute flights between the two California cities.

"Why couldn't the president just have landed at the [Los Angeles] airport and have his meeting with



"To tell you the truth, we were rather shocked that the poor nations of Japan and Germany were having the American taxpayers move their leaders around."

—Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski, subcommittee chairman

Kaifu?" asked Kanjorski. "The other other question is: 'Why are we doing it for Japan?'"

The subcommittee said the trips were authorized by White House and Defense Department officials but said that other less costly travel was never considered, including the use of commercial airlines. It noted that foreign governments typically are not asked to pay for such travel on the grounds that the countries provide reciprocal air travel for U.S. officials visiting within their borders.

"We offer this as a matter of courtesy," said S. Matsutomi, a spokesman for the Japanese Embassy. He said that his government had acquired a fleet of helicopters for that purpose and added: "We have no interest in charging for that."

Only last month, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyasawa became the latest foreign leader to fly to Camp David aboard U.S. military

helicopters for meetings with President Bush, Matsutomi said.

Kanjorski's subcommittee sought to emphasize in its report that senior U.S. officials, including the president, Vice President Quayle, Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney, typically fly in U.S. aircraft when overseas. But the panel said it did not know how other U.S. officials travel once in a foreign land.

The Pentagon had no immediate response to the report. The subcommittee in the report said the 89th Wing's 22 planes, based at Andrews, typically will meet foreign officials at commercial airports in New York or Miami and then offer them travel within the United States.

But in several cases the subcommittee said it found the wing flew overseas to pick up foreign VIPs and bring them to the United States. It did that when it flew to Greenland in 1989 to pick up 11

representatives of the country's parliament. The group was brought to Washington, then taken to Colorado Springs and back to Greenland, a 10-day trip that the subcommittee said cost \$93,003.34.

The report said the 89th made eight flights in connection with the October 1990 visit of Italy's Cossiga to Washington. The Italian president went from New York to Washington and later to Texas, New York and New Haven, Conn. The costs for those flights was placed at \$71,217.03.

On May 20, 1989, the wing took a C-20 to New York to fly Danielle Mitterrand to Pease Air Force Base, N.H., presumably, the subcommittee said, for a helicopter flight to Bush's home in Kennebunkport, Maine. When the cost of getting the plane to New York and back is considered, the Mitterrand flight was estimated to have cost \$11,503.63 by the subcommittee.

Although Switzerland is not militarily aligned with the United States, Kasper Villiger, its defense minister, and a party of 13 were given a cross-country 1990 tour that included stops in Boston, New York, St. Louis, Las Vegas and San Diego. That trip cost \$54,009.30, the subcommittee said.

Kohl was transported with a party of six from Bonn to Berlin on May 28, 1990, an Air Force flight that cost \$9,358.77. In all, the subcommittee said it had identified 673 flights between Jan. 1, 1989, and March 31, 1991, using the Andrews-based aircraft.

Kanjorski has quarreled with his fellow legislators over the use of the 89th Wing for their overseas travel, suggesting at one point that each member of Congress could get \$50,000 more in travel funds if they would forgo use of the wing. With the wing's complement of 1,600 personnel, Kanjorski has estimated that it costs the public \$200,000 every time one of the wing's 22 aircraft leaves Andrews.

"It's one thing for Congress taking junkets, but now we have got foreign legislators taking trips on the American taxpayers," he said yesterday. Kanjorski said the solution may be to disclose the trips and their costs. "If we had disclosure, people would think twice" before authorizing the trips, he said.

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VERBATIM

A report in yesterday's Washington Post about an unfulfilled Pentagon proposal to train Iraqi military personnel before the Persian Gulf War provoked comment yesterday by the Defense Department, which had declined several requests to address the subject before the story was published.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams, speaking to reporters at his regular Tuesday noon briefing, described the plan as a low-level idea that was never discussed by senior officials and never considered by Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney or Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Gen. Colin L. Powell. "No such aid was ever given to Iraq," Williams said.

Moreover, Williams said, "there was no Pentagon proposal. This was a proposal working down in the Joint Staff," which is subordinate to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He also said that in January 1990, the Joint Staff told the Central Command staff, which backed the plan, "thank you for your suggestions, but there is no interagency agreement on exactly how to proceed. And so nothing was ever done."

Below are excerpts taken from several documents describing internal Bush administration deliberations on the plan. The first is from a document marked "Position Paper—Secret 25 May 1990," that begins:

Subject: 29 May Deputies Committee Meeting on Iraq (C)

1. (C) Purpose. This is to supply information to the Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff in preparation for a Deputies Committee meeting on Iraq scheduled for 1630, 29 May in the White House Situation Room.

The next excerpt appears later in the May 25 document. OSD refers to the Office of the Secretary of Defense:

d. (S) Efforts by OSD and the Joint Staff to initiate low level military to military contacts with Iraq have been stymied by the requirements for a Presidential Determination (PD).

This excerpt is also from the May 25 document:

... Allowing low level non-lethal military to military exchanges would be a positive tool for US policy in the region. In the past, such access resulted in modified Iraqi behavior and served the best interests of US policy.

The final excerpt is from the secret January 1990 Joint Staff cable to "USCINCENT"—the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Central Command.

2. (S) NOTWITHSTANDING THE PRESIDENT'S WED-26 DECLARATION THAT THE US SHOULD ENCOURAGE MODIFIED IRAQI BEHAVIOR THROUGH INCREASED CONTACT, INCLUDING CONSIDERATION OF NON-LETHAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT FEEL THAT THE US DOMESTIC POLITICAL CLIMATE IS SUPPORTIVE OF INCREASED MILITARY RELATIONS WITH IRAQ

... AS SUCH, IT MAY BE MORE FRUITFUL TO BEGIN THE LOW-LEVEL INITIATIVES IN AREAS THAT DO NOT REQUIRE PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION, SUCH AS NON-DOD FUNDED TRAINING, USCINCENTOM STAFF VISITS, AND OTHER LOCALIZED CONTACT. RECOMMEND USCINCENTOM PURSUE THIS AVENUE IN THE SHORT TERM WHILE JCS AND DOD CONTINUE TO SEEK APPROVAL FOR PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION, WHICH WILL BE ESSENTIAL FOR ANY NORMALIZATION OF US-IRAQI MILITARY RELATIONS.

Contra Aid Figure Says He Almost Quit

At Spymaster's Trial, Rodriguez Tells of Disgust With Profiteering

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

A former operative in the Reagan administration's contra resupply network said yesterday that he grew disgusted with profiteering in the secret operation, but decided not to quit during a May 1, 1986, meeting with then-Vice President George Bush.

Felix Rodriguez, who had been enlisted in 1985 to help the rebels against Nicaragua's ruling Sandinistas, said he did not mention his work for the contras in the meeting with Bush. But the effect of his decision was to keep him in Central America until his covert role was exposed in the fall of 1986.

Testifying at the trial of former CIA spymaster Clair E. George in federal court here, Rodriguez was called to the stand yesterday as a prosecution witness. George is accused of lying about Rodriguez under questioning by members of Congress in October 1986 as the Iran-contra scandal was beginning to unravel.

Rodriguez, a former CIA operative, said he went to El Salvador in early 1985 to lead helicopter attacks against guerrilla forces there. He was enlisted by then-White House aide Oliver L. North a few months later to run contra resupply flights out of the air base where he was stationed.

In arranging the flights, Rodriguez said

he drew no distinction "between lethal and nonlethal assistance" for the Nicaraguan rebels. He said he became upset by price-gouging of the contras and the presence in the operation of individuals he considered unsavory.

Rodriguez said he told the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Edwin Corr, in April 1986 that he was quitting because he was worn out and because the anti-guerrilla campaign was so successful. He said he was planning to tell Bush the same thing at the May 1 meeting when Corr, who was also present, began telling the vice president "what a magnificent job I was doing" in the Salvadoran counter-insurgency effort.

Rodriguez said he changed his mind on the spot and decided to stay. It was his continued role in the resupply operation, under the alias "Max Gomez," that George has been accused of lying about on Oct. 10, 1986, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and on Oct. 14, 1986, before the House intelligence committee.

Rep. Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.), the first witness yesterday, testified under prosecution questioning about the impact that George's allegedly false testimony had on him as a member of the House intelligence committee.

"I concluded," McHugh said, that the CIA "did not know the identity of the people supplying the contras."

Craig A. Gillen, the chief prosecutor in the case, noted that a briefing book George had with him when he testified before the House committee explicitly mentioned Rodriguez's role with the resupply network. McHugh said that information was not presented at the hearing.

"It would have opened up another line of questioning," McHugh said, including "what further connections" existed.

McHugh also said that if the additional information about Rodriguez's role and that of CIA Costa Rican station chief Joe Fernandez had been known, it "in my judgment . . . could have jeopardized" \$100 million in additional funding of covert support for the contras that was awaiting congressional approval.

Rodriguez, after his court appearance, told reporters he did not have to tell anyone of his role in assisting the contra resupply effort because "it was general knowledge, particularly among the intelligence community." He also said that "most Americans" in El Salvador knew him by both his alias, Max Gomez, and his real name, which was on his passport.

In a development outside the courtroom, Philip Cherry, a retired CIA covert operations officer who has appeared in court as an unpaid member of George's legal defense team, was seen last Friday afternoon

leaving CIA headquarters. He was using a pass normally possessed by agency employees.

Asked Monday what he was doing at the agency, Cherry, a lawyer, said that it had nothing to do with the case. Asked why he had a CIA pass, he responded, "No comment."

Yesterday, in response to questions, a CIA spokesman said Cherry had applied earlier for a contract position with the CIA's newly expanded historical review staff and had been offered a post. He had "come in [Friday] to see his contract and pick up a badge," said Peter Earnest, CIA's deputy director for media relations.

Earnest said he believed Cherry had decided not to take the position with the agency until the trial was over.

"We don't want a conflict or the appearance of a conflict," Earnest said. He added that he believed the office of the CIA's general counsel would consider what to do about Cherry possessing an employee pass in the meantime.

A spokesman for independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh, whose office brought the charges against George, said there would be no comment on the matter. "There are no rules governing this sort of thing," the spokesman said.

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TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9 a.m.

Committees:

Banking, Housing & Urban

Affairs—10 a.m. Resolution Trust

Corp. 538 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Energy & Natural Resources—9:30

a.m. Mark up public lands bills &

nominations of Hugo Pomrehn for

undersec. of energy & John Easton for

an asst. sec. of energy. 366 DOB.

Foreign Relations—8:30 a.m.

Western hemisphere & Peace Corps

affairs subc. Cuban Democracy Act of

'92. 419 DOB.

Foreign Relations—2 p.m.

Ambassadorial nominations to former

Soviet republics: Kent Brown to

Republic of Georgia, Richard Miles to

Azerbaijan, Mary Pendleton to Moldova,

David Swartz to Byelarus, Henry Clarke

to Uzbekistan, William Courtney to

Kazakhstan, Stanley Escudero to

Tajikistan, Joseph Hulings to

Turkmenistan & Edward Hurwitz to

Kyrgyzstan. 419 DOB.

Governmental Affairs—10 a.m. Mark

up Federal Employee Fairness Act,

Federal Program Performance

Standards & Goals Act, Civil Liberties

Act Amendments, Cash Management

Improvement Act Amendments,

Garnishment Equalization Act, Mike

Mansfield Fellowship Act & Alien

Species Prevention & Enforcement Act.

342 DOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Constitution subc.

Hate Crimes Statistics Act. 226 DOB.

Judiciary—2 p.m. Uniform Federal

Product Liability. 226 DOB.

Labor & Human Resources—10 a.m.

Children's educational television. 430

DOB.

Select POW-MIA Affairs—9 a.m.

Investigation of reports of live sightings

of missing service personnel. 216 Hart

Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—9:30 a.m. Wheat,

soybeans & feed grains subc.

Implementation of Soybean Promotion,

Research & Consumer Information Act.

1302 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Agriculture—2 p.m. Mark up

Perishable Agricultural Commodities

Act Technical Amendments. 1300

LHOB.

Agriculture—3 p.m. Livestock, dairy &

poultry subc. Increase in elk

tuberculosis. 1300 LHOB.

Armed Services—10 a.m.

Procurement & military nuclear

systems subc. & research &

development subc. Status of V-22

Osprey tilt-rotor aircraft program. 2118

RHOB.

Education & Labor—10 a.m.

Labor-management relations subc.

Protect employees who report violations

of federal laws & regulations. 2175

RHOB.

Energy & Commerce—10 a.m.

Markup of Lead Exposure Reduction

Act, Medicare Amendments Act, Health

Care Policy & Research Amendments,

Federally Supported Health Care

Centers Assistance Act & Native

Hawaiian Health Care Improvement

Act. 2123 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Energy & Commerce—No set time.

Transportation & hazardous materials

subc. Regulatory responsibilities of

Federal Railroad Administration &

Occupational Safety & Health

Administration with respect to safety in

railroad industry. 2322 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—10 a.m. Mark up

U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act,

Inter-American Scientific Cooperation

Act, Coral Reef Environmental

Research Act, Coral Reef Stewardship

Act, auth. functions within Enterprise

for Americas Initiative, violence in

South Africa, situation in Somalia &

domestic dissemination of U.S.

Information Agency film, "The Voice."

2172 RHOB.

Government Operations—10 a.m.

Employment & housing subc. Alleged

misuse of federal job training funds by

American Homes Products Corp. in

relocating plant from Indiana to Puerto

Rico. 2247 RHOB.

Government Operations—10 a.m.

Human resources & intergovernmental

relations subc. Food & Drug

Administration's monitoring of milk for

animal drug residues. 2154 RHOB.

Judiciary—9:30 a.m. International

law, immigration & refugees subc.

Operation of Border Patrol. 2237

RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Crime & criminal

justice subc. Mark up Hate Crimes

Sentencing Enhancement Act, Firearms

Law Enforcement Assistance Act, Stop

Rearming Felons Act & reauth.

programs under Title I of Omnibus

Crime Control & Safe Streets Act of

1967. 2226 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Economic &

commercial law subc. Bankruptcy.

2141 RHOB.

Post Office & Civil Service—10 a.m.

Census & population subc. Review user

fees for census information & Census

Bureau services. 311 Cannon House

Office Bldg.

Public Works & Transportation—10

a.m. Water resources subc. Mark up

Water Resources Development Act.

2167 RHOB.

Rules—11 a.m. Merchant mariners'

documents; Airline Competitiveness

Enhancement Act; relations of trade

agreements to U.S. health, safety, labor

& environmental laws; Family

Preservation Act. H-313 Capitol.

Science, Space & Technology—1

p.m. Fundamental Competitiveness Act

& American Technology &

Competitiveness Act. Markup at

approximately 4 p.m. 2318 RHOB.

Veterans' Affairs—8:30 a.m.

Oversight & investigations subc. VA

Medical Specialist Service contracts.

334 CHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Mark up

Dependency Indemnity Compensation

Reform Act of '92. 1100 LHOB.

Select Aging—9:30 a.m. Housing &

consumer interests subc. Federal role

regarding consumer health information

for women. 2212 RHOB.

October Surprise Task Force—10

a.m. May close. Pending business.

2200 RHOB.

Conferees—4 p.m. Family & Medical

Leave Act. 311 CHOB.

Census Bureau Delays Move Affecting Funds

The Census Bureau has postponed deciding whether to use population figures that have been adjusted to compensate for the census undercount, yielding to the pleas of political leaders whose states stand to lose federal funding.

Bureau spokeswoman Karen Wheelless said the matter would be opened to public comment, and a public hearing will be held at the Suitland Federal Center Aug. 21. The comment period ends Aug. 28.

"We've decided we do need some public input on this process," Wheelless said.

At issue is whether the bureau's population estimates, which are published annually between censuses, are based on the results of the headcount conducted in 1990, or on a second set of population figures derived from a survey and weighted to take into account persons missed in the census.

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Tax Legislation Gains New Life

Senate Takes Up \$31 Billion Bill Full of Provisions for Interest Groups

By Steven Mufson
and Albert B. Crenshaw
Washington Post Staff Writers

Less than five months after President Bush vetoed legislation passed by Congress and seemed to bury the chances for a major tax bill this year, a \$31 billion measure balancing tax cuts and increases has emerged from the Senate Finance Committee with bipartisan support—and the Bush administration is seriously considering signing it once it is reconciled with a leaner House version.

The tax bill has been resuscitated in part in response to the riots in Los Angeles and by the administration's desire to create urban enterprise zones to encourage business devel-

opment in impoverished areas. But the version that goes to the Senate floor today full of provisions that would aid narrow interest groups and, under the heading of "tax simplification," make the tax code more complex.

Moreover the draft legislation, which is supposed to offset tax cuts with new revenue, includes a provision that would boost the government's tax take for a year or two, but which ultimately could make the enormous federal budget deficit even worse, budget experts say. "Over the long run, this could be a deficit increasing bill," said Eugene Steuerle, who was a leading tax expert in the Reagan administration

and is now a fellow at the Urban Institute.

The Senate bill also includes six of seven tax incentives Bush proposed in January to give the economy a boost, including a tax credit for first-time home buyers spread over two years and tax breaks for businesses and upper income earners. Gone is an earlier provision Democrats backed that would have cut taxes for the middle class. So is the surtax on millionaires that was in the legislation Bush vetoed in April.

"The hilarious part is that all this is riding on the back of an urban aid package that was supposed to help our nation's poorest communities,"

See TAXES, A17, Col. 1

TAXES, From A1

one congressional budget expert said.

The bill has triggered a fight within senior Republican ranks about whether Bush should sign the version that emerges later from a committee that will resolve differences between the House and Senate versions.

Conservative Republicans, led by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp, want Bush to veto the bill. Kemp complains that it does not create enough urban enterprise zones and that it does not cut the capital gains tax in general or in the inner city zones.

Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, while complaining that Congress was "trying to pull the president's beard" by not adopting his proposed cut in the capital gains tax rate, still said that the administration would consider signing the final bill.

"There's a broad feeling that the president and Congress can't work together," he said at a breakfast with reporters last week. "The biggest applause line in speeches is when you say it is time to get something done in Washington."

"There are some very, very positive features to this legislation," said a senior administration official yesterday. "The things that are troublesome are few and specific. My guess is that it will all work out."

The main features of the bill include:

■ **Expanded IRAs.** The most expensive item in the Senate bill is the expansion of individu-

al retirement accounts, a pet project of Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), who says the measure would increase savings.

The measure would make it possible for upper-income people to shield their savings in IRAs and would increase the amount of income people could invest in IRAs. It would also allow people to withdraw money to pay education, housing or medical bills without penalties. IRA holders could also withdraw money after five years without penalty; currently, they must wait until age 59 or pay a 10 percent penalty.

The measure also encourages savers to pay a tax now to avoid even bigger taxes later on their IRA accounts. The result would be \$1.8 billion in additional revenue in 1993 but a rapidly growing loss in federal tax revenue, beginning at \$4.2 billion in 1997. In later years, losses would compound, tax experts say, far outstripping the tax measures designed to pay for this tax break.

The administration has proposed a similar measure. The House tax bill has no IRA provision.

■ **Balancing the tax bill.** The Senate Finance Committee contends that the bill raises about the same amount in tax revenue as it gives away in new tax breaks. But about a third of the \$31 billion in revenue raised within the next five years comes from an acceleration of tax revenue that would otherwise have been received later, thus increasing later deficits.

Most of the rest of the tax revenue the Senate raises to pay for its bill comes from extending two measures that were designed to reduce the deficit in the 1990 Budget Enforcement Act. The measures, one limiting deductions and one phasing out the personal exemption for upper-income earners, were set to expire in 1995 and 1996. Under the Senate bill, they would no longer be used to cut the deficit but to provide more money for government spending.

■ **Enterprise zones.** The Senate bill would create 25 enterprise zones to spur business in poor areas. Although a response to the riots in Los Angeles, the Senate bill would put 10 zones in rural areas or on Indian reservations. The House bill would create 50 zones; the White House sought 300.

The Senate would give no capital gains tax break in these zones; the House would lower the capital gains tax rate in the zones. Kemp wanted to eliminate the tax altogether in the zones.

Though enterprise zones provided much of the impetus for the entire tax bill, it makes up less than a tenth of the total cost of the tax breaks provided in the Senate version.

■ **Real estate tax breaks:**

Passive losses: The proposed Senate bill would allow developers and brokers to deduct from taxable income any losses from real estate investments. It would cost the federal government about \$2.2 billion over five years. The provision is even more gen-

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erous than one proposed by the administration, but less generous than one passed by the House.

Tax credit for home buyers: The measure would give a \$2,500 tax credit spread over two years to first-time home buyers who purchase, or contract to purchase, a home between now and the end of this year. This is half of the administration's February proposal; the House bill has no such provision.

Easing a loss: The Senate would allow homeowners who sell their houses at a loss to subtract those losses from any taxable profits they may have had on the sale of previous homes.

Tax break for restaurants. The Senate Finance Committee would no longer force restaurants to pay the employer share of the Social Security tax on tips received by employees. The measure would cost the government \$1.5 billion over five years.

Tax-free savings bonds. A Senate provision would turn the Series EE U.S. Savings Bond into the next best thing to a tax-exempt bond.

Under current law, proceeds of such bonds are not taxed if they are used to pay school tuition for a dependent, and if the income of bond's owner does not exceed certain limits. The Finance Committee bill would remove both the income limits and the requirement that the money be used on behalf of a dependent. The plan would cost the government \$15 million over five years. It

would almost exclusively benefit people making more than \$50,000.

Help for retirees. A Senate provision would prevent states from taxing pensions of retirees who have moved to another jurisdiction.

A growing number of states, taking the view that pensions are deferred compensation and should be taxed when paid, have been pursuing retirees and taxing their pensions even though the retirees now live in other states. The issue is particularly heated in Nevada, which has no income tax and a large population of retirees from California. California has been taxing these former residents.

Some measures in the Senate Finance proposed bill would increase obligations on taxpayers.

Charity benefits. Require anyone who makes a charitable donation to obtain written substantiation of the donation—the canceled check no longer will be sufficient. This substantiation must include the value of any good or services the donor received in return.

The provision would prevent taxpayers from going to a fund-raising auction, buying a weekend at a resort chalet and then deducting the full amount. Under current law, only the amount above the market value of the chalet is deductible, but under current rules this is difficult to enforce.

The new requirements would raise \$607 million over five years.

GOVERNMENT GRIDLOCK

Third of Five Articles

Crime Bill a Hostage of Politics

Traditional Election-Year Package Tied Up in Symbolism

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

In good times and bad, Americans rank crime among their top five concerns. Senators and House members long ago began reading the polls, and since 1980 anticrime legislation has been passed by every Congress.

Until this one.

The current crime bill has been stuck in the Senate under threat of presidential veto since last November. President Bush and most congressional Republicans say it is not "tough enough." Democrats say the Republicans are stalling passage because they want to use crime as a political bludgeon during the upcoming general elections.

But under the blanket of partisan bombast lurks the suspicion on the part of some lawmakers that

many—perhaps most—of their colleagues deep down inside don't want a crime bill. Conservatives, they say, think the bill has too much gun control. Liberals, they say, think it has too much death penalty. Some members, they add, believe the bill is useful only because it sounds good on the campaign trail—it doesn't need to pass.

The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1991 is loaded with headline-grabbing provisions that Democrats and Republicans agree are substantively meaningless. In drafting the bill, for example, both parties played "can you top this" by attaching the death penalty to ever more esoteric federal offenses (samples: "air piracy resulting in death"; "genocide").

It is also an unwieldy "omnibus" bill huge enough

See GRIDLOCK, A14, Col. 1

GRIDLOCK, From A1

(211 pages of new law and changes) for ideological opponents to vote for it, yet difficult to tinker with after a deal has been struck. Fiddling with one provision risks collapse of the whole house of cards.

Still, although the bill has languished in the Senate for the last nine months, lawmakers from both parties are meeting with the Justice Department in hopes of working out a compromise. Crime bills—one every two years since 1980—are always popular, and in an election year Bush and Congress can ill-afford to be labeled "do-nothings." Washington Post-ABC News polls repeatedly have listed crime among the top five issues troubling Americans.

"It may be true that people are so turned off by Washington they don't think anything will ever change," said Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), one of the bill's principal drafters. "But what isn't true is that people don't care about crime."

The proximate cause of the crime bill's current immobility is a partisan difference over inmates' death row appeals—the "habeas corpus provisions." Bush and most congressional Republicans are demanding greater restrictions on the number and nature of such appeals than those provided in the Democratic-drafted crime bill.

But politics, both sides believe, is the real reason for inaction. Bush and Republicans in general have found it politically useful to paint Democrats as soft on crime. Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), one of the Democrats' biggest tormentors, accuses them of not believing "the fundamental philosophy of being tough." "They [the Democrats] still blame society," he said.

Campaign Nightmares

Democrats acknowledge that time, "historically," as Biden said, is a bad issue for them, and the party has lived in fear that Bush will use it against Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton the way Republicans used Willie Horton to help bury Michael S. Dukakis four years ago.

But the Democrats decided early last year that the best way to neutralize their disadvantage was to write a crime bill just as tough-sounding as anything the Republicans could produce—and hope they could drag enough liberals along to pass it. If Bush signed it, crime would disappear as a campaign issue; if he vetoed it or threatened a veto, the Democrats could hold him to account for obstructing the people's will.

Nothing ever cuts that cleanly, however. Bush may have threatened a veto because of the habeas corpus dispute, but he has also damned the bill generally as not tough enough. The Democrats know the bill is weak, the Repub-

licans say, and are simply out to embarrass the president. In Republican-speak it is now known as "the pro-crime bill."

Democrats dismiss these objections as cynical nit-picking and claim that Bush has decided that having no crime bill is better for his reelection campaign. "If they have a bill, then they can't demagogue crime," Biden said. "They've made a judgment that it's better not to have a bill, and run against Congress."

Little of this ever had anything to do with either crime or the substantive merits of the crime bill, but it turned out to be more than sufficient to bring the legislation to a wheezing halt. Better to have gridlock than have the enemy take credit for the bill's passage.

"There are a lot of people on both sides who do not want a bill," acknowledged Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House subcommittee on criminal justice.

Skirmishing continues. During a May 14 floor speech, Gramm contended the crime bill "strengthens criminals' rights." Not so, replied Biden. The bill has enough death penalty offenses so that "we do everything but hang people for jaywalking."

Gramm presented a letter from 31 state attorneys general opposing the bill (fewer habeas corpus petitions means less work for them). Biden trumped him with letters from organizations representing "more than 600,000 police officers" (the bill authorizes \$3

billion for local law enforcement). Even the endorsements are afflicted with gridlock.

Bush, fresh from his Operation Desert Storm triumph, began the game on March 6, 1991, by calling on the Democrat-controlled Congress to pass his crime legislation "in 100 days." The challenge set the stage for the partisan struggles to come.

Democrats saw an opportunity. Congress had written a "narrow" bill in 1990, ignoring such ideologically tough issues as the death penalty, habeas corpus and gun control. This time, the Democrats would throw everything into the pot and bring in a bill that Bush would be hard-pressed to ignore.

"It was always my intention to write a comprehensive bill," said Schumer, whose subcommittee drafted the House version. "I felt it was imperative for the Democrats to put their own stamp on crime."

Congress largely ignored the 100-day deadline, but on May 8 the House approved a measure mandating a seven-day waiting period for handgun purchases—the "Brady bill" named after former presidential press secretary James S. Brady, who was disabled in a 1981 assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. The Senate approved a similar measure June 28 as part of its omnibus crime package.

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Both Sides Seek Cover

The House eventually agreed to insert the Brady bill into a larger piece of legislation. The omnibus approach, in which touchy items are included in a much bigger package, gives skittish members enough political "cover" to cast a "yes" vote. Nobody believed that any of the controversial issues could stand alone and survive.

"Different people want different things," Schumer said. "And different people don't want other things."

In an omnibus crime bill, it was hoped, anti-capital-punishment liberals would accept death penalties if they could get the Brady bill in return; gun control opponents would take Brady if they could get more death penalties and tough habeas corpus provisions.

Bush accepted the approach, saying he would approve a waiting period for gun purchases provided it formed part of a larger, tough crime bill. At that point, government seemed to be working. Both parties wanted a bill and Bush was willing to embrace Brady to get one, even if it risked alienating some conservatives.

But in the four months it took the House to pass its crime bill, bipartisanship began to evaporate. Many House liberals were losing their enthusiasm for the bill because of misgivings about the death penalty and restricting death row appeals. A large number of Republicans—and some Democrats—were wary of gun control.

Senate Republicans stalled, blocking the appointment of conferees—the senators from both parties who would join House

members in drafting the final, joint Senate-House bill. Senate Judiciary Committee member Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) wanted more Republicans at the conference. Sen. Steve Symms (R-Idaho) was up-front about his objections: he didn't like the Brady bill.

Today, Democrats accuse the Republicans of bargaining in bad faith and getting cold feet when they realized that a Democrat-backed bill could pass. The real dispute, said Biden, was not habeas corpus, but "guns, guns, guns." If Bush accepted the Brady bill, Biden charged, the Republican right would abandon him.

Republicans say Democrats always bargained in bad faith, ready to bolt as soon as they could pin the blame for the bill's failure on Bush and the Republicans. Rep. Steven Schiff (R-N.M.) said Democrats deliberately softened the bill to get it passed in the House. "Biden threw a long pass over the heads of the Republicans, and Schumer caught it," Schiff said. "That was the bill."

Both sides agreed that as a practical matter some of the issues in conflict—death penalties, the habeas corpus provisions and other items—were close to meaningless as tools to fight crime. Biden called these "theater." Republicans wanted the death penalty, "so we gave them the death penalty; they wanted restrictions on habeas, we gave it to them," he said.

The death penalty debate was particularly macabre, as Democrats and Republicans competed to find larger and larger numbers of obscure federal crimes that could be stuffed into the bill. Bush's original bill had more than 40 death penalty offenses; Schumer's House subcommittee bill had more than 50 ("no accident that it was more than Bush," according to one

Democratic source), and, in the full Judiciary Committee, Rep. George W. Gekas (R-Pa.) added a couple of new Republican ones.

"These things all affected extremely few criminal cases," noted Schiff. Indeed, Biden said the Justice Department told him that the bill's death penalty provisions in 1991 would have covered six out of more than 14,000 homicides nationwide. The habeas corpus provisions, he added, dealt with death row inmates and had no effect whatsoever on crime.

Short Shrift for Substance

Never mind. The hot items were the only things in which most members took a real interest. Left virtually unremarked upon throughout the debate were the serious, substantive features of the crime bill—the \$3 billion earmarked for law enforcement, prison construction, boot camps for youthful offenders and other crime-fighting provisions. These measures, Biden said, "could make a substantial difference."

But many Republicans disagreed. The crime bill may have authorized the spending of \$3 billion, but in these days of the big deficit, there was little money to be found. The programs, Gramm suggested, meant "almost nothing." They were simply crafted to lure endorsements from law enforcement organizations by "selling them a bill of goods."

On Nov. 24, conferees finally met to draft a joint crime bill. It went badly. Democrats were convinced that Republicans had decided to sabotage the bill because the president couldn't support gun control. Republicans claimed the Senate-House Democratic conspiracy wanted a weak bill to force a presidential veto.

The Republicans refused to cooperate, but the more numerous Democrats passed the bill anyway. "The Republicans tried to stall, so I finally said 'Here's the bill,' and we passed it," Biden said. "Yes, we just [steam]rolled it."

The Bush administration promised a veto and launched a ferocious lobbying effort to derail the bill in the House, but on Nov. 27 the fractious Democrats held together long enough to pass it, 205 to 203. Then, a few hours later, Senate Republicans threatened a filibuster and threw the bill into legislative limbo. There it remains.

Although there is no crime bill, Democrats claim a victory in the politics of gridlock, having left the Senate Republicans with two rotten alternatives: blocking popular legislation themselves or forcing their president to veto it in an election year. At a minimum, the Democrats say, they hope they have neutralized crime as a campaign issue.

This offers cold comfort for a public worried about crime and fed up with Congress. The crime bill, said Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley recently, "is mostly hot air and b.s."

NEXT: Campaign finance

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

PROPOSED DEATH-PENALTY OFFENSES

In drafting the crime bill, both parties in Congress played "can you top this" by prescribing capital punishment for ever more esoteric federal offenses:

- Espionage
- Treason
- Genocide

Attempts:

- to kill president and others under certain circumstances
- to kidnap president and others under certain circumstances

When death results in connection with:

- a drive-by shooting
- drug kingpins
- domestic hijacking
- international hijacking
- aircraft or vehicle destruction
- train wrecks
- bank robbery
- conspiracy to kill president
- conspiracy to kidnap president
- transporting explosives
- destruction of federal property
- destruction of interstate property
- mailing dangerous article
- conspiracy to kill or kidnap congressman, Cabinet member, Supreme Court justice or others
- kidnapping
- hostage taking
- torture
- use of weapons of mass destruction
- firearms attacks on federal facilities
- conspiracy to deny federal rights
- deprivation of federal rights under color of law based upon race
- deprivation of federal rights based upon race, religion or national origin
- interference with religion



Killing:

- law enforcement officials in connection with drug offenses
- someone intentionally during any drug felony
- a juror or court officer to obstruct justice
- a witness in retaliation
- persons aiding federal investigation
- a witness in the witness protection program

Assassinating:

- the president
- a congressman, cabinet member, Supreme Court justice or others

Murder:

- of foreign officials
- of certain federal officials
- by federal prisoner serving life
- for hire
- in aid of racketeering
- of American national abroad
- of American national abroad by another American national
- by escaped federal prisoners
- during federal crime of child abuse, sexual abuse, rape
- by firearm during federal crime of violence
- on federal jurisdiction

SOURCE: House subcommittee on criminal justice

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

May Have Erred, Bush Concedes

Letting Clinton Seize Early Advantage Seen as Possible Miscalculation

By Helen Dewar and Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush conceded yesterday that he may have miscalculated in letting the Democrats seize an early advantage in the presidential race, then later accused Democratic nominee Bill Clinton of being first to engage in sleazy campaign tactics.

