

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

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

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

OA/ID Number: 90705
Folder ID Number: 90705-001

Folder Title:
Friday, August 7, 1992 [3]

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: Presidential Telephone Call with John Major [originally closed as 01a]. (4 pp.)	8/7	(b)(1)	
02. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Telephone Conversation with Prime Minister John Major of Great Britian [originally closed as 01b]. (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03. Memo	Brent Scowcroft to The President Re: Telephone Call with Prime Minister John Major of Great Britain [originally closed as 01c]. (2 pp.)	8/7/92	(b)(1)	S
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	08/07/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, August 7, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: cap6198

OA/ID Number: 90705-001

Date Closed: 9/27/2019

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

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, August 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/27/2019	OA/ID Number: 90705-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

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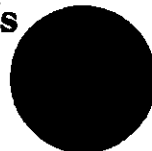
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Presidential Phone Calls



DATE:

8-7

TIME:

12:04

incoming/outgoing

WITH:

J.P. Hammerschmidt

SUBJECT:

703-524-8039

long talk with
her

FOLLOW UP:

I called
Matalen

She will follow up

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 8-7 TIME: 4:23
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Gov. Bruce Tans

SUBJECT: _____

s. hearing went down
6 on board

hit air pocket
spun out of control

fault =
FOLLOW UP: my back - no fracture

na--a

na--a

a0612na--a

u a bc-govcrash:1235ped 8-7 0229

urgent

Kentucky governor involved in helicopter crash

FRANKFORT, Ky. (UPI) - A helicopter taking Gov. Brereton Jones to a speaking engagement crashed shortly after takeoff Friday from Capital City Airport, state police reported.

Five of the six people aboard the state-owned Sikorsky helicopter were reported injured in the mishap and one of them was reported trapped in the wreckage, which littered Interstate 6 near Graefenburg.

State police said Jones was taken to University Hospital in Louisville, suffering a back injury.

Officials said there was no immediate word on what caused the crash, which occurred shortly after 11 a.m.

Jones, who took office in December, was headed for Fort Knox to address a luncheon sponsored by the Association for U.S. Army Officers.

The others aboard the helicopter were not immediately identified.

"I can verify that the governor's helicopter went down. It went down at 11:25 this morning at a location...approximately one-half mile south of I-6," State Police Detective Stuart Brumfield said. "We have notified the staff...there were injuries on board the flight."

"They have arrived at the scene and they are in the process now of removing the injured persons and transporting them to a hospital in Louisville."

Brumfield said Jones was hurt "but to what extent we don't know."

REUT12:26 08-07
a0713reute

u i AM-GOVERNOR. 08-07 0091

AM-GOVERNOR

KENTUCKY GOVERNOR REPORTED INJURED IN HELICOPTER CRASH

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Reuter -- Kentucky Gov. Brereton Jones was reported to be injured Friday after a helicopter he was riding in crashed near Graefenburg, Ky.

He was on his way to an appearance at Fort Knox.

Initial reports from the scene, about six miles west of the state capital Frankfort, indicated Jones suffered unspecified injuries.

He was conscious when taken from the wreckage, a spokeswoman for the governor said. Jones, a Democrat, was elected in November and is serving his first year as Kentucky's governor.

REUTER

, Reut12:36 08-07

a0715reute

r s AM-OLYMPICS-BOXING 08-07 0483

August 7, 1992

*Tracked him
8/7*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subj: Status report on Governor Brerry Jones

According to reports, the Governor sustained only MINOR back injuries during the accident, and has been taken to the King's Daughter Hospital in Frankfort, Kentucky.

If you wish to try him at the hospital, the number is 502-875-5240. At this point, it is not know if he will be assigned a room or will be spending the night.

Attached are the current news clips concerning the accident.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Friday, August 7, 1992

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

Friday, August 7, 1992

APPLE SAUCE

By OWEN MORITZ

No seashells by seashore as Bush is host to Rabin

President and Mrs. Bush will entertain Israeli Prime Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** and his wife, **Leah**, in their Kennebunkport, Maine, home Monday and Tuesday, and it's testing the White House's logistics and protocol capabilities.

That's because the Bush kitchen must provide kosher meals for the Rabins. Meaning separate silverware and plates for the guests, and no shellfish or pork.

New York sources say that while Rabin is not as observant as some of his predecessors, the U.S. protocol arrangement with the Israeli government calls for kosher food when the head of government is in town.

The White House told us the food will be kosher, probably prepared by the White House staff, though a caterer has not been ruled out.

Sauce could find only one kosher restaurant in Maine, in Bangor — and the owner says that's "hundreds of miles away" from Kennebunkport.

Bush will have to go some to match Democratic rival **Bill Clinton's** meeting with 1,000 rabbis at a Borough Park dinner in April.

After a glatt kosher meal of chicken and rice, Clinton told his audience: "I felt like I was back home in Arkansas."

Thu 6-Aug-92 19:26 EDT

GOP Convention Speakers Picked

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Republican Party put finishing touches Thursday on its lineup of convention speakers, adding governors and members of Congress as well as the wife of the late party chairman, Lee Atwater.

A Republican fund-raiser's daughter, who is infected with the AIDS virus, will also address the convention Aug. 19, mirroring the two HIV-infected people who addressed the Democratic convention in New York last month. They criticized the Bush administration for not doing enough to fight the disease.

Dignitaries drafted to speak at the GOP convention in Houston Aug. 17-20 include House Republican leader Robert Michel of Illinois, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia, Sen. John McCain of Arizona, Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming and Environmental Protection Agency chief William Reilly.

Republican governors scheduled to speak include Carroll Campbell of South Carolina, Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, John Ashcroft of Missouri, William Weld of Massachusetts, Pete Wilson of California, Jim Edgar of Illinois and Jim Engler of Michigan.

Weld, a supporter of both abortion rights and gay rights, represents the party's more liberal wing; Thompson, whose state has enacted several experiments aimed at easing people off welfare, is a close Bush friend.

— "This outstanding group of individuals will clearly articulate President Bush and the Republican party's accomplishments, values and vision," Republican Party chairman Richard Bond said.

The GOP released its 16-page speakers schedule one day after announcing the headline speakers, including former presidents Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, first lady Barbara Bush and past Bush election opponents Robert Dole, Pat Robertson, Jack Kemp and Patrick Buchanan.

Martin, who disagrees with Bush's anti-abortion stance, is scheduled to nominate Bush with a speech Aug. 19 while Dole, the Senate minority leader, will introduce the president before his acceptance speech on Aug. 20.

Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas is scheduled to give the keynote address Aug. 18 while former Bush administration drug policy director William Bennett is expected to nominate Vice President Dan Quayle with a speech the following night.

Among the women addressing the convention will be Marilyn Quayle, Reps. Nancy Johnson of Connecticut and Barbara Vucanovich of Nevada and Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin. Sally Atwater, whose husband ran Bush's 1988 presidential campaign and then took over the Republican Party before dying of brain cancer last year, will introduce Bond on the convention's opening day.

Mary D. Fisher, daughter of Bush campaign fund-raiser Max Fisher, will address the convention about being infected with the HIV virus and her efforts to start the Family AIDS Network, a support group for friends and family of those infected with the AIDS virus.

Wed 5-Aug-92 18:27 EDT

Reagan, Ford Head List Of Speakers At Republican Convention

By JOHN SOLOMON

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Republican Party, seeking a unified front at its Houston convention, on Wednesday chose four past election rivals of President Bush and a dissenter on abortion to deliver high-profile speeches.