According to several Senate Republicans at a Capitol Hill meeting designed to address their concerns about his sagging campaign, Bush said, almost as an aside, that he may have erred in holding back as Democrats attacked his record.

"He said he may have made a miscalculation, but there were only two weeks left" before the GOP convention "in any case and that he was beginning to engage" on issues that would be important to the campaign, one senator said.

Later, in an interview with USA Today, Bush complained that while news organizations highlighted accusations in a Bush campaign press release, they remained silent when Clinton made comments last month "challenging me about whether I should be paying taxes in Maine, accusing me of being a tax evader."

"Where's the outrage? How many editorials showed up in USA Today or other places of sleaze and dirty campaigning?"

contention that GOP polls show Clinton's huge post-Democratic convention lead beginning to narrow.

"George Bush is fully engaged, ready to let 'er rip, a man of confidence and energy, ready to go, and we're excited," said Assistant Minority Leader Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.) in a comment typical of upbeat comments by Republican leaders.

Bush personalized his pull-together message by bringing an unusually large contingent of ranking administration officials, led by Vice President Quayle, and by repeatedly stressing the need for a cooper-

ative campaign effort in his remarks to the senators.

In the hour-long session with most of the 43 Senate Republicans, Bush said he was "beginning to engage" Clinton on issues ranging from foreign policy to health care although he is officially sticking by his pledge not to launch his campaign until after the convention, a senator said.

"He didn't say he was changing his tactics or strategy, but he obviously was" doing so, said the senator, who asked not to be quoted by name.

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ C-SPAN, 8-8:30 a.m.

Tape of yesterday's editorial board meeting with USA Today at the White House.



But he said the Democrats "have been ill-defining me" for six months.

Clinton, campaigning in Houston last month, did not call Bush a tax evader but said, "I'm not so sure that I don't have more in common with you than that fellow who claims Texas so he doesn't have to pay taxes in Maine." Bush lists a hotel room in Houston as his legal residence although his family house is in Kennebunkport, Maine.

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, yesterday described his candidate's comments as a "real mild thing" that was "not even close" to the "highly personal" references in the Matalin release.

Bush, discussing his campaign woes with USA Today, noted that Bush-Quayle campaign officials "haven't had much in the way of a candidate to fight yet" because Bush has insisted on not campaigning full-bore until after the convention, which starts Aug. 17.

But Bush noted that he had "tip-toed into the water the last few days" and, to whose who question his commitment to the race, he said, "I do have the fight."

After the Senate session yesterday morning, Republicans appeared at least somewhat reassured by what they described as Bush's "pull-together" and "let 'er rip" messages and said they were buoyed by his

The meeting, held in the office of Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), had been called to end backbiting and to help restore GOP unity in efforts to retain the White House and expand representation in the Democratic-controlled Congress this fall, according to several senators.

"Some Senate Republicans had taken some pretty hard shots at him," Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.) said. "He was concerned that he had enough people taking shots at him without having some of them come from Republicans."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

POLITICS

'Cameo Appearance' Arranged For Sununu at the Convention

John H. Sununu, who once thought he would accompany a triumphant President Bush to a coronation at the Republican National Convention, will still have a role in Houston, but a small one.

Bush has given his former chief of staff what one Bush campaign source called a "cameo appearance" on Tuesday, Aug. 18, the second night of the convention. The other conservative highlight of the night, which will focus on domestic policy, will be evangelist Pat Robertson. Sununu's brief speech will not be in prime time, sources said.

Bush Campaign Ads Withdrawn

■ As if Bush's reelection campaign didn't have enough problems, it had to withdraw two new advertisements over the weekend and replace potentially embarrassing graphics that showed the presidential seal.

Under federal law, it is illegal to use the presidential seal in advertisements to convey "a false impression of sponsorship or approval" by the government or any federal department or agency. Violations are punishable with a \$250 fine and up to six months in prison.

A Bush campaign official said the advertisements were withdrawn to fix audio problems, at which time the graphics were also dropped for aesthetic reasons.

The official, who asked not to be identified, denied a CNN report that the ads were re-edited because of legal concerns about the graphic and said the spot would have "run as is" with the seal had there been no problem with the sound.

Both spots, new versions of which began airing on CNN and other stations this week, were produced by the November Company, an agency formed two months ago to create Bush's advertising campaign.

Candidates Seek Matching Funds

■ The presidential primary season is over, but Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's campaign is still working hard on getting federal matching funds to pay off bank loans. Clinton submitted a request to the Federal Election Commission on Monday asking for \$1.8 million from the fund. President Bush, who had several million more dollars than Clinton in the bank at the end of June, asked for just \$175,216.

Late last week, the FEC certified \$1.4 million in matching funds for Clinton from his July request, bringing his total to nearly \$8 million before the latest request. Bush collected \$546,000 last week, bringing his total to \$9.5 million.

Casey Still Rankled by Slight

■ Try as he might, Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey could not keep hidden the wound he still nurses after he was denied the opportunity to present the antiabortion message to the Democratic National Convention last month.

Asked yesterday at the National Governors' Association meeting in Princeton, N.J., why he was not present when Bill Clinton met with Democratic governors there on Saturday, Casey said he was unaware of the session. He stressed that no one should "try to make a headline" out of it because he had been on vacation and was unaware of the meeting.

But, as he ended the hallway conversation with reporters, he could not resist a parting shot at Clinton, suggesting that the Democratic nominee might consider hiring "Kate Michelman to run the campaign in Pennsylvania." Michelman is head of the National Abortion Rights Action League, a leading proponent of keeping abortions legal.

On the Republican side, Minnesota Gov. Arne Carlson was unusually direct in writing off President Bush's prospects in his state: "I would assume that the Bush people don't have us in their electoral college coalition."

—Ann Devroy, Mark Stencel,
Charles R. Babcock and Thomas B. Edsall

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

AT ISSUE IN '92: HEALTH CARE

Where Candidates' Agendas Diverge

By Dana Priest and Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writers

It may be a measure of health care's emergence as a hot-button issue in the 1992 presidential campaign that the rhetoric this week began sounding like something from the bad old days of the Cold War.

Since Sunday President Bush has been saying Bill Clinton's health care system would have the compassion of the KGB. The Arkansas governor responded on Monday with his own charge that the president's proposal amounted to "the same old placebos" and that Bush "displays no passion" for solving the crisis.

Beyond the attempt to cast each

other's proposals in the most extreme and unfavorable light, there are very real differences between Bush's and Clinton's approach to fixing what both agree is a broken system. There is some common ground as well.

To cure the health care crisis, policy experts agree, two questions must be answered: How do you increase access to health care for Americans who now can't afford it, and how do you control costs? There are 36 million Americans without health insurance and for many years medical spending has climbed at double the rate of inflation.

On the basics:

Clinton would guarantee health

care for every American; Bush wants to make it easier for business to afford health insurance for employees.

Clinton would have the government set aggregate, nationwide spending caps, which would be translated by states into price controls. Bush wants competition between health care providers over customers to ultimately bring prices down.

Bush's proposal relies mainly on the market system to fix the problem. He would give vouchers to the poor—worth \$1,250 for an individual and \$3,750 a year for families of three or more—and tax deductions

See HEALTH, A11, Col. 1

Candidates' Health-Care Rhetoric, Reality

HEALTH, From A1

for the middle class of the same amount to purchase health insurance.

To control costs, Bush believes that if small businesses form large insurance-purchasing groups they can wrangle lower premiums from insurers and reduce administrative costs. He proposes greater use of HMOs, overhaul of malpractice laws and development of computer billing and medical history networks to reduce spending.

Clinton's plan requires all employers to either provide their employees with private health insurance or pay a fee to enroll them in a government-certified public plan. Low-income people without jobs could join a public plan with a government subsidy.

Clinton would establish a government panel to set a nationwide ceiling for health care spending, which then would be broken down by state. Each state would determine how to meet its annual ceiling, using state boards of consumers, employers and health care providers that would set rates for doctors and hospitals if necessary. Clinton also favors malpractice reform and reducing administrative overhead.

As the general election campaign begins, each side is attempting to cast the other's proposal in the most extreme light.

Bush portrays Clinton's proposal as a quick race toward an uncaring system run by government bureau-

crats. "We'll have a health care system with the efficiency of the motor vehicles [department] and also the KGB, the same compassion," he said Monday in Dalton, Ga. "As long as I am president, I am not going to let our medical system be socialized or nationalized."

In fact, Clinton's proposal would leave the delivery of health care—the operation of hospitals and clinics—in private hands, and it would be up to those providers to figure out how to live within the cost controls set by the government.

Clinton, with the help of vocal congressional Democrats, says Bush's plan does not remedy the problems of access and cost. Bush's plan "combines the compassion of his anti-recession program with the efficiency of his S&L bailout," Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.) said at a news conference yesterday, adding that he could not understand how Bush "could be so callous, so indifferent and so unknowledgeable" on the issue.

In fact, while Bush speaks often about preserving the "free market," his plan, health care analysts say, would reshape the insurance industry, killing off many small insurance companies that make their profits by "cherry picking" the healthiest and lowest-risk individuals.

Both candidates argue that their plans will preserve "what's best" in the American health care system, namely the ability of individuals to choose a personal physician or hospital. In fact, both proposals, health

care analysts say, would push more Americans into HMOs and other managed care arrangements that are more cost-efficient than traditional fee-for-service arrangements.

There is other common ground. Both Bush and Clinton contend that their proposals will not require tax increases, but can be paid for through cost savings that would result from their reforms.

Both proposals also preserve the private insurance system and the employer as the primary payer of insurance, although Republicans argue that Clinton's government-insurance option is only a veiled step toward a totally government-run system.

Both plans also alter the health industry to make it easier for businesses to buy insurance for people with preexisting medical conditions and for employees to carry their existing insurance with them to a new job.

As the Bush and Clinton campaigns did battle this week, the substance was often overshadowed by the name-calling.

Immediately after Rockefeller and fellow Democrats held their briefing yesterday, Deputy Secretary of Health and Human Services Kevin Moley fired back his own rhetorical salvo. The Democrats, he countered, were guilty of "hypocrisy of the highest political order"—and the debate went on.

Staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 --

FIXING THE SYSTEM

BUSH VS. CLINTON ON HEALTH CARE

	Coverage	Cost control
Bush	■ Would provide government vouchers to the poor worth \$1,250 a year for an individual, \$2,500 for a couple and \$3,750 for families of three or more, which they could use to buy private insurance. Those just above the poverty range would get vouchers for smaller amounts. ■ Would provide middle-class people, with incomes up to \$80,000 for a family of three or more, income-tax deductions of \$1,250 for a single person, \$2,500 for a couple or \$3,750 for a larger family for the purchase of health insurance. ■ Would allow unincorporated self-employed business people to deduct 100 percent of the cost of insurance premiums on their federal tax returns, instead of the current 25 percent.	■ Would pool small businesses and individuals into large insurance-purchasing groups that could negotiate with insurance firms (or medical providers) for lower premiums and benefit from lower administrative costs. ■ Would fund government research to develop the most efficient and medically effective patterns of medical practice and care. ■ Would reform malpractice laws to eliminate "defensive medicine." ■ Would develop new computer billing and computerized medical history networks to reduce paperwork.
Clinton	■ Would require all employers to buy health insurance for their workers from either a private insurer or a public plan. The public plan could turn out to be a large national plan like Medicare (this has not been specified) or could consist of numerous government-certified health care organizations such as HMOs and nonprofit insurance groups. People not employed could enroll in the public plans, with the government subsidizing those with low incomes.	■ Would create a national board that would establish a nationwide budget for total health spending annually. The national total would be divided into statewide budgets. If spending threatened to exceed the target, fee ceilings for doctors, hospitals and other health care providers would be established by statewide boards of consumers, employers and health service providers at levels that would hold total spending within the budget. ■ Would reform malpractice laws. ■ Would cut administrative costs.
Both candidates	■ Would encourage health-maintenance organizations and other group arrangements to hold down costs.	

GOP Seeks Probe of Gonzalez Over Iraq Data

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Republican leaders yesterday called for an ethics investigation of Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) for disclosing classified information in his repeated monologues on the House floor about the Bush administration's handling of Iraq prior to the Persian Gulf War.

The resolution filed near the end of the day's session stops short of making a formal ethics complaint against Gonzalez, chairman of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, but does accuse him of violating two House rules against improper conduct and

releasing information received at a closed committee meeting. No House rule specifically bars a member from releasing classified information.

In an accompanying statement, House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) said GOP leaders were calling for an ethics investigation because complaints about Gonzalez's conduct from CIA, Justice, Treasury and State Department officials have been ignored. The resolution cites a series of statements on the House floor between March 2 and July 27.

Michel said failure to restrain Gonzalez could justify the executive branch withholding official secrets

from Congress, damage intelligence gathering abroad and jeopardize "the security interests of our allies and the lives of our intelligence officers and their agents."

"Failure of the House to hold Mr. Gonzalez accountable places him above the law," Michel said.

For several months, Gonzalez has conducted a one-man crusade to expose the administration's soft approach to Saddam Hussein's Iraq before the war. The CIA has since cut his access to classified information. Last month, Gonzalez told the CIA his statements "have in no way harmed the national security or revealed sensitive sources and methods."

The Washington Post

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Vander Jagt Loses in Primary; Dole, Bond to Face Female Opponents

Associated Press

A businessman making his first foray into politics defeated Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (Mich.), a national Republican leader elected in 1966, in a GOP primary yesterday.

Meanwhile, Republican Sens. Robert J. Dole (Kan.) and Christopher S. Bond (Mo.) easily captured nominations for new terms yesterday and both will face women who won Democratic primaries.

In other primary voting in five states, President Bush's cousin lost his ballot debut in a congressional race in Missouri, and a freshman congressman, Dick Nichols (R-Kan.), was defeated in a primary in a new district.

Missouri voters also chose two finalists from among a dozen candidates who spent a record \$12.3 million campaigning to be the next governor. Lt. Gov. Mel Carnahan won the Democratic nomination, and Attorney General William Webster won the Republican race.

Elsewhere, black candidates made dramatic gains in Mississippi's court-ordered legislative contests and Ohio had a special primary for Congress.

Bush's cousin, George Herbert Walker III, finished second in a four-way GOP primary in Missouri's 2nd Congressional District outside St. Louis. With 77 percent of precincts reported, Missouri House Minority Leader James Talent had 59 percent to Walker's 31 percent.

Talent will face freshman Rep. Joan Kelly Horn (D).

Nichols lost a three-way race in Kansas's redrawn 4th Congressional District in the Wichita area. With all of the vote counted, state Sen. Eric Yost won with 45 percent; Nichols had 34 percent.

Bond, completing his first term, easily turned back a challenge by former schoolteacher Wes Hummel. With 75 percent of precincts reported, Bond had 84 percent and Hummel 16 percent.

In the crowded Democratic field, with 75 percent of the precincts reported, St. Louis County Councilwoman Geri Rothman-Serot had 35 percent, more than three times the total of her closest competitor.

Dole, the Senate minority leader, overwhelmingly defeated retired auto worker Richard Rodewald to win nomination for a fifth term.

With 99 percent of precincts reported, Dole had 80 percent and Rodewald 20 percent.

On the Democratic side of the Senate contest, Gloria O'Dell, former special assistant to the state treasurer, trounced Topeka minister Fred Phelps Sr., who opposed gay rights. With 99 percent of the vote in, O'Dell had 69 percent and Phelps 31 percent.

The Missouri governorship attracted intense interest because two-term Republican incumbent John Ashcroft was barred from running again.

The front-runner among five Republicans was Attorney General William Webster. With 75 percent of precincts reported, Webster led with 45 percent; Secretary of State Roy Blunt was second with 39 percent.

In the seven-way Democratic race, Lt. Gov. Carnahan defeated St. Louis Mayor Vincent Schoemehl. With 75 percent of the vote in, Carnahan had 56 percent and Schoemehl 33 percent.

In Michigan's 2nd District, with 94 percent of the vote counted, businessman Peter Hoekstra had 46 percent and Vander Jagt, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, had 40 percent. Some party activists have com-

plained that Vander Jagt is out of touch with his constituents.

Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), who wrote 273 bad checks on the now-defunct House Bank, was leading in his bid for a 15th term.

In Ohio, Cincinnati Councilman David Mann narrowly won a special eight-way Democratic primary to succeed Democratic Rep. Charles J. Luken, who won the primary in June but then decided to quit.

In Mississippi, at least 11 incumbents were ousted as the entire legislature was on the ballot for the second year in a row. The current 174-member legislature had 25 blacks, but redistricting has created more than 50 districts where blacks are a majority.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

House Favors Patent Extensions for 3 Firms

Consumer Advocates Call Measure a Payoff to Special Interests

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday voted to extend lucrative patents to three major U.S. food and drug manufacturers that are contributors to congressional campaigns, prompting consumer advocates to call the bill a payoff to special interests.

The bill, which passed 278 to 131, extended Procter & Gamble's patent for Olestra, a fat substitute used in food now being tested by the Food and Drug Administration. It allows Upjohn Inc. and American Home Products to monopolize the production of Ansaide and Lodine, anti-arthritis drugs that earned each company more than \$185 million in combined sales last year. Under the legislation, competing firms would be barred from marketing cheaper products. The patents, due to expire over the next three years, were extended by two years.

In addition to granting the extensions, the bill calls for Congress to develop stricter standards for patent extensions. Congress now grants patent extensions if firms have suffered "regulatory error, neglect or delay." The legislation stipulates that extensions should only be given to companies that have been the victims of "government misconduct" in their initial patent applications.

House passage sent the bill to the Senate. The White House yester-

day circulated a letter to Congress objecting to provisions in the bill that make patent extensions tougher to obtain.

But yesterday the House used more lenient standards to extend the three patents. "Although we agreed that tougher standards should be applied in the future, we thought it was fairer to judge the earlier applications by the past standards," Rep. William J. Hughes (D-N.J.) said.

The three firms retained a gaggle of Washington lobbyists to press for the extensions. Procter & Gamble hired Stuart Eizenstat, former Carter administration domestic policy adviser, and Peter Barton Hutt, a former general counsel to the FDA. American Home Products tapped J.D. Williams, a partner in the D.C. firm of Williams & Jensen.

Consumer rights groups countered with a campaign saying that the bill would cost Americans millions of dollars more in medication and food.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) placed the bill on a "suspension calendar," usually reserved for noncontroversial legislation, where it was debated for 40 minutes Monday before many members had returned from the weekend.

Last week, Rep. George E. Sangmeister (D-Ill.) warned Foley that the bill could "fuel public cynicism" and "create the perception of pan-

dering to special interests." Jeff Biggs, Foley's spokesman, did not return calls.

Since 1991, the three firms' political action committees have contributed more than \$115,000 to several backers of the bill, including Foley, Hughes, Rep. Rick Boucher (D-Va.), Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) and Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), Federal Election Commission records show.

"The bill gives a boost to a few big companies and will end up costing consumers more money," said Joan Claybrook, head of Public Citizen, a consumer watchdog group.

Congress has granted only five patent extensions in the last 10 years, a senior congressional staff worker said.

Hughes denied allegations that the bill is a payoff to special interests. "To suggest that members supported the legislation because of contributions they received is nonsense," he said.

Hughes said that the extensions were granted because the firms experienced regulatory delay and neglect in the initial patent application process. He cited a 1991 General Accounting office report, which said that the FDA had been slow in granting Procter & Gamble's patent application.

The GAO also said that the firms involved bore as much responsibility as the government for the delays.

TALKING POINTS

Crispen Joins Shift to Campaign

Giving just two days' notice, Cheryl Crispen joined the troops leaving the Commerce Department for the Bush-Quayle reelection campaign. She left her job as public affairs director of the Commerce Department's International Trade Administration yesterday to coordinate campaign research, polling and advertising.

Crispen said she was asked to join the campaign last Friday by her former boss at the Commerce Department, J. Michael Farren, who left as undersecretary of Commerce for international trade in May to become a deputy campaign manager.

Before joining the Commerce Department Crispen had worked in press operations at the White

House and the Treasury Department. She also worked in the Bush-Quayle election campaign four years ago.

Webster Joins Corruption Review Panel

■ The former director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency, William H. Webster, was appointed yesterday as a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters independent review board.

The three-member board, part of a settlement of a government racketeering suit, was created to investigate union corruption. The panel is made up of one government member, one union member and a neutral person.

From staff reports and news services

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

JUDY MANN

Playing Politics With Our Lives

Let's imagine that a French pharmaceutical company has developed a pill that shrinks prostate tumors and holds the promise of a cure for the 130,000 American men who are diagnosed with prostate cancer each year. This breakthrough pill does something else, however. In pregnant women, it induces abortions.

Let us suppose, now, that a few antiabortionist zealots in Congress get wind of this and pressure the Food and Drug Administration to impose an "import alert" so that the medicine can't enter the country. Fundamentalist Christians threaten a boycott of the pharmaceutical's parent company, which has a multibillion-dollar market here, so the drugmaker doesn't push to make the pill available. Result: Many of the men with the disease have to undergo surgery to remove their tumors and although they may be cured, the surgery can lead to impotence and incontinence if other organs are damaged. And 34,000 men continue to die of the disease each year.

Now, let's imagine something really wild, and that is that American men would remain silent while a medical breakthrough that could ease their suffering is held hostage by congressional antiabortion bullies and their fellow travelers in the White House. I don't think so.

But that is precisely what has happened to American women, and to men, who are being denied access to the healing powers of RU-486, the French abortifacient that has shown great promise in the treatment of cancers, including breast cancer, which kills 40,000 U.S. women every year; endometriosis, a leading cause of infertility and of hysterectomies; fibroids and other tumors; glaucoma; Cushing's syndrome; and diabetes. Victims of these diseases are being denied treatment because the spineless FDA slapped an "import alert" on RU-486 so that it cannot be imported to this country even for personal use. This is pure politics at play here, and while it is forcing American women to undergo an invasive surgical procedure in obtaining abortions, it has chilled research and is keeping lifesaving and life-prolonging medicine away from all of us.

Arthur L. Caplan, a bioethicist at the University of Minnesota, told a recent House hearing that he finds the "current obstacles that have been laid in the path of those who seek access to RU-486 in this country deeply disturbing, ethically dubious and unconscionably callous."

Antiabortion forces, he said, fear that the importation of the French pill, which "makes elective abortion safer, less costly and less traumatic, will undermine their position. Some . . . are so fearful that they are willing to compel the sick and the dying to forgo the prospective benefits of biomedical research involving RU-486 by exerting their political influence" to keep it out of the country.

The FDA has maintained that RU-486 is being studied in 13 research projects. The staff of a House subcommittee chaired by Rep. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) found only four were active. Instead of vigorous scientific inquiry into cures for diseases, investigators found frustrated researchers who complained that they could not get the pill from the manufacturer, Roussel-UCLAF. Daniel T. Stein, of the Center for Diabetes Research at the University of Texas, called the situation "ludicrous."

An important new breast cancer trial using RU-486, which was sought by such prestigious U.S. institutions as Sloan-Kettering, has instead gone to Canada, according to Wyden, "and with it the hopes of tens of thousands of American women who contract this deadly disease every year." There is no breast cancer trial using RU-486 in the United States and none is planned, he said. The FDA will not allow medicine to be used here without some research being conducted here.

Wyden said the big U.S. drug companies have told him that they "can't focus on producing medical and scientific breakthroughs when they are looking over their shoulder for the antiabortion club." That club is a threatened boycott of the companies' other products.

Wyden has introduced legislation to lift the import alert, and he is preparing a bill that would direct the Department of Health and Human Services to test RU-486 and publish the results.

The Bush administration has, in effect, banned RU-486 and banned research into it to pander to the antiabortion forces, and Americans with life-threatening diseases—we are talking about desperate people, sick people, and their anguished families—have, in effect, been turned over as hostages to these zealots. We would be outraged if we turned these people over to foreign fanatics. We should be outraged that the administration has turned them over to fanatics on our shores.

The \$300,000 Express Tour to Nowhere

■ Green card giant American Express found itself a little red in the face yesterday after it had to pull the plug on a pricey offer to tour the White House—made without permission of the occupants at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

"Tour tickets are given away," emphatically stated a White House spokesman, who expressed surprise when told of the slick Amex mail brochure. "The White House is not to be used for commercial purpose."

For one of its exclusive "Unique Experiences," the company boldly promises big chargers (\$300,000-plus, to be exact) a "backstairs tour" of the White House.

Amex says it didn't realize there was a problem until prompted by a call from The Post—and the White House. "An outside vendor assured us they could provide the tour. But it

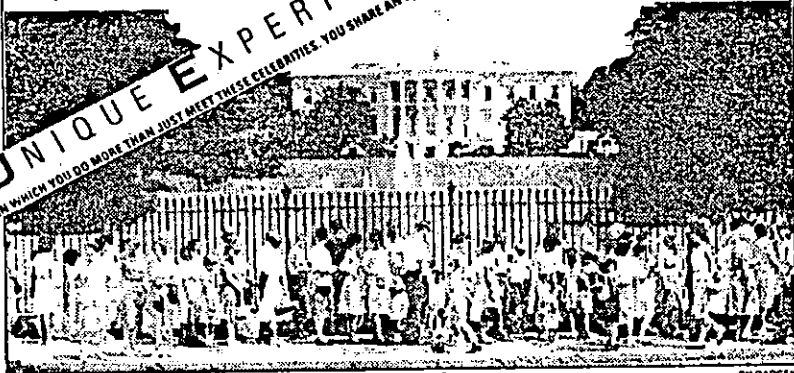
was a mistake," said company VP Maureen Bailey. "We can't offer any tour that any American can't get."

Right, sighed a stricken John Schreiber, president of that outside vendor, Festival Productions. "An overzealous copywriter added the 'backstairs,'" he said. Bailey said the company will be mailing out a correction deleting the tour from the package.

But the rest of the "Experience" will still be available to the first three obviously rich card-carriers (and three guests) who sign up for: a talk from premier pundit William Safire (who won't reveal his fee), a power lunch at the National Press Club, and a ringside seat at a taping of "Face the Nation."

And those lucky folks can always stand on that four-mile tour line at the White House.

UNIQUE EXPERIENCES
IN WHICH YOU DO MORE THAN JUST MEET THESE CELEBRITIES, YOU SHARE AN EXPERIENCE WITH THEM.



BY DARCLEY

WE'VE HEARD THAT

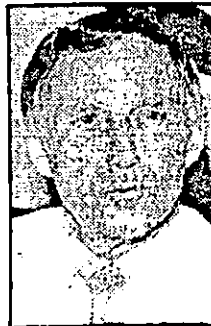
■ Gov. Doug Wilder sent his old girlfriend to lobby her old boyfriend on Capitol Hill recently about Virginia's plans to build the new Jack Kent Cooke Stadium. That's Cate Magennis, Wilder's new secretary of economic development, who went to lobby her onetime longtime beau, Sen. John Warner.

■ When Al Gore was told George Bush criticized Bill Clinton's health plan, he shot back: "Did he speak in complete sentences?"

■ Tom Foley has apparently caught the Quayle bug. In a letter to Minority Leader Bob Michel this week on the balanced-budget stalemate, the House speaker referred to the "Republican alternative."

■ Daryl Gates has more to say. The controversial former Los Angeles police chief will take a three-day turn at the mike starting today as a talk show host for an L.A. radio station.

■ "Eight Is Enough" alum Adam Rich has been ordered



Daryl Gates: From top cop to talking head.

back into drug rehab. The 23-year-old who played little Nicholas on the show, and who's done two stints at the Betty Ford



Adam Rich: Rehab-bound.

Center, had pleaded no contest to breaking into a pharmacy and stealing drugs from a hospital.

■ Alfonse d'Amato has yet to master the art of the flip-flop. First, the senator told the world he would portray himself in the upcoming Warner Bros. political flick "Dave." Then, with much media ado, he withdrew from the project last



Sen. d'Amato: Film flip-flop.

week because of Warner Bros. parent Time Warner's involvement in the "Cop Killer" controversy. But not so fast. After

Time Warner announced a recall of the album, a d'Amato aide quietly tried to get his boss back in the picture. He was too late.

■ It's payback time. At next month's annual dinner to benefit the Spina Bifida Association, convicted Watergate co-conspirator John Ehrlichman will get a chance to roast Watergate Washington Post executive editor Ben Bradlee.

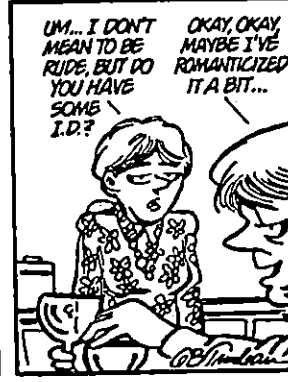
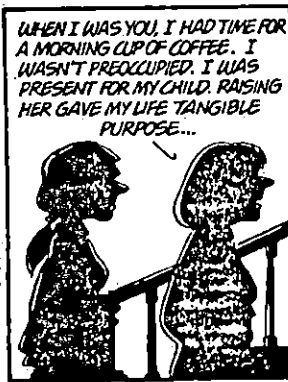
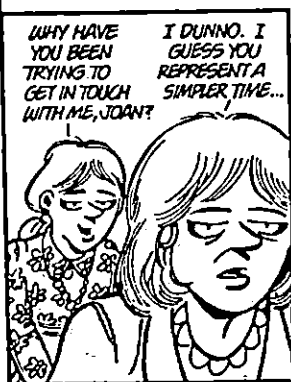
■ The irrepressible Queen Mother Elizabeth—widow of George VI, who became king after his brother Edward VIII abdicated in 1936 to marry American divorcee Wallis Simpson—turned 92 yesterday.



The Queen Mum, still the word at 92.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



Judge to James Brown: You've Got No Right

■ A U.S. district judge here yesterday dismissed a \$3 million suit filed by Mr. Soul, James Brown, against the distributor, producer and director of last year's hit film "The Commitments."

Brown had alleged that the film used his likeness, music and a film clip of him singing "Please, Please, Please" from a 1965 show without permission. He asked the court to stop distribution of the videocassette and award him damages.

But the judge agreed that the defendants—20th Century Fox, Beacon Communications and director Alan Parker—had the necessary consents. While Brown argued that the licensing agreement was ambiguous, the court ruled

that he indeed licensed away his rights in 1964.

Richard Hoffman, attorney for the defendants, said yesterday that he was "pleased the court recognized that Beacon and Fox acted properly when they paid for rights to use this film clip."

Brown's lawyer, Thomas Hart Jr., said he is discussing the possibility of an appeal with his client.



James Brown: No luck in suit.

The Washington Post

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Bush's Unlikely

He's Unmarried, Abstinent &
In Charge of Contraception

By Megan Rosenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

He is a 37-year-old obstetrician/gynecologist, and he is also the son of a Republican congressman from Texas. He is opposed to abortion and believes society is eroding morally. He thinks the Supreme Court decision that legalized birth control was an unwarranted intrusion in the privacy of marriage, and he feels the pill has hurt women by encouraging men to neglect their responsibility for contraception.

He is an ardent advocate of abstinence for teenagers, and thinks sex is best reserved for marriage. He believes there is no such thing as safe sex. As he is unmarried, he does not engage in sexual relations himself.

His job: the Bush administration's head of family planning.

Is something wrong with this picture?

The deputy assistant secretary for population affairs (known in the field as the DASPA) at the Department of Health and Human Services is not one of those political appointees who get confirmed by Congress in front of a battery of television cameras. He is a smaller potato than that. But it is through mid-level appointments like this that an administration activates its campaign rhetoric. When you vote, you vote for more than a president. You vote for a DASPA.

From William R. Archer III's modest office on the seventh floor of HHS, enlivened by a Dr. Seuss book on the coffee table and a picture of him as a teenager meeting George Bush, he advises Secretary Louis Sullivan about contraception, teen sexuality and pregnancy, and family planning. He also administers the opaquely named Title X and Title XX programs, the first being the \$150 million vehicle for funding 4,000 family planning clinics. Title XX is the \$7.8 million Adolescent Family Life Act, which is aimed at teens.

There are plenty of controversial issues for the DASPA, but Archer arrived in the middle of wrangling over one of the most explosive: the so-called gag rule. The regulations, which forbid anyone but a physician to discuss abortion with a pregnant client, were stalled in a court challenge until last week, when the U.S. Court of Appeals lifted an injunction against their implementation while an appeal proceeds.

Being point man for the administration on the gag rule has won Archer support from conservative groups like the Family Research Council and the Eagle Forum—neither of which takes a position on contraception. "We are very supportive of Dr. Archer and what he's trying to do," said Charmaine Crouse Yoest of the Family Research Council. "Dr.

See ARCHER, C4, Col. 1

Family Man

ARCHER, From C1

Archer has done a fine job and we're pleased he has been so sensitive to family concerns," said Susan Hirschmann of the Eagle Forum.

Archer's attitudes exemplify what the conservatives mean when they talk about "family values," a moral order at war with the forces of celebrity unwed mothers and degenerate Hollywood producers. But his ideas have split Archer from his constituents, who are prepared to say so in unusually forceful terms.

"He has no credibility in the family planning community," said Judith M. DeSarno, executive director of the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association (NFPRA), which represents clinics funded by Title X. "He is well-meaning, but he confuses empathy with the idea that he has to protect people from themselves." NFPRA disinvited Archer to its last conference because so many of his views were "anathema" to its members, DeSarno said. Archer she remains ready to work with them.

"I have nothing in common with the man, and no respect for him based on his political attitude," said Joan Hinneberry, who administers the Title X program in Colorado. "I have real problems with someone who accepts tax dollars to run a program he's basically trying to destroy."

"I advise people never to talk to him alone, because he twists what you say and uses it against you," said Betsy Render, executive director of the Wyoming Reproductive Health Council. "We have lots of problems in family planning, and the only thing he wanted to talk about [during a visit] was abortion."

Not surprisingly, he does not agree.

Abortion: Societal Symptom?

At the beginning of his first year of medical residency, "Reyn" (for Reynolds, his middle name) Archer spent a month in an African village doctoring in a crude hospital. There he performed operations in a Quonset hut, doing everything from administering anesthesia to carrying out lab tests. He describes that month as "one of the defining moments" of his life.

"It taught me a lot about caring for the poor," he said. "I found I didn't have a right to look down on them. . . . What I saw was a sense of commitment to family, to the joy of daily life, which in some ways we have lost in this country. So it made me realize economics don't have everything to do with the quality of

Another defining moment was in his early teens, when, "like every boy in Texas," he had been given a shotgun and went out and shot a bird. The sight of the dead animal appalled him. "I was remorseful to look at it and think I had done this," he said. "When I was growing up I worked in zoos in Houston, with fawns and baby elephants, and helped deliver calves on a farm. I've always been interested in that." Those experiences were the beginning of his opposition to abortion.

"I've always said abortion is a symptom of other things," he said. "It's the broken hearts of people who haven't cared for one another. Or men who have deserted women. It's the sign of how we act towards each other." He dislikes extremists on either side, he said, because they are "unkind."

It is hard to know exactly what impels Archer's belief system, what other experiences allow him to hold such apparently contradictory views as believing that birth control is useful but the Supreme Court decision that legalized it is not. What he has said—in an interview and to other people—indicates that he has both a scientific side and an emotional side, one that was deeply influenced by his parents' divorce and a sense that men are both less responsible and more harassed than they should be.

"The notion of being the provider is one we haven't really provided yet," he said. "In communities that are falling apart, women feel that either the government or themselves can do a better job and so until we rectify that I don't see a way to bring men back into relationships with women that are equal relationships. You can't have a man who is a slouch and expect a woman to wait for him to come back into the home. Nor can you expect a man to have to fight a bigger issue surrounding the feeling that the government or his wife is better than he."

Archer is a pleasant-looking man with a mustache that helps him look older; he could easily be mistaken for a recent college graduate. He grew up in Texas and Northern Virginia, spending a year and a half at Langley High School after his father, Rep. Bill Archer, was elected to fill George Bush's congressional seat in 1970. His parents divorced in 1981; even though Archer was an adult, the breakup affected him deeply.

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After college at Tuane (where family friend Neil Bush was a classmate) and the University of Texas (where he was a cheerleader, among other things), he got his medical degree and moved back to the Washington area. He spent a year with Kaiser Permanente, then set up an ob-gyn office in Fairfax with two other doctors. It became a lucrative, middle-class suburban practice. The \$129,500-a-year job at HHS is a pay cut, he said.

In his six years in private practice, Archer delivered a lot of babies (he has a career total of about 3,000). He did not accept Medicaid, but he

did accept some patients who couldn't pay. He also delivered several babies to disabled women who had been told by other doctors they should not or could not have children. Terry Roush, a file clerk at the CIA who uses a wheelchair because she was born without hip joints, is one of them.

She heard of Archer through friends at the Fairfax Covenant Church, and went to him partly because she knew from them that he was opposed to abortion. He encouraged Roush and her husband to go ahead with their plans to have their child, who is now 2 years old.

"He made us feel that he was really concerned about us as a family," Roush said. "I told him that we had prayed about being able to conceive. Since he had been recommended by ladies at my church, I knew he would be open about discussing spiritual things."

When Archer told the Roushes he was thinking about taking this job, "he asked for prayer that he make the right decision," she said. "I obliged in that." When he left the practice, a group of patients had a picnic for him, bringing along dozens of children he had delivered.

"Whatever views he has are based in a human concern about what is happening to people," said Ioana Razi, a Washington pediatrician who became friends with Archer when she cared for a baby he delivered. "There's a lot of suffering that came walking into his office. Women with gynecological problems, a lot of infections that resulted in infertility, a lot of missed relationships. How do you deal with that as a doctor? There are real difficulties that have resulted from having a lot of sexual freedom."

Despite his sympathy, Archer, being single, is removed from the daily problems faced by American families today. "I don't think the circumstances are all that ideal in the suburbs anymore," he said the other day, seemingly having just discovered this phenomenon. "I think there's as much dysfunctionality there, in the whole mind-set of wanting to flee the problems of the inner city, trying to have the idyllic life. Divorce is just as much a problem in the suburbs; parent and child communication is just as much a problem as in the inner city."

It was his predecessor, Archer said, who offered him his current job. It was his predecessor, Archer said, who offered him his current job. NabersCabaniss, whom he met through a patient, called him one night and said, "What are you doing with the rest of your life? Why don't you take my job when I leave?"

It was a chance, he thought, to experience the political world of his father's side of the family and to express his concerns about adolescents' and women's health on a larger scale. "People will never believe I didn't get the job through my father, but it's the truth," he said. (Rep. Archer did not answer a request to talk about his son.)

Raised a Catholic, Archer left the church during his adolescence. Three years ago he returned and is now a member of St. Anne's in Arlington. Although the church officially opposes artificial birth control, he said he is comfortable being in charge of family planning.

"I did all this when I was in practice, so it was not something new to me," he said. "I'm sure there are those who think I don't have as much fervor for contraception, but I do, except that I do it differently."

Archer's mother, Patricia Mills, acknowledges that his views about sex are out of the current mainstream. "Whether you agree with him or not, I really feel Reyn is one of the most principled individuals you could find," she said. "You don't see many people with those kind of convictions today." Mills said she is against abortion herself, but not as "stridently" as her son.

Sometimes his position on abortion confounds his listeners. Last year in a congressional subcommittee hearing, Archer said: "I guess for me abortion is not a moral decision, it's a question of right and wrong. 'Moral' has an implication for something deeper than that, I believe."

Some congressmen were confused. "What is the difference between a moral decision on the one hand and one concerning right and wrong on the other?" asked Rep. Gerry Studds (D-Mass.).

"The difference between, for me, right and wrong. Let's just put it that way," Archer said.

Archer talks glowingly about his maternal grandfather, an ob-gyn who inspired him to follow in his footsteps. Foster Moore was "a Renaissance man," he said. But he neglected to mention that his grandfather was not just pro-choice, but a leader in the movement to legalize abortion. After that happened, in fact, Moore became the medical director of the first abortion clinic in San Antonio.

Archer said he never had a chance to discuss the issue with his grandfather. He died the night Archer, still in medical school, delivered his first baby.

Channeling the Sex Drive

The more people in the family planning field learned about Archer, who for a bureaucrat was unusually open about his views, the more upset they got.

Take the sex issue, for example. Christy Crosser, a consultant in Colorado involved with Title X clinics,

guided Archer through a visit to Denver. During a lunch with two other people, the discussion turned to abstinence, one of the flash points of disagreement between conservatives—who believe that offering birth control to teenagers invites them to have sex—and most health care providers—who think protection should be available if celibacy is rejected.

Crosser challenged Archer. "I said that since he was unmarried I assumed he was also abstinent," she recalled. "And he said yes, he was, that he'd had sex six years ago and seemed to regret it. I was stunned."

To his credit, Archer does not flinch from a question that would send most other adults fleeing for cover. "I've learned from my own mistakes," he said. "At this point in my life, what I say is what I am going to do. I don't think it's easy. Outside of anger, the sexual drive is one of the strongest drives we have, and we can channel it into immediate gratification or channel it into productive work. . . . If someone asked my opinion, I'd say this route is better, but would I make [abstinence] a crusade? Absolutely not."

In his experience, both professionally and personally, sexual intercourse outside marriage is not worth the risk of disease, unwanted pregnancy and emotional trauma, he said. "You talk to lots of couples who had relations before marriage and they say it was not the most important part of their relationship. And then they say now, 'We have problems with our sex life after marriage.' You don't say to them, 'You're bad for doing this.' Obviously people make mistakes."

People in the family planning field say that Archer's personal views affect their work because he fails to advocate budget increases, and be-

cause he is more interested in programs promoting teen abstinence than in their daily reality of dealing with those—teens as well as adults—who are already sexually active. Not to mention the gag rule controversy.

Archer acknowledges he has had some problems communicating with the family planning community. "Physicians are episodic thinkers—they take a problem and fix it," he said. "This is more process. . . . You can't direct people as you would as a physician. . . . In the first six months my staff would say, 'You've got to quit talking about these personal things. . . . People misunderstand things.'"

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Within weeks of taking up his new post he was being grilled by a congressional subcommittee, and twisted himself into linguistic knots trying to explain to liberal Democrats what clinic personnel could and could not say, how far an abortion clinic had to be from a family planning clinic, and so forth..

This spring Archer returned to the subcommittee for another round, but this time the congressmen were waiting for him.

"At some point, I am going to ask you to answer yes or no," said Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-Minn.). "You can do it at the beginning of your answer or at the end of your answer, but—"

"Yes," answered Archer. "I will do that."

A few minutes later Sikorski asked, "If a patient requests, may a nurse in a Title X clinic provide complete counseling to a patient about all pregnancy options?"

And Archer answered:

"This is a—we believe that nurses are fully trained to do contraceptive and sexually transmitted disease services. And we have the funds that are provided to nurses to be trained to do such. They have very—this is not consistent, but the majority of nurses that do provide Title X are trained in that fashion. They have a limited amount of training in pregnancy and abortion-related information. We believe it is very urgent and essential that a woman who is pregnant speak to a physician or nurse who is fully trained in obstetric services every time. And so, in light of that statement, we believe it is appropriate for physicians to give that information, and that we will expect that nurses will use the list of comprehensive health care providers and will offer referral for any medical concern that they have for the client."

"Is that a yes or a no?" Sikorski asked.

"I believe it's a yes," said Archer.

Rep. Studds had earlier expressed similar frustrations.

"This has an Alice in Wonderland part; it sounds like a medieval scholastic debate," he said. "I wish somebody would answer yes or no to something. I mean, I'm damned if I can understand what your position is. I would love to vehemently oppose it. But it does seem to me that

you could at least have the decency to articulate it."

Archer replied: "Maybe we are closer together than you realize."

"That's genuinely frightening," said Studds.

Archer insulted nurse practitioners by maintaining that doctors are more qualified to counsel patients and by insisting that nurse practitioners do not support the concept of abstinence for teenagers. "I don't think there is anyone out there in family planning who thinks it is a good idea for teens to have sex," said Susan Wysocki, who represents the National Association of Nurse Practitioners in Reproductive Health. "But they do. . . . Dr. Archer talks a lot about these wonderful holistic programs and counseling for teenagers, but what has he done to make that possible? Given that most teens we see in a clinic are already sexually active, isn't it better they be protected from unwanted pregnancy and STDs?"

'Tree of Evil'

The more the two sides talk, the more their differences appear to be based on fundamentally opposed assumptions. And no matter how many studies, surveys, reports and analyses are thrown onto the table, it seems they will never converge. For example:

Archer believes that groups like Planned Parenthood are responsible for contaminating the issue of contraception with the explosive issue of abortion, by advocating choice so visibly. "Planned Parenthood didn't really take a strong stand on abortion until 1976," he said. "They were concerned primarily about family planning. . . . They set themselves up to be criticized."

"This is outrageous," said David Andrews, acting director of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. "All during the modern period of the late '60s and '70s, we helped countless thousands of women to seek and obtain safe legal abortions wherever they could be found. . . . In 1971 we were an amicus on *Roe v. Wade*. . . . [Our opposition] may be most vocal on the subject of abortion, but their ultimate aim is to deny access to contraception as well."

Another example: In 1961 a Planned Parenthood executive named Estelle Griswold was convicted in Connecticut for giving birth control advice to a married couple. Her case led to the Supreme Court decision that legalized birth control. Archer thinks this ruling was a mistake, a view family planning providers find mind-boggling, especially since Archer also maintains that he is not opposed to birth control.

"I think the integrity of marriage is a very important thing that we don't understand in our society," Archer explained. "Women should never be oppressed by their husbands, that's essential. But on the other hand, I don't think government should have a right to intervene in the marriage relationship at any level. Men are hurt more by that decision than women. . . . As

men see that they don't have a right to discuss those issues anymore, they feel a little bit like they are no longer really responsible."

There is also the inevitable debate over money. Family planners, who say they face bigger bills for lab tests, a near-epidemic of sexually transmitted diseases, and poor patients with a wider array of health problems than ever before, want a larger budget. One analysis published by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that Title X funding for family planning services has decreased 66 percent over the past decade, if both cuts and inflation are included in the equation.

Archer, on the other hand, is sitting at a table with the heads of other programs who all have their hands out. He argues that if you add all the money spent on family planning by the federal government, states and localities, the total is close to half a billion and that's plenty. No family planning organization thinks that total is a fair assessment. "He uses statistics all wrong," charged DeSarno.

The House and Senate are to vote soon on reauthorizing Title X, to the tune of \$195 million, with an amendment gutting the gag rule attached. The authorization is expected to pass, and Bush is expected to veto it—as it has been since 1985. This means it will be funded by Congress out of appropriations, but as with other unauthorized programs, will stay at its current \$150 million level.

So this, in microcosm, is how a political appointee can come to have an enormous impact on the lives of millions of people. The family planning people believe the root of their problems is that conservatives are afraid of sex, and wonder if Archer is an example. Conservatives point to today's permissive attitudes as a key cause of many social problems, and believe that people who dispense birth control are just handing out party favors at the orgy. They insist that most people who work in the clinics push abortion and must be stopped, even though the federally funded programs have never included abortions.

The gulf between them is perhaps illustrated by what has come to be known as Archer's "Tree of Evil" speech. Several people, including DeSarno, recounted a version.

Shortly after Archer took office, DeSarno introduced herself outside a subcommittee hearing on Capitol Hill. He was cordial and they began to talk about issues. "You're just raking the leaves of evil," Archer told her. "I want to root up the whole tree."

"I interpreted him to mean the tree was family planning," said DeSarno, as did others who had heard Archer use the same analogy.

"That was misinterpreted," said Archer, who began to get leaves in the mail as the story made the rounds. "I meant get to the root of the problem," that root being all the noxious influences on people today, from television to divorce to abortion.

"They thought I meant family planning was evil. Why would I say I was going to uproot a program I am supposed to administer?"

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

RAP, From C1



BY STEVEN JORGES—ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER

Steve Gooden, alias TRQ, who hopes to rap at the Republican convention.

Rappin' to a GOP Beat At the Convention, Hip-Hop for America

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

Who says Republicans aren't funky?

Truly they are "down," not just in the polls—but in the good (or is it "bad?") hip-hop sense of the word. Which is why, presumably, the GOP has asked TRQ to perform at the Republican National Convention.

"That's correct, sir," the rap singer said yesterday from Los Angeles, confirming that if he's able to raise about \$3,000 "from some good conservative out there," he and his Posse will be coming to Houston Aug. 15 to kick it at a pre-convention youth rally.

"I call it 'Rap for Reps,'" he added, all but whispering over the phone from a San Fernando Valley law firm where he holds a day job as a file clerk. "I'm just one of many other voices out there who don't hate Jesse Jackson, Ice-T or Sister Souljah, but who are expressing their frustration with the political system—who be—

See RAP, C9, Col. 1

lieve that it doesn't help the cause for blacks in this country to consistently focus on the negative message."

TRQ—"TR" is for the truth," he explained, "and I added the 'Q' because I wanted to be mysterious"—is actually Steve Gooden, a 28-year-old native of Washington who says he graduated from Suitland High School and moved to California in his early twenties to break into the music business. He ended up lecturing in churches on self-reliance and preaching the evils of sex without marriage—this, despite the fact that his late father, he says, owned a string of topless go-go clubs.

"I'm single," said Gooden, who also works as a youth minister at what he described as an evangelical, conservative "all-white" church in the Los Angeles suburb of Granada Hills. "And I'm proud to say I have not practiced safe sex. I have practiced abstinence. . . . I'm a virgin, yes sir, and I'm proud of that."

Gooden, who called up the Republicans and offered his services a few weeks ago, said he'll be performing his rap song "We Are Americans," a tune he was moved to write in response to the flap over Ice-T's "Cop Killer," a controversy further provoked when Dan Quayle stopped beating the daylights out of "Murphy Brown" to wash Time Warner for distributing the so. g.

Gooden's rap, which disses "giving up our values to the radicals" and "justifying the killing of little babies in the comfort of their mummy's tummy," also kicks it thusly:

*It's our duty to save our America,
From those who would blame
America,*

*For the ills of their own activity,
Immorality and irresponsibility,
For the riots in Southern
California,*

*And the murders in the District
of Columbia,*

*For the hunger and the death in
the streets you know,*

*And the kids without a dad and a
happy home . . .*

"Basically, he just *spills* the Republican platform," said a delighted Henry Barber, the convention's coordinator of youth activities, who engaged Gooden for the event featuring perky gymnast Mary Lou Retton, various party officials and perhaps even members of the Bush family. "He's definitely singing from the same song sheet as Vice President Quayle," Barber added. "In a way, he's trying to counter some of these other guys—the black rappers."

But Gooden, as Barber no doubt knows, is a black rapper, though perhaps the kind even a vice president could love.

In his act, Gooden plays keyboard, sports an American flag bandanna and dances—sort of.

"I move to the rhythm and run up and down the stage and stuff," he said, "but there are no pelvic gyrations of the hip. I want to show that young black Americans are not all out there trying to display their sexual prowess."

This is not Gooden's first flirtation with fame.

A singer since age 6, he managed to get a contract with the Music Corporation of America's record division, and achieved a degree of notoriety in August 1987, when he tore up his contract at a rally of Christian conservatives protesting the MCA movie

division's distribution of "The Last Temptation of Christ."

More recently, Gooden phoned up "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" and managed to get himself a slot opposite Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) last April to debate teenage sexuality and the distribution of condoms (he was vehemently opposed). "We had more fan calls for him than we've had for any other guest in a health segment for a very long time," recalled the program's science reporter, Stuart Schear. "I was very surprised by the phenomenal re-

sponse. . . . I think we may have created a star."

"Let people know that I'm going to this convention because I want to support what's right," Gooden said. "If there's something I could do for my country, for my president and for my vice president, I'll make myself available."

Ditto marriage.

"At this point I'm married to the cause," Gooden said. "But if any young, bright, basically conservative professional woman out there is interested, I'm available."

The TV Column

HIGHLIGHTS

- NBC coverage of the XXV Summer Olympiad on WRC.
- "Claymation Comedy of Horrors" on WUSA.
- Steve Martin in "Roxanne" on WDCA.
- And, "Empire of the Air" on WETA.

Olympics Coverage

In the morning, women's basketball, canoeing, men's and women's tennis and women's track and field qualifying rounds. Three hours (Channel 4 at 7).

In the evening, men's and women's track and field, men's volleyball and freestyle wrestling. 4½ hours (Channel 4, 7:30).

Later, women's table tennis, water polo and freestyle wrestling. 90 minutes (Channel 4, 12:35).

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange (CC). With Pulitzer Prize-winning author Alice Walker (Channel 32 at 7).

National Geographic Special: Eternal Enemies: Lions and Hyenas (CC) (R). An examination of the natural rivalry between these two animals (Channel 26 at 8).

Empire of the Air: The Men Who Made Radio (CC) (R). The story of the genius and vision behind the three men who created radio (Channel 26 at 9).

Primetime Movies

Roxanne (1987). Steve Martin is a modern-day Cyrano de Bergerac who teaches a naive fellow firefighter the lessons of love. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Eight O'Clock Walk (1953). A courtroom drama involving an innocent British taxi driver implicated in the murder of a young girl. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Special

Claymation Comedy of Horrors (CC) (R). This Will Vinton production pits Wilshire Pig against Sheldon Snail (Channel 9 at 8).

Series

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC). A volleyball player has Brandon and Steve vying for her affection, while a photographer persuades Donna to model for him (Channel 5 at 8).

Wonder Years (CC) (R). Karen rattles the family with her reason for moving back home; followed by a second episode (Channel 7 at 8).

Raven (CC) (R) fights to protect a friend who is being coerced to join a Japanese criminal organization (Channel 9, 8:30).

Melrose Place (CC). Jane has some surprising news for Michael, while Billy has problems thinking of ideas for his newspaper column (Channel 5 at 9).

Doogie Howser, M.D. (CC) (R) has a stirring for the older Nurse Spaulding and is convinced the feeling is mutual; followed by a second episode (Channel 7 at 9).

Civil Wars (CC) (R). A lawyer who successfully defended herself against her husband now sues him for everything he's got (Channel 7 at 10).

48 Hours (CC) (R). "Whose Baby Is It?" examines the questions and disputes about surrogate mothers (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With "Seinfeld's" Jason Alexander, Sheryl Lee Ralph of "Mistress" and Black Sheep (Channel 9, 11:30).

Thursday Morning

Good Morning America (CC). With a report on hidden dangers in some tires, an examination of the increase in female political pundits and interviews with Gene Hackman and Marla Maples (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a look at nutrition plans for the elderly and interviews with Phyllis Diller and Goldie Hawn (Channel 9 at 7).

—John Maynard

John Carmody is on vacation.

NBC Ratings Post Olympic Gains

NBC's first full week of Olympic coverage gave the network the widest weekly margin of victory in the network's history, placing it 12 points ahead of its nearest competitor, CBS, for the week ending Aug. 2.

NBC received a 20.2 rating, the highest the network has posted since the week of Oct. 20-26, 1986, and a 36 percent audience share, the network's best in more than a decade. CBS finished second with an 8.2/15, followed by ABC with a 7.5/13.0 and FOX at 6.0/11 for the 12 hours it programmed during the week.

"ABC World News Tonight With Peter Jennings" won the nightly news race for the 82nd week in a row with an 8.8/20 rating. "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" and "NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw" tied for second place with 8.5/19.

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV

households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 22.3	40	NBC
2 20.5	37	NBC
3 19.7	36	NBC
4 18.9	35	NBC
5 18.3	39	NBC
6 18.1	34	NBC
7 16.9	34	NBC
8 13.9	22	ABC
9 12.2	21	ABC
10 12.2	20	CBS
11 11.6	25	CBS
12 11.1	17	ABC
13 10.4	19	CBS
14 10.1	19	ABC
15 10.1	19	ABC
16 10.0	17	ABC
17 9.3	16	CBS
18 9.3	15	CBS
19 9.1	15	ABC
20 8.8	16	FOX
21 8.8	15	CBS

More Money, but More Limits for Public TV

Associated Press

Congress yesterday approved a 50 percent increase in government subsidies for public television despite criticism by some conservatives that its programs are too liberal and elitist.

By a voice vote, the House agreed to amendments the Senate added to the bill in June that restrict so-called "indecent" programs by both public and private broadcasters to hours after midnight.

The vote sent the three-year, \$1.1 billion reauthorization for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to the White House.

The White House had threatened a veto because of the spending increases, but appeared to back off from that threat yesterday after Republi-

cans mustered only 22 votes in the Senate on a proposal to freeze public radio and TV subsidies.

Supporters of the corporation's funding of educational and entertainment programming on Public Broadcasting Service and National Public Radio stations conceded that the additional money must still be appropriated.

The new restrictions on programs involving descriptions of "sexual or excretory activities or organs" in terms "patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards" would limit such shows to between midnight and 6 a.m.

The courts struck down as unconstitutional an attempt by Congress in 1988 to ban such programs around the clock.

Antimissile Project Sign Of a New Era

THAAD, From B1

fense spending, according to Pentagon officials and industry executives.

The contract to be awarded this month, for example, will pay for building a prototype of THAAD, without any commitment to move into full production. The emphasis on prototyping was at the center of a new acquisition strategy announced earlier this year by Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

Although the system will be operated by the Army, control over its design was wrested from the service last year by the Strategic Defense Initiative Office (SDIO), one of the many independent operations that are coming to dominate the Pentagon. Frustrated by interservice rivalry that leads to costly duplication of weapons, Congress and Cheney have turned to agencies such as the SDIO for greater efficiency and control.

Specifications call for a system that can protect an area dozens of times wider than can be defended by a Patriot battery—roughly a small country. As a result, not many THAAD systems will be needed by the Pentagon, and production runs are likely to be short and low-volume, an art that defense contractors are only beginning to master.

According to company executives, much of the market for THAAD should come from foreign sales as the defense industry continues to become more global. The various THAAD teams include firms from France, Israel and Germany.

THAAD also is tailored to the budget realities of the 1990s, in that it is not so much a breakthrough new weapons system as an integration of technologies that have already been well proven by other programs, according to Paul Lynch, the Army's THAAD project director in Huntsville, Ala.

These include:

- Infrared sensors that can guide the THAAD missiles to their targets with only minor help from ground-based radar.
- Miniaturized propulsion and guidance systems that are crucial for easy transportability in smaller cargo planes like the C-130.

■ Software that can synthesize intelligence about incoming missiles from satellites, airplanes, ships and ground-based radar, and present a battle manager with a priority list of targets and a way of dealing with each.

Barry Abrahams, Hughes's THAAD director, said the program also represents a blurring of the line that has traditionally separated the two camps in the missile business—the makers of big, longer-range strategic nuclear missiles, such as Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas, and the makers of smaller, shorter-range tactical missiles, such as Hughes and Raytheon.

One reason THAAD has attracted the interest—and investment—of so many contractors is that it is among the least controversial of the Strategic Defense Initiative programs.

While there is still considerable skepticism about "Star Wars" and the need to field a space-based shield against missile attacks on the United States, Saddam Hussein's Scud attacks last year provided a prime-time briefing on the need for battlefield missile defenses.

THAAD has received strong support both from the Bush administration and Democrats in Congress.

But Loren Thompson, associate director of the national securities studies program at Georgetown University, warned that budget realities will soon force Congress and the Pentagon to choose from among its battlefield antimissile efforts, which include not only THAAD and the upgraded Patriot, but also ERINT, a smaller, faster and more accurate missile being developed by LTV Corp. and Arrow, a joint U.S.-Israeli venture.

"We not only don't need all of them—we can't afford all of them," Thompson said.

Other critics, such as John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists and Mathew Bunn of the Arms Control Association, argue that an upgraded Patriot system would be sufficient defense against any short- and medium-range missiles now available to potential Third World adversaries.

"It's an awful lot of rocket for a threat that has yet to materialize," said Pike.

SDI officials said THAAD is not designed as an alternative to an improved Patriot, but a complement to it. They envision a multilayered system in which THAAD is deployed to protect a wide area, including civilian targets, while Patriot batteries are stationed near key military targets to deal with missiles that might get through THAAD's protective shield.

"No system is going to be 100 percent," said one top SDI official. "You like to get two shots."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Study Finds Sexual Harassment Prevalent in Western U.S. Courts

By Sandra Torry
Washington Post Staff Writer

The first study of gender bias in the federal court system found that female lawyers, clients and employees face bias and harassment that ranges from subtle comments to "groping under the conference table," according to a study of the federal circuit in nine western states released today.

In a survey of more than 230 judges and 3,500 lawyers in the 9th Circuit, headquartered in California, 60 percent of the female lawyers reported they had been "the target of unwanted sexual advances or other forms of sexual harassment" by lawyers, clients, judges or other court personnel. Six percent said they had been sexually harassed by judges.

While most male and female lawyers believe they are treated fairly by judges in the courtroom, they reported more of the gender-bias problems in "off-the-record" situations in judges' chambers or in courthouse and law firm corridors, according to the 180-page report. The report called that "the darker side" of interactions within the circuit.

While the task force of judges, lawyers and academics was the first to study gender bias in the federal court system, many of its findings echoed those in reports done in state courts, including Maryland's, in recent years.

While the report found the circuit "ahead of the rest of the nation" in its proportion of women judges, there currently are only five appellate and 11 district judges. More than half the districts had no women judges. The report noted that while about 40 percent of lawyers entering the profession are women, only 16 percent of the lawyers who practice before the federal court there are women.

Gender bias also affects women who file suit or who are defendants in federal court, the study found. For instance, according to the report, "Women's testimony may simply be disbelieved or discounted as complaints about life rather than treated as evidence of legal claims."

Some of the most dramatic findings came from about 1,000 comments written in the survey's margins or from "focus groups" where judges and lawyers were interviewed.

One female lawyer wrote that during a settlement conference she was asked to leave, so the federal magistrate "could tell a dirty joke." A female prosecutor recalled an in-chambers conference where the male judge and lawyers bantered about the Sports Illustrated swimsuit issue, and another told of a judge calling her "menopausal" when she objected to a ruling.

Some lawyers also described "sexually laden" actions, including "unwanted touching and groping under the conference table."

One lawyer wrote that a colleague's client had tackled her to the ground in her

office. When she asked the colleague to take control of his client, he refused. She added, "Both men said, 'You must be frigid.'"

Many female lawyers told of judges calling them by their first names while male lawyers were referred to as "Mr." or "Counselor." Some told of being called "young lady" or "little girl," and one said a judge had refused to address her as "Ms."

Not all the reports of bias came from women. One male judge wrote, "My wife . . . was a practicing attorney all our married life. She and all other women lawyers are abused badly for no good reason."

But more often, the report found that women and men held "vastly different views about the definition and prevalence of gender bias."

The report contradicted the conventional belief that the problems are generational. "The differences between men and women in perceptions and attitudes . . . characterize younger, as well as older, practitioners," the report stated. It predicted that without a concerted effort to change, the attitudes "will simply be transmitted to the next generation . . . and the next."

The eight-member task force called on lawyers and judges to develop programs to combat bias. Judges and lawyers were scheduled to discuss the report today at the circuit's judicial conference in Sun Valley, Idaho.

The report covered federal courts and federal practitioners in Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Bush Needs a 'Knockout' at Convention to Win Election Fight in November, Panel Members Say

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — George Bush desperately needs a rousing, upbeat convention this month in Houston to give himself a shot at winning the election in November. The Wall Street Journal's panel of political experts says.

"He's got to change perceptions about himself at that convention," says Republican strategist John Sears. "He's got to do it."

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**

"If he doesn't get a bounce" from the convention, maverick GOP theoretician Kevin Phillips says, "you can start selling him a little short."

Even with a bounce, says Democratic strategist Alan Baron, it won't make any difference. "I think Clinton's got it," he says, and baring some "secret deal or unknown factor," he doesn't "see anything Bush can do about it."

Only Democratic strategist Greg Schneiders, who has been notably gloomy about Democratic chances for months, sees more than a ray of hope for Mr. Bush this year: "Bush is not an agent of change. If change is the predicate, he can't win. But if he can flip it over and make risk the equation in this election, he has a chance to win."

But even Mr. Schneiders believes Mr. Bush "needs a knockout." He adds, "If this election is scored on points, Bush loses."

The way for Mr. Bush to win, says Mr. Schneiders, is to paint Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas as too great a risk for voters to take; Mr. Bush can start filling in that canvas in Houston.

But if Mr. Bush's challenge is to begin changing the public's perception of him at the Houston convention, the panelists all agree that he faces an unusual problem: There is no precedent for an incumbent elected president seeking another term to change his image to the extent Mr. Bush needs to change his. "It's like 1932, when a Republican incumbent got stuck and wouldn't do anything," says Mr. Sears. He muses that "Hoover could have won if he'd done some things."

Making it worse is that Mr. Clinton survived a brutal primary campaign in which all kinds of charges were leveled against him. "He reminds me of one of those old horror movies with the walking Egyptian mummy," says Mr. Phillips. "A bullet hits the tape wrapping him up, and all you see is a puff of dust — and he keeps right on walking."

Mr. Sears doubts there's a lot of mileage in only waging a strong negative campaign against Gov. Clinton. "The issue is Bush," he says. "People don't want him for four more years."