The party also drafted former President Ronald Reagan for an opening night address on foreign policy and Gerald Ford, the last Republican to lose the White House, for a speech the final evening.

Mary Matalin, the Bush campaign's political director, said the lineup gives the public a glimpse of several Republicans "with strong credible records in their own right" who are united for the election despite any past disagreements they may have had with Bush.

"We need everybody together for this one and everybody will be together," she said.

Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, a longtime Bush supporter, will give the keynote address Aug. 18 while former White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, another Bush confidant, is also scheduled to address the convention.

But the rest of the prime-time lineup of speakers provided Wednesday by Republican Party spokesman Gary Kooops is filled with people with past disagreements or primary battles with Bush.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who openly disagrees with Bush's anti-abortion stance although she is a strong advocate of his domestic agenda, will formally nominate Bush with a speech Aug. 19.

Although pro-choice Republicans are expected to mount an unsuccessful challenge to the party's anti-abortion planks, Martin was not selected to appease that restless wing of the party, Matalin insisted.

"There's nothing subliminal there," Matalin said. "Her first and foremost and singular role at the convention will be to give a stupendous nominating speech."

Patrick Buchanan, the conservative commentator who mounted a surprisingly strong and acerbic challenge to Bush in early GOP primaries, has a prime-time speaking slot on the convention's first night.

And 1988 Bush primary rivals Jack Kemp, Bob Dole and Pat Robertson will also have speaking roles. Dole, the Senate minority leader, will introduce Bush before his acceptance speech Aug. 20.

Both Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle will give their acceptance speeches on the convention's last night.

The president, however, won't be the only Bush at center stage at the Astrodome. First Lady Barbara Bush is scheduled to give a prime-time address on Aug. 19 on family values issues, Kooops said.

Stephen Hess, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank, said the selection of Mrs. Bush for a prime-time role at the convention was the biggest surprise of the lineup.

"I really can't recall any candidate's wife being given a role like that before. I guess it reflects in some ways the formalization of the First Lady as a government job," Hess said.

Hess said the choice of the popular Reagan to open the convention was a "shrewd move to get the convention off to a rousing start" and the rest of the lineup generally "represents the Republican Party well."

"It's a group that can get some cheers and knows how to carry a crowd," he said.



Agriculture
Industry
Leaders

OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 07AUG92 SB P034290 -32A

daily

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH
TO
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINEAUGUST 7 - 11, 1992GUESTS FOR COCKTAILS:U.S. DELEGATION

Mr. Dennis Ross
Mr. Ed Djerejian
Ambassador Harrop
Ms. Janet Mullins
Mr. Ginny Lampley
Dr. Richard Haass
Mr. Marlin Fitzwater
Ms. Judy Smith
Mr. Walter Kansteiner

ISRAELI DELEGATION

Mr. Eli Rubenstein
General Nevo
Mr. Ben - Ari
Ms. Kena Shoval
Mr. Gedaliah Boren
Mr. Michael Shiloh
Mr. Yosef Armani
Mr. Jacob Perry
Ms. Ruth Yaron

GUESTS FOR DINNER:U.S. DELEGATION

THE PRESIDENT
Mrs. Bush
Secretary Baker
Secretary Skinner ✓
General Scowcroft

ISRAELI DELEGATION

Prime Minister Rabin
Mrs. Rabin
Ambassador Shoval
Mrs. Shoval
Mr. Shimon Sheves
Mr. Eitan haber

Aug 7, 92



*We are pleased you were able to join us
for this event. Please accept the attached
as a memento of the occasion.*

*Office of the Commandant
United States Marine Corps*



HEADQUARTERS U.S. MARINE CORPS
AUDIOVISUAL BRANCH (CODE ARDF)
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380
PHOTOGRAPHER: LCPL ALGER
DATE: 7 AUG 92
NEG #: 008-2325-15-92
EVENT: GUADALCANAL 50TH ANIVERSARY
OBSERVATION ATTENDED BY PRESIDENT BUSH

21 0121 N 1 N-1 2 18 25



HEADQUARTERS U.S. MARINE CORPS
AUDIOVISUAL BRANCH (CODE ARDF)
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380
PHOTOGRAPHER: LCPL ALGER
DATE: 7 AUG 92
NEG #: 008-2325-13-92
EVENT: GUADALCANAL 50TH ANIVERSARY
OBSERVATION ATTENDED BY PRESIDENT BUSH

91 0121 N 1 N 1 2 13 21



HEADQUARTERS U.S. MARINE CORPS
AUDIOVISUAL BRANCH (CODE ARDF)
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380
PHOTOGRAPHER: LCPL ALGER
DATE: 7 AUG 92
NEG #: 008-2325-09-92
EVENT: GUADALCANAL 50TH ANIVERSARY
OBSERVATION ATTENDED BY PRESIDENT BUSH

010121H111H21333



31 0121N-1N-12:18:25

HEADQUARTERS U.S. MARINE CORPS
AUDIOVISUAL BRANCH (CODE ARDF)
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380
PHOTOGRAPHER: LCPL ALGER
DATE: 7 AUG 92
NEG #: 008-2325-14-92
EVENT: GUADALCANAL 50TH ANIVERSARY
OBSERVATION ATTENDED BY PRESIDENT BUSH

daily

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 7, 1992

Dear Mrs. Keller:

Thank you for your wonderful letter. I appreciate your words of support, and I share your sense of pride in the courageous American service members -- such as your son Kevin -- who answered the call to duty in the Persian Gulf.

Those Americans who gave their lives in the effort to thwart aggression by Iraq's Saddam Hussein -- during Operation Desert Shield as well as Desert Storm -- did not die in vain. They not only helped to liberate a small, defenseless country from a ruthless neighbor, but also made a valiant stand for freedom and the rule of law. Rest assured that my administration will continue to uphold those principles, which are the only sure foundation for lasting peace in the world.

As we maintain a strong defense and work to encourage greater cooperation among nations, we will also continue working here at home to strengthen America. During the conflict in the Persian Gulf, we saw the strength of a united, determined America, and I believe, by working together with the same sense of purpose and resolve, we can meet other challenges that our country faces today.

Best wishes to you and your family; and once again, thank you for a beautiful letter that I will share with Barbara.

Sincerely,

Ag B

Mrs. Sophia B. Keller
431 East Lake Avenue
Glenview, Illinois 60025

P.S. Since Michael has a picture of Barbara and Millie, here's one for you of me and Ranger, my dog, millie's son.

*P.S. I just returned from the
Iwo Jima monument where
Maz Murino turned out
to commemorate the landing
on Guadalcanal - 50 yrs.
ago today. It was most
impressive - many uniformed
Marines, many vets.*



Sophia Keller

To Sophia Keller
With Respect For Your Courage and With Great
Pride in your noble son Kenneth - Ag Bush

July 21, 1992

The President
The White House
1500 Pennsylvania
Washington, D.C. 20800

Dear Mr. President:

JK
encl.
I am sure you have heard of my son, the late Sgt. Kenneth Keller, USMC who died October 8, 1990, in Operation Desert Shield. His helicopter collided with another and exploded in mid-air. There were eight men on the two choppers, no bodies were ever found. To this day I cannot accept the fact that he is dead, to me he is an MIA. I know an investigation was performed, but not to find any bodies, just debris Mr. President, it is difficult for me to believe this, yet if my son was on a secret mission I would understand, because he would want me to. Mr. President, I know people were against the Gulf War, who wouldn't be, but the day I was notified that our son was killed we received a letter from him, saying, "Mom and Dad don't worry about me we are over here to help the people of Kuwait and to always make sure our country stays free, I love the Marines and my country." Mr. President, that day I received this letter it was too much for me to handle. Yet, I am proud of my Marine, because he did what he wanted to do in his short life, 27 years old. So Mr. President, at this 1992 Republican Convention you give it all you've got for these proud boys who wanted freedom for us as well as Kuwait. We are Republicans and proud of it. ~~So for a Gold Star Mother it is difficult to accept~~ my son's death, but he is alive in my heart.

I would never dream of voting for a draft dodger, not when these men and women gave their lives for their country. You see Mr. President, I could be bitter with the Military and God, but Ken would never want me to. You know the loss of a child, it isn't easy. My son, Michael has written to you also and a picture was sent to him from you with Barbara and Millie.

God Bless and the best of luck.

Sincerely,

Sophia B. Keller

Sophia B. Keller
431 E. Lake Avenue
Glenview, IL 60025

(708) 729-1035

787'36

Marine Sgt. Kenneth Keller, victim of Gulf copter crash

By Kenan Heise

Marine Sgt. Kenneth Thomas Keller Jr., 26, was serving as crew chief on a helicopter and was stationed in the Persian Gulf. He had been in the Marine Corps since he was 18 years old.

Sgt. Keller, a resident of Ocean-side, Calif., died in a helicopter crash over the Arabian Sea on Oct. 8. Two of the craft had been on patrols when they apparently collided, killing all members of both crews.

"He was a great kid and a true Marine," said his mother, Sophia. "His letters said that he was there to fight for his country, but he couldn't wait to get home to his wife and son."

A native of Chicago, Sgt. Keller played both Little League and football in Glenview, where he grew up. He attended the Avoca Elementary School and Loyola Academy.

He joined the Marines in 1982 and has served since then at Camp Pendleton near Oceanside.

Survivors, besides his mother, include his wife, Lolita; a son, Joshua; his father, Kenneth Sr.; and two brothers.



Sgt. Kenneth T. Keller

A memorial mass for Sgt. Keller will be said 10 a.m. Saturday in Our Lady of Perpetual Help Catholic Church, Church and Grove Streets, Glenview.

Accidents killed most GIs in gulf

By William Neikirk 3-24-91
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON—Sophia Keller of Glenview and Dorothy Hurley of Chicago feel like casualties of the Persian Gulf war.

Their sons, both Marines, were killed in an accidental helicopter collision Oct. 8 over the Gulf of Oman, during training exercises as part of Operation Desert Shield.

Now whenever Sophia Keller sees the casualties of Operation Desert Storm men-

■ Iraq and the gulf allies agree to step up prisoner exchanges. Page 12.

tioned publicly as war heroes and Sgt. Kenneth Keller Jr.'s name is excluded, she cannot help but feel the pain.

Those killed in accidents prior to the beginning of the war on Jan. 16 also belong on the list, she said. "These boys died in Desert Storm too. I feel hurt. I want these boys' memories kept alive. They were heroes. They were fighting for their country."

Dorothy Hurley agrees, but is more concerned that she has been given no information on the helicopter crash, how it occurred or who was to blame. She and a third Illinois mother who lost a son in the crash, Sheila Cronin of Elmhurst, learned from friends of their sons, Capt. William Joseph Hurley and Capt. William Cronin Jr., that it probably was a midair collision off the USS Okinawa. The bodies were never recovered.

"We get one letter each month from the Pentagon," Hurley said. "It says only that 'we have not reached a conclusion.' It's kind of like unfinished."

The whole picture of the casualties in Desert Shield and Desert Storm has an unfinished quality about it. Neither the Pentagon nor the media has made much of the pre-war accidental deaths of 108 troops, either in providing details or according them the same hero status of combat casualties.

Actually, accidents killed more U.S. soldiers than hostile fire during the entire Desert Shield/Desert Storm operation. The Pentagon said last Thursday there were 124 combat deaths and 207 non-combat

See Casualties, pg. 11



Keller

Hurley

Casualties

Continued from page 1

deaths since the first troops were sent to the gulf in August.

For such a large operation, military analysts said, the number of accidents wasn't unusually high. Soldiers were killed in a variety of ways—vehicle accidents, airplane crashes, and, in one instance, a fall. Twenty-one sailors died in December when a ferry capsized in the Red Sea.

Dr. Eric Plaut, professor of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at Northwestern University, said families who feel a lack of proper recognition for a death have an understandable reaction. He compared it to the same kind of emotion felt by families who had a son wounded or killed in the unpopular Vietnam War.

Plaut said he presumes the military finds it hard to acknowledge that it lost more soldiers in accidents than in combat. "It's harder for them to explain and justify," he said.

But he stressed that it is important for the families who suffered the death of a loved one by accident to be honored equally by the Pentagon and by the country, especially the media.

For a time, the issue of money sharpened these feelings. Keller, for example, thought it would have been unfair if families of those killed in Desert Shield received a smaller insurance payment than those in Desert Storm. Her son's family—a wife and child—received \$50,000.

Last month some members of Congress began talking about doubling the insurance payment to \$100,000 for Desert Storm casualties. But the bill now before a House-Senate conference committee sets Aug. 1 as the eligibility date for the \$100,000 payment.

Sen. Alan Dixon (D-Ill.) said he felt the same benefits and honors should be accorded any soldier killed, whether it was in preparation for the war or during the hostilities, whether by combat or accident.

"It was still a life given in the cause," he said.

This provision certainly helps ease one of Keller's causes for concern, but she said money wasn't the main issue. It went more to the question of her son's own pride and training for his job as a Marine.

Even as a boy of 5, Kenneth Jr. was interested in the military. "He loved the Marines," she said. "He was proud to be a Marine. The Marines have been very good to us."

Yet, she said, when the Pentagon-prepared casualty lists that appear on television and in the newspapers do not include those killed in the helicopter accident "it's as if it never happened."

Plaut of Northwestern said in some cases, lack of adequate recognition by a country for a soldier who gave his life can be such a focal point for a family that it interrupts the natural mourning process. This is one reason for providing balance when a nation honors its war dead, he said.

Cronin said recognition was important to her son. When he was stationed at Quantico, Va., she said, he often made the trip to Washington to view the Vietnam Memorial, where the names of hundreds of war dead are etched on a plain, stone wall.

"He was impressed by that wall," she said. If there were a similar memorial for those who died in the gulf, she said, the family would want his name included.

Keller expressed the same view—recognition on a memorial is very important.

"They were not exactly on a Caribbean cruise," Hurley added.

But all three mothers said their sons have been honored in their local communities, through scholarship programs and parades and in other ways. And all three told of receiving letters from their sons long after the accident.

In his last letter, Capt. Hurley said he hoped to be home by Feb. 7. From a stopover in the Philippines, he had arranged for his family to receive a Valentine. It arrived right on time.

Nancy -
Please note
this well. GB
will probably refer
to it again.