Anyway, says Mr. Schneiders, "it will be harder this time" than it was in 1988 for the Republicans to go negative: "I don't think the media will help as much. They'll be reluctant to be accomplices." Moreover, Mr. Clinton is a lot more likely to fight back than Michael Dukakis was four years ago. Negative attacks, says Mr. Schneiders, "have been devalued," but he worries they may still be partly effective.

All the panelists, Mr. Schneiders chief among them, point out there is still the possibility that a new, sharper challenge to Mr. Clinton's credibility might

'Pundits Assess the Candidates

The issue is Bush. People don't want him for four more years.

REPUBLICAN STRATEGIST
JOHN SEARS



'Change is associated with risk. Republicans will try to drive up the risk factor.'

DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST
GREG SCHNEIDERS



'I think Clinton's got it. I don't see anything Bush can do about it.'

DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST
ALAN BARON



'Up to 40% of the Republican coalition is off the reservation.'

REPUBLICAN THEORETICIAN
KEVIN PHILLIPS

emerge. If there is going to be an "October surprise" in this election, they agree, it would most likely deal with Mr. Clinton's character, rather than with any foreign policy development.

But for Mr. Bush and his party, the first major hurdle is Houston. What Mr. Bush ought to do at the convention, Mr. Sears says, is something that doesn't come naturally to politicians. "He's got to confess his first four years in office haven't been a howling success. That would be a good start."

Normally, says Mr. Phillips, the voters up for grabs at this point in presidential elections are independents and Democrats. It's different this time: "Up to 40% of the Republican coalition is off the reservation. The notion you can have a president with 40% of his Republican supporters in motion to the other side is hard to deal with. He has got to get down to the psychology of people—many of them in his own party—who don't like him."

At the last meeting of this group, in April, Mr. Baron set himself apart from his fellow panelists by declaring his skepticism about Ross Perot — making him look prescient when the Texas billionaire dropped out three months later. Now, he is skeptical about Mr. Bush too. "He doesn't have it in him to do what's necessary," Mr. Baron says.

The panelists disagree on the consequences of Mr. Perot's withdrawal from the race. Mr. Schneiders believes Mr. Perot "did Clinton a big favor by getting in and did Mr. Bush a big favor by getting out." Mr. Sears thinks Mr. Bush might have been better off in a three-way race. Mr. Phillips says the Democratic ticket, Mr. Clinton and Sen. Albert Gore Jr., appeals to just those suburbs where Mr. Perot was doing so well. He also warns that Mr. Perot will be on the ballot in several states and could still wage a "quasi-presidential campaign."

The panelists all say there's practically no chance that Mr. Bush will listen to advice from disaffected Republicans to pull out of the race, nor do they think he will dump Dan Quayle as his vice president. It is almost as unlikely that he would reshuffle his cabinet by replacing Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady or Budget Director Richard Darman. It

wouldn't prove much, the panelists say, and it might actually be damaging. "It would look like he was rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic," Mr. Sears says.

Turn Change on Its Head

Mr. Schneiders alone seems to have developed a strategy for Mr. Bush to pull a victory out of the hat. Part of it would be negative attacks on Gov. Clinton's record. Mr. Schneiders worked for Jimmy Carter, and he remembers that negative GOP ads about Mr. Carter's record as governor of Georgia caused problems. The second part is to take the universal call this year for a politics of change and stand it on its head.

The flip side of change, says Mr. Schneiders, is risk. "Change is associated with risk," he says. "Republicans will try to drive up the risk factor. Nobody's talking about it right now, but as the race narrows down to Clinton and Bush, the dynamics will change."

Mr. Schneiders says that these two factors — negative ads and raising the risk question — could narrow the gap. And, he says, if Mr. Bush could do something to "boost himself too, it might be eliminated altogether."

But, the panelists say, it won't work for Mr. Bush to run around the country stressing family values and accusing the Democrats of wanting to tear the country down. Mr. Phillips says that kind of argument "trivializes and shallowizes" the issue. By doing so, he says, Mr. Bush "trots out the trite."

Mr. Bush's most conspicuous successes have been in international relations, the panelists say, but they add that voters' interest in foreign affairs hasn't been this low since 1936. They agree that even a new attack on Iraq would carry such high risks that Mr. Bush would be ill-advised to start one.

Attack Congress

Mr. Baron says Mr. Bush's best shot is to attack the Democratic Congress: "It's the best thing he's got going for him." At the same time, Mr. Baron says he doubts the tactic will work. He says he thinks the Democrats will do surprisingly well at holding their seats in Congress even when, with census-mandated redistricting, they should be in trouble.

Mr. Phillips says talk of what might happen if the GOP launches negative attacks on the Democrats may be misplaced. The Democrats, he says, may be fielding the tougher team this year, so perhaps it's Mr. Bush who should be concerned.

Mr. Clinton needs to worry about some things too, the panelists agree. If there are character or credibility problems lurking in the shadows, he "ought to get them out now and deal with them on his own terms, when he has a 30-point lead in the polls," says Mr. Schneiders.

And he needs to beware of overconfidence, the panelists say. "The instinct when you're this far ahead is to stall until the clock runs out," says Mr. Sears. "But if the issue in this campaign is going to be George Bush, the only one who can make the case is the Democratic nominee."

Mr. Baron notes that Mr. Clinton "has shown remarkable resilience so far, but I should realize his real strength is the weakness of President Bush."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Brady Backs Review of Plans to Alter Fed Failure to Spur Money Supply Irks Treasury Chief

By DAVID WESSEL
And RICK WARTZMAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, frustrated by the Federal Reserve's failure to get the money supply growing, said he favors a review of congressional proposals to alter the Fed to make it more responsive to the economy.

In an interview with The Wall Street Journal, Mr. Brady said the Bush administration "could undertake some useful exploration" of proposals made by Rep. Lee Hamilton (D., Ind.), co-chairman of the Joint Economic Committee.

Mr. Hamilton has proposed, among other things, blocking presidents of the district Federal Reserve banks from voting on monetary policy, on grounds that they are appointed by private-sector bank directors without presidential or congressional review. He has also called for requiring regular meetings between administration economic officials and the entire Fed policy-making committee.

Mr. Brady said the Treasury hasn't begun studying on its own whether to restructure the Fed, but he said he is interested in "bringing Fed deliberations closer to the actual circumstances in the economy." He added, "I don't think we should change the basic theory of Fed independence. That's stood us well over the years."

His expression of interest in restructur-

ing the Fed is a clear shot across the central bank's bow. Mr. Brady partly blames the Fed for the current sluggishness of the U.S. economy. "In my opinion, you cannot have satisfactory growth in the economy with a negative money supply," he said. The M2 measure of the money supply — currency, checking accounts, money market funds and some certificates of deposit — has been shrinking since February.

Greenspan's View

Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan has argued that the traditional link between the money supply and the economy seems to be broken and that weak money growth doesn't necessarily presage a weakening economy. Mr. Greenspan argues that even though the Fed hasn't managed to increase the money supply as conventionally measured, it has reduced short-term interest rates substantially.

Usually, Fed action to pump credit into the economy both increases the money supply and reduces short-term rates; Mr. Greenspan has said the Fed is still examining the reasons that isn't happening now.

By law, monetary policy is made by the seven Fed governors in Washington and five of the 12 presidents of the district reserve banks, who serve in rotation as members of the Fed's Open Market Committee. Only the governors are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate.

Although Rep. Hamilton's bill isn't moving on Capitol Hill, Fed officials take it seriously because it is backed by respected members of Congress, it isn't as radical as some past proposals, and it comes at a time of anxiety about the economy. The legislation would also require the Open Market Committee to meet three times a year with

the secretary of the Treasury, the White House budget director and the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. It also would give every president the right to pick a new Fed chairman one year after his inauguration; Fed chairmen now serve four-year terms that don't always coincide with the president's.

Despite his argument that the money supply isn't growing enough to permit the economy to expand, Mr. Brady said that he expects the economy to perk up soon, in part because of Fed-engineered reductions in interest rates. Rising corporate profits are also a harbinger of good things, he said.

Defense of Budget Accord

In the interview, Mr. Brady defended the administration's controversial 1990 budget-deficit agreement with Congress and said he expects another round of talks aimed at deficit-reduction if Mr. Bush is re-elected. But next time, he vowed, Mr. Bush won't agree to tax increases.

Here are excerpts from the interview:

Q. What is the biggest risk to the economy now?

A. We are in a growth phase, but a great many of our trading partners aren't in the same phase. Japan — not doing very well. Germany — not doing very well. The fact that Germany is not doing well is holding up the growth in Eastern Europe. But Latin America is doing very well, and Canada seems to be getting better. We're growing in the U.S. nowhere near fast enough . . . but the extra zip we need from export growth is something . . . we'd like to see a little more of.

Q. Was the Bundesbank's recent increase in interest rates helpful?

A. No. Germany has domestic problems they have to solve. The reunification of Germany was more expensive than they thought. It's holding up growth for the rest of the European Community.

Q. For a year and a half, the U.S. didn't intervene to support the dollar. Recently you did. Why?

A. I don't believe in intervention on a daily basis. There are certain times when finance ministers and certain central bankers think the market gets ahead of itself or behind itself, where it makes sense for intervention to take place. This is one of those moments. I think it was successful.

Q. It has been almost two years since the budget deal of 1990. Was it good for the economy?

A. Nothing I say should be viewed as contradictory to what the president has said. I know what he meant when he said it was a mistake. The Democrats have taken it as a sign that the solution to all problems involves the raising of taxes. That was a mistake. However, there were some things in the agreement which were important principles. Almost any member of Congress would tell you that the pay-as-you-go

Please Turn to Page A16, Column 4



Nicholas Brady

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Brady Backs Review Of Capitol Hill Plans To Change the Fed

Continued From Page A2

provisions are a very, very heavy control on congressional spending.

Q. Is the deficit smaller than it would have been without the deal?

A. No question about it.

Q. But do you think the economy is better off than if you hadn't had an agreement?

A. That's a question you can't answer. Those who argue that the deficit is too big now certainly can't argue that a reduction is a bad idea. And, obviously, there was a very fortuitous relationship between the signing of the budget agreement and the Fed's reduction in interest rates. That was not an accident.

Q. Wasn't the argument for the 1990 deal that it was better to have tax increases than no deficit reduction at all?

A. Tax increases *and* spending reductions. That one time, yes. But not again.

Q. If Mr. Bush is re-elected, do you think you should sit down and try another round of deficit reduction?

A. Definitely. I think these new members of Congress are going to have a different way of solving it. I don't think there are going to be a lot of people elected on the platform of higher taxes. I think there will be a lot of people elected on the basis of lower spending. You could say that has always been true. On the other hand, it looks as though we'll have 150 new people in Congress.

Q. There are suggestions that you don't want to be around for a second term if there is one. Is that so?

A. I am totally at the president's service. Never discussed it with him. Those suggestions are idle.

Q. A number of Republicans say you are a liability to the president. Have you considered resigning?

A. I don't think about that talk for 30 seconds.

Q. Not even 30 seconds? Didn't you ask the vice president to call Sen. Connie Mack (R., Fla.) when he asked for your resignation?

A. No, I didn't ask him to call Connie Mack. He offered to call Connie Mack, asked me what it was all about. I said I don't know, call Connie Mack. I don't think it does the president any good to have internal dissension.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Murder by Bureaucracy

If the verdict comes back guilty, it will qualify as one of the most awful serial killings in modern times. It is a crime that epitomizes the darkest features of our bureaucratic age. Yet outside of France, the scandal of the tainted blood has received only passing attention.

In April 1985, Michel Garretta, the director of the French National Blood Transfusion Center, attended an AIDS conference in Atlanta. He heard officials from the U.S., Canada and several other nations explain why they were testing their blood supplies for traces of HIV infection. He also received updates about a widely accepted heat treatment that inactivates the AIDS virus in blood. Yet when he returned to France, he decided that French blood supplies didn't need the American-pioneered tests or treatment procedures. On June 26, 1985, he ordered "the normal distribution of non-heated [blood] products as long as they were in stock."

For six months, French patients received untested and untreated blood. Half of the nation's 4,000 hemophiliacs are believed to have contracted the virus that causes AIDS. More than 250 have died thus far.

At his trial, now in its fourth week, Dr. Garretta admitted that he knew about the possibility of tainted blood: "Everybody knew about it, including me. . . ." He and his three co-defendants — also leading public health figures — blame political higher-ups for not making the proper executive decisions.

The politicians blame the scientists. In testimony last week, Edmond Herve, former junior health minister, admitted that by mid-June of 1985 he knew that contaminated blood was being distributed. Georgina Dufoux, social affairs minister at the time of the infections, claims that she was "responsible but not guilty." That phrase ought to be carved in stone as the motto for technocracies everywhere.

The trial itself is a wrenching event. Several dozen AIDS-infected hemophiliacs pack the courtroom, many with the sunken eyes and gaunt faces that denote AIDS in its final stages. About 15 hemophiliacs are likely to die while the trial is in progress. Relatives of the still-living and dead hiss and scream as government officials testify.

The question that has sparked such furious discussion in France is why those charged with safeguarding public health did nothing, even as doctors were warning them of

the catastrophe?

The defendants are not malicious characters. The problem is that through those fateful months, and during the ensuing years as the government sat on the scandal, the French functionaries responded as if the government bureaucracy was a house without windows. Responding to the internal stimuli of their bureaucracy, they couldn't see what they were doing to the people outside.

The 19th-century French philosopher Charles Maurras distinguished between the *pays legal* (the legal country, meaning the state apparatus) and the *pays reel* (the real country). During the recent French truckers' strike that disjunction between the apparatus and the people was underlined. The technocrats who issued the new traffic regulations seemed never to have met a trucker, certainly they never consulted them. When the truckers protested, President Francois Mitterrand denigrated them as "the serfs of today." Here in the U.S., farmers, ranchers and others whose land is being seized or controlled by Washington's wetlands rules or wilderness-areas campaigns find themselves similarly treated like serfs.

In 1985 the technocrats in the French health ministry had a bureaucratic imperative to safeguard their newly opened \$5 million blood lab, which would have been made obsolete by the admission that new tests were necessary. Moreover, as technocrats they were charged with serving that abstraction called "the national interest." A French hemophiliac doesn't care where the procedure that tests blood was invented. But the national interest dictates that the test should be "made in France." The prosecution has accused the defendants of blocking the tests in part to give the French Pasteur Institute time to develop its own procedure.

Chauvinism no doubt played some role in these deaths. But the defendants themselves are not the villains we are used to. They are not sadists or greedy; they are well-mannered successful people with good records. But these mere men operated a system of great power and authority. None individually were responsible; the system was assigned responsibility. And now they all claim that they were not at fault. The hemophiliacs are dead because they were not seen. As public technocracies spread, perhaps this is the sort of defendant we had better get used to.

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In the editorial above, we relate the extraordinary story of the French health bureaucracy's apparent decision to allow hemophiliacs there to receive blood that hadn't been tested for the HIV virus. On Monday, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services ruled that Oregon's rationed health-care system couldn't go forward because it violates the Americans With Disabilities Act.

Within these two stories we have two faces of the modern state bureaucracy — one brutal, the other benevolent. In both cases, the government appears incapable of performing well. The inadequacies of modern state bureaucracies seem to have become a pervasive problem.

Our own sense is that national governments, or at least the kind of people who seem to be drawn toward them, seem to have been overwhelmed by public hubris. They think there is nothing that the exercise of their great power cannot achieve. So now we have the architects of the Americans With Disabilities Act deciding that Oregon's plan, the product of an arduous political consensus within that state, simply doesn't fit the grand design of their legislated benevolence. The Americans With Disabilities Act is beginning to have the look of Big Brother. The Oregon system exists because that state, like most states, can't afford to pay for the degree of Medicaid coverage Washington has mandated. To extend coverage to the poorest, it decided to subject 709 medical treatments and conditions to a cost-benefit analysis. On Monday the Bush administration said the plan is "tainted by discrimination" against the disabled. An example? The Oregon plan doesn't cover liver transplants for alcoholics who've destroyed their livers, and alcoholics are now a protected class under the Americans With Disabilities Act. Similarly, Oregon wouldn't provide coverage for terminally ill AIDS patients in the last six months of life.

The disabilities act covers AIDS.

The men and women of Washington, playing at benevolence, have broken free of everyday reality. The same day the Bush administration ruled, the National Governors' Association issued a statement that Medicaid has become "so complex that it is incomprehensible to recipients and providers and unmanageable for governors."

But the Remocrats and Depublicans plow mindlessly forward, pursuing some theoretically perfect fairness. They have sent the American health care system reeling toward absurdity. No nation, not even the U.S., has the wealth to provide all with equal degrees of state-of-the-art medical treatment. But the disabilities act now apparently requires that. And we don't doubt that a Clinton-Gore administration would attempt to add more. Because no reform in health delivery services can meet this unattainable standard, efforts at reform will slow or stop. Medical innovation is initially expensive, so the incentive to pursue such innovations weakens.

We don't know that Oregon's rationing system is the full answer to the health-cost problem. But this experiment and alternatives in other states won't get the chance to prove themselves. Washington has arrogated this matter to itself; any political consensus achieved by people in a state can be waved away. Again, the men and women of official Washington are convinced that they are merely doing great and needed good. All that is needed to achieve the good is for the American people to conform. The anger and frustration evident among the electorate suggests to us that U.S. voters would like to have a heart-to-heart talk with their leadership about this and many of the other conformities that Washington has imposed upon them. The absurdities, and their costs, have become too much.

Asides

Missing From Ms.

Reading Ms. magazine's 20th anniversary issue, we understand why many women now tend to disassociate themselves from the word "feminism." An essay on plumage by Virginia Woolf is reprinted under the headline "Ecofeminism" along with a

list of endangered birds in America. More telling, though, than this trendiness, is what's missing from Ms. With the exception of an article about lesbian parenting, nowhere is there an article about families. Again, this is the celebratory anniversary issue. Its world of women, somehow, doesn't include wives and mothers.

Cuba's Potential Chernobyls

By JOHN SHANAHAN

Floridians could soon face the threat of possible nuclear radiation in their neighborhood. The reason: Fidel Castro is building Cuba's first two nuclear reactors in Juragua, near Cienfuegos, just 250 miles from Miami. After many delays, they are due to go on-line in 1995 and 1997.

While these reactors have a more advanced, safer design than Chernobyl-type reactors and lack the Chernobyl type's weapons-production capability, they would not meet minimum U.S. standards. Their fire protection features are inadequate. And their containment systems are not fully pressurized, increasing the probability of an "uncontrolled release of radioactivity into the environment" during a nuclear accident, according to Prof. Nils Diaz, director of nuclear engineering science at the University of Florida.

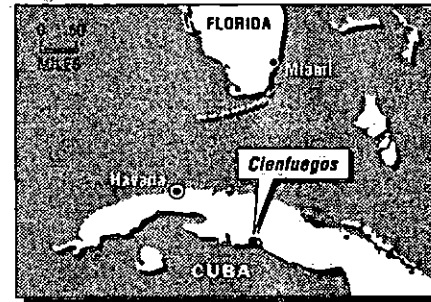
However, these design problems, while significant, are not the primary deficiencies of the Cuban reactors. Rather, the most disturbing information comes from a dozen Cuban defectors, four of whom worked directly on the reactors. Their reports indicate that the construction has been slipshod at best.

According to Vladimir Cervera, one of the defectors and a senior engineer responsible for overseeing quality control at the reactors, X-ray analysis showed that welded pipes for the cooling system, the most critical area of the reactor, were weakened by air pockets, bad soldering and heat damage. Of the pipes that were initially approved, 15% were later found to be flawed. In contrast, if a single weld in an American reactor has even a suspected defect, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission will halt all operations until the weld is proved safe.

Another defector, who was a senior nuclear engineer at the Cuban site, charges

that the support structure of the plants contains numerous faulty seals and structural defects. This engineer also claims that the steam supply system equipment was left outdoors, uncovered, for more than 18 months. Thus, instead of being properly stored in a climate controlled area, the equipment was exposed to highly corrosive tropical salt air, risking critical damage. If any of this equipment fails in a reactor, the probability of a meltdown increases dramatically.

Furthermore, 300 of the 450 Soviet advisers helping to construct the reactors were



called back home following the Soviet Union's dissolution. They were the most experienced and qualified nuclear construction experts on the project, and were replaced by poorly trained Cubans. Further eroding the level of expertise on-site, the training time for Cuban technicians in the former Soviet Union, always short, was recently more than halved. None of these Cuban technicians would be certified to operate a U.S. nuclear facility, yet they are responsible for constructing and eventually operating what could possibly be critically flawed plants near American soil.

Another potential problem is the absence of a quality assurance program independent of the construction project. Indeed, according to Prof. Diaz, docu-

ments concerning safety violations have disappeared. Not only has this lack of adequate quality assurance allowed equipment defects to go uncorrected, he says, but it also has allowed equipment designed for one specific function to be used for other functions when the appropriate equipment is in short supply.

Lack of documentation that critical components are safe would not be tolerated in the U.S. In fact, one American nuclear facility, the Zimmer nuclear power plant in Cincinnati, which cost \$3 billion to construct, was not allowed to operate simply because some documentation was missing. Without a reliable record showing that every aspect of a plant is safe, America's Nuclear Regulatory Commission properly refused to jeopardize the lives of Americans by allowing it to begin operation.

Extremist environmental organizations, which tend to object strenuously to any proposed American nuclear power plant, have been curiously uncritical of the Cuban plants. For example, a Greenpeace official stated that, "I just didn't find anything that gave me cause for concern" at the Cuban plants.

If an accident did occur, large quantities of radioactive materials would reach at least central and south Florida and could possibly spread farther, depending on the prevailing winds and rains at the time of the accident. This is an unacceptable risk, given reports out of Cuba. While the U.S. cannot conclude from the testimony of a few Cuban defectors, who may have an ax to grind with Castro, that the Cuban plants are Chernobyls in the making, neither can the U.S. ignore this risk to some of its citizens.

Fortunately, the State Department has been working behind the scenes with the Cubans trying to arrange a U.S. General Accounting Office inspection of the plants.

Additionally, the government has indicated that it intends to hold the Russians to their earlier commitment to ensure that the plants are constructed and operated in accordance with international safety norms. These are good first steps. But they are not enough.

Russia, with assistance from Ukraine, is still supplying nuclear advisers and critical components to help complete the Cuban plants. In fact, there is some speculation that Russia continues to subsidize the plants by providing these advisers and supplies free of charge. While Boris Yeltsin now requires the Cubans to pay for what they receive, many arrangements made previously remain in effect. It is highly probable that these arrangements are, in effect, direct subsidies.

The U.S. should, therefore, hold Russia responsible for Cuba's actions. As long as the Russians continue to supply critical materials and technical assistance to the Cuban nuclear facilities, we must insist that they make sure that certain conditions are met.

First, Cuba must respect the principles of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Second, Cuba must comply with International Atomic Energy Agency standards. Third, Cuba must allow an international commission, approved by Russia and the U.S., to inspect the facilities and must make any recommended safety improvements. The price for supplying critical components without meeting these demands should be a cutoff in U.S. aid to Russia. The Senate has recently included these recommendations in an amendment introduced by Sen. Connie Mack (R., Fla.).

President Bush stated in June that he envisions being "the first president of the United States to set foot on the soil of a free and democratic Cuba." Let us just hope that Cuban soil will be free of radioactivity as well as dictators.

Mr. Shanahan is an environmental policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation in Washington.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Soaking the Rich Just Won't Work

By PAUL G. MERSKI

A stagnant economy and record federal budget deficit have breathed new life into proposals to increase taxes on "the rich." The economic plans of presidential candidate Bill Clinton and presidential dropout Ross Perot both rely heavily on higher taxes for top earners as a way to reduce the deficit and fund new programs. The problem with this tactic is that even if taxes on the rich were doubled, Uncle Sam would spend all the additional money in less than a month.

No matter what you've heard, there are simply not enough wealthy taxpayers for a "soak the rich" policy to generate any significant increase in revenue.

Based on the latest available tax return data, 63,642 people had adjusted gross incomes of \$1 million or more in 1990. That may seem like a lot, but it's only 0.06% of all taxpayers. If the government were to double their tax bills, the extra \$39.1 billion extracted from them would be enough to run the federal government for only 10 days. The U.S. would have to be a nation of millionaires for Mr. Clinton's proposed millionaire's surtax, or Mr. Perot's two percentage-point increase in the top rate, to accomplish what they claim.

Well, you could expand the "rich" category to include all those with incomes of \$500,000 or more. Now, you might think, we're really rolling in the tax dough. Not exactly. If taxes were doubled on the 196,496 people who earn \$500,000 or more, that would only be enough to feed Uncle Sam's spending habit for 16 days.

There aren't enough half-millionaires, either. So let's include everyone with incomes of \$200,000 or more in the tax-the-

rich scheme. Will that do the trick? Not quite. The increased revenue from doubling the tax burden on every person making \$200,000 or more would be gobbled up by federal spending in just 28 days. In fact, the extra revenues commandeered by doubling the tax bill for everyone making over \$100,000 would cover only six weeks of federal spending. While lowering the definition of "rich" to this level generates more money, it also reaches far down the income scale to a lot of people who feel "middle-class."

Despite these readily available statistics, Bill Clinton and numerous policymakers continue to offer tax hikes on the wealthy as some sort of panacea for the government's financial woes. The argument for this tactic most often cited is that the "rich are not paying their fair share."

Not true. Despite sharp cuts in income tax rates in 1981 and 1986, actual tax return data show that top earners paid a steadily higher percentage of the total tax bill. By 1990, the top 5% of earners paid 42.9% of total income tax revenues. That's up a sharp 17.9% from 1980, when they paid 36.4% of the taxes collected. The top 10% of earners saw their share of the federal income tax bill rise from 48.6% in 1980 to 53.9% by 1990. And tax rates remain steeply progressive, despite what critics say. They range from 4.5% for the lowest 25% of earners up to 21.1% for those in the top 5%.

Since 1981, the combination of reducing tax rates and eliminating tax shelters and loopholes has actually brought in more income tax revenues from top earners. Recent tax changes aimed at this group will

likely result in their paying an even greater chunk of the tax take when data become available. Starting in 1991, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 increased the tax rate on top earners from 28% to 31%, restricted their itemized deductions, phased out the value of their personal exemptions, increased the alternative minimum tax rate from 21% to 24% and subjected more of their income to Medicare payroll taxes.

Lower tax rates across the board and the national economic expansion of the 1980s boosted all individuals' incomes and pumped unprecedented revenue windfalls into the Treasury. Since 1981, income tax revenues have increased an average of \$20 billion per year. But taxpayers have discovered that a decade of higher revenues did not lead to government surpluses or a lighter tax burden. Instead, lawmakers simply spent tax revenues faster than they could collect them, to the point where spending increased \$1.59 for every \$1 increase in taxes.

Promoting "class warfare" tax policies—designed to pit rich against poor—will not reduce the record federal tax burden, spending and deficit. New programs promised for the middle class will inevitably be paid for by the middle class. This is because, as famous bank robber Willie Sutton said about banks, "that's where the money is." In reality, any plan to "soak the rich" would end up soaking the average American as well.

Mr. Merski is fiscal affairs director at the Tax Foundation in Washington, D.C.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Bush Is Being Pressured to Do More To Stop Violence in Former Yugoslavia

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Pressure on the Bush administration to do more to stop the violence in what was Yugoslavia is increasing rapidly because of reports that Serbian fighters are routinely torturing and killing Croats and Bosnian Muslims in prison camps.

In quick order yesterday, some important members of Congress, the Democratic presidential and vice presidential nominees, and some outside organizations urged President Bush to take more-aggressive steps, potentially including military action, to stop the violence by Serbian militiamen.

But the administration was resisting any suggestion of American military action. Instead, it pushed the United Nations Security Council to demand that Serbians open alleged concentration camps to immediate inspection by the Red Cross. The State Department appeared to back away from earlier statements that it could confirm that Serbian atrocities are occurring in detention camps, saying it can't be sure systematic violence is taking place.

In an interview yesterday with USA Today, President Bush said: "Before I'd commit American forces to a battle, I want to know what's the beginning, what's the objective, how is the objective going to be achieved, and what's the end. . . . I don't see the answers to my questions." Moreover, Mr. Bush said that resolving "ancient ethnic rivalries that have been released by the removal of the communist center" are "a pretty difficult equation right now."

The Security Council later demanded that warring parties in Bosnia open their detention centers to inspection. The council statement isn't binding under international law, however.

The flurry of debate is turning Yugoslavia into a more acute foreign-policy and political problem for President Bush. The new attention has been spurred by a spate of eyewitness accounts of atrocities from Bosnian refugees. They claim that Serbian fighters, who are trying to seize pieces of the new nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and rid them of Muslim inhabitants, have been herding Croats and Bosnian Muslims into detention centers, where living conditions are horrific and violence common.

In response, Democratic presidential

candidate Bill Clinton, who earlier called for the U.S. to be more willing to use military force to deliver humanitarian aid to Bosnian civilians, issued a statement saying the U.S. should call an emergency U.N. Security Council session at which the U.N. should demand the closing of any detention camps. The U.N. demands "should be backed up by collective action, including the use of force, if necessary," Mr. Clinton said. "The United States should be prepared to lend appropriate support, including military, to such an operation." Mr. Clinton's running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, separately released a similar statement.

At the same time, House members chided a senior administration official at a hearing, asserting that the U.S. has been too cautious in protecting aid shipments to besieged Bosnian civilians and in acting on information about the concentration camps.

Thomas Niles, the assistant secretary of state for European affairs, told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee that, contrary to the impression left by a department spokesman earlier this week, the U.S. can't confirm the reports of atrocities in detention camps. "We've not been able to have independent confirmation of these reports, but we are certainly following up vigorously with the Serbian authorities in support of the efforts by the international community, the Red Cross, to gain access to these facilities," Mr. Niles said. He acknowledged that the Bosnian government has released a list of 105 concentration camps where it contends Serbian fighters have been holding civilians.

Mr. Niles also said, under repeated questioning by subcommittee Chairman Lee Hamilton (D., Ind.), that the administration supports the "concept" of a new U.N. resolution authorizing the use of military force to protect humanitarian aid flights to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. But he said President Bush is approaching the use of force with "caution."

"Nobody's arguing against caution, Mr. Niles," said Rep. Hamilton. "It's just the fact that the humanitarian relief efforts getting into Sarajevo and the surrounding areas have had a great deal of trouble now over a very long period of time — weeks and weeks and weeks. Horrendous suffering is taking place in this region."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Bush, Clinton Trade Salvos On Health Care

By HILARY STOUT
And MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The White House and the Clinton campaign accused each other of misrepresentation in the third consecutive day of campaign crossfire on health care.

In the morning, Democratic senators called a Capitol Hill press conference, and at lunchtime, Clinton partisans demonstrated in front of the White House to protest recent statements by Mr. Bush implying that Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton favors a system of taxpayer-financed, government-run national health insurance. The White House responded by bringing out two of the administration's top health officials to accuse the Democratic presidential candidate of distorting Mr. Bush's position.

Mr. Clinton doesn't advocate a government-run health system. Rather, he favors requiring employers to provide health insurance to employees or pay a tax to finance a public plan for anyone who isn't covered through the workplace. He also supports putting caps on overall health expenditures.

Implication by Bush

President Bush, speaking at a fund-raising brunch in Illinois Sunday, implied otherwise. The president said, "Understand what's at stake here. 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."

The next day, in Jacksonville, Fla., he said, "Frankly, I think we need a, 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."

White House Plan

At the White House news conference, Gail Wilensky, the top White House health-policy aide, said, "There seems to be some confusion about the president's health-care plan and in fact whether or not the president has a health-care plan." Pointing to a 94-page document released Feb. 6, she said, "We do. . . . This is not a new issue. It's not a new document."

She was countering comments Mr. Clinton made Monday on ABC's "Good Morning America" program, when he said, "Instead of attacking me, they ought to come up with their own plan, which they haven't done because they don't want to take on the vested interests in the health-care debate."

Mr. Bush's plan would grant tax credits and deductions to poor and some middle-income people for the purchase of private health insurance. It would also require insurance companies to cover anyone, regardless of previous medical conditions.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Man With Ties To Bush Testifies To Big Contra Role

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A private operative with ties to President Bush testified to helping coordinate secret supply flights to Nicaraguan insurgents in 1986 and to using his contacts in Central America to obtain sensitive government clearances for the shipments.

Felix Rodriguez, who was first sent to El Salvador in 1985 with the help of Mr. Bush, then vice president, said he used his friendships with the Salvadoran military both to facilitate flights into Nicaragua and to obtain valuable permits for the import of weapons by a covert network run by the White House.

Mr. Rodriguez said he made "no differentiation" between the secret arms shipments, which sought to circumvent a ban by Congress, and a publicly financed U.S. program of humanitarian aid that was also funneled through his post at the Ilopango air base in El Salvador. The same supply facilities and air crews were used in both cases. He also testified that he once used his personal contacts with an arms dealer in Honduras to get approval from officials there for a U.S. plane carrying humanitarian aid to land in Honduras.