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Attached to
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mrs. Keller:

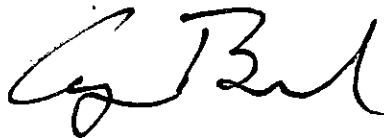
Thank you for your wonderful letter. I appreciate your words of support, and I share your sense of pride in the courageous American service members -- such as your son Kevin -- who answered the call to duty in the Persian Gulf.

Those Americans who gave their lives in the effort to thwart aggression by Iraq's Saddam Hussein -- during Operation Desert Shield as well as Desert Storm -- did not die in vain. They not only helped to liberate a small, defenseless country from a ruthless neighbor but also made a valiant stand for freedom and the rule of law. Rest assured that my Administration will continue to uphold those principles, which are the only sure foundation for lasting peace in the world.

As we maintain a strong defense and work to encourage greater cooperation among nations, we will also continue working here at home to strengthen America -- ~~by assisting families and affirming traditional American values, by reforming our educational and health care systems, and by building safe, drug-free communities.~~ During the conflict in the Persian Gulf, we saw the strength of a united, determined America, and I believe that, by working together with the same sense of purpose and resolve, we can meet other challenges that our country faces today.

Best wishes to you and your family; and once again,
I thank you for a beautiful letter that
I will share with Barbara. Sincerely,

Sincerely



Mrs. Sophia B. Keller
431 East Lake Avenue
Glenview, Illinois 60025

P.S. Since Michael has a picture of
Barbara & Millie here's one for you
of me and Ranger, my dog, Millie's son.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Creating a campaign stop

Clinton's made-for-TV tour runs on precise planning

By Leslie Phillips
USA TODAY

DAVENPORT, Iowa — When a high-ranking Japanese politician called American workers lazy in January, the folks at the Nichols-Homeshield mill took up a collection to buy a U.S. flag.

That flag, lovingly dry-cleaned once a month ever since, was hanging from the rafters at the aluminum processing plant when Bill Clinton and Al Gore stepped off their campaign bus Thursday.

An image-maker couldn't have asked for a better backdrop.

"This is as good a facility as I've ever been in," Clinton said after touring the plant. He was talking about its environmental controls, but he may as well have been talking about its imagery. The flag dangled high over his shoulder within a line of sight of a dozen TV cameras.

Clinton's visit to the plant opens a window onto the inner workings of modern politics — the quest to combine policy with pretty pictures, the effort to leave as little as possible to chance, the labor of dozens of staffers and hundreds of volunteers that usually goes unnoticed.

But the days of preparation behind the plant tour, one of five stops Thursday, also underscore an instinctive campaign fear of images, once captured on TV, that turn into horror stories.

The catalog of campaign disas-

ters — such as Michael Dukakis riding a tank as if it were a toy, Jimmy Carter struggling through a footrace, Richard Nixon strolling the seashore in his wingtips — can reinforce voters' doubts.

The goal of planning is simple, says former White House aide Stephen Hess: "Get the candidate in and out of town with the largest crowds, the biggest cheers and the least number of snafus."

Even when the exact route of Clinton's Mississippi River bus tour was still tentative, the campaign headquarters in Little Rock dispatched an army of logistical experts, the political cowboys who chart each step of the candidate's way before he shows up.

Six aides, the advance team, came to Davenport — where Ronald Reagan got his first radio job more than 60 years ago.

Like other Democratic hopefuls this year, Clinton had bypassed Iowa when it was clear native son Sen. Tom Harkin would sweep the state's caucus in February. Now Clinton's advisers think he can win it in November. The state backed Dukakis in 1988 after voting for Reagan in 1980 and 1984.

Planning for the Clinton-Gore visit began eight days before the event, when staffers at Harkin's local office provided a list of sites the candidates might want to visit.

The next day, the plant — which Harkin toured five months ago, before he dropped out of the Democratic presidential race — was tentatively selected.

The mill is a model of public officials combining with private corporations to retrain workers and save jobs. It's the kind of project the campaign says a Clinton administration would foster.

And it didn't hurt that splitting flames inside a 1,700-degree furnace make good pictures on TV.

By Saturday, plant officials were told Clinton and 150 reporters and photographers would drop by five days hence.

Sunday, the media were informed, and local TV stations began canceling vacations and planning an all-out assault.

On Monday, the phone company was extending 30 lines from the mill office to the factory floor so reporters could call their offices or file their stories.

By Tuesday, the Secret Service had cased the plant and found out

what it needed to know about the mill's 89 employees.

On Wednesday, the advance team made a dry run of the exact route Clinton would stroll through the factory.

And then it was Thursday. The campaign was greeted by a 2-inch-high front-page headline in the *Quad City Times*: "Hello, Bill"

Clinton's tour of the plant went off without a hitch. The three major TV networks all showed Clinton at the plant, surrounded by reporters and boom mikes, responding to an attack by President Bush on Clinton's economic plan.

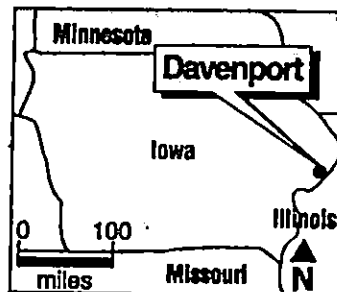
The local TV stations all began their newscasts with stories on the plant tour itself, complete with picture of the leaping flames and the flag. Reporters for two stations, apparently denied requests for interviews with the candidate, both complained of poor access to Clinton.

Then, after two hours and 14 minutes, the motorcade was gone.

Did the planning pay off? At least one voter thought so.

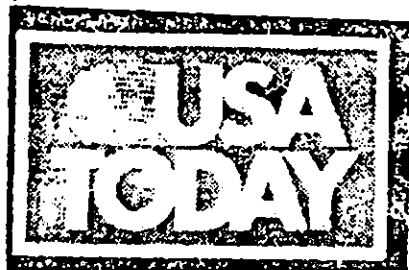
"I'm a registered Republican, I'm not going to lie about it," said awed assistant mill operator Dan Olinger. "It makes a big difference to be that close to him. To shake hands with him. To talk with him. You can read a person when you're up close. After listening and talking to them, I think they might have got my vote."

► Campaign tax battle, 4A



By Regi Ransdell, USA TODAY

DAILY NEWS CLIPS
OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS
FRIDAY, 7 AUGUST, 1992



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Lawyers meet in San Francisco

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

More than 13,000 lawyers gather in San Francisco this weekend for the annual American Bar Association convention — amid controversies over abortion and politics.

The convention may break attendance records set five years ago, the last time the group met in San Francisco.

Top draw on the agenda: efforts by abortion rights advocates to place the 370,000-member organization on record favoring federal and state legislation that gives broad protection to a woman's right to an abortion.

The group's governing House of Delegates endorsed abortion rights in February, 1990, but retreated to a position of neutrality six months later, after more than 1,500 members resigned in protest.

Women's groups — backed by ABA president Talbot D'Alemberte — want the group to

take a stand again.

"We are in imminent danger of major incursions on reproductive choice," says Washington lawyer Estelle Rogers, main organizer of the effort.

Opponents say most ABA members think the abortion issue is needlessly divisive.

"I happen to be pro-choice, but no matter what their stand is, a majority of members think the ABA should stay out of the debate," says Dallas lawyer Darrell Jordan. He predicts "massive defections" from the ABA if a stance backing abortion rights is adopted.

All members at the convention vote on the issue Monday; the policy-making delegates have the final say Tuesday.

Another big draw comes Sunday, when Anita Hill — who last fall accused Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment — receives an award from the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession.

Guest speaker will be Hilla-



Gannett News Service

CLINTON: Guest speaker; husband Bill may attend

ry Clinton, ex-commission leader and wife of the Democratic presidential candidate.

Bill Clinton may address the group at another event.

Neither President Bush nor Vice President Quayle will attend.

Also on the convention schedule: A mock trial of Lee Harvey Oswald for the 1963 Kennedy assassination.

Lawyers, judges and jurors will weigh evidence that might have been presented if Oswald had lived to stand trial.

The trial, set for Monday and Tuesday, will be aired live on cable's Court TV.

ABA leader blasts Bush on crime

The president of the American Bar Association is attacking the Bush administration for a "quick fix" approach to crime.

In a letter set for release today, ABA president Talbot D'Alemberte of Miami said Attorney General William Barr's recent report on violent crime "appears to ignore the broad societal context" for crime and focuses instead on "a panoply of 'get tough' edicts," such as more prisons and tougher sentences.

Said D'Alemberte: "We do a

disservice to the American people if we do not tell them that, while the criminal justice system plays an important role in preventing and controlling crime, it is a limited one."

He says more drug treatment, social services and gun control measures are needed to attack the causes of crime.

The bar group is expected to release a report Saturday attacking funding cutbacks that have left the justice system in most states "on the verge of collapse."



USA TODAY

D'ALEMBERTE: Report due Saturday

NEWSMAKERS

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH PEOPLE IN THE HEADLINES

U.S. aid chief: Somalia 'world's worst crisis'

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Jim Kunder had to shut his eyes to death and starvation on every side in war-ravaged Somalia so he could focus on his job as a disaster fighter.

"I saw kids and I wanted to say, 'Stop the convoy, because this kid is going to die in the next couple of hours,'" Kunder says after a two-week tour of the region.

But as he traveled in a car with three armed guards sitting on the roof and with machine-gun-mounted trucks ahead and behind, he had to resist the temptation.

He focused instead on the bigger picture: what he — director of the U.S. Office of Disaster Assistance — could do to help the greatest number of Somalia's 6.5 million sufferers.

Kunder calls Somalia's current situation — a severe drought compounded by civil war that's led to a breakdown at every level of social life — "the world's worst humanitarian crisis."

Kunder is making several proposals to the Bush administration to help improve the situation:

- Provide seeds for fall planting of crops.

- Sell U.S. surplus food for Somali shillings, then use the local currency to pay Somali health workers who are toiling without pay in hospitals and clinics.

- Send veterinary care to boost the crucial goat, cattle and sheep herds, 80% of which have died.

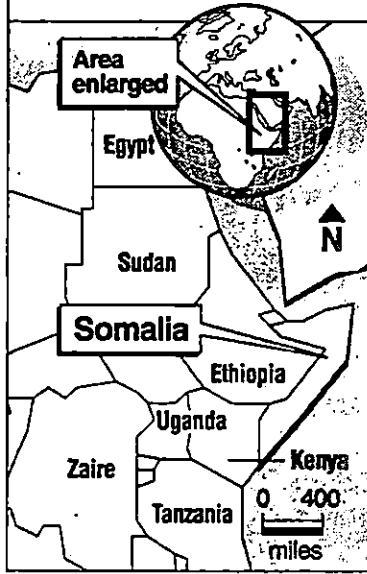
Kunder said he supports the United Nations' plan to send in 500 armed troops to protect food shipments — "it's an excellent first step" — but hints more action might be needed.

And he has urged greater international peacekeeping efforts to get warring clans to quit fighting.

Kunder says he's disgusted with tribal leaders who are "either unwilling or incapable of restoring order. The people with the guns are getting the food. I feel a sense of outrage at that."

Situation in Somalia

Warfare among 10 clans since January 1991 has led to political and social anarchy. Seventy-five percent of this Texas-sized country's 6.5 million people are at risk of starvation.



USATODAY

Kunder bases his assessment of Somalia's dire situation on objective measures of misery:

- 75% of the population is at risk of starvation.

- Malnutrition is 90% in some areas.

- 4.5 million people are in danger of dying — from hunger or the shooting between factions.

There are "unparalleled" difficulties in moving relief supplies because armed bandits are everywhere, poised to hijack supplies for profit or for their own starving families.

A team of 23 U.N. troubleshooters is en route to Somalia to assess relief operations for people dying "like flies."

In London, Britain's Save the Children Fund called for a huge sealift of aid.

Also, Amnesty International charges in a new report that combatants in Somalia's civil war are



By Debra Gertler, AP

CRISIS IN SOMALIA: Jim Kunder, U.S. Office of Disaster Assistance director, says 'it would be criminal' for the world to turn its back.

Relief organizations accepting donations

These relief organizations are accepting donations to help Somalia. You may designate your check for Somalia.

- American Red Cross Somalia Relief Fund, P.O. Box 37243, Washington, D.C. 20013, (800) 842-2200

- AmeriCares, 161 Cherry St., New Canaan, Conn. 06830, (800) 486-HELP

- CARE, Somalia Emergency, 660 First Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016, (800) 521-CARE

- Church World Service, Box 968, Elkhart, Ind. 46515, (219) 264-3102

- Doctors Without Borders, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 5425, New York, N.Y. 10112, (212) 649-5961

- International Medical Corps, 5933 West Century Blvd., Suite 310, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045, (310) 670-0800

- Lutheran World Relief, 390 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016-8803, (212) 532-6350

- Oxfam America, 115 Broadway, Boston, Mass. 02116, (617) 482-1211

- Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief/Episcopal Church, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017, (212) 867-8400

- Save the Children, 54 Wilton Road, Westport, Conn. 06880, (203) 221-4100

- U.S. Committee for UNICEF, 331 East 38th St., New York, N.Y. 10016, (212) 686-5522

- World Concern, Box 33000, Seattle, Wash. 98133, (206) 546-7201

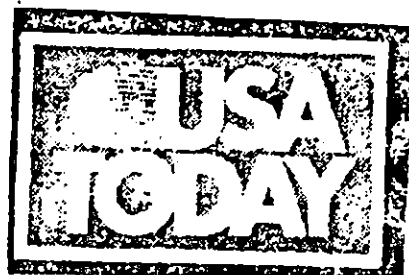
committing atrocities.

Kunder, 43, who has headed the office since January and already has seen devastation in Sudan and Ethiopia, says Somalia stands out because of "the breakdown in social order. The obvious, immediate manifestation is the number of gunmen. A very high percentage of males above puberty are carry-

ing automatic weapons."

Kunder rejects the notion that a "famine-fatigued" world has no compassion left for Somalia.

"We can't let it happen," he says. "The level of suffering is so great, and the innocence of victims is so profound, it would be beyond tragic — it would be criminal — for us to turn our backs."



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

How about a hobo in the White House?

Webster and other wordsmiths define a hobo as a bum or tramp, a begging or thieving vagrant.

Not so, say the USA's happiest hobos, meeting at their 92nd annual convention this weekend in Britt, Iowa.

Homeless hobos of all ages. Male and female. They rode the rails from across the country to the north-central Iowa town of 2,000.