Mr. Rodriguez's testimony came in federal court here at the trial of Clair George, a former director of operations for the Central Intelligence Agency charged with perjury and obstruction in connection with his past testimony regarding the Iran-Contra affair. Mr. Rodriguez has repeatedly denied that Mr. Bush knew of his involvement in the Contra network. But this history is nonetheless embarrassing to the White House, given increasing evidence that the CIA was well aware of Mr. Rodriguez's multiple functions in El Salvador.

In a brief interview, Mr. Rodriguez acknowledged that it would have been "obvious" to U.S. intelligence officials there that he was helping at least to coordinate the flights. Secret cables, made public at the trial, show that a CIA station chief, who was later transferred out of El Salvador, had complained to headquarters about Mr. Rodriguez as early as January 1986.

While the general outlines of Mr. Rodriguez's involvement have been known for some years, his testimony yesterday showed the extent to which he used his own personal contacts to assist the supply network. This is significant both because it demonstrates that he was more than a bit player in the affair, and because, given Mr. Rodriguez's sometimes free-lance style, it raises questions about how Mr. Bush could have been so uninformed of his activities.

In April 1986, for example, Mr. Rodriguez said he was instrumental in having the Salvadoran military provide import or "end-user" certificates for the planned purchase of sophisticated missiles for the Contras. Just two months before, when questions arose about a flight of aid to Contra base camps inside Honduras, Mr. Rodriguez said he had used his relations with Mario Dellamico, an influential arms dealer in Central America, to get approval to land.

Later, elaborating on his testimony, Mr. Rodriguez said he had never worked for Mr. Dellamico but that the arms dealer had offered him \$20,000 in the early 1980s if he would use his contacts in Central America to find potential customers for Mr. Dellamico.

The flight of humanitarian aid to Honduras in February 1986 never took place because it was blocked by the chief of the CIA's Central American task force, who was traveling in the region and has said he feared the size of the craft and its U.S. markings would embarrass the Hondurans. But Mr. Rodriguez told reporters he was confident that the landing could have gone ahead and even joked that perhaps the CIA officer was "jealous" of his ability to make the arrangements.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Treasury Attacks Cuomo For Remarks About S&Ls

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — Operating on the better-late-than-never theory, the Treasury Department attacked New York Gov. Mario Cuomo for remarks he made about the savings-and-loan crisis during the Democratic national convention three weeks ago.

In a letter to the governor, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John Robson asked Mr. Cuomo to "drop the political hyperbole and do something constructive for your country" by urging Congress to vote billions of dollars in new funds to finance the cleanup of failed S&Ls. Mr. Robson didn't mention that the funding has been blocked primarily by House Republicans. So far the White House hasn't been able to win enough Republican support to pass the new S&L funds.

In a July 15 speech nominating Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton as the Democratic presidential candidate, Mr. Cuomo said that "wealthy bankers, educated in the most exquisite forms of conservative, Republican banking, through their incompetence and thievery and the government's neglect" had conducted "the world's greatest bank robbery."

Referring to the S&L crisis, Mr. Robson said, "if you have any respect for the facts, you can't lay this one on the Republicans." Mr. Robson said that "prominent members of your party . . . had associations with some of the less savory aspects of the S&L scandal."

Blacks and Whites on Common Ground

By CLINT BOLICK

Twenty-eight years after the Civil Rights Act, racial polarization continues to frustrate consensus on some of the most important issues facing our nation. But recent survey findings may foster mutual understanding by debunking one of the most pernicious myths underlying racial division: that blacks and whites have fundamentally different views and aspirations.

This myth has fueled demagogues on both sides of the racial divide, especially in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots. But poll results just released by the left-leaning Joint Center for Political Studies reveal that most blacks aspire like other Americans to safe streets, good schools and home ownership.

Of equal import, the survey demonstrates that mainstream black Americans are far more conservative than most of the politicians and organizations that purport to speak for them. This philosophical gulf perhaps was most pronounced near the end of the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, when national groups like the NAACP stridently opposed the Supreme Court nominee while blacks in general approved by a three-to-one ratio (along with some local NAACP chapters).

Conservative, Not Republican

The Joint Center study found that more blacks label themselves conservative (33%) than either liberal (28%) or moderate (31%). Young blacks 18 to 34 years old are more conservative, with 38% describing themselves as such.

But conservative blacks have not yet found a hospitable political home. A minuscule 5% of those surveyed are Republicans. The GOP's failure to attract like-minded blacks offers vivid testimony to years of hostility or neglect by Republicans toward matters of concern to black Americans.

Poll findings on specific issues highlight common ground between whites and blacks. Despite opposition by establishment civil rights groups to capital punishment as racially discriminatory, the survey found most blacks favor the death penalty. This finding reflects serious concern about crime. More than half the blacks surveyed live within a few blocks of places they're afraid to walk in at night, and nearly half live in neighborhoods where young men carry guns.

Education is the number one election issue for black Americans, the survey found, and 75% support a "back-to-basics" direction. In sharp contrast to politicians and establishment civil rights leaders, an amazing 88% support a "voucher" system that would allow parents to choose the schools their children attend.

Like many other Americans, most blacks are skeptical about current welfare policies. Some 57% believe government should not increase aid when single mothers have more children, and 75% think such a policy change would encourage

blacks. By focusing on social engineering schemes such as racial quotas and set-asides that have little relevance to the real problems facing many blacks, the civil rights leadership elite is growing increasingly out of touch with its constituency.

In this regard, the leadership elite's problems are twofold. Racial preferences don't much aid a black underclass beset with ravaging crime, economic stagnation and inadequate schools. Likewise, the growing number of blacks who have joined the economic mainstream may have more in common with other middle class Ameri-

The GOP's failure to attract like-minded blacks offers vivid testimony to years of hostility or neglect by Republicans toward matters of concern to black Americans.

single women to have fewer children. The poll found 91% of blacks support opportunities for low-income people to become homeowners by buying their public housing, a centerpiece of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp's "empowerment" agenda.

The Joint Center poll echoes an earlier survey by Linda Lichter, which found a gulf over major issues between leaders of black organizations and randomly selected blacks. The survey found 77% of black leaders believed affirmative action should be the most important factor in hiring and education decisions; indeed, National Urban League President John Jacob called this "the one constant that must be shared by anyone who presumes to hold a leadership position in the black community." But the survey found most blacks would flunk this ideological litmus test. Some 77% believe ability rather than race should be the determining factor.

Likewise, the Lichter survey found 68% of black leaders favoring forced busing for integration, while 53% of mainstream blacks opposed busing. Two-thirds of black leaders opposed the death penalty for murder, compared with 55% of all blacks who favored it.

These findings contain powerful messages for both sides of the policy debate. They explain why liberal groups like the NAACP have lost thousands of members in recent years, particularly among younger

cans than with those whose agenda remains rooted in the battles of the 1960s.

For conservatives, opportunities are apparent. But instead of partisan efforts, they should concentrate on specific issues in which common cause exists with mainstream blacks. Groups such as the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise and the Institute for Justice have built potent coalitions with low-income people on such empowerment issues as school choice, tenant management of public housing, and challenges to regulatory barriers to entry-level entrepreneurial opportunities.

If only by default, Bill Clinton likely will win the majority of black votes this November, and he mouthed the rhetoric of empowerment at the Democratic National Convention. But to the extent he caves into special interest groups — he promised teachers unions he'd oppose school choice that includes private schools — it could create openings for George Bush.

Mr. Bush has fumbled on the race issue, capitulating on a divisive civil rights bill that means little to most blacks while failing to forcefully articulate a positive alternative. Mr. Bush needs to take his case directly to black Americans, presenting a clear agenda to create tangible opportunities for upward mobility.

Thus far he has not done so. Bush proposals on urban enterprise zones, tenant management, school choice and tax

relief are pitched separately and dispassionately, rather than as a comprehensive package the Democrats can't match. The administration some time ago banished the "E" word — empowerment — from its official lexicon to keep Jack Kemp's star from shining too brightly. So long as it lacks a credible vision and messenger, the GOP richly deserves cynicism from blacks.

Regardless of its political or policy implications, the survey's most significant impact is to undermine the stereotype that all blacks think alike — a stereotype perpetuated by establishment civil rights groups who punish those who dissent from establishment orthodoxy. Federal Appeals Court Judge Leon Higginbotham, for instance, recently scolded Justice Thomas in print for supposedly betraying his race by committing various perceived philosophical heresies.

Yet it was the Thomas nomination itself that disproved this patronizing stereotype once and for all. For Justice Thomas personifies the American Dream of achievement based on merit and hard work. His rise from poverty and segregation marked a vindication of the ideas of equality and opportunity — ideals to which blacks and whites alike are committed.

The Remaining Task

Martin Luther King Jr. was perhaps the last civil rights leader to understand that. Instead of emphasizing differences among people the way contemporary civil rights leaders often do, he drew constantly upon the principles and aspirations that unite us as Americans, black and white, rich and poor. Indeed, the remaining task of the civil rights struggle is not to redistribute opportunities through a divisive and counterproductive racial spoils system, but to empower those who have been denied opportunities.

It is on the basis of these traditional American ideas that the problems facing the most disadvantaged members of our society can be surmounted — and the sometimes seemingly insurmountable chasm between blacks and whites can be bridged.

Mr. Bolick is litigation director at the Institute for Justice in Washington and author of "Unfinished Business: A Civil Rights Strategy for America's Third Century" (Pacific Research Institute, 1990).

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Trouble in G.O.P. Stronghold Could Signal Bush's Undoing

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Special to The New York Times

NEWPORT BEACH, Calif., Aug. 4 — The sunny, deeply conservative political terrain of Orange County has served as the staging ground of Nixonism and the Reagan Revolution. Now it may prove the Waterloo of the Republican heir of those two Presidents, George Bush.

A deep disaffection over President Bush, from both his right and left, is spreading through this traditional bastion of Republican strength. The Republican leadership has been shaken by recent polls showing the President trailing the Democratic nominee, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas — and this in a county where the Republican whipped Gov. Michael S. Dukakis four years ago by a 69-to-31-percent margin.

Forsaking Political Roots

The disaffected include Patricia Cox, a longtime resident active in social and charitable affairs who says she has voted Republican since she went for Thomas E. Dewey in his losing race against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944. But now she peers out over Upper Newport Bay from the shady lawn of her large home and declares herself a Clinton backer. Mrs. Cox, now 70 years old, said she can no longer overlook Mr. Bush's hard-line positions on abortion and fetal-tissue research. "I can't believe Bush's stand," she said.

A few miles away, in the sleek business parks of Irvine, Roger W. Johnson, a former Bush contributor who is

chairman of the board of the Western Digital Corporation, a maker of computer parts, is preparing to forsake Republican roots that go back to the Eisenhower and Goldwater days, but for a different reason: the slumping economy. "He's made an art form out of doing nothing," Mr. Johnson said of the President. "They don't know what's going on in the country. We cannot compete internationally; the schools are in shambles; people cannot

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The Republicans

G.O.P. Citadel Where Bush's Foundation Is Weak

Continued From Page A1

get health care."

The President's backers believe his stock will rise after the Republican National Convention, which begins in two weeks in Houston, and when wavering Republicans here confront the awful prospect of actually voting Democratic. But they nevertheless fear that Mr. Bush will not carry Orange County by a large enough margin to offset the normally heavy Democratic pluralities in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas. At stake is the biggest prize in the election, California's 54 electoral votes.

No Republican since 1880 has won the Presidency without carrying California.

"The President's in very serious difficulty," said Allan E. Hoffenblum, a Republican political consultant in Los Angeles. "If he's in trouble in Orange County, he's in trouble, period. Bush will carry Orange County, but the question is, will he get just 52 percent? Any time a Republican gets less than 60 percent in Orange County, he loses the state."

Sensing the Urgency

Evidently sensing the urgency, the President has visited California five times this year, most recently Thursday. He came to Orange County, spoke at the Anaheim plant of a robotics maker and tried to appeal to the area's deep concern for military preparedness.

And suggesting that the Democrats are aware of the Republicans' vulnerability, their Vice-Presidential candidate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, was in the county on Monday.

For now, the news is mostly bad for the President:

A poll taken by The Orange County Register on July 16-17, just after the Democratic National Convention, found Governor Clinton leading the President in the county, 42 to 35 percent, with former backers of Ross Perot going for Mr. Clinton by nearly two to one. The poll of 403 registered voters had a margin of error of plus or minus five percentage points. A Field Poll taken July 22-27 gave Mr. Clinton what the poll called a "phenomenal" 62-to-28 percent lead over Mr. Bush statewide, the largest lead ever for a Presidential candidate in the 45-year history of the poll. The poll of 1,192 adults had a margin of error of three percentage points.

An editorial in the libertarian Orange County Register Sunday called on President Bush to quit the race, saying he has "shown too much of a willingness to work in tandem with Congressional Democrats."

A poll July 25-27 by Fairbank, Maullin & Associates, a Democratic survey firm in Santa Monica, put the Clinton lead at 52 to 26 percent in California. The poll of 800 voters had a margin of error of four percentage points.

All of this comes against a backdrop of a county of 2.4 million people which, while still 79 percent white and 55 percent Republican by registration, has long outgrown its caricature image of wealthy right-wing zealots battling Communism, taxation and big government. Moreover, its economy, heavily dependent on Government aerospace and military contracts, has suffered unaccustomed blows during the recession. In the last year, 30,000 jobs have been lost. Unemployment hit 6.7 percent in June, more than double what it is normally.

"This translates into more people

who were living a blissful, middle-class life who are now unemployed or threatened by unemployment," said Richard Maullin of the survey firm. "And as it continues to urbanize, the county becomes more complex. It has a growing minority population, and substantial numbers of Democrats. It just doesn't fit the conservative stereotype as much as it used to."

A Remote President?

In all this, President Bush has appeared to many residents to be remote and detached from California's problems. And the Republican ranks are increasingly influenced by business-

Orange County isn't the same, so the President isn't safe.

oriented young people who are put off by the Bush-Quayle attempts to appeal to the religious right, abortion foes and "family" values, and who are unhappy with the Republican record on the economy and environment.

"You have a lot of young, under 35, swing Republicans," said Mr. Hoffenblum, the Republican consultant. "They're conservative on economic issues, but not on social and environmental ones. They were originally part of the Democratic base that the Republicans picked up during the 80's. They're uncomfortable with the religious right." Mr. Hoffenblum might have added that these are the very people

Mr. Clinton is wooing in his campaign for the center.

For example, David L. Scott migrated to Orange County from Texas almost three years ago and quickly became involved in Republican politics, giving \$500 a year to the local party and serving on the board of directors of the Silver Circle, a fund-raising group. But Mr. Scott, 30-year-old director of government relations for a computer software company, is now leaning toward Mr. Clinton.

"I look at Bush and see a nice guy who is going in circles," said Mr. Scott, who lives in Laguna Niguel. "I see a budget deficit that has tripled, the country going down the tubes because of fiscal problems, and it does not matter whether it's a Republican or a Democrat." He said he recently wrote the party complaining that it should avoid getting involved in "endorsing social viewpoints," like the abortion issue, adding that he thought Republicanism meant minimal government interference in people's personal lives.

The Abortion Issue

Indeed, the abortion issue appears to have been a major factor for Republican women in the county, where the polls show there is strong backing for a woman's right to choose, as there is in California generally. Last Thursday, Anita M. Mangels of Laguna Beach, who says she has never voted Democratic "for anything," led a demonstration against President Bush at his Anaheim visit.

"First and foremost, I am pro-choice," said Ms. Mangels, laid off from her job with a real estate developer. She added that she felt betrayed by President Bush when he agreed to raise taxes and that she would work for Mr. Clinton.

Greg Haskin, executive director of the Orange County Republican Party, said he was confident that Mr. Bush's support would solidify once memories of the Democratic convention fade and the President begins his campaign in earnest. He disputed suggestions that the abortion issue is crucial.

"We've had eight years of pro-life Ronald Reagan and four years of pro-life George Bush," he said. "The economy is the important factor."

For some time, California Republican leaders have been warning the White House. "Clinton is receiving a massive Republican crossover, which is very unusual in a county where Republican loyalty is so high," said Tony Quinn, a Republican strategist in Sacramento. "What you're seeing is the Bush Administration's general neglect of California's economic interests over the last four years."

But Mark Baldassare, a poll-taker and longtime student of Orange County politics who teaches urban planning at the University of California at Irvine, warns against writing off Mr. Bush. "There is so much pent-up frustration right now, so many people looking for a way out of the economic malaise," he said. "But if Bush can come up with a plan to make people regain confidence he'll get the voters back. I don't think people in Orange County have tuned out George Bush or the Republican Party."

But Larry Thomas, a longtime Orange County public relations adviser to the national Republican Party, said many in the local party had been urging the White House to reassure Californians, to demonstrate that "what they are seeing is not the absolute demise of one of the great states in the nation but a painful restructuring, that there is some hope."

Issues: Health Care

G.O.P. Tries to Seize a Democratic Issue

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 — After a series of tentative jabs, the 1992 Presidential campaign moved today toward a major battle over health care, politically fertile ground long controlled by Democrats but now a central part of the Republicans' electoral strategy.

Brandishing thick policy proposals, politicians from both parties produced a flurry of press releases, announcements and news conferences, accusing each other of callously abandoning millions of Americans to inferior medical treatment.

President Bush, whose initial effort to seize the health care issue in a campaign swing on Sunday was overshadowed by his campaign's personal attack on Gov. Bill Clinton, tried again today.

Seeking to give the impression that he is shaking off the sense of drift in his campaign, which has prompted intense criticism within Republican ranks, Mr. Bush went to Capitol Hill for a pep rally with Republican leaders. There, he appeared before television cameras to receive boxing gloves labeled "Democrat" and "Congress."

"I like to fight back; I like to take on the odds," Mr. Bush said in an interview with reporters and editors from USA Today. "Let the big front-runners coast along. We're going to fight back and win it."

Although Mr. Bush's campaign has been criticizing Mr. Clinton daily, the President said he had been too easy on the Democratic nominee. "I have to stop saying nice things and start doing what he's been doing to me for six months," he said.

Rockefeller Assails Bush

The Democrats, hoping not to give Mr. Bush time to regroup, gathered about a dozen Senators at a news conference to accuse the President of ignoring the 34 million Americans who do not have health insurance until the political potency of the issue became

clear in a Senate race in Pennsylvania last year.

"I cannot understand how the President can be so callous, so indifferent, so unknowledgeable and take so little action," said Senator John D. Rockefeller 4th of West Virginia.

The White House riposted by sending two of its top health care officials into the briefing room to make the point that Mr. Bush has a health care plan, even if it is incomplete, and to ridicule Gov. Bill Clinton's proposals, which Mr. Bush has tried to paint as socialistic.

Accusing Mr. Clinton of advocating socialized medicine — although he does not — Kevin Moley, Deputy Secretary

Bush wants to show his concern for the average American.

of Health and Human Services, called elements of the Clinton plan "oxymoronic, with the accent on the 'mo-ronic.'"

Mary Matalin, the overseer of the Bush campaign's daily "attack fax" program that spoiled Mr. Bush's health care offensive on Sunday, issued a new document today entitled "There He Goes Again." It said Mr. Clinton was deliberately ignoring Mr. Bush's proposals on health care.

"Instead of owning up to the taxes in his proposal, Governor Clinton slickly tries to change the subject and dodge the issue," she said. "Perhaps the taxes in his proposal will cover ear exams so he'll be able to hear what President Bush has said."

There are substantive differences between the two parties' positions on health care. Mr. Bush advocates tax

breaks and legal changes that would make it easier for people to buy insurance. Mr. Clinton wants to require businesses to provide it, and if they do not, have the Government step in.

But the oratorical flourishes are driven by two political realities: Both sides think the issue will help their candidates win in November, but neither is ready to move forward with a comprehensive solution.

Although Mr. Bush produced "a comprehensive health care plan" in February, the Administration did not send Congress legislation to put it into effect until May, when it was too late to do anything about it and everything Mr. Bush did was seen in a political light.

G.O.P. Details Awaited

The plan's centerpiece, tax incentives to help low- and middle-income families buy insurance, still has not been written because of an internal Administration debate over its structure. Mr. Moley and Gail Wilensky, Mr. Bush's senior adviser on health care issues, tried to sidestep that issue today, saying the White House was not pushing such a bill because Congress had not acted on the other measures.

Congressional Democrats also have not ventured a vote on their "pay-or-play" proposal, which would require employers either to provide health insurance or to pay into a government fund that would do so in their place, because they do not have the backing for the plan, which is hotly opposed by owners of small businesses.

Further complicating the political equation, some Congressional Republicans have come forth with their own health-insurance plans, not waiting for the White House to act.

Perhaps because of these considerations today's political discussion was at times reduced to an argument over who had the most detailed proposal.

"I'd like to reiterate that President Bush has had a 94-page health-care plan before the American people since Feb. 6," Mr. Moley said. "I picked up

this morning from the Clinton campaign their three-page plan," he said, holding the documents in his hands and adding, "Three pages does not constitute a plan."

Although they recognize that they have opened a debate in which Democrats generally do better, Republican strategists said they believed Mr. Clinton was vulnerable because of his support for the expensive Democratic plan.

Perhaps more important, Mr. Bush's advisers are increasingly desperate to find a way to show that the President is concerned about the plight of average Americans and have seized on health care as a partial solution.

They draw parallels to the 1988 campaign, in which Mr. Bush endorsed a conservative proposal on child care, enabling him to score points on another traditionally Democratic issue.

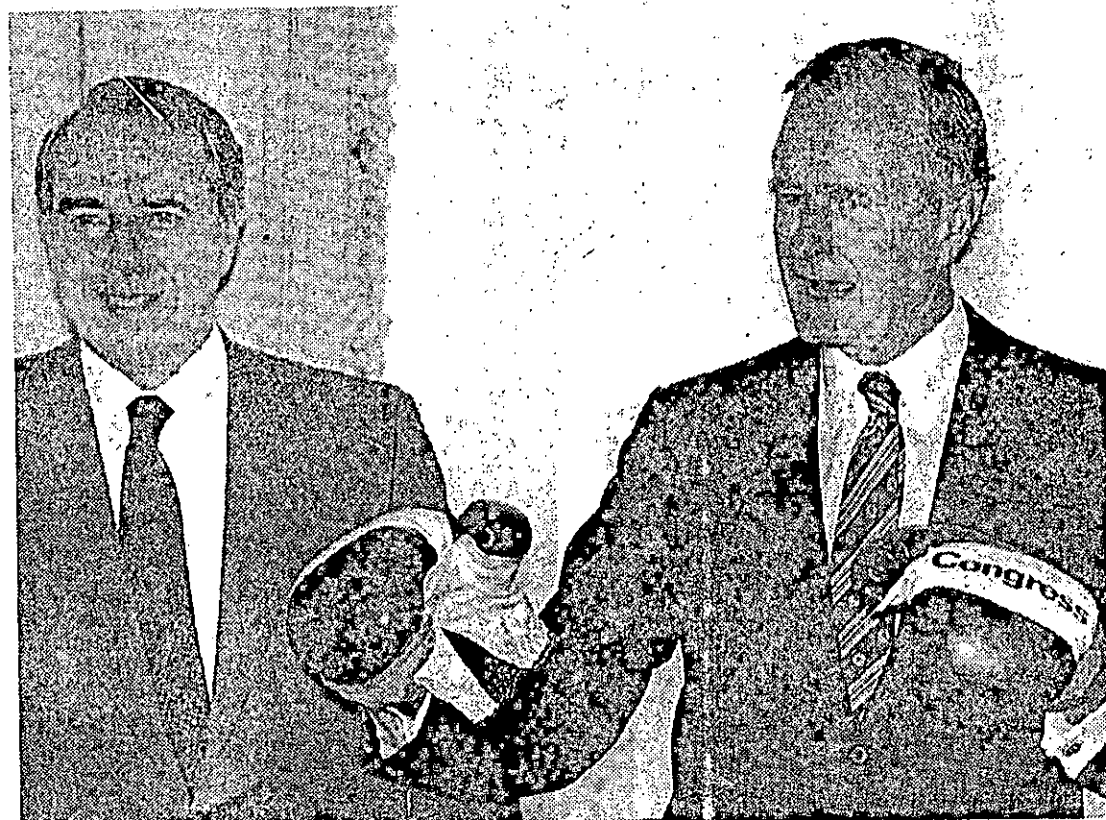
"Health care is a real problem on which we can show substantive policy differences, not just atmospherics," a senior official said. "The election is about the future, and we can win if people become convinced that we have a domestic policy for the second term. We know we can't rewrite history and pretend we have a huge number of accomplishments or were ready to go on Jan. 21, 1989, with a huge agenda on health care."

Mr. Clinton has specifically said he

would not impose socialized medicine, along the Canadian model, but the Bush team said his approach would lead to that inevitably.

Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, noted that Mr. Bush himself receives medical treatment at the Bethesda Naval Hospital. "He doesn't mind socialized medicine when it applies to him," Mr. Kerrey said.

George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton's communications director, said: "The Republicans tried to run against socialized medicine with Medicare in 1964. It didn't work then and it's not going to work now. You can't solve the health care crisis with scare tactics."



President Bush wearing boxing gloves labeled "Democrat" and "Congress" given to him on a visit to Capitol Hill for a pep rally with Republican leaders. With him was Bob Dole, the Senate minority leader.

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Bart Bartholomew for The New York Times

Patricia Cox, who has voted Republican since she went for Thomas E. Dewey in his losing race against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944, now declares herself a supporter of Gov. Bill Clinton. "I can't believe Bush's stand on choice and fetal-tissue research," she said.

On the Trail

CLINTON SEEKS \$1.79 MILLION IN FEDERAL MONEY

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 (AP) — Bill Clinton sought \$1.79 million in additional Federal money for his primary campaign today, more than the nine other eligible Presidential candidates combined. The Democratic Presidential candidate based his request for matching money on more than \$3 million in private contributions his campaign received in July.

The money will be used to pay Mr. Clinton's debts from the primary elections, which reached nearly \$4 million in May before dropping to about \$2 million at the end of July.

In the primaries, the Federal Government matches the first \$250 from each individual donor. Qualified Presidential candidates in turn agree to spending limits.

Patrick J. Buchanan, who challenged Mr. Bush in the Republican primaries, made the second largest request today, \$438,317. Mr. Bush asked for \$175,215.

Other requests were: Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party, \$167,810; Paul E. Tsongas, former Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, \$51,375; Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, \$32,700, and Senator Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, \$19,987.

SUNUNU AND EVANGELIST TO ADDRESS G.O.P. CONVENTION

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 (AP) — John H. Sununu, the former White House chief of staff, and Pat Robertson, the television evangelist who ran in Presidential primaries in 1988, will address the Republican National Convention in Houston, a top aide in President Bush's campaign said today. The aide, Charles Black, said that both Mr. Sununu and Mr. Robertson were Bush supporters, adding that Mr. Robertson had "a very powerful, important constituency." Mr. Sununu, who resigned under fire last year, is a favorite of conservatives.

What America Owes the Ex-Soviet Union

By James A. Baker 3d

TWICE before in this century, America was summoned to international leadership. After World War I, we ignored the summons, and we and the world paid dearly. After World War II, wiser from experience with depression and dictatorship, we heeded the call to leadership and created the democratic coalition that won the cold war. Today, America is summoned again, this time to secure a democratic peace with Russia, Ukraine and the other new independent states of the former Soviet Union.

As President Bush said, "Democrats in the Kremlin can assure our security in a way nuclear missiles never could." The House of Representatives, by passing the Freedom Support Act, can help those democrats — and help America, too.

James A. Baker 3d is Secretary of State.

Just seven weeks ago, in his address to a joint session of Congress, Boris Yeltsin spoke as Russia's first freely elected President, boldly committed to democracy and free enterprise. He spoke as a full partner in the search for security, eager to join President Bush in the most far-reaching nuclear arms reductions in history. And he spoke as a friend, prepared to end secrecy and throw open secret files that can help shed light on the fate of M.I.A.'s and P.O.W.'s.

The Freedom Support Act, announced April 1 by President Bush, is a crucial step in building a democratic peace. The act comprehensively addresses the military, political and economic problems of Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Armenia and the other new states.

The act will support arms control, nonproliferation and nuclear safety. It will expand our democratization programs and encourage free markets. It will make it easier for U.S. companies to invest in and trade with the new independent states. That's good for American businesses and could create thousands of jobs for American workers. Indeed, helping

dévelop vast new markets in the states of the former Soviet Union will create great possibilities for America's economy.

• *The act is not a foreign aid giveaway.* President Yeltsin and other reformers are attempting to build modern, free-market economies on the ruins of Communism. Their task is extraordinarily difficult and complicated by political turmoil and deep economic hardship. Our help is no handout. The reformers must make the hard decisions and do the hard work. Our help cannot guarantee they will succeed — but should Congress fail to act, their task will be all the more difficult. All who want to see this brave experiment prevail must help them succeed, for their sake and for ours.

• *The act is America's share — and a fair one — in a coalition effort.* The problems of the former Soviet Union are too huge for any one country to tackle. In a policy I call collective engagement, we have joined forces with other major industrial democracies, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

• *Above all, the act is an invest-*

ment in America's security, now and in the future. There are two peace dividends. The first is financial and important. The second is human — the freedom from fear we wish for all Americans — and it is vital. If Russian and other reformers fail, if democracy collapses and authoritarianism returns, both dividends will slip

The Freedom Support Act will help us, too.

through our fingers and we will all lose. Defense budgets would rise again and the fear of confrontation we knew during 40 years of cold war would be certain to return.

• *The Senate has passed the Freedom Support Act. The House of Representatives should not hesitate, because history certainly will not.* Events are moving quickly in the

former Soviet Union, and we must keep step to help shape them. It will take statesmanship to pass the act — and pass it quickly. Statesmanship is the ability to distinguish between a reason and an excuse.

There could be plenty of excuses for the House to reject the act or to cripple it with "killer amendments": the Federal budget is tight, times at home are lean, this is an election year. But there is a simple, compelling reason why the act should pass: It will help insure our security for decades to come.

Statesmen of the 1940's — from national leaders like Harry S. Truman and Senator Arthur Vandenberg to freshman Congressmen like John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon — understood the difference between reasons and excuses. They answered their generations' summons to international leadership.

Today, it will require similar statesmanship, from Democrats and Republicans alike, to answer our call to leadership and secure a democratic peace for future generations of Americans.

Reducing Casualties in the Abortion Battle

By Mario M. Cuomo

The struggle over when and whether abortion should remain a legal choice for American women seems likely to rage on for years, and while people of good will struggle over their polarized views, what should be a vital common ground may continue to be neglected.

Whatever else the abortion adversaries believe, most of them would also agree that there are entirely too many abortions in this country. Of the six million pregnancies in the United States every year, more than half are unplanned; more than a quarter — 1.5 million — end in abortion. That's a rate higher than for any other industrialized Western nation.

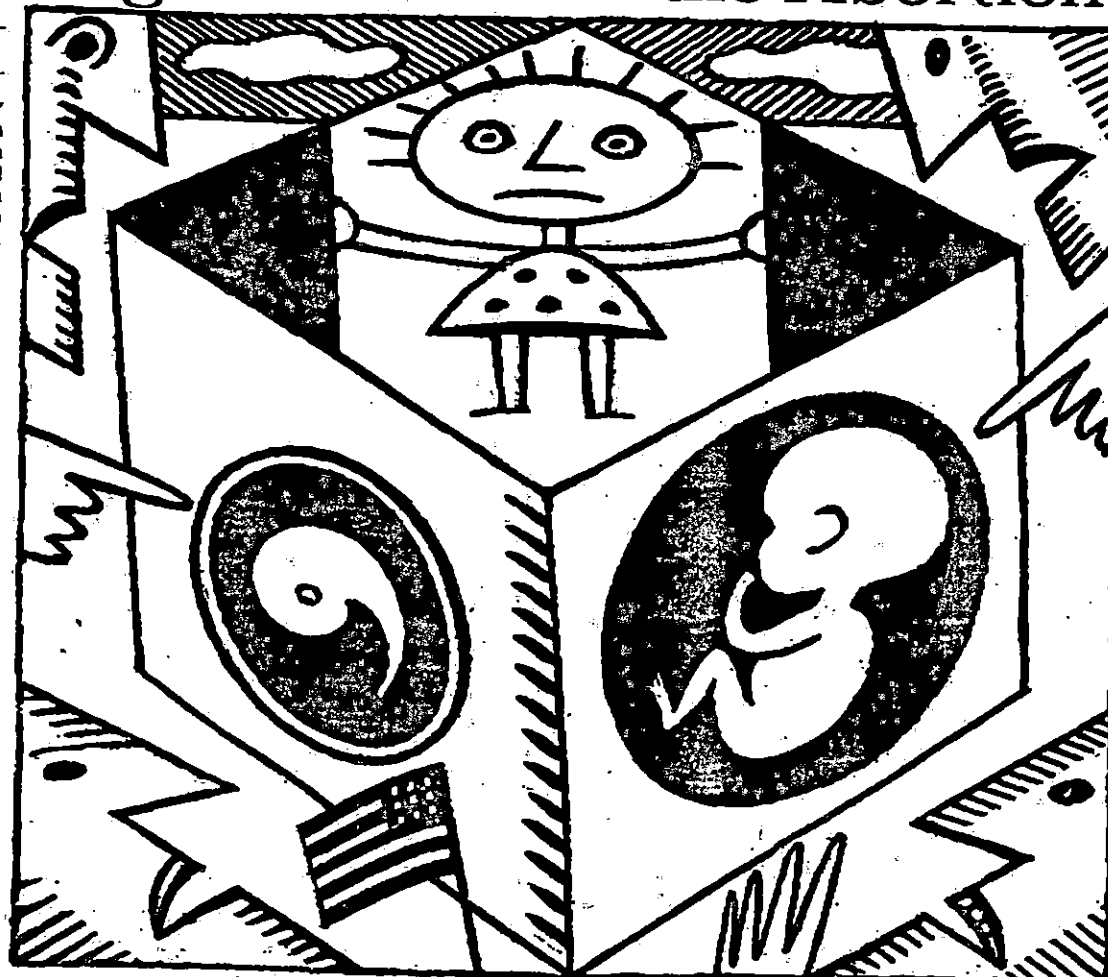
It's here that we may find some real hope of accomplishing what most people agree is a desirable goal — reducing the rate of abortion by helping women avoid the circumstances that press them to make such a difficult choice. It's an idea that could join people rather than tear them apart. Here are some general principles I would suggest as a starting point for such a constructive discourse.