Their home this weekend: Hobo Jungle, alongside Britt's railroad track. They'll share 400 gallons of mulligan stew,

cooked by Boy Scouts of Britt. Sleep on cardboard beds. Sing around open fires, like these lyrics from *The Hobo Lullaby*:

Don't you worry about tomorrow,

Let tomorrow come and go.

One of the first to arrive was Roadhog, age 50ish (hobos use nicknames and approximate ages). Roadhog hopped boxcars for 21 days from California. Stopped in places like Green River, Wyo., "where the river's clean and I got a good bath."

My phone chat with Roadhog, courtesy of the Britt Chamber of Commerce, disabused me of equating hobos



AL NEUHARTH
USA TODAY FOUNDER

with bums. "Hobos will work. Bums don't. Bums just beg," Roadhog stressed.

The pre-convention Hobo Guide details differences:

► Hobo — A wanderer willing to work to make his way.

► Tramp — A traveling non-worker who begs for hand-outs.

► Bum — Too lazy to work and never roams.

Hobos at Britt have something in common with other '92 conventioners. They choose leaders. Democrats and Republicans pick presidential candidates. Hobos crown a king and queen.

They'll do that Saturday. After just two days of campaign speeches.

Last year's queen: Minneapolis Jewel, age 40ish. Her platform: To plant two trees in Britt's public park. She came back this spring and fulfilled the pledge.

As Roadhog says: "Hobos don't promise nothing unless they mean it."

Make you wish a hobo were running for president?

FEEDBACK

Other views of hobos

"Hobos are trying to preserve that independent lifestyle. The idea that a person can just leave responsibility and have a free lifestyle is the appeal for many."

— Marie Steenlage, Britt, Iowa, Chamber of Commerce

"I want a president who is in favor of the common American workingman, including the family and women and children. But a hobo is not a politician. A hobo king is a representative and an ambassador."

— Roadhog, hobo king candidate

"You're just so glad to have them here. It's like a big family reunion. And as quietly as they arrive, they quietly slip away."

— Willy Klein, Hobo Foundation

IN OTHER WORDS

In the wake of the Los Angeles riots, a nationwide poll showed that 84% of African-Americans believe that they do not receive fair or equal treatment in our courts. To me, that figure is shocking. ... We have lost the confidence of those who most need to believe in the fairness of the judiciary.

Obedience to law is most likely to occur when there is respect for the legal system. ...

Until a few years ago, African-Americans with problems knew they could look to the federal courts for help. They knew they would find a sympathetic audience, that their interests would be protected, and that the civil rights laws of our nation would be vigorously enforced.

All that has changed. The message the new Supreme Court has delivered to minority communities is clear: We no longer care.

— Stephen Reinhardt, federal appellate judge, from a commencement speech, excerpted in Harper's



IN QUOTES

"You're the greatest athlete ever."
 — 1976 decathlon champion Bruce Jenner to Jackie Joyner-Kersey, the first woman to win two Olympic gold medals in the heptathlon

"We haven't done anything but contrast our record with his. Back off, boys."
 — Bush political director Mary Matalin, defending her campaign's attack on Bill Clinton

"They started at the belly button. They'll be at the ankles here in a couple of weeks."
 — Clinton campaign strategist James Carville, responding to Matalin's attack on his boss

"A long time before I live that one down."
 — Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., after referring to "Vice President Gore" on "Larry King Live"

"The long-distance love affair between James Carville and Mary Matalin is getting serious. If [either] could get hold of a Scud launcher, either George Bush's or Bill Clinton's headquarters would

be leveled into a garbage dump."
 — Columnist Sandy Grady in the Philadelphia Daily News on the on-and-off relationship of Carville and Matalin.

"I have many days of my life that I wanted to just get dressed up and go out there and kill the f—ing pigs."
 — Rapper Ice-T on the censorship of ideas, in Rolling Stone

"He looks like Run-CPA."
 — Arsenio Hall on GOP convention rapper TRQ

Age is the one number it's hard to say out loud

The young woman visiting her mother's apartment stared angrily at the four photos on the piano. She was the oldest child, but her photo was missing.

The mother had left home when the young woman was only 2, and this was their first visit, 17 years later. From the missing photo, the young woman was painfully aware she had been erased from her mother's memory.

"It has nothing to do with you, dear; it's about age," the mother said. "I didn't want my friends to know I have a daughter as old as you."

Now it's the daughter's turn to deal with age. I, too — in a different way — am not han-



BARBARA REYNOLDS
 COLUMNIST

dling it well. On Aug. 17th, the next zero in my future will pass me. I can't figure out whether it's a milestone or a

millstone around my neck.

I looked in the mirror and was pleased to see only a few crow's feet. But the doubter voice taunts: "One day your face will crack like a Dorian Gray picture."

On the other hand, I feel like Miracle Woman, an escapee from a social Alcatraz. I grew up in a world where both blacks and women were expected to be invisible. For years, I stammered and trembled at the very thought of being visible or vocal. I almost suffocated in the struggle against editors, family and friends who insisted I would never succeed.

But if you never give up on your dreams, you can be-

come unsinkable. I knew that last month at the Democratic National Convention. Twenty years ago, my request to cover the convention was granted only after a demeaning, bloody fight. This year, I was an invited guest, analyzing presidential politics on national TV.

Getting older gives you time to learn what really counts.

Once, I returned home depressed because of my inability to gain an exclusive interview with Nelson Mandela. I was jolted to learn my son and his playmates had been experimenting with fire and gasoline, but my son convinced them to stop. Sadness quickly

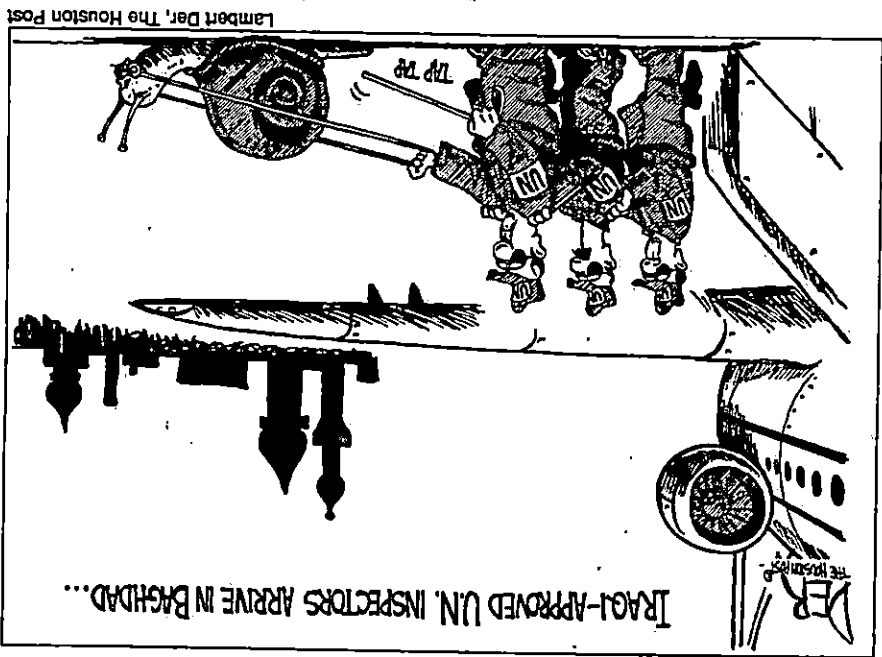
turned to joy. A lost interview balanced against a safe son is not measurable.