First, we should try to teach young men and women their responsibility in creating and caring for human life. At the very least, young people should hear from us that they are not deficient because they choose to abstain from sexual relations until another and better time.

Today, speaking up for abstinence may sound old-fashioned and naive, but if we don't, we run the risk of saying — with our silence — that we condone the alternative message of the popular culture, that sexual activity is a necessary way to validate one's maturity.

At the same time, however, we must recognize that not all young people will follow the path of restraint

Mario M. Cuomo is Governor of New York.



as easy as possible, consistent with prudence.

Finally, for those women who might consider an abortion because of economic extremity, we must make sure that carrying a child to term is a realistic choice. Specifically, we must make the health care needed to have and raise a healthy child as available as the care needed to receive an abortion. That's the New York policy; it should be America's.

Everyone, I hope, would agree that life beyond the womb deserves more consideration, but in this regard our work has barely begun. We are a long way from creating a society where the concern for new life doesn't end at the moment of birth; where an infant

There is
common ground.
Let's be humane
and admit it.

isn't helped into a world that doesn't care if a baby is fed properly, housed decently, educated adequately; where the blind or disabled child isn't condemned to exist rather than empowered to live.

Unless we change the terms of the debate, the question of abortion rights will lock our nation in combat indefinitely. To allow the current differences on this subject to postpone humane and constructive action to reduce the need for abortion and improve the lot of our children would be foolish.

As we have done for a decade in New York State, we must resolve as a nation to pursue every avenue that helps bring down the rate of unintended pregnancy and, therefore, the number of abortions. Wouldn't it be useful if both Governor Clinton and President Bush could join in such a discussion?

— even with our best efforts — so every young American who is sexually active but not yet prepared for the responsibilities of parenthood should have access to complete, intelligent information and counsel on the possible consequences of sexual activity and on the uses of contraception. Now more than ever, responsible sex education is an appropriate part of the public school curriculum.

Some of us believe the use of contraceptives is wrong. Those who do have a right to live by that belief.

That is one of the great beauties of this democracy: No one can be required to have an abortion or to use contraception. But for the sake of those who believe that contraception is a better alternative than an unwanted pregnancy that ends in abortion, we should invest in better, simpler, safer contraceptive technology.

Beyond abstinence, education and contraception, there is another partial solution that deserves our attention: adoption. Some women would choose not to end a pregnancy if they

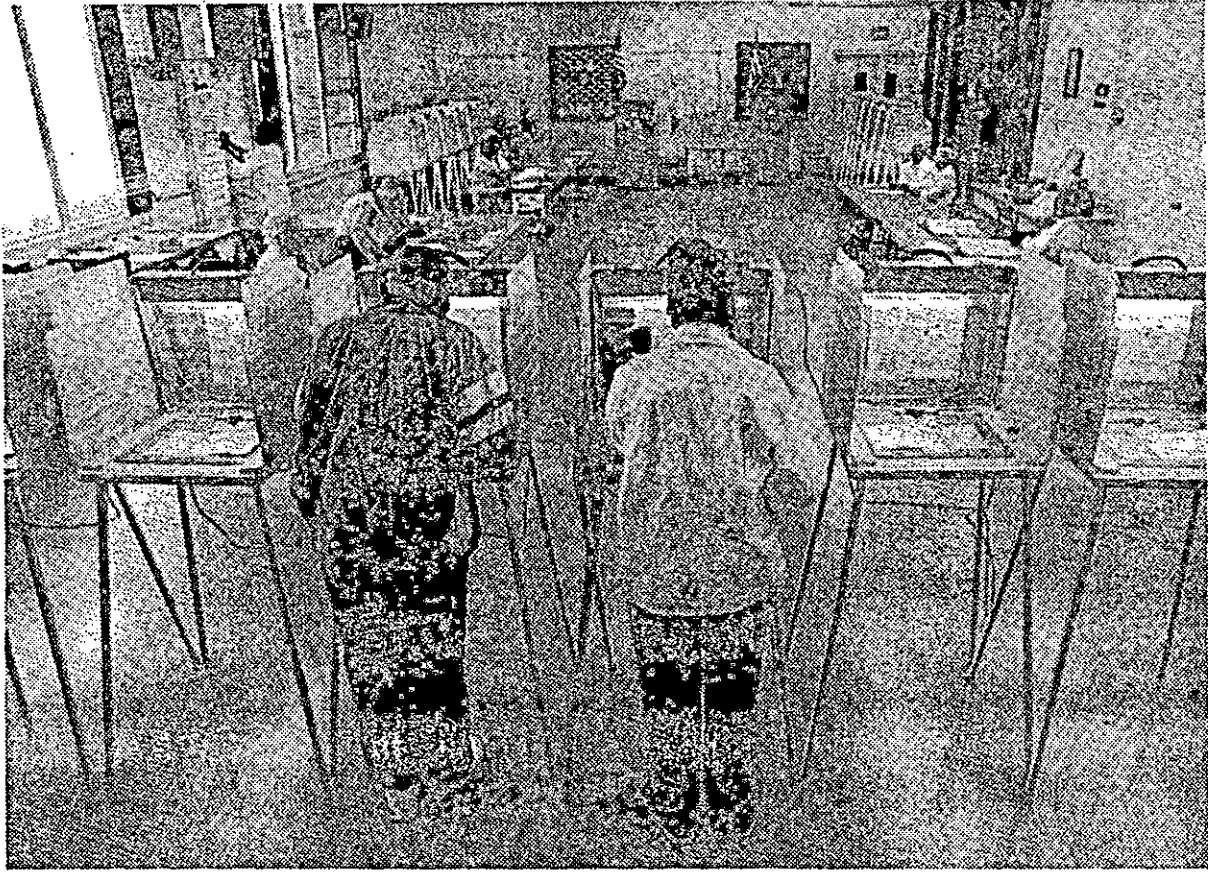
could be relieved of some or all of the emotional, physical, financial and social commitments of rearing a child — commitments they judge themselves incapable of undertaking for a lifetime.

We need to re-examine the adoption alternative, not as a panacea for abortion but as one of the many ways we can create real choices for people. There are literally thousands of couples eager to adopt. We should remove undue obstacles to adoption where they exist, making the process

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Associated Press

In Michigan Primaries, Voters Were Decidedly Undecided

Voters casting their ballots yesterday in the 15th District in Detroit during Michigan's primary elections for Congress. Of the 5.7 million registered

voters in the state, estimates were that only 14 to 25 percent voted. Missouri, Kansas, Mississippi and Ohio also held state primary elections yesterday.

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Japanese-Americans: Justice Delayed

Two years ago Japanese-Americans started to receive checks for \$20,000 to compensate for their internment in United States relocation camps during World War II. So far 50,000 have been paid. Some of the remaining 25,000 may never receive checks unless Congress steps in to remedy an actuarial mistake.

In 1942 President Roosevelt shamefully incarcerated 120,000 Japanese-Americans in the mistaken belief that they posed a security threat. It was not until 1988, after many had died, that Congress authorized a formal apology and payment for each living victim.

A study of actuarial tables estimated that \$1.25 billion was needed to pay those still living. But the study underestimated by about 15,000 citizens and \$250 million.

The Bush Administration has chosen a dishon-

orable solution for the mistake. It authorized a bill in March that would end payments before everyone could be paid. And it proposed to eliminate a related program to educate the public on racism and the internment.

Bills now pending in Congress would appropriate the \$250 million to pay the remaining recipients and would finance the race education program.

If Congress is now to compensate every eligible person, it will push against the cap it has placed on total annual spending. The Office of Management and Budget believes Congress must find the extra money by cutting other entitlements or raising taxes. The Congressional Budget Office believes the payments can simply be added to the deficit.

Either way, Congress has no excuse to underfinance the program. The amount is relatively small, the moral imperative large.

Topics of The Times

Intercepted Mail

Congress has finally been shamed into repealing one of the worst abuses of the Congressional free-mailing privilege. A bill headed for final passage wisely stops the flood of free promotional literature that incumbents send to voters in portions of newly created districts where an incumbent must run for the first time.

But this good deed takes effect in the future, not in 1992. Now the Federal appeals court in Washington has completed the job, holding this one-sided subsidy unconstitutional in this election year as well.

It's a welcome result even though it smacks of judicial activism. Judges Laurence Silberman and Raymond Randolph draw a distinction — one with a political rather than a judicial sound — between a Congressman's motive to serve voters (permissible) and the desire to get their votes (suspicious). Their separate opinions and a dissent by Judge Patricia Wald, released in tentative outline last week, will need spelling out.

Judge Wald's restrained assessment is that the mailings are "unwise, perhaps, uneconomical, perhaps, but not unconstitutional." That may be the better constitutional view. But Congress invited second-guessing by the

courts when it refused to correct the unfairness of its franking policy in timely fashion.

Landslide Newt's Bankroll

Representative Newt Gingrich's narrow victory in the Republican primary in Georgia's new Sixth District shows how badly the nation's system for financing Congressional campaigns needs reform.

Mr. Gingrich, the quarrelsome House minority whip, beat back the anti-incumbent campaign waged by his G.O.P. challenger, former State Representative Herman Clark, by 980 votes — for a slim 51-to-49 percent victory.

His key advantage was undoubtedly money. Mr. Gingrich lavished an astonishing \$1.1 million on the race, easily dwarfing the \$150,000 spent by his opponent and the \$60,000 spent by Ralph Nader's Public Citizen organization in an independent effort to defeat Mr. Gingrich.

Small wonder Mr. Gingrich fought against reform legislation that would have imposed reasonable limits on future campaign spending. And no surprise that President Bush vetoed it.

In the absence of campaign finance reform, what registers loudest in many elections is the cash register.

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The Sleaze Factor

Mary Matalin's snarling press release attacking Gov. Bill Clinton — it referred, among other things, to "bimbo eruptions" plaguing the Clinton campaign — is said to have embarrassed President Bush. As well it should. Ms. Matalin's broadside defied Mr. Bush's admonition to his staff to avoid personal invective. And it deflected public attention from his effort to start talking aggressively about issues.

Despite Mr. Bush's disavowal of Ms. Matalin's comments, issued through an aide, questions linger. Was Ms. Matalin engaging in the political tactic known as "surrogate sleaze" — carrying out an authorized attack for which Mr. Bush could later deny responsibility? After all, Ms. Matalin, as deputy campaign manager, is no small potato in the Bush re-election effort and is presumably in regular consultation with the White House.

Even if Ms. Matalin was flying solo, she may have done so in the confident expectation that her charges would be secretly welcomed. There's one other possibility: that Mr. Bush meant what he said the first time and that Ms. Matalin never got the message. In that case the Bush campaign is more frazzled, incompetent and confused than even its worst critics suspected.

Granted, Presidential races are not tea parties. They are usually rough and often harsh. It is the rare candidate who can promote his own vision without ridiculing his opponent's. Al Gore calls Mr. Bush a "hypocrite" on the environment. Mr. Bush says Mr. Clinton's health care program shows "all the compassion of the K.G.B." Even Ms. Matalin's

charge that Mr. Clinton's campaign is "lower than a snake's belly" fits comfortably into the less-than-noble tradition of American political discourse.

The question is where to draw the line. Negative campaigns are disheartening enough; campaigns that employ personal invective are more so. Mr. Bush seemed to realize as much when, in early July, he repudiated a TV commercial (independently produced by a Republican loyalist) about Mr. Clinton's relationship with Gennifer Flowers. Mr. Bush said the ad was "the kind of sleaze that diminishes the political process."

That was not only the right thing to say. It was also politically shrewd. Voters are growing resistant to sleaze, and with the economy faltering they are far more interested in what both candidates intend to do about national problems than they are in anyone's personal life.

That point appears to have escaped Ms. Matalin. In an interview with The New York Times a few days before her press release, she said Bill Clinton's big problem was simply that he's "evasive and slick. We've never said to the press that he's a philandering, pot-smoking draft dodger."

"The way you just did?" she was asked. "The way I just did," she conceded.

Voters care about a candidate's character, about integrity and truthfulness, just as they care about the issues. In the end they tend to rely on the public record and their private instincts. Raw innuendo adds little to public enlightenment and discredits its author. Mr. Bush has now made that point twice. Beware if he has to make it again.

Dangerous Stalling on Russian Aid

The U.S. wants to propel Russia toward democracy, markets and disarmament. But you'd never guess that by watching the House toy with the Administration's bill to assist the former Soviet republics. Proposed in April, the House bill — whose Senate version passed in early July — has remained bottled up in committee.

The Russian economy is collapsing, and opposition is mounting to President Boris Yeltsin's pro-market reforms. Yet the House dallies: If it delays much longer, there might be no reform Government left to help.

Western aid alone can't turn the Russian economy around. But it can cushion the shock of the transition to markets, help Mr. Yeltsin overcome domestic opposition and keep reforms marching forward. Russia's immediate need is \$5 or \$10 billion to import food, medicine and factory raw materials at a time when centralized controls have been dismantled but market controls haven't arisen to take their place.

The Administration's bill would make a modest start. It would help to promote markets, dismantle defense installations and facilitate the exchange of technical assistance. The money would be provided only if Russia keeps democratic and economic progress alive.

The centerpiece of the bill would authorize a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund. Because the money is considered a deposit at the fund, not an expendi-

ture, it wouldn't trigger tax hikes or spending cuts. The U.S. deposit, along with similar contributions by other fund members, would be used to support various I.M.F. aid programs — including those it hopes to negotiate with Mr. Yeltsin.

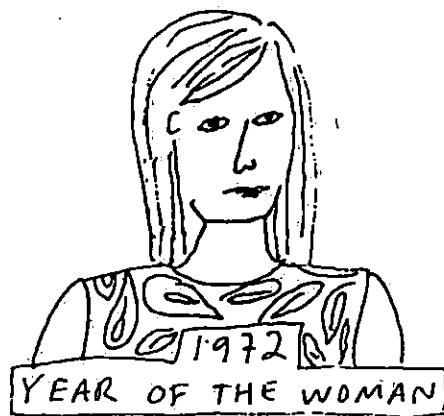
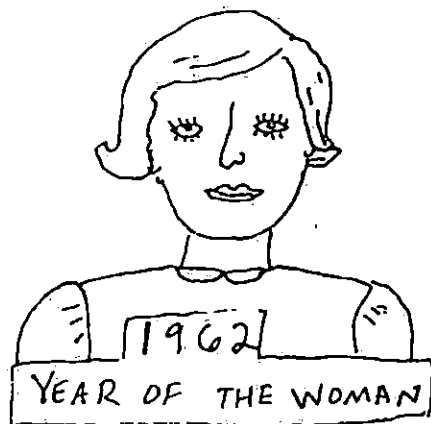
For now, the I.M.F. is key. The West has promised the Russians a \$24 billion aid package; a chunk would come from the fund. And the I.M.F. would have to approve Russia's economic plan before the aid package would be released.

Agreement has proved disarmingly elusive. Some, but not all, of the problem is unnecessary rigidity on the part of the I.M.F. The fund's task has been made fiendishly difficult by divisions within the Russian Government. By reinforcing the reform faction, Congressional action would make durable and believable commitments to monetary and fiscal austerity easier to strike.

Western aid would allow the Russians to pay their bills without printing mountains of new rubles. That way Mr. Yeltsin can clamp down on inflation without clamping down on the economy. And that might buy him some breathing space to launch his ambitious plans to privatize state-owned enterprises and open the economy to foreign trade and investment.

The danger is that, without sizable help from abroad, the pain of market reform will prove back-breaking, impelling politicians to retreat to centralized controls. There's no excuse for the House to flirt with that disastrous possibility.

Female Candidates Overcome the 'Credibility' Gap



Beih Bartholomew

By Ellen R. Malcolm

The prospects for electing women to high offices in 1992 are exhilarating. But as the "year of the woman" unfolds, a pattern of personal attacks against female candidates has emerged. Using familiar stereotypes, the attackers are trying to undercut the credibility of the women running for office, from New York to California.

Female candidates have to prove themselves again and again to voters and the press, long after their male opponents have established themselves. Whether these women are criticized for their fund-raising skills or the management of their campaigns, it all boils down to "they can't

Ellen R. Malcolm is president of Emily's List, a fund-raising network that helps Democratic women running for office.

win." Often these accusations are launched not in paid advertising but with behind-the-scenes sniping and whispering campaigns: for example, the opposing candidate's camp might give commentators "inside" analysis to pass on to the public.

Time and again, I am told by someone in great confidential detail why a particular female candidate cannot win. Men's campaigns are criticized, too, but not with the same level of minutiae as the women's.

My favorite recent example of this was the buzz that Carol Moseley Braun's Senate campaign in Illinois was (gasp!) disorganized. I have been in many campaigns, and few of them were models of efficiency. But to trivialize Ms. Braun's campaign because junior staff people quit or the candidate was late for lunch is to set a standard of excellence that no campaign could meet.

The Braun campaign raised more money than any other Senate challenger in the last three months, and the latest Illinois poll puts her 35 percentage points ahead of her oppo-

nent. I wish all our candidates had such problems.

Conventional wisdom, the nemesis of female candidates, often has it that a particular woman cannot raise money for her race. Early on, both Geraldine Ferraro in New York and Barba-

'She can't raise money' is a common attack.

ra Boxer in California were considered good Senate candidates, but conventional wisdom — as divined by pundits — pronounced that they could never compete financially with their male opponents. Paradoxically, the eight female Senate candidates already nominated this year raised 25 percent more money than their male opponents in the last three months.

Men often have networks of large donors to tap. Female candidates like Ms. Boxer and Ms. Ferraro have successfully relied on small contributions from many people. Ms. Boxer's impressive California primary victory was made possible by thousands of checks for \$25 and \$100, and Ms. Ferraro has taken the lead in the New York polls with the same strategy. They each have more than 50,000 contributors.

If a female candidate's political skills are proven, her detractors sometimes denounce her by attacking the people around her, especially men. In Pennsylvania, for example, Lynn Yeakel, the Democratic Senate candidate, was criticized by an ally of her opponent for her father's record on civil rights in the 1960's. And recently, several people across the country have complained to me that Ms. Yeakel is not supportive of Israel. What are the grounds for this inaccuracy? Her minister made statements on the Middle East that were construed as anti-Israel.

Ms. Yeakel has said she is unequiv-

ocally committed to the integrity of Israel; she favors continuing current levels of assistance and extending U.S. loan guarantees for resettlement of Jewish immigrants. But this has not ended the whispering. Neither has the fact that a speaker at a forum on the Mideast at her church was her opponent, Senator Arien Specter.

Perhaps anytime a new political group breaks down barriers, questions arise about its members' ability to act on their own. Remember the concerns that John F. Kennedy, the first Roman Catholic President, would be influenced by the Pope?

The antidote to attacks on female politicians' credibility is the women themselves. The candidates for the House and Senate are quite able to go toe to toe with their opponents, and a record number will win in 1992.

These victories will help change public perceptions and help future candidates fight negative stereotypes. And we will begin to see enough women in high office that our representative democracy actually begins to represent all the people. □

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

Public & Private

ANNA QUINDLEN

Smoking And Politics

It is both quite simple and somehow difficult to write about cigarette smoking. The simple part is this: Smoking kills. Cigarettes are, as Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, once said, "the only legal product that when used as intended cause death." It is lung cancer, not breast cancer, that is now the number one cancer killer of American women. "Smoking is associated with more death and illness than drugs, alcohol, automobile accidents and AIDS combined."

That last is from the memoirs of C. Everett Koop, who as Surgeon General did more to promote a smoke-free America than anyone.

This is the difficult part: Why do we allow the sale of a product that has no beneficial effects and many fatal ones? Why do we allow cigarette advertising to be a tissue of lies? Why do we tolerate an industry that attracts and addicts consumers when young, many too young to legally purchase the product?

I can't recall hearing a President inveigh publicly against smoking. While President Bush talks of the "behavior" that must be modified if AIDS is to be conquered, I don't recall hearing him decry the "behavior" that causes emphysema.

Jimmy Carter, in a speech earlier this year, spoke of his intimate interest in the problem. "My father, my mother, both sisters and my brother all died of cancer," he said. "And all smoked cigarettes." On television not long ago Al Gore had to fight to maintain his composure as he talked of watching his sister, Nancy, die of lung cancer.

Neighbors of the Gores have said that the family stopped growing tobacco on their farm after Nancy's death. But the Clinton-Gore campaign will benefit from contributions of more than \$680,000 given to Democratic Party committees by various tobacco interests. Republicans have received more than \$1.2 million in such contributions, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, in Washington D.C.

(In his memoirs Dr. Koop describes heavyhanded efforts by elected officials friendly to the tobacco industry to persuade him to ditch his crusade. "Everywhere there were reminders about the cozy relationship between tobacco and politics," Dr. Koop writes. "At Republican fund-raiser dinners each table offered free cigarettes, complete with the President's profile embossed in gold.")

The tobacco companies have been enormous beneficiaries of the American system. Our emphasis on personal responsibility means that even activists oppose outright prohibition.

Getting serious about cigarettes.

The tension between human services and the economy means that we have both a Health and Human Services smoking office, budgeted last year at around \$8 million, and a Department of Agriculture tobacco program with a budget of nearly five times that for support services like crop insurance subsidies and research and development.

One in four Americans smokes. Many started as teen-agers, anxious to show how grown-up they were. Then they couldn't stop, even after they saw the dark spot on the X-ray. One way to prevent tobacco addiction is to fight it as zealously in schools and in advertising as we do drugs. There must be some lung cancer patients willing to show kids how glamorous and grown-up radiation can be.

The biggest change in recent years, people will say, is that everyone knows now that cigarettes cause cancer. But only 10 years ago the chairman of R. J. Reynolds was still saying that "no causal link between smoking and disease has been established." Today the official line from the Tobacco Institute is: "We recognize the risks associated with smoking; at the same time there is virtual universal awareness by the public of those risks."

But there isn't universal awareness of how tenacious cigarette addiction can be. And there is little awareness among kids of how mortality can come knocking at your door. Will we ever have a President who speaks fiercely to this issue? Or a First Lady who looks at how many brands are targeted to women, and at how many women die, and takes up the fight as her personal cause?

That would be politically difficult, given the enormous power of the tobacco lobby. But to balance the difficulty, there is the simple truth: Cigarettes contribute to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people every year. One of them may be someone you love. And if you hold a person's hand and watch her die, it seems to me that your only choice afterward is to go after the killer. □

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 •

Bush didn't talk about Contra arms

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Felix Rodriguez, a former CIA operative in a secret supply network for the Nicaraguan Contras, testified yesterday he met with then-Vice President Bush and the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador in 1986 but the Contra mission was not discussed.

Mr. Rodriguez said the meeting was held to discuss his intention to leave the Central American nation, but he was persuaded to stay.

Testifying at former CIA spymaster Clair George's criminal trial, Mr. Rodriguez said he had gone to El Salvador to fight communist-backed guerrillas under arrangements made by Donald Gregg, then Mr. Bush's national security adviser and Mr. Rodriguez' friend from their days in the CIA.

Mr. Rodriguez said he met with Mr. Bush in January 1985 before he went to El Salvador.

The following September, Mr. Rodriguez said, White House aide Oliver North wrote him a letter asking him to help arrange for flights through El Salvador to aid the Contras.

Some of the flights involved humanitarian aid — which was authorized by Congress — and others carried weapons, he said. Mr. Rodriguez said he did not differentiate between the humanitarian and lethal aid, adding, "to me it was just one operation."

He said he continued his mission fighting the Salvadoran guerrillas during the same time he was coordinating flights to aid the Nicaraguan Contras for Col. North.

But as the Contra resupply operation continued, Mr. Rodriguez said he became unhappy in his dealings with others who were involved, including retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord.

Mr. Rodriguez said he decided to leave El Salvador and went to Washington to tell officials of his decision. But he said he was persuaded not to do so during a May 1, 1986, meeting with Mr. Bush and the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Ed Corr.

"He [Mr. Corr] told the vice president I was doing a magnificent job and as long as he was ambassador to El Salvador he wanted me to be

there," Mr. Rodriguez said. That praise from the ambassador convinced him to stay, he said.

Prosecutor Craig Gillen asked if the Contra resupply network was discussed during the meeting.

"No, sir, not at all," said Mr. Rodriguez, who added he first told Mr. Gregg about the operation in August 1986.

Mr. George, the former No. 3 CIA official in charge of all overseas spy operations, is charged with covering up his knowledge of the Iran-Contra affair.

He is charged with lying when he told congressional committees he did not know who was involved in the private Contra supply network. Former CIA official Alan Fiers testified last week that Mr. George knew of Col. North's and Mr. Rodriguez' involvement.

Earlier yesterday, Rep. Matt McHugh, New York Democrat, testified that if Congress had known of Col. North's role, it could have jeopardized \$100 million in proposed aid for the Contras in 1986.

"If we had known that Oliver

North was involved with Felix Rodriguez and Rodriguez was involved with the resupply, that would have tied Oliver North to the resupply effort," Mr. McHugh said.

Mr. McHugh was a member of the House intelligence committee when Mr. George told the panel on Oct. 14, 1986, that he did not know who was behind a military supply plane that was shot down over Nicaragua on Oct. 5, 1986.

Mr. George faces three charges of obstructing Congress and a federal grand jury and six counts of perjury and false statements.

Meanwhile, U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth issued a stern warning to trial spectators after learning that one — who sat on a row used by former CIA employees — used a small electronic device last week, apparently to listen in on a conference at the judge's bench.

Any such conduct in the future will lead to criminal contempt charges, Judge Lamberth said, adding, "if such a device is used in this courtroom you can plan to use it back here in the cellblock."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 *

Bush sheds nice-guy image, puts on the gloves

GOP wingmen on wish list

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush came to Capitol Hill yesterday as the war-tested Navy pilot who knew the dangers of combat and the importance of troop loyalty — not as the embattled and off-balance incumbent.

In an attempt to calm jitters about the intensity and direction of his re-election campaign, the president reminded more than 40 Republican senators of his battle savvy — as a 20-year-old Navy pilot who guided his bullet-riddled plane through a successful bombing run.

According to one senator, the president recalled how his two wingmen died in that 1944 raid. He said their courage allowed him to bomb a Japanese-held island, escape by parachute and be rescued later by a U.S. submarine.

In essence, the president was asking for as many wingmen as he could find in the upcoming battle with Bill Clinton, who has already outshone 1988 Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis' ability to take and return campaign flak.

"He stressed how important it is to work together in an emergency, how you don't turn your back on your best friend, you don't let your team down," said Sen. Thad Cochran of Mississippi, chairman of the Republican Conference.

That pitch comes after The Washington Times reported that only 26 of 43 senators and 92 of 166 congressmen are slated to join the president at the Republican National Convention Aug. 17-20 in Houston. Many will skip the event in order to campaign back home.

"I'll tell you one thing: Republican senators at the Republican convention, people are going to be able to

see them," Mr. Bush said. "They're not going to be hidden in the basement."

Mr. Bush was referring to the near-absence of Democratic congressional leaders at the Democratic convention in New York. The tactic sought to minimize Mr. Clinton's association with his party's control of Congress.

"We're getting ready for our convention, getting ready to take them on in this election," Mr. Bush said after the 50-minute closed-door session.

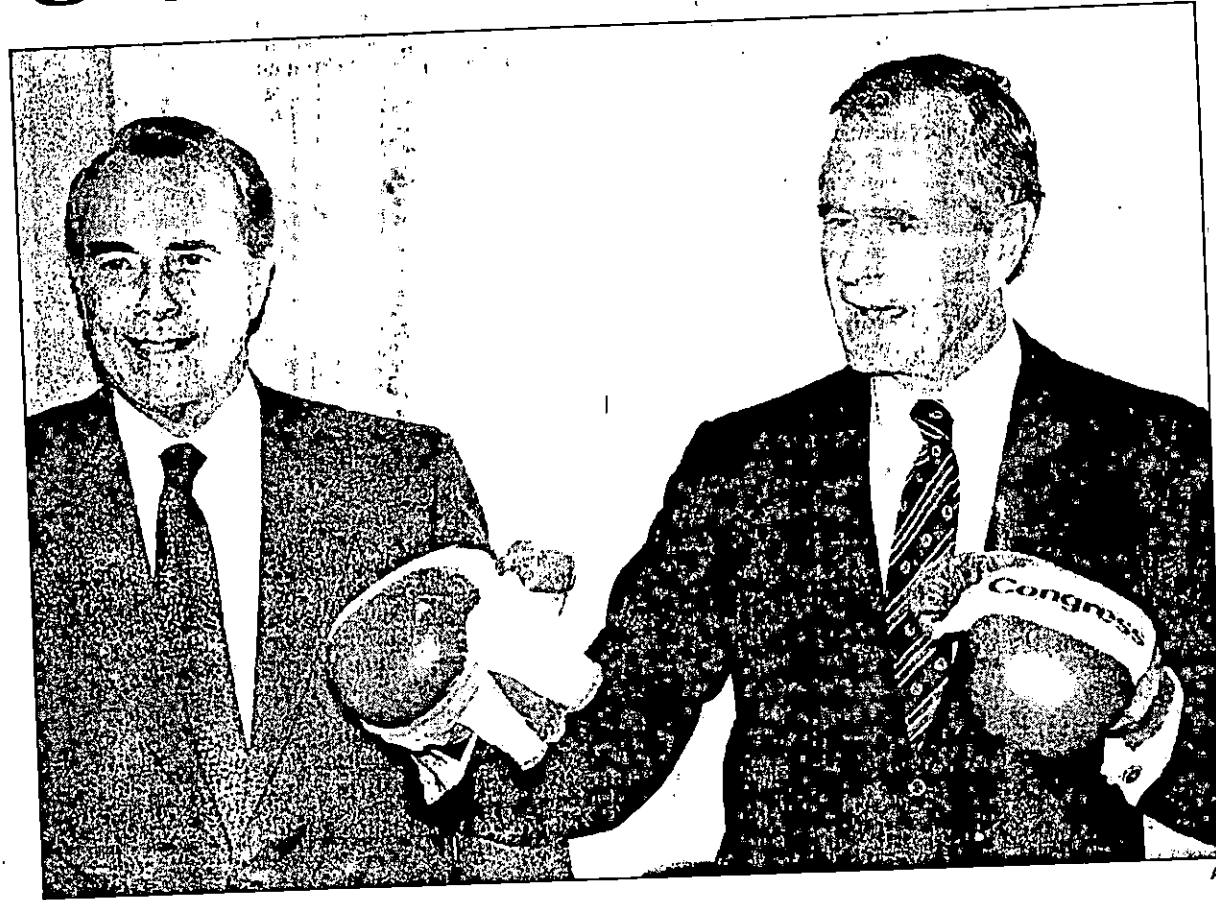
One senior Republican aide said the meeting turned into a mini-pep rally as the president promised to wage a tougher campaign than his uneasy Senate followers have seen to this point. He also said internal polling showed Mr. Bush had drawn to within 20 points of Mr. Clinton.

"He means business," the aide said. "He's going to wage a tough, aggressive campaign. He was a feisty, back-against-the-wall comeback kid."

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas organized the meeting in hopes of energizing Hill support for the president. Prospects for several GOP incumbents and challengers have dimmed along with the president's and Mr. Dole sought, as he has in a series of floor speeches, to rally both the president and other senators.

As if to underscore that point, Mr. Dole and Mr. Cochran gave the president a pair of oversized boxing gloves with "Democratic" written on one and "Congress" on the other. They also handed him a fake gold medal that read "Heavyweight Champion."

The president's talk focused more on unity than on his campaign message, which is apparently still under



President Bush sports boxing gloves bearing the words "Democratic" and "Congress." Sen. Robert Dole looks on.

review, or a legislative strategy for the remainder of the session.

The president, for example, did not vow to veto the urban aid bill drafted by the Senate Finance Committee, despite calls from Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp to do so. The bill is scheduled to come to the floor today.

"I think one thing is very clear," Texas Sen. Phil Gramm said on

CNN's "Inside Politics." "At the convention you're going to see the president define his policy, outline what the Congress has not done that the president has asked them to do."

Mr. Bush also dismissed conservative critics — such as Burton Yale Pines, former vice president of the Heritage Foundation, and Richard Viguerie, a direct-mail fund-raiser — who have called for him to step

down as the party's nominee.

The president said there would always be "free agents" willing to throw "grenades" when a campaign is off its game.

"You get the impression they're Republicans," Mr. Cochran said of the conservative critics. "They're professional complainers."

• Frank J. Murray contributed to this report.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 *

Calls Clinton 'sleaze' slinger

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush accused Bill Clinton yesterday of hypocrisy for complaining about Republican campaign jabs, and criticized newspapers for not condemning his Democratic opponent for six months of "sleaze."

"Where's the outrage? How many editorials showed up in USA Today and other places as sleaze and dirty campaigning?" Mr. Bush said in an interview with that newspaper. He also said he likes Mr. Clinton, whom he called a man "not without redemption."

Although Mr. Bush appeared to be defending part of the memo containing the "bimbo" remarks for which he ordered deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin to apologize on Monday, he made it clear the topic of marital fidelity is out of bounds.

"Now, in terms of sleaze, that should be out of the campaign," Mr. Bush said.

The president again denied any intent to quit the campaign, whether for bad health or other reasons.

"I'm not only not going to drop out. I'm confident I'm going to win," he said in a segment broadcast on Gannett-owned WUSA, Channel 9. "The answer is I do have the fight. My health is good in spite of these nutty rumors that float around the press corps room over here. It's disgraceful."

At one point, before showing anger at the "sleaze factor," Mr. Bush sounded complimentary when asked what kind of president Mr. Clinton might be.

"I'm sure he would be," he said, then seemed to realize what he was saying and stopped in midsentence. It took time to recover as he continued:

"Listen, why should I say something nice about a man I like, which I do? Listen, he's not without redemption, but I think it would be a little inappropriate when I just haven't started to go after him to start telling what a wonderful guy he is, a friendly person. He's done some good things but now I have to stop saying nice things and start doing what he's been doing to me for six months."

Mr. Bush got stirred up when he revived the old accusation he dodged income taxes in Maine, where he owns property, by keeping his voting residence in Texas, which has no income tax. He is exempt from District of Columbia taxes by law.

"Six months. He has no trouble going after me for six months, challenging me about whether I should be paying taxes in Maine, accusing me of being a tax evader," Mr. Bush said.

Mr. Bush says that calling him a tax evader is sleazy.

"Yes, I do, because it's not true," adding that it is hypocritical when he takes "a little offense at something" like the campaign memo, which he said is accurate.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 *

CLARENCE PAGE

On a bumpy road to reconciliation?

After years of swimming against a cold tide of Jewish rage and resentment, Jesse Jackson appears to be moving toward the warm waters of reconciliation.

Both sides want it. Mr. Jackson may not speak for all African-Americans, but he is respected enough that harmony between him and prominent Jewish leaders would calm much of the brewing and, some believe, growing tension between African-Americans and American Jews.

But the road to reconciliation between these important historical allies is bumpy and blocked by historical debris, including, I believe, historical differences in the importance each group puts on words vs. deeds.

Mr. Jackson's deeds show he wants peace. He has visited synagogues, led a delegation to Dachau, marched arm-in-arm with Jews against neo-Nazis in Skokie, asked President Hafez Assad to release Syrian Jews, and prodded Mikhail Gorbachev to do the same for Soviet Jews.

Still, Jewish leaders have refused, despite Mr. Jackson's apologies or explanations, to forgive his "Hymietown" remark, his appearances with Louis Farrakhan, his embrace of Yasser Arafat or his fervent support for Palestinian rights.

But after reading a New York Times column by A.M. Rosenthal that urged Jews to deal with Mr. Jackson, Edgar Bronfman, president of the 56-year-old World Jewish Congress, invited Mr. Jackson to address the organization's meeting in Brussels, just before the Democratic National Convention.

The decision angered a number of members, but Mr. Jackson eagerly appeared and made welcome headlines by strengthening his earlier denunciations of anti-Semitism with an unqualified endorsement of Zionism as "a liberation movement." He also attacked the stereotyping of Jews and praised "the changing winds of peace and democracy in Israel."

But many wanted him to go further. They wanted him to atone, repent and name names, particularly that of Mr. Farrakhan, in his denunciations.

Mr. Farrakhan's beliefs, not just his anti-Semitic remarks, with great skepticism. Nevertheless, to borrow a phrase from Israeli diplomacy, many also respect the realities Black Muslims have created on the ground. They include helping drug addicts and prostitutes become productive citizens and helping provide a controversial but effective security force in crime-infested neighborhoods in several cities.

"Unity" also has a special and, in this case, obstructive meaning to African-Americans. Unlike those of other American ethnics, our families were divided on auction blocks (my own great-grandfather was sold "down river," never to see his brother again) and our leaders often lynched for speaking too loudly what everyone knew was "the truth." As a result, anyone who criticizes another "brother" or "sister" without ample cause invites great skepticism and even counterattacks.

As an African-American columnist who has denounced Mr. Farrakhan and others who traffic in the code words of anti-Semitism, I have

Jesse Jackson



felt the brunt of this yearning for "unity." I don't complain about it. It's my job. I want to be provocative. I am particularly gratified when I am accused of being an "Uncle Tom" by blacks and a "black racist" by whites — for the same column!

But, even as I have received praise from blacks and whites alike, I have no delusions about how much easier it is for "courageous" black writers to denounce someone like Mr. Farrakhan in mainstream newspapers that are easily ignored by the isolated and marginalized grassroots blacks we most want to reach than it is for Mr. Jackson and other black leaders to reach them without turning them off.

On Mr. Farrakhan, Mr. Jackson would only go so far as to say at a later press conference, "These [Mr. Farrakhan's] are not my positions and should not be attributed to me. I do not believe any religion is a gutter religion."

Why did Mr. Jackson not repent? "There must be a sense of mutuality," he told Richard Goldstein of the Village Voice. "We must both come to some sense of repentance. It's deeper than just me."

Indeed, it is. Any effort by Mr. Jackson to openly condemn another black leader at a time when so much of the black community, particularly the young, feels it is living in a stage of political siege is bound to run up against the Gibraltar-sized rock of historical and current social realities.

For example, Jews understandably want to hear anti-Semites denounced because they have seen the holocausts and pogroms that an absence of denunciations can cause. (If responsible leaders denounced Hitler in his early thuggery, he might never have risen to power.)

But, just as Jewish memory has fostered an appreciation for words, black memory appreciates deeds. It is fair to say that most blacks view

It is an obvious predicament, even to some Jews who may not approve of Mr. Jackson's response to it. "I don't expect him to make a speech denouncing Sister Souljah any more than I would denounce those who would push the Arabs off the West Bank," Jewish historian Arthur Hertzberg told the Village Voice. "I realize we are both politically constrained."

In this realization there is hope. But many others remain apprehensive. According to Mr. Goldstein's Voice story, New Republic editor Martin Peretz, in a panel before Mr. Jackson spoke, defiantly quoted neoconservative Irving Kristol about the futility of pursuing a better relationship with blacks for its own sake: "Jews should not do anything else in American society than defend their own interests, because at this moment, the vision of the Jews is the vision of an incandescent society under siege."

So, for that matter, is the vision of many blacks. Like a marriage that fell apart after each of the partners began to take the other too much for granted, maybe blacks and Jews need to reintroduce themselves to each other. We might find that our self-interests are sufficiently intertwined with our mutual interests for us to figure out ways to deal with our differences.

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 •

RICHARD GRENIER

This is going to put me on everybody's enemies list, but here goes. The New York Times has so far written two editorials criticizing members of the U.S. Olympic team for being "bad sports:" first the men's volleyball team and now, in men's basketball, that millionaires' club, the "dream team."

But with big-time athletes for many decades now believing with Vince Lombardi that winning is "the only thing," I've given up a long time ago the notion that athletes are encouraged to be "good sports." Everything about the way athletes are treated today by fans and trainers alike encourages them to be bad sports.

What's more, I agree with George Orwell, writing almost 50 years ago, that only simple-minded people believe international sporting competition leads to good will. In Orwell's view it's "an unending cause of ill will." "Serious sport has nothing to do with fair play," he wrote. Bound up as it is with violence, jealousy and boastfulness, it's plainly "mimic warfare," "war minus the shooting."

Nor is this the couch potato's revenge. I'll have you know that in my glory days, which is to say about 15, I was junior New England champion in a relatively peaceful sport, swimming. And I became the Sophomore Flash of my high school swimming team. And who am I to sneer, because to win a scholarship to Harvard in those days, in addition to good grades, Harvard liked you to be "well rounded." So perhaps swimming proved to Harvard that I was well rounded.

And my older brother was captain of the state championship track team. And my kid sister has something in her yearbook about "our athlete supreme," so I guess she must have played something. And she in turn has a daughter who at St. Marks (social mobility, you see) was said to be a terrific passer, better than any of the boys. Did my niece play quarterback for St. Marks?

The whole thing's really gotten out of hand, it seems to me. You start giving these ignorant immigrants with funny names an education and the next thing you know even their

One who swam away

Until some time after World War I, most young people didn't engage in sports at all because, from their mid-teens, they had to work. Nor did sports have a mass spectator following. There were no "fans."

female offspring are playing for St. Marks.

But let's not forget me. When I left Harvard for the U.S. Naval Academy, a previously undiscovered aptitude for push-ups led to my being drafted into boxing — which Orwell considered the most "horrible" and "disgusting" of sports, and consequently impressed Naval officers.

This was also the experience of my friend James Webb, later secretary of the Navy. The Academy was still a school for fighting men, and when they saw a midshipman dishing it out in the ring, they knew he was officer material. Thinking it over, I realize these were my glory days.

My mother, who after one year at Boston's Girls Latin left school at 14 to work, took all the credit for her children's sporting success, resting her claim on her ability to beat up other little girls on the streets of proletarian Boston. My father, who also left school to work at 14, didn't contest her claim, never having beaten up anybody, I guess.

The recent ascent of sport to its

present position, lost in the mists of history for most people, has been conveniently encapsulated for me in my immediate family. Until some time after World War I, most young people didn't engage in sports at all because, from their mid-teens, they had to work. Nor did sports have a mass spectator following. There were no "fans" (of recent coinage, originally short for "fanatic").

Sports, in fact, were very conspicuously an entertainment of the leisure class, most modern international sports originating in the upper-class schools of Orwell's England. It's doubtless as an aristocratic, non-lethal substitute for war that English gentlemen were interested in such rough activities to begin with.

The connection between sports and higher education we also inherited from England, the whole thing starting with the "gentleman players" of Oxford and Cambridge — and well after Adam Smith. With "athletic scholarships," for women now as well as for men, we've of course far outdone the mother country.

In no other major scholarly institution (Sorbonne, Heidelberg, Tokyo, Peking . . .) is any connection seen between learning and athletics. Countries all over the world now have major football (soccer) teams, but great national universities do not serve as their farm clubs.

Although I'm anti-elitist in sport as in much else, and think there's more to be gained from a million citizens playing basketball at neighborhood playgrounds than a million fans sitting in front of television sets, I'm not actually hostile to big-time sport for all the ill will it creates. But federally funded university athletic scholarships, for men as well as women, I think are ludicrous. What does sporting prowess have to do with scholarship?

I don't remember ever caring in the least whether Harvard or Yale won at anything. I was a scholar then, in pursuit of learning. But at the Naval Academy, I was trained — quite properly according to Orwell — to be a sore loser.

It might have ruined me. Having spent most of my life abroad, whenever the national anthem is played I still hear a dim voice crying, "Beat Army!" And I can't do anything about it.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 *

MARTIN GROSS

Third of five parts

They may not cherish them as much as they do their private planes, but government executives love driving around in taxpayer-paid cars.

The government owns and operates a vast fleet of 340,000 non-tactical, non-postal motor vehicles — about 190,000 in the civilian agencies and 150,000 in the military. Nowhere among bureaucrats, even in the old U.S.S.R., is the perk of a car more valued than in the U.S. government. In fact, there is almost one government car for every 10 federal civilian employees — at least 10 times the ratio of private corporations.

Many higher-echelon employees may even have someone drive them around. The government Office of Personnel Management lists 12,000

Federal limo largess

The cost of this government obsession is enormous. It costs \$3 billion to buy the vehicles, even with large discounts, and half that just for the civilian cars. The yearly depreciation is \$1,800 per, or another two-thirds of a billion dollars. The government admits to a car-upkeep cost of \$915 million in 1988, a figure that has now long passed the \$1 billion mark.

Overall, keeping the federal employee mobile sets the taxpayer back several billion a year.

Why doesn't the public ever see this enormous fleet of civilian federal cars on the road?

Because they're invisible. Government cars no longer carry official decals on their doors. A General Services Administration spokesman claims they were too hard to remove when the cars were sold. Cynics believe the true reason was to keep voters from first observing, then complaining about, these caravans of waste.

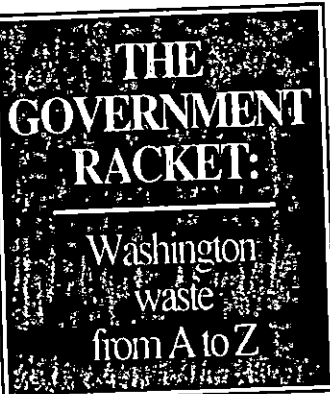
The cars are parked in underground parking garages, outdoor lots, and motor pools all over the country, some of which employ full-time mechanics to handle repairs. Other motor pools are placed in high-rent districts. Even the General Accounting Office (GAO), a dedicated federal watchdog, has its own pool of 20 cars right in downtown Washington.

What's wrong with taxis and subways in big cities? And what about cars in the countryside? How many are actually needed?

"The government shouldn't be in the car business as they are," says a GAO spokesman. "First, they don't need as many cars as they have, and there are much cheaper ways of providing transportation when they do need it. The employee could use his own car and be compensated on a mileage basis. Or, the government could rent cars from Hertz or Avis when they need them. It would save a great deal of money."

"HOME, JAMES!"

see GROSS, page G4



people with the classification of "driver." Some handle trucks, but many others escort bureaucrats around in a style they were never accustomed to.

Congress is one agency that's loaded with free cars. Every representative and senator is entitled to a leased automobile, with upkeep and a free parking spot in the Capitol garage. Not only elected officials, but the working brass on the Hill get car freebies. That includes the postmaster, the House clerk, the Senate secretary, the doorkeeper, the sergeant-at-arms, and often their assistants. At \$7,000 per car per year for a lease and upkeep, Congress eats \$4 million a year in this extra waste.

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GROSS

From page G1

There's nothing like a limo. Especially when it's free and chauffeured.

That's the theme song of many high-ranking Washington politicians and bureaucrats who feel like Ubermensch when they're riding in the back seat of a government black Cadillac or Lincoln, with a chauffeur handling the bucking of traffic and a small light at the rear of the limo making it possible for them to work — or read the latest Redskin scores — as they commute.

We used to laugh when we saw the limousines parade through Spassky Gate on their way into the Kremlin. Now we can see the same sight at the White House any day. The president maintains 29 limousines for himself and the use of his most favored assistants, who bear the unofficial title of "commissioned officers."

These are not military men, but assistants to the president, deputy assistants, and special assistants. All have access to the White House limos and drivers, which means they can get chauffeurs and cars to take them to lunch or dinner parties, with their "man" waiting outside while they pursue their pleasure.

But among the highest perks in perk-mad Washington is what's called "portal-to-portal" chauffeur and limo, which means you have your own government-paid wheels and driver wherever you go. He picks you up at home in the morning, takes you to work, then to lunch and back, and even — on the sly — conveys your wife while she shops. Then home in the evening, or to a dinner party, or whatever.

Who gets this bizarre, ridiculously anti-democratic (small d), and very expensive privilege?

In the House and Senate, chauffeured cars are granted to the Speaker and party chiefs.

In the executive branch, besides the president and the vice president, the list of people eligible for "home-to-work" chauffeured cars, according to law, includes: all justices of the Supreme Court; all Cabinet officers; deputy Cabinet officers; ambassadors, including the ambassador to the United Nations; the secretaries of the various armed services; the chairman, vice chairman, and members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; commandant of the Coast Guard; heads of the CIA and FBI; chairman of the Federal Reserve; the postmaster general; and head of the GAO.

The president has the privilege of naming six of his close White House aides as recipients of "portal-to-portal" service — a prime perk for him to dispense. And, according to the 1986 "reform" law, the chief executive can also choose 10 agency employees for this automotive knighthood.

So far, those lists have included

the president's chief of staff, his economic adviser, the national security adviser and his deputy, the budget director and his deputy, the chief of protocol, and the administrator of the Agency for International Development.

How many "pashas of perk" does that make in all? It's hard to tell. At first glance, it looks like about 50, plus ambassadors abroad. But that doesn't include members of the Washington Establishment who cheat. A 1983 study found that 190 bureaucrats had chauffeured cars providing them with portal-to-portal service for work and/or pleasure.

What about now? A follow-up GAO report in 1991, after the number of "portal-to-portal" people was limited by law, showed that the cheating had been reduced, but was still there. Of the 61 people the survey found were being picked up at their homes by a government chauffeur, 29 were in violation of the law.

These included four spouses who used the limo and driver to go to "various locations." Several underbosses also took illegal advantage of the perk, as did some chauffeurs, who took the cars to their own homes after their night's work was over.

Each of these cars, with cost, depreciation and chauffeur — who go into overtime at evening affairs — eats up well more than \$100,000.

The solution?

(1) No one except the president, vice president, speaker of the House, president pro tem of the Senate, secretaries of State, Treasury (surprised?), and Defense — the top six people in line of succession for the presidency — plus the chairman of the Joint Chiefs should have chauffeured limousines.

(2) The spare limos, including most of those in the White House motor pool, should be sold and none reordered. All other bureaucrats can drive their own cars, and if it's for official business, bill the government 28 cents a mile, the same amount allowed citizens by the Internal Revenue Service.

Not only will it save millions in tax money, but it'll bring some of these Ubermensch down to reality — which is one real broke government.

Next: The shadow government.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 •

**MORTON
KONDRACKE**

Fusillade at the fiscal frontier

The Bush campaign plans to issue a white paper this week charging that Bill Clinton's economic plan will cost 2.5 million jobs, raise taxes unprecedentedly and increase the national debt by \$1.2 trillion over four years.

Put together by Bush issues adviser and former White House aide Jim Ciccone with help from Treasury and Senate Republican aides, the economic broadside is evidence that the Bush campaign has come back to life, but chances are that the blast will get lost in a barrage of statistical counterclaims from the Clinton campaign.

Clinton economic advisers assert, for example, that President Bush's job-loss claims are inaccurate and fail to take account of 1 million new jobs per year that will be created by Mr. Clinton's proposed "investment" of \$35 billion per year in roads, bridges and other infrastructure.

Mr. Bush's case is also hampered by the fact that he makes no plausible claims of his own on how many jobs his own programs might create over the next four years, and that his own midsession budget review projects an increase in deficit spending

of \$663 billion over the next four years — or more than \$1 trillion if Congress refuses to pass Mr. Bush's spending-control proposals.

When Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton finish going after each other, the electorate is likely to get the impression that, whichever of them is elected, job-creation is likely to lag and deficits are likely to rise. Unfortunately, it's a sound assumption.

Mr. Clinton says he will create jobs by building infrastructure, converting defense contractors into environmental and transportation industries and by improving worker education and training.

However, according to the Bush white paper, Mr. Clinton's defense cuts will cost 1.1 million jobs over four years, his "play or pay" health care mandate for business will cost 700,000 jobs, his payroll tax for training will cost 300,000 and federal employment reductions will cost 100,000.

Clinton aides dispute these numbers, but there's reason to think that other Clinton proposals will add to the job losses. These include mandates on firms to provide family leave for workers, a minimum wage indexed to inflation, increased busi-

see KONDRACKE, page G4

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill.

KONDRACKE

From page G1

ness taxes and tougher environmental regulation.

The Bush campaign contends that increasing Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards for autos will cost between 150,000 and 300,000 jobs, especially in auto plants forced to shut down to retool.

Mr. Clinton asserts that environmental protection is good for employment because it helps create a new, internationally competitive high-tech industry. That may be true in the long run, but stricter reg-

ulation surely will cost jobs in the short run.

Aides to Mr. Clinton say they will create jobs by providing an investment tax credit, business and a capital gains tax cut for new businesses, but Bush aides rightly point out that Mr. Clinton's tax increases for rich people also will hit 800,000 small businesses that file tax returns as individuals. Tax increases on foreign corporations also will hit their ability to employ Americans.

If Mr. Bush can plausibly claim that Mr. Clinton will cost jobs, he does not make a convincing case that his programs will create them in any large numbers.

The key item in Mr. Bush's economic program — a capital gains tax cut — would create about 282,000 jobs and his proposed tax credit for first-time homebuyers would create 272,500 jobs, but neither will stimulate jobs in the millions.

Mr. Bush depends on the private economy to do that, but it has failed him in the past four years, generating only about 500,000 total new jobs, when Mr. Bush claimed in his 1988 acceptance speech that his policies would generate 18 million jobs over four years.

On the deficit front, the Bush campaign claims that Mr. Clinton, despite "the largest tax increase in history," will increase the national debt rather than reduce it (as Mr. Clinton's plan calls for) because of huge increases in spending.

If no changes are made in federal spending priorities, the Congressional Budget Office says deficits will total \$1 trillion over the next four years. Mr. Clinton asserts he will reduce that a bit — to \$854 billion. Mr. Clinton's new economic plan, issued in June, abandons his previous promise to end deficit spending over four years.

The Bush white paper asserts — plausibly — that Mr. Clinton won't reduce deficits at all, but will actually increase them by \$1.2 trillion. Republican aides say Mr. Clinton has vastly overestimated the money to be raised by taxing foreign corporations, has failed to take into account the cost of a national health care plan and has overstated savings to be gained from federal administrative reforms.

According to a Senate Republican study used as a basis for Mr. Ciccone's paper, raising taxes on foreign firms will net \$47 billion less than Mr. Clinton figures, government reforms will save \$57.5 billion and health care will cost \$1 billion more. Mr. Clinton's staff agrees that the taxes will be hard to collect, but says health care accounts will not be expanded until health care costs are contained and that government reform estimates a sound.

On taxes, both sides agree that Mr. Clinton plans to raise \$150 billion over four years. Mr. Bush's staff claims this is the largest increase in history — but, they admit, not much. The 1992 budget agreement between Mr. Bush and Congress involved tax increases of \$124 billion and the 1982 TEFRA raised them \$136 billion.

Clinton aides also assert, correctly, that their proposal calls for tax increases primarily on the wealthy, while previous tax increases have hit the middle class.

The bottom line here is that both have charge and countercharge with neither candidate offering a convincing formula for job growth or deficit reduction.

The vacuum is big enough to most make you wish that Ross Perot were around to scare the major parties and force them into, say, a 50-cent gasoline tax and severe cuts in spending. Come to think of it, I still am around as a protest vehicle more than 20 states. Larry King, time to ask him about economic

Pomp and compulsion

There must be something in Maryland's water. This love-mon blessings of geography, climate and resources, has been more equivoally endowed with one of the nation's highest tax rates, a governor of odd and occasionally malicious temper, and now, a perverse initiative in social engineering — the first "community service" requirement for high school graduation in the nation.

Under the Maryland plan, school systems may, in place of the 75-hour requirement, institute an "alternative" service program. This could include, according to news stories, tutoring classmates, recycling school waste or making gifts for senior citizens — "all endeavors," according to the OP's story, "that could be carried out during a school day. (emphasis added)."

Marvelous, just what conscientious teachers need, another touchy-feely activity to swallow hours of academic instruction. Someone — make that many plural someones — will have to organize and administer this factitious enterprise. Keeping track of thousands of students going in "presumably hundreds of different "community service" directions, with dozens of definitions is going to be a bundle of chucks. And expensive. In a time when school boards are dizzy trying to find bucks for current budget items (a good many of them nearly as superfluous as the community service guff), the price could be stiff.

The vice chairman of the Prince Georges County school system, George's County school system, see WEST, page G4

At least three of the 10 members of the Maryland state board of education retained a grip on sanity and opposed the requirement. "We're doing it without one iota of research," said Jack Sprague, the vice chairman. Quick, nominate him for governor! It would be an improvement on the current fellow, who firmly supported the involuntary voluntarism. Did any of the seven years on the board ponder for a nano-second how adroit most teen-agers are in ducking what they recognize as the pure bleep? — as well, unfortunately, a lot of what isn't. But it may do wonders for their self-esteem. Right!

There hardly is an argument that the nation's public schools are dismally failing to turn out more than marginally literate graduates, much less students with a knowledge and appreciation of the culture that was standard a quarter-century ago. It is unclear whether the public-school establishment has conceded that it cannot, in 12 years, effectively instruct most of the inmates to read

WEST

From page G1

and to figure, or have (more likely) decided that socialization and self-esteem and "character" formation are the proper obligation of the schools. Either way, the result is about 3 inches short of disaster. The Maryland board's lunatic scheme can only accelerate the degradation of public schooling.

There may be one positive result, however: The brittle requirement may convert more citizens to school vouchers and/or home-schooling. The board also fiddled with more substantial aspects of education, which doubtless they think will immortalize them in the rhetoric of reform. For instance, the members reinvented the wheel of "tracking" — that is, instituting career or college preparatory emphasis in the curriculum. This means that 10th graders will have to choose Col. A or Col. B — and most 10th graders simply are not capable of the choice. The board said there will be flexibility so that a student can move between the two "tracks." That's essential — and because it was sloppily administered during the last incarnation, tracking fell into disrepute. Maybe it'll work this time. And requiring more math and science is useful. But whatever may be constructed about the state board's scheme, emigrating the trendy notion of re-

quitting community service should make those who fear for the future of public education skeptical. Very skeptical.

Woody West is associate editor of The Washington Times.

Listen to State Superintendent Nancy S. Gramsick about the new requirement: "To make a contribution to the community and learning from that contribution helps one to become a lifelong learner," she buried. "I can't think of a better example of character development than the lesson that what we take from the community we give back to the community." That's nonsense. The 75 hours that will be mandated — the bureaucrats reverse that word — beginning with next year's ninth graders, have nothing to do with character or learning or giving back. It is good-goolism at its most excessive. Character.

What it does most significantly is further imbue the bureaucratic double-speak that has become a characteristic of educators across the public-school spectrum. Listen to State Superintendent Nancy S. Gramsick about the new requirement: "To make a contribution to the community and learning from that contribution helps one to become a lifelong learner," she buried. "I can't think of a better example of character development than the lesson that what we take from the community we give back to the community." That's nonsense. The 75 hours that will be mandated — the bureaucrats reverse that word — beginning with next year's ninth graders, have nothing to do with character or learning or giving back. It is good-goolism at its most excessive. Character.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 •

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

The tax heave

It's that time of year when Congress goes through the ritual of extending the "temporary" research and development tax credit, and this time the masters of deception are attaching it to what they pretend is an economy-boosting tax bill. Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen's bill tinkles with supply-side sounds but has no real content.

Mr. Bentsen's bill has some of President Bush's ideas in it, and pro-growth Republicans fear Mr. Bush will go for the tinsel and claim a victory. The economy, however, is unlikely to be fooled, and Mr. Bush will come across, again, as an economic dunce.

The bill has a 15 percent investment tax credit. But, of course, it is temporary and vanishes next July. Given the long lead on new investment in plant and equipment that the legal and regulatory requirements demand, there's no time for the credit to spark any additional investment. It would benefit currently scheduled investments and be a one-shot windfall for those already planning an expansion.

First-time home buyers get a \$2,500 tax credit, but only if they act before Jan. 1.

The bill gives partial relief from the "passive loss" limitations on real estate tax deductions that helped to shrink commercial real estate values and stick taxpayers with a massive bailout of deposit insurance. However, the bill then offsets this relief by lengthening the depreciation period for commercial real estate from 31 to 40 years, thus reducing depreciation writeoffs.

If this revenue-raising measure (to pay for the passive loss relief) is

Tossing out success?

as successful as its predecessor, we will have a new round of deficit-swelling real estate, savings-and-loan, and commercial bankfailures. The 1986 Tax Reform Bill stupidly lengthened the depreciation period from 19 to 31 years. Far from raising any revenues, this provision helped to saddle taxpayers with a multi-hundred-billion dollar savings-and-

The Bentsen bill would destroy New York as a financial center by forcing securities firms to pay tax on unrealized gains in their inventories of securities. Even worse, it would raise marginal tax rates on personal income.

loan bailout that is larger than the national income of many countries.

Of course there is no capital gains relief in Mr. Bentsen's bill, not even for devastated inner cities. Even the companion bill produced by House Democrats grants some capital gains relief to inner cities.

To pay for its useless provisions, the bill would destroy New York as a financial center by forcing securities firms to pay tax on unrealized gains in their inventories of securities. Even worse, it would raise mar-

ginal tax rates on personal income by making permanent the temporary phaseout of the personal exemption and itemized deductions for upper-income taxpayers.

In the disastrous 1990 Budget Agreement that wrecked the Bush administration, Mr. Bush agreed to a five-year increase in personal income tax rates as part of the tax increase that he had to bring to the negotiating table. He achieved this increase surreptitiously by curtailing exemptions and deductions. Mr. Bentsen's bill would make these temporary tax increases permanent.

The Senate Finance Committee apparently lacks the sophistication to understand that it does no good to encourage investment with investment tax credits if additional investment income is then taxed at higher rates. Giving with one hand and taking back with the other leaves unchanged the cost of capital and the return on investment.

The growth impetus from Mr. Bentsen's bill is sacrificed on the altar of static revenue estimates. The entire bill is pointless, because what it gives with one hand it reclaims with the other.

The higher tax rates are anti-growth, but even worse they assault equality before the law in the name of "fairness." Traditionally in the U.S. tax code, personal exemptions and itemized deductions applied to everyone. But the Democrats, with the complicity of the Bush administration, have interjected a new principle: If a taxpayer is moderately successful in life, he and she are to be punished by taking away from them the personal exemptions and permitted deductions that apply to everyone else.

The United States is constructing a new status-based legal system in which one's rights depend upon one's income, race and gender. Generally, the legal system is being reformed to punish the people who are deemed to be at the top of the heap. This type of attitude will not only cause capital flight but also the flight of the able. Success will leave America.

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 •

Come down to Earth, NASA

You remember the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the agency that sends a rocket up every now and then when it takes a break from its environmental duties? Not too long ago it discovered the ozone hole that wasn't, scaring the willies out of everyone with warnings of some giant space hole that, as the agency sheepishly admitted later, never existed. Now it's worried about a whole new set of holes — those in forests called clear-cuts.

A few months back, about the time of the Rio environmental summit, NASA officials rushed to the press with satellite photos that they said showed how much damage timber companies were doing to forests in the Pacific Northwest. The pictures showed scads of little white gaps in an otherwise dense forest canopy. Deforestation in the Northwest, they said, was worse than the much-publicized problem in Brazilian rain forests.

"It appears that much of the forest has been literally cut to pieces," said NASA's Compton Tucker. He went on to express concern about what the timber cutting might be doing to plant and animal diversity in the Northwest.

Since Mr. Tucker's job is to map changes in the Earth's surface, it's not clear what credentials he brings to a debate over biology. What is clear is that NASA publicized the pictures when they could cause President Bush maximum political embarrassment, right when he was trying to fend off a nutty Law of the Sea-style treaty on biodiversity. They also showed the photos about the time congressional lawmakers were getting busy trying to figure how much money they wanted to appropriate to agencies like, well, NASA.

Today, environmentalists are attempting to use those photos to lock up more land in the museum they wish to make of the Pacific Northwest: No timber cutting allowed. So this seems as good a time as any to take a closer look at the areas that so upset Mr. Tucker.

Above is a photo of an area in the Mount Hood National Forest located in Oregon. From space it shows up as a white fleck. Partly that's because from 570 miles up, where satellites operate, it's not always easy

to see individual trees. Likewise, it's hard to distinguish areas defoliated by insects from harvested areas.

But down on Earth one finds that same area has towering trees, new plantings that may supply lumber for affordable housing perhaps 100 years from now and lots of undergrowth that makes a nice place for animals to act like animals.

Since the photograph is reproduced here in black and white, you can't see the pretty pink of the blooming foliage in the foreground, nor the healthy green of the new trees in the middle distance, nor the more robust hues of the taller trees in the background. But you can see an area that is a far cry from devastation. Had Mr. Tucker come down to Earth long enough to take a

closer look, he could have supplied reporters with the same picture. He didn't.

Now undoubtedly, there are clear-cuts in places like Mount Hood. Those of us who enjoy living in houses rather than, say, caves, can be grateful for the studs and ceiling joists and other forest products they generate to separate us from the elements.