Happily, the shyness is gone, replaced by a feeling of Holy Boldness, an understanding that my past life as a doormat not only equips but also compels me to aid others who are being stomped on.

Understanding is one gift that comes with getting older.

Understanding that crusading for great causes is a much easier job than controlling one's self and one's thoughts.

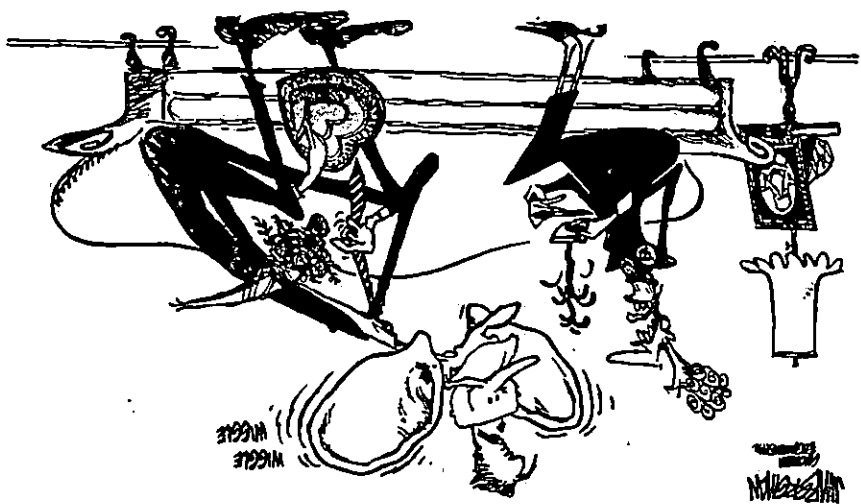
Understanding that some things you'll never understand. Like why my feelings about my next birthday make me so queasy that I can't say the number out loud.



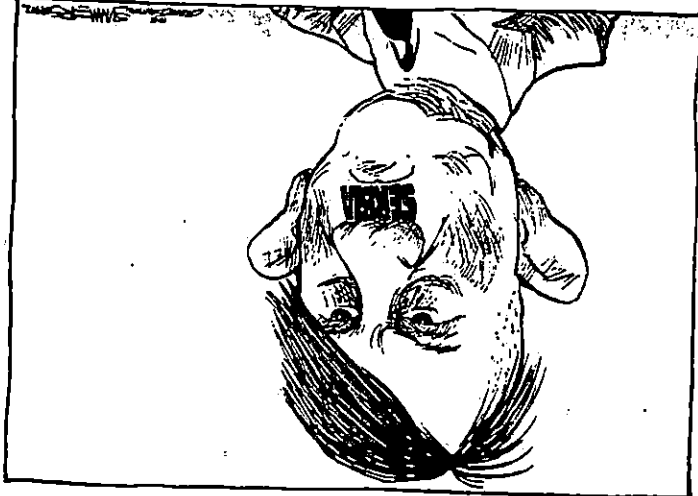
Lambert Der, The Houston Post

Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer

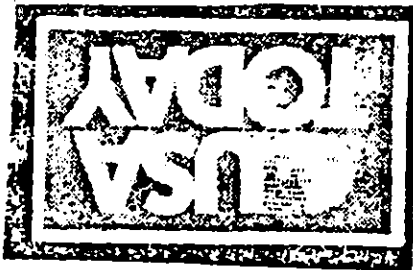
WOOLING THE WIDOW PEROT



Dana Summers, The Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, The Washington Post Writers Group

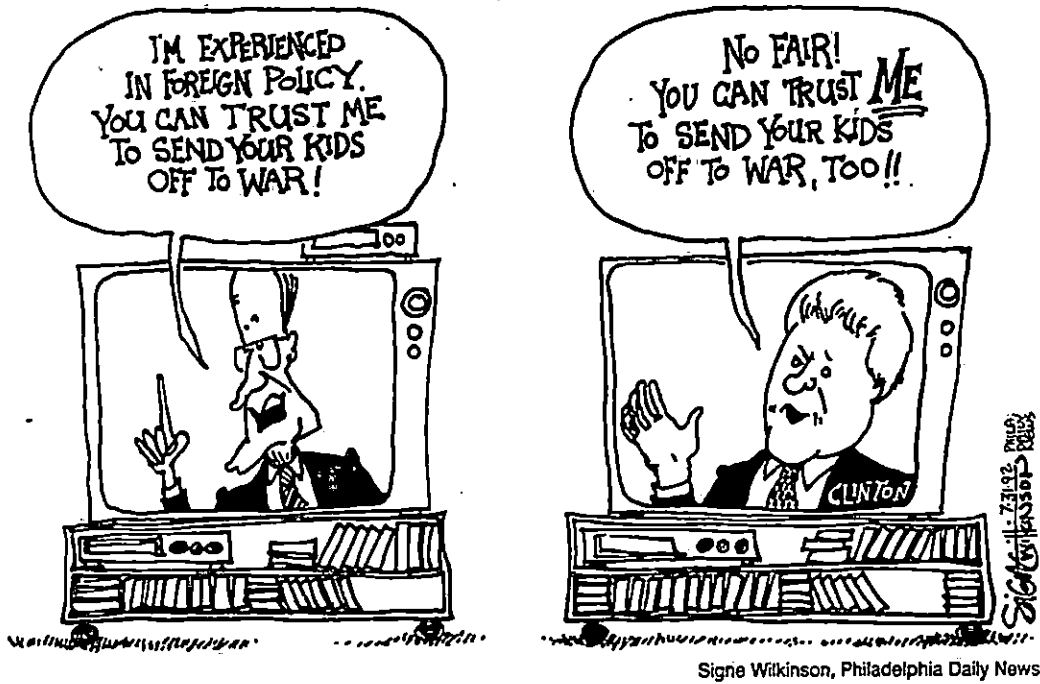


FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992





FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992



Today's debate is on **HELPING CITIES**
and whether the Senate's urban aid bill is the answer.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Insiders win, cities lose in Senate tax handout

OUR VIEW Congress must stop doling out hefty giveaways to the rich while the urban and rural poor do without.

In most of the USA, it's still August, but in the nation's capital it is Christmas, a time for generous gift-giving — for everyone except the truly needy.

The U.S. Senate is finishing work on an outrageous bill that started as a proposal to aid cities and — in typical Washington fashion — turned into a giveaway to the well-connected.

The Los Angeles riots, with 58 deaths and \$1 billion in property loss, launched the legislation. Here are two of the Senate Finance Committee's solutions:

► New individual retirement accounts for higher-income taxpayers, a favorite project of committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas. By 1997, the IRAs, which shield savings from taxes, would add \$4 billion to the deficit.

► Tax breaks for developers who lose money on real estate deals — exactly what the USA doesn't need after speculative loans by failing S&Ls and banks left a glut of unneeded buildings.

Then there's what isn't in the bill: A surtax on millionaires. It was cut out.

The cities? They get only a tenth of the tax breaks in the Senate version of a bill once targeted at them. The House version, passed in June, is no better.

Those breaks would come in the form of 10 "enterprise zones" offering tax breaks and reduced regulation for businesses to relocate to depressed areas.

That's enough zones to test a concept whose success is far from certain. But it does not constitute an urban strategy, much less justify unrelated giveaways.

Despite funneling \$1 billion in a slapdash response to the riots earlier — half summer jobs, half emergency aid — neither the White House nor Congress now has any cohesive approach to the cities.