But it's important for aspiring forest managers at NASA to keep a couple of things in mind. First, only 8 percent of Mount Hood's lands are open to timber harvesting. Second, timber companies aren't trying to put them-

selves out of business: For every 83 trees per acre harvested on average in Mount Hood, 400 trees are replanted. One hopes that NASA can rest easier at night knowing that there will still be an ozone layer and there will still be trees when it wakes up tomorrow. The evidence suggests that this isn't likely to change in the days ahead.

In the meantime, NASA would do well to put its new-found lobbying muscle behind legislation from Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield that is scheduled for markup in a Senate energy subcommittee today. The joint product of timber companies and organized labor, it seeks a balance between old-growth forest protection, timber jobs and economic growth. It also offers financial assistance and retraining to timber workers. That's the kind of down-to-Earth approach to timber management that even NASA could applaud.



What kids like to eat

If we are what we eat, our children are Maalox moments waiting to happen. According to a recent study, American children are a concoction of congealed grease, sugar-soaked cereal, sodium-laden potato chips and fries and pizza. Not a single staple of popular kid-cuisine escaped the criticism of the Washington-based Center for Science in the Public Interest.

Not a cookie, not a hot dog, not a luncheon meat the standard of those who would like to transform youngsters from Happy Meal vacuum cleaners into health-conscious diners. All of these choices that have become the tradition of lunch boxes and the school cafeteria menu were pronounced junk. Only about 100 of thousands of processed foods analyzed were considered low enough in fat, sugar, or cholesterol to be worthy of inclusion in children's diets.

So what else is new? More than three decades into the McFood era, the only surprise is that even though granola bars easily pass the adult "tastes awful" test, the sticky clumps of grain also failed the panel's health test for children. Too much cholesterol.

Getting children to regularly eat the green things on their plates and other stuff that is good for them is one of the notorious challenges of parenthood. Few are the parents able by sweet reason alone to convince a 6-year-old to voluntarily eat a forkful of some funny-looking lump that neither looks inviting nor smells

The wrong way on Haiti

Since May the United States has been implementing a morally indefensible policy, namely, intercepting refugees in boats fleeing Haiti and turning them back on the high seas without allowing them to make claims for asylum and conducting the customary hearings. Last week, an appellate court in New York ruled that the practice violated U.S. refugee law as well as a U.N. protocol to which the United States is a signatory. That protocol forbids the return of political refugees to their homeland if they face persecution there.

The United States has maintained that economics rather than political persecution is the real inspiration for the mass exodus and decided that it would rather not hear and evaluate what the refugees have to say. Whatever their motivation, thousands from that besieged country have chosen to risk their lives to get to these shores. The appeals court ruling offered no relief for them. The Justice Department asked the Supreme Court to review the decision, and it decided Saturday to allow the policy of turning the boats away to continue until the justices hear arguments in the case, possibly this fall. While it may be a mistake for the judiciary to overturn policy decisions that properly belong with the executive branch, this is not to say that the policy decisions made by the executive branch are the right ones. In this case, they are wrong.

Since the Sept. 30 coup that toppled elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the Bush administration has been hard-pressed to develop an effective, sturdy humane policy toward Haitian refugees. From then

very good. It is rarely enough to say, "It's good for you." Coercion in one form or another is usually necessary. Enthusiastic eating typically requires something fun, messy, sweet and preferably edible with the hands. That is what the purveyors of so-called junk foods have learned so well about children.

You don't capture a kid's appetite with foods packaged to look and sound like something you would feed your pet. No kid is going to belly up to a bowl of serious looking, tasteless fiber that calls itself nutrigrain or wholesome wheat flakes. Toss it to the gerbils.

Manufacturers of healthy foods might want to try loosening up a little if they want to capture a child's taste buds. Instead of preparing foods as if health and flavor are mutually exclusive, put some snap, crackle and pop into that oatmeal packaging. Call the rolled wheat strands something fun, like Petrified Ninja Tur-les. After the children have been drawn in by this clever advertising ruse, mother and dad can gradually introduce other healthful foods by having them masquerade as junk. Anyone for rice-crust soybean pizza?

As for the Center for Science in the Public Interest, it should lighten up. This is one of the best-fed nations in the world, remember? Generally speaking, its children grow up big and strong and healthy — Cheez Doodles, bologna sandwiches and King Dings notwithstanding. Trying to scare parents may make for good publicity, but it's not exactly in the public interest.

until May 24, the Coast Guard picked up nearly 37,980 people, many of whom fled in less-than-seaworthy vessels. The Coast Guard interviewed them and returned 27,242 to Haiti. Most of the remaining 9,738 were admitted to the United States as political refugees.

The difference between the earlier policy and the current one is that refugees were afforded a hearing on their claims. One might think that should be a basic procedure for immigration policy in a country that was founded by refugees. One would be wrong.

The May 24 policy did have the desired effect: The exodus slowed to a few hundred people a week, down from thousands. About 7,000 people applied for asylum at the U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince, of whom 82 were granted protection.

The administration appears to be relying on the 6-week-old military puppet government of Prime Minister Marc Bazin. Unsurprisingly, however, Mr. Bazin has neither restored order nor brought an end to the military's ruthless practices against the people.

It is imperative that the United States take the moral high ground. A critical if minimal first step would be for the U.S. government to reinstitute hearings for refugees. Then, the United States should take the lead in mobilizing the Organization of American States to restore human rights and democracy to Haiti. As long as the people suffer, they will continue to try to escape across dangerous waters. The best hope for their future is a reason not to have to leave Haiti. And the reason should not be a U.S. policy that says America doesn't want them.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992

BEN WATTENBERG

With Bill Clinton ahead in the polls, we should ask: If elected, would Mr. Clinton deal with the central issue of American public policy?

There is a unique "American way of life," honored by the citizenry. The creed behind this American culture puts high value on "personal responsibility" and "personal initiative."

Alas, much recent public policy has eroded personal responsibility and initiative. We see it in mushy welfare policies, marshmallow criminal procedures, gitchy-goo educational practices, and bend-over-backward racial guidelines.

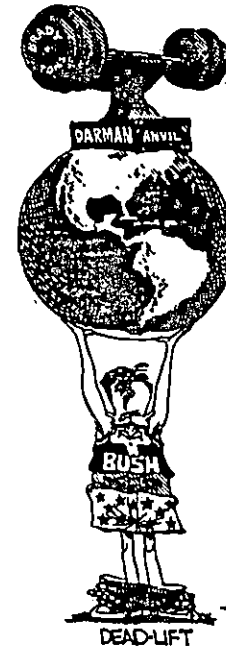
Why might Mr. Clinton change it? After all, those policies came from Democrats, who have gridlocked attempts at change. And the last time we had a moderate Southern Democratic president — Jimmy Carter — he got rolled by special-interest, no-fault, free-lunch Democratic liberals.

Mr. Clinton has things going for him that Mr. Carter didn't: (1) He is associated with a stated philosophy; (2) he knows voters dumped on a Carterized administration in 1980, and might again in 1996.

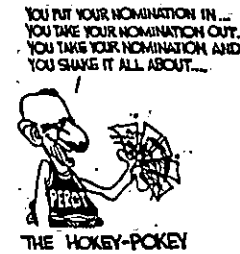
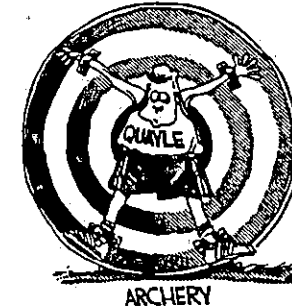
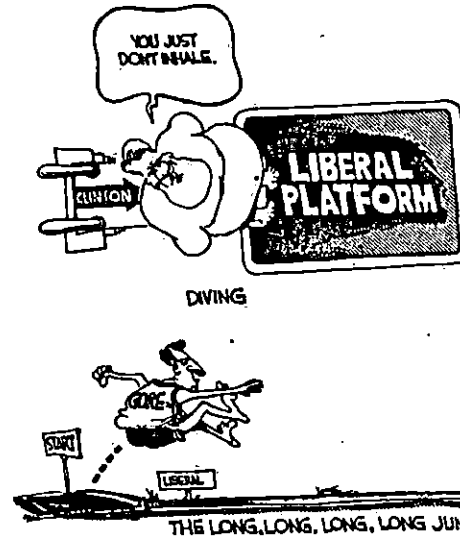
The philosophy is spelled out in a set of articles called "The New Social Contract" in the current issue of "The New Democrat," published by the moderate Democratic Leadership Council. Mr. Clinton is a former chairman of the DLC. Many of his policy statements come from the DLC playbook, as did much of this

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Can Clinton break the grip?



The Presidential Olympic Games



RAWRZ

year's Democratic platform.

Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute (a DLC-related think tank), writes that Democrats need a "politics of reciprocity," and an end to "something for nothing" ideas of the liberal left. One remedy: a civilian G.I. Bill that would guarantee youngsters a college education, but only if they earned it with voluntary national service, such as community police work.

Professor William Galston, of the

University of Maryland, aims at the heart of social liberalism. "We must resist," he writes, "... the proposition that different family structures represent nothing more than alternative lifestyles ... sharply rising rates of divorce, unwed mothers and runaway fathers represent failures of personal responsibility." He says we can make a pro-two-parent-family judgment because "family failure[s] affect society at large. We all pay for the ... welfare, criminal justice and incarceration."

In "The Welfare Wars," columnist Elaine Ciulla Kamarck (a PPI Fellow) lauds state welfare plans designed to foster responsibility. These include a New Jersey plan to eliminate additional payments for a second child born to a welfare mother.

Sociologist Amitai Etzioni lays out "The Communitarian Platform," which includes teaching "character formation" in schools, a university curriculum that acknowledges that our core values "come to us from our European heritage, not from other

cultures," and some anti-crime ideas including "suspicionless" searches, and anti-loitering laws.

The DLCers are not anti-government conservatives. They want to use government to reform the liberalism that has eroded the American responsibility standard. Still, they make some common ground with Jack Kemp-style "em-powerment" conservatives. The common goal is one shared by many: to align American policy with American values.

Could such an agenda be seriously pushed in a Clinton administration? Might moderate-liberal Bill Clinton bring around liberals on domestic policy the way moderate-conservative Richard Nixon pushed conservatives on China policy? The forces against it would be titanic: feminists, gay rights and civil rights groups, the civil liberty lobby, some unions — each with huge constituencies, each looking for responsibility-free goodies. There would be a monumental Washington-style "battle for the mind of the president."

The DLC types would be outgunned; they are few in number. But they have ideas on their side, and public opinion, and some politics, too.

The Democratic dilemma in recent decades has been obvious: Liberal policy clashed discordantly with American culture, and the price was political defeat. The argument can be made — very gingerly, very tentatively — that Mr. Clinton would act to avoid a 1996 Republican renewal by following a "Nixon-to-China" model. He can do that by making liberals see the light, and breaking gridlock, in a way that no conservative could.

KEN ADELMAN

Grumpy voters longing for some new 'cause'

The biggest obstacle to rejuvenating the Bush campaign is the prevalent (and rampant) grumpiness of the American people. Indeed, future historians will ponder why Americans considered the summer of '92 the summer of their discontent.

Having just won both the long-term Cold War and fast-forward Gulf war, having America's economic and political values successfully spread worldwide, having retained among the highest standard of living and productivity, and having maintained the most respected and stable political system — you'd think we'd be self-satisfied if not positively ebullient.

Granted, the U.S. economy is not going gangbusters — the recent news has been disappointing — yet it remains in finer shape than in practically any other industrialized democracy. Our economy is sounder than that of the two mighty-mights: Japan and Germany.

Sure, American politicians seem unexceptional. So what else is new? Over family dinners in 1960, I heard my parents lament their choice between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. "Why can't we get better candidates?" they asked then, and

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Americans have asked every four years since.

Sure, people feel a loss of control over their lives, but that sense of loss accompanies modernity. Complex societies may feel confining while actually they offer amenities even Louis XIV, the Sun King, couldn't imagine.

Never in history have people been offered such choices and comfort. Ah, here may be the rub.

Today's grumpiness may come, ironically enough, from recent triumphs. There's commonly a sweet melancholy of success; just now it's become bitter.

For with success — especially of our values worldwide — comes an end of struggle. Comfort breeds gloom.

George Orwell spotted this phenomenon in a perceptive 1940 review of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf." While Western commentators presumed that people cherished comfort and ease above all, Hitler intuitively sensed otherwise. Because of "his own joyless mind," Hitler realized that people "at least intermittently, want struggle and self-sacrifice, not to mention drums, flags and loyalty parades."

Orwell went on: "Whereas socialism, and even capitalism in a more grudging way, have said to people, 'I offer you a good time,' Hitler has said to them, 'I offer you a struggle, danger and death,' and as a result, a whole nation flings itself at his feet."

With the demise of messianic communism has come the end of struggle — and of messianic democracy. The three Reaganite passions of the '80s — reviving American strength, assisting rebels fighting communist regimes (the "Reagan Doctrine") and promoting the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) as protection against Soviet missiles — were part of a cosmic battle of ideas. Communism vs. capitalism. Despotism vs. democracy.

Now that freedom and free enterprise have won hands down, the war of ideas has wound down. The world has left the era when the two 19th century ideologies — unbridled nationalism and sweeping communism — each deformed the 20th century. Nazism fell after World War II and communism fell a few years ago.

People found supernaturalism and sweeping communism attractive because they gave meaning to

life. Communism folded disparate facts into one grand theory of history. Its scientific veneer appealed in our rational age, particularly to intellectuals blinded by the brilliance of Marx's writing.

Where can people now turn to find meaning?

Some are turning back to nationalism, or more narrowly, ethnic tribalism. Witness the crackup of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and other multiethnic empires.

Sadly, though, few will find such transcending meaning in freedom. Though winning the war of ideas, freedom is (strictly speaking) not much of an idea at all.

For it lays no claim to be encompassing or scientific. Nor does it have much emotional impact, except to those denied it, like past Soviet dissidents and present Chinese, Cu-

ban, or North Korean subjects.

Instead of promising perfection, freedom promises opportunity. Instead of promising meaning, freedom merely legitimizes the search for meaning. It allows the "pursuit of happiness" though does not guide that search or fill a person's natural longing for a higher cause.

Thus will the end of political ideology bring a revival of religion, and of individual searches for meaning in life. It transfers the big human challenge — finding meaning for one's own life — back to each person.

Until some overriding collective crusade comes along, or until each individual has the opportunity to meet that challenge for him- or herself, today's gloom may well linger. As Shakespeare wrote: "What's done is won: Joy's soul lies in the doing."

They came to the capital of the world this week, six dark and dignified men from the exotic East, looking for the "last superpower" to help them overthrow a tyrant. They had come before — and they had left then with only a humiliating silence.

But this time, things looked different for these Iraqi opposition leaders, all dedicated to overthrowing Saddam Hussein. This time, they spent two hours with Secretary of State James Baker III, met with Senate and congressional committees, and were feted by the press.

And it looked extremely likely that their visit here marked a policy turnabout in which the Bush administration will now employ air power to keep Saddam's renegade fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters out of the air. This would indeed herald a "new moment" in the war against Saddam.

"The international community should be able to stop his air force and to stop him using his military helicopters to strafe the population," was the way Jalal Talabani, the major Kurdish leader, put it at a session here at the Carnegie Institution. "That would also encourage people to move against the regime."

What was Mr. Baker's response to such ideas? "Baker needs to be convinced," Laith Kubba-Shi added cautiously, "but I'm sure that he looked at it in a far more serious manner than ever before."

The opposition leaders, who basically take a rare centrist position in Iraq and do not represent either the

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

A black and white woodcut-style illustration of a man with a beard and a cap, sitting on a stone floor in a stone-walled room, looking down at his hands. The man is wearing a simple tunic and sandals. The room is constructed of large, rough-hewn stone blocks. The lighting is dramatic, with strong shadows. In the bottom left corner, there is a small signature that reads "L. M. 19".

THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION

communists or the Islamic fundamentalists, also suggested putting Saddam symbolically on trial. They pointed out to Mr. Baker that there are 14 tons of evidence in the West — most of it documents smuggled out of Kurdistan — showing his persecution of the Kurds.

What has been happening behind the scenes reveals an American policy question, plus a new Iraqi reality, that is far more complicated and profound than the simple fight over

entrance by U.N. weapons inspectors to a suspicious Agricultural Ministry in Baghdad. Basically, here is the story:

On the Iraqi side, Saddam has been indulging himself in one of his periodic (and transparent) seasons of challenge of the West. As with any dictator, the challenges come and go — they can actually be charted — according to when the enemy (us) is weakened (in this case, by an election).

In this treacherous season, Saddam has the entire Shi'ite south of Iraq under brutal attack. In the last week, he has deployed ground attack aircraft against the Shi'ites for the first time since the Gulf war; sent 50,000 men around the perimeter of the southern marshlands; and even employed Russian-built SU-25 "Frogfoot" fighters, in clear violation of U.N. resolutions.

But this new brinksmanship does not mean Saddam is stronger or has won; as so many American analysts say, wringing their hands over the whole thing. To the contrary, this American guilt-mongering over "not getting rid of Saddam," much of it cynically part of our political season, hides the fact that Saddam is actually weaker than ever. It is now confirmed that in June he faced a kind of coup within the army, from Arab tribal Sunnis called the "Jadours," and purged between 100 and 150 officers. On all levels except those approximately 2,500 people right around Saddam, the entire armed forces is utterly demoralized — indeed, too demoralized, the opposition leaders said, to be depended upon even to wage a coup.

On the American side, then, the United States is faced with a very new scenario, but not one without answers. The response in the State Department, the Pentagon and the White House has been to dust off the relatively successful old "Afghan policy" of the Reagan administration, by which outside countries, from the borders of Afghanistan,

supported Afghan opposition Mujahideen groups and finally overthrew the Soviet war machine in Afghanistan.

Indeed, there have been meetings around the clock in the last week, in every level of the administration, over the "Afghan answer."

These developments then carry us to the next question of whether the United States and the West, using those planes left behind after the Gulf war and based in Turkey, should now use outside air power to substantially neutralize the attacks in the south.

We should have used our air power at the end of the war to neutralize Saddam in his own skies when he began attacking the Shi'ites then. Now is the time finally to use air power in the south.

Such a policy has three distinct benefits: (1) It is relatively cheap, in terms of our potential losses; (2) it is effective in curbing, demoralizing and destabilizing Saddam; and (3) it gives the American people the idea that we are indeed "doing something" because we are.

Saddam is a cynical old fox, not above raiding the old "psy-war" chicken coop. He went swimming recently in the Tigris, obviously trying to give the world the parallel picture of the Mao Tse-tung of old, swimming powerfully in the Yangtze. But for anyone who looks below the surface in that Byzantine world of Saddam, he may be trying to look like an Olympic star — but he's really only wading in the marshes.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 *

THOMAS
SOWELL

In search of 535 missing persons

"Hello. This is the Bureau of Missing Persons." "I would like to report some people missing."

"People? More than one?"

"Yes."

"How many?"

"Five hundred and thirty five."

"Five hundred and thirty five! That's a lot of people."

"I know."

"All right, let me get out my notebook here to write down the names. Who are they?"

"Congress."

"Congress?"

"Yes, Congress. You remember them?"

"Well, vaguely. I haven't seen much of them lately."

"That's what I mean, they're missing. That's why I am calling."

"Are you sure they are missing?"

"You didn't see them at the Democratic Convention, did you? And most of them are Democrats."

"Now that you mention it, that is strange. Nobody even talked about them."

"They're not the kind of people you are proud of. They have had all kinds of scandals in recent years."

"You think they're hiding out?"

"You don't see them getting photographed with Gov. Bill Clinton or Sen. Al Gore, do you?"

"That's right. Hey, wait a minute! Sen. Gore is in Congress and I see him everywhere."

"All right, make that 534 missing persons."

"Look, we are going to have to

"It sounds like these are going to be some of the hardest missing people to trace. You're sure they don't hang out with Bill Clinton?"

have some clues if you want me to find these people. Where were they last seen? Where do they hang out?"

"They were last seen in Washington, spending money like drunken sailors. But you won't find them anywhere near the deficit."

"Wait a minute! How can they do that?"

"They just name the deficits after presidents — 'the Reagan deficit,' 'the Bush deficit.'"

"Hey, these sound like clever folks. They may be hard to pin down."

"They always have been."

"What do these missing people look like?"

"Well, most of them usually look like doves — except when you try to shut down a military base in their district. Then they look like hawks."

"Amazing. It sounds like they are masters of disguise."

"They are."

"Sometimes we can still find missing people if we know who their friends are or where they hang out."

"They are friendly with lots of special interests, from Sierra Clubbers to savings and loan executives."

"Where do they hang out?"

"Lots of places. Junkets around the country, junkets overseas."

"Maybe we can trace them from the bills they run up or the checks they use to pay them."

"Oh, they don't pay for these junkets."

"Who does?"

"Either special interests or the taxpayers."

"It sounds like these are going to be some of the hardest missing people to trace. You're sure they don't hang out with Bill Clinton? After all, most of them belong to his party."

"He doesn't let them near him."

"Why is that?"

"Well, he's always talking about 'change' and it's hard to say you're for change when you are seen in public with people who have been in Washington since the Stone Age."

"But hasn't Clinton been in politics all his life?"

"Yes, but people outside Arkansas are seeing him for the first time, so he looks new to them."

"Aren't his policies pretty much the same as Congress' policies?"

"Oh, yes — spend more, tax more — but he has packaged it all under new labels."

"I still think if we keep an eye on Clinton, eventually he and Congress will get together."

"Oh, they plan to get together in Washington after the election."

"Aha! You can always trace missing people if you know who their real friends are."

"But it will be too late then."

Thomas Sowell, an economist and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1992 *

'Bimbo patrol' apology irks president's advisers

Matalin memo seen on target

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush's surprise demand that a senior aide apologize for drawing attention to Democrat Bill Clinton's "bimbo patrol" has out-

raged and disappointed his top political advisers.

They complain that Mr. Bush pulled in the reins on his campaign just as it was starting to gallop.

"It's the MO of a lot of White House folks — at the first sign of criticism, the reaction is to change gears... be it policy or politics," said one Bush associate.

Aides at the White House and Bush-Quayle '92 campaign head-

quarters spent much of yesterday second-guessing Mr. Bush's order that deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin apologize for issuing a news release Sunday that highlighted controversial quotes from Mr. Clinton and other Democrats.

see BUSH, page A8

• President Bush says Bill Clinton is "not without redemption." Page A3.

BUSH

From page A1

In one passage, she referred to top Clinton aide Betsey Wright's admission in an interview with The Washington Post that she headed a team to investigate "bimbo eruptions," or charges of sexual improprieties leveled at the Arkansas governor.

Initially, the White House and the campaign stood behind Miss Matalin, but by late Monday Mr. Bush had put in the apology orders.

"It would appear to some that I might have violated, at least in spirit, the president's dictate to the campaign that we avoid references to Gov. Clinton's personal life," Miss Matalin said in a carefully worded apology that read nearly as strongly as the statement she disavowed.

Mr. Bush, in an interview yesterday, accused Mr. Clinton of hypocrisy for complaining about critical campaign remarks but also criticized the media for not condemning six months of sleaze from his Democratic opponent.

"Where's the outrage? How many editorials showed up in USA Today and other places [about Mr. Clinton's comments] as sleaze and dirty campaigning?" Mr. Bush said in an interview with that newspaper.

The president acknowledged, however, that he likes Mr. Clinton, whom he called a man "not without redemption."

Although Mr. Bush appeared to be defending part of the Matalin memo, he made it clear that the topic of marital infidelity is out of bounds. "Now, in terms of sleaze, that should be out of the campaign," he said.

While Bush aides promised continued aggressive attacks and claimed that Miss Matalin's statement was not really an apology, they felt undercut by White House officials such as Chief of Staff Sam Skinner who they claim have given the campaign conflicting signals on when and how to attack Mr. Clinton.

"The Matalin memo was right because it showed we are alive here. But now what?" asked one campaign aide.

"I really liked what Mary Matalin said. It was right and it was on target and it made Clinton squirm for just cause. But then Bush said, 'Sorry.' I wish we hadn't apologized," a senior administration official said.

"It's ludicrous that we don't want to engage this guy who has run the most personally sleazy campaign... We have to expose Clinton," said another top Bush political adviser, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

"Hopefully it won't take away from what we've done. We were just showing that we are waking up to the campaign," another Bush-Quayle campaign aide said.

But some White House and campaign aides said the incident has its positive aspects.

Noting that polls show most people make up their minds on whom to vote for in the few weeks before the election, a Bush aide said: "Do they care about the amount of tit for tat? No. What the Clinton people are worried about is that they come away with the phrase 'bimbo eruption' and now it's out there."

In an unapologetic tone, Bush-Quayle campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke added: "We will continue every day with corrections and clarifications and rebuttals of Clinton's hypocrisy."

The Matalin news release was part of the campaign team's effort to launch daily attacks on the Clinton record. Yesterday, for example, the re-election campaign hit Mr. Clinton's health care plan. Again, it starred Miss Matalin, who said, "Instead of owning up to the taxes in his proposal, Gov. Clinton slickly tries to change the subject and dodge the issue."

A campaign official said the language in yesterday's missive was meant to alert voters to Mr. Clinton's tax plan and his "slick" image.

"The message we are trying to hit in the daily press releases is Clinton waffles, Clinton hedges and Clinton's slick. That's the point of all of them," said a campaign official.

Several Bush advisers said the Matalin episode is another example of the lack of coordination between

HOT MEMO

The latest controversy to hit the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign was a three-page list of 22 questions and answers in which campaign officials said they were trying to show how Democrats market and hide behind sleaze.

Examples:

Which candidate "dogged by criticisms that he shades the truth for political benefit... admitted there was a deliberate 'pattern of omission' in his answers on marijuana use?" Answer: Bill Clinton, Los Angeles Times, 7/31/92.

Which campaign had to spend thousands of dollars on private investigators to fend off "bimbo eruptions"? Answer: The Clinton campaign. Official campaign "bimbo patrolter," Betsey Wright, in response to 19 bimbo allegations since the Democratic convention and seven earlier bimbo sightings. The Washington Post, 7/16/92 and 7/26/92. (There is no record, however, that Ms. Wright ever called herself the "bimbo patrolter.")

Who said "George Bush better be ready to protect the family jewels"? Answer: Sen. Tom Harkin, Iowa Democrat, Boston Globe, 6/02/91.

Which party took the unprecedented step of hiring private investigators to delve into the personal finances and business dealings of a first family? Answer: The Democratic Party, The Washington Post, 7/2/92.

Who said, "Bush's going to war is sort of like juvenile lovemaking... too quick to get in and to get out"? Answer: Sen. Tom Harkin, Iowa Democrat, The Washington Post, 5/19/91.

The press release ended: "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."

Source: Bush-Quayle '92 press release No. 257, Aug. 2.

The Washington Times

the aggressive campaign staff and the White House staff, which wants Mr. Bush to take the campaign high road.

"It's better not to raise issues than raise them and then cut and run," said Gary Bauer, president of the conservative Family Research Council. "Bush has been accused by the Democrats of everything but being a child molester. He's been blamed for homelessness... and after all of that they still don't want to fight."

"The character issue in the campaign is one of the few choices Bush has to win. Bush has to focus on the obvious character flaws of his opponent," he said. "I would hope that he would be able to address the character issue without getting cold feet."

Another key Bush adviser, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said that by pulling his punches on Mr. Clinton, the president is letting his opponent frame the presidential debate and cast the Republicans as the mudslingers.

"It's a good strategy the Democrats have: Raise the expectation that anything we say about him sleaze or a dirty trick and that anything he says is honest debating," an adviser said.

Fearful of losing the debate, the adviser said, "It was the Democrats who said Bush was ill at the Ma Clinic; they said Marilyn Quayle was sick; they raised lies about the president's personal life. If that isn't a dirty trick I don't know what is, but they [the Democrats] walked away scot-free."

Clinton campaign communications director George Stephanopoulos complained yesterday, however, that the Republicans have been "kings of sleaze."

"Mary Matalin is not the issue. President Bush is the issue. I know, we've seen this kind of campaign out of Mr. Bush and the Republicans before. In 1988, it was 'my lips' and Willie Horton," he said.

• Frank J. Murray contributed this report.

The gift is in
Rose Zamaria's
office until
Mrs. Bush returns
from Maine so she
can see it.

cc: Mrs. Bush

Patty
Gift Unit

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 5, 1992
(aboard Air Force One)

Dear Andrew:

Your long, interesting and supportive letter reached me today. I was delighted to hear from you, and I will share your views with our key campaign people. These are tough times, but I am convinced we can turn this around.

Again, I appreciate your offer of support and hope you will help us right there in Georgia. Fred Cooper is our able Chairman and a wonderful guy.

Thanks, too, for the handsome bronze artwork of Christ. Bar is in Maine, but I will give her your note and show her this beautiful piece. How very kind of you!

Hope to see you at the Convention. Hurriedly,
but with warmest best wishes,

Thanks for your
offer re: the Convention

I think things all stalled up now; but

Mr. Andrew Charles Untener, III
Post Office Box 52989
Atlanta, Georgia 30355

I'll pass
along your wonderful
offer.

Disabled
Veterans

Reno
NEVADA



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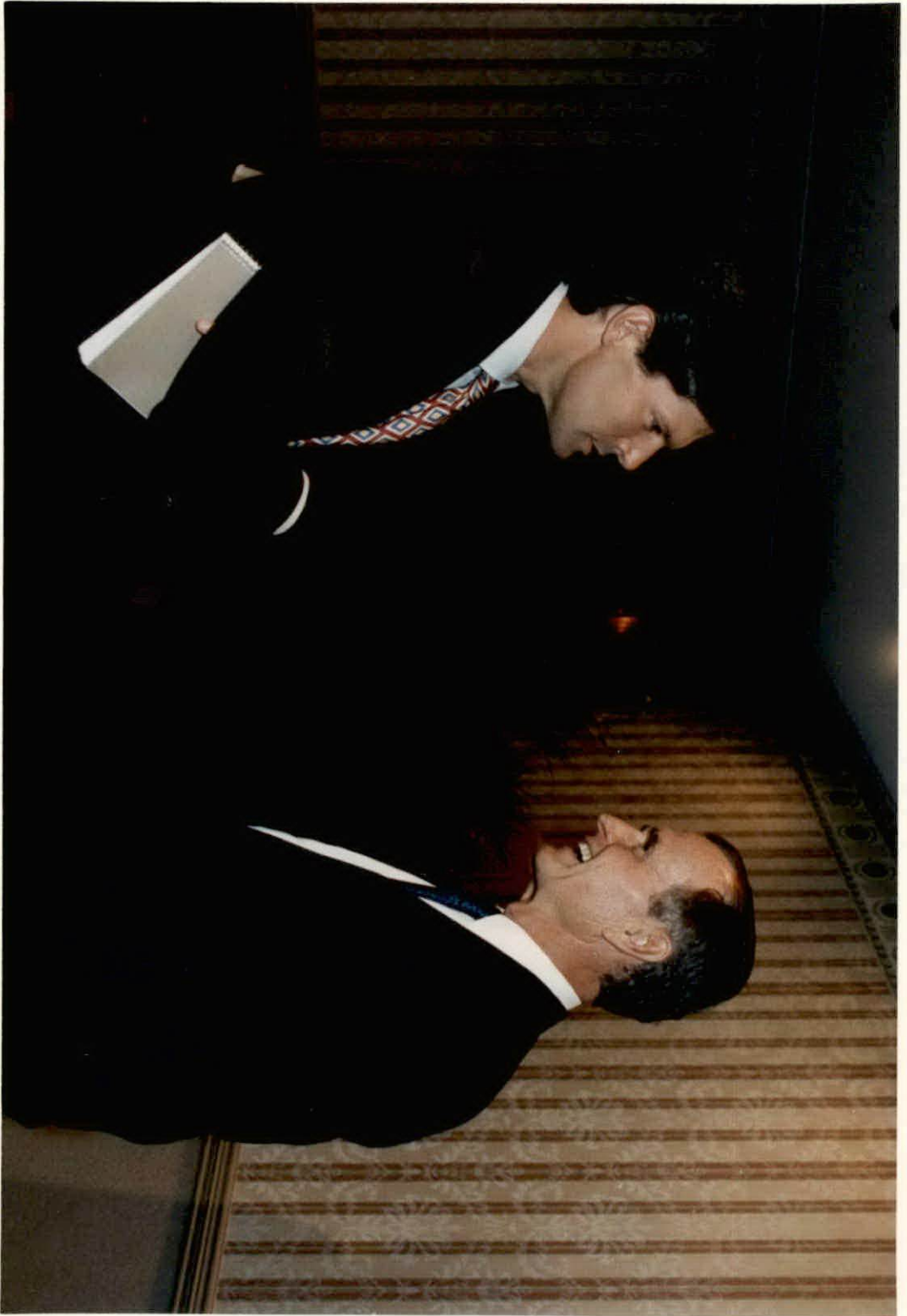
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Reno, Nevada



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