What's needed is a coordinated effort by all levels of government in cooperation with the private sector. They must create new jobs and good schools in neighborhoods without hope, while driving out drugs and crime.

The Senate should kill this turkey when it votes next week and get busy on a meaningful answer to the urban problem in time for the real Christmas.

This tax bill is sound

OPPOSING VIEW Help for cit- ies is superi- or; tax provisions are fairly distributed.

The argument is made that the Senate Finance Committee tax bill doesn't do enough to aid America's cities. Compared to what?

It does more than the administration asked for. It sought \$2.5 billion in enterprise-zone urban aid over five years. The Senate bill provides \$4.5 billion not only to create enterprise zones but also to expand the low-income housing and targeted jobs tax credits, among other things.

And we improved the administration's enterprise-zone proposal. It wanted 300 zones, while our bill has 25. The administration's plan works out to \$1.6 million a year per zone com-



By Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

pared to \$20 million for ours. Which plan is a drop in the bucket?

Opponents charge the Senate bill favors "special interests" and cite relaxation of passive-loss rules, designed to spur real estate investment. President John F. Kennedy said, "A rising tide lifts all boats," and the real estate industry has lifted every economic recovery since World War II with 40% increases in construction spending. A big reason the current recovery is weak is the anemic 5% rise in construction spending.

The Senate tax bill will not add to the deficit. It is fully paid for, in the short term and long term, too. The measure includes some one-time revenue increases but also some one-time expenditures, about 40% for each. Five billion dollars, for example, is spent to extend expiring tax credits — such as the research and development tax credit — for 18 months. If, down the road, Congress decides to extend them more, it will have to come up with more revenue to pay the costs.

The Senate tax bill is good legislation, if you stop and think about it.

Tarnished silver

On another subject, USA TODAY warns that Olympics winners aren't always those with medals.

A single step, a blink in time, the span of a hand: The Olympics remind us that so often, such aching slightness can be all that divides a medalist's grin from an also-ran's grimace.

But the Games, ending Sunday, offer another prize to those flying home with memories instead of medals: Learning young how to combat crushing disappointment, to reach again for considered goals — to illumine defeat's bleakness with crucial perspective.

One such perspective: Winning is simply earning an Olympics berth; to gain a medal against such elite competition can be simply fate. How else to



USA TODAY
KIM ZMESKAL: Real win may have been to go on despite fall, get team bronze.

make sense of the men's cycling race in which, after four hours and 35 minutes, just one second separated gold medalist Fabio Casartelli of Italy from Dutch silver medalist Erik Dekker?

Another: Losing is to spurn any medal but gold. Officials rightly ousted Russian weightlifter Ibragin Samadov for refusing his bronze after whining that crowd noises kept him from a gold.

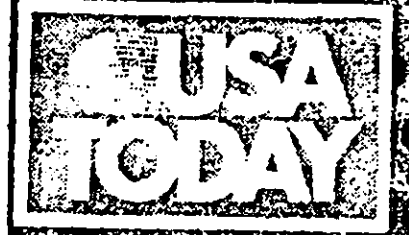
Sadly, sports can produce the same "We're No. 1" myopia here; too many playing fields have become monuments not to the values athletics offer children, but to parental aggression.

At their best, the Olympics inspire us to do more than our best — to persevere, strive for victory against the odds.

The Games also remind us that the gold may vanish in a step, a blink, the span of a hand. But those willing to see and learn can gain a prize far more lasting than a medal, much more valuable.

They can come home with mettle.

► Wrap-up weekend, 1E



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

IN WASHINGTON

B-2 OK'D: The Air Force's radar-evading B-2 Stealth bomber is "already the most survivable aircraft ever fielded" and favorable flight tests have paved the way for production to begin next year, Air Force Secretary Donald Rice said Thursday. Rice said technical problems that cropped up last year have been worked out, and involved "only edges and surfaces" of the bat-winged aircraft.

FEMALE DEPLOYMENT: Female soldiers were more than twice as likely as men to be unfit for deployment during operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, mostly because of pregnancy, a Pentagon study found. But once in the Persian Gulf, female and male soldiers performed equally well. About 40,000 women served in the gulf war, the largest single deployment of military women ever.

PROBE REPORT: Congressional auditors are looking at the financial affairs of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh and his deputy, Craig Gillen, to determine whether they broke the law by not paying Washington, D.C., income taxes, *The Washington Times* reported. Walsh has an office in Oklahoma City, but has spent much of his time in Washington since his Iran-contra probe began in 1986. Gillen lives in Atlanta but has been working in Washington.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

PEACE TALKS: Palestinian negotiators said they'd do everything possible for a breakthrough in Mideast peace talks as Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin prepared to leave for a Monday meeting with President Bush.

CANADIAN GAYS: Ontario's appeals court ruled the Canadian Human Rights Act unconstitutional because it fails to protect gay men and lesbians from being discriminated against because of their sexual orientation. It said the act should be applied as if it covered sexual orientation.

BRAZIL SCANDAL: The likelihood of impeachment proceedings against Brazil's President Fernando Collor de Mello, linked to an alleged influence-peddling scandal,

is growing, news reports said. **NIGERIAN ELECTIONS:** The military government annulled the results of the first round of Nigeria's presidential primaries, which were plagued by reports of widespread vote-rigging.

11 shot in S. Africa township

South African anti-apartheid leaders Thursday called for U.N. observers to be sent urgently to the scene of what they claimed is a new South African massacre linked to police.

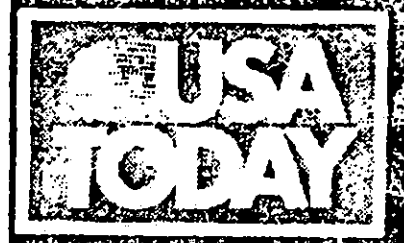
They said they suspected police of the KwaZulu homeland of complicity in the shooting of 11 people in the Natal township of Esikwahini on Sunday.

The United Nations sent 10 observers to South Africa to monitor a week of strikes and demonstrations called by the ANC-led alliance to speed the end of white rule. Political analysts expect peace talks to reopen soon.

AND AT GUADALCANAL: Marine Corps veterans visited this bloody battlefield, 50 years after the first U.S. offensive in the Pacific Theater. The toll: 7,100 Americans killed. Japan lost more than 30,000 men in fighting.

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Bush and Clinton trade talk on taxes

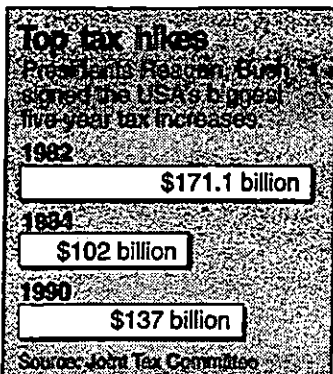
President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton debated long distance Thursday about a favorite issue: taxes.

Bush warned a convention of conservative state legislators in Colorado Springs that his opponent would impose "the largest tax increase in American history." Clinton, on a bus tour through Iowa, shot back that Bush has "no credibility" after breaking his no-new-taxes pledge two years ago.

Bush may have won the battle of the sound bites. He said that when Democrats "talk about change, that's all you're

going to have left in your pockets when these guys get through with you."

But Clinton had history on his side. It was Bush who, two years after telling voters to "Read my lips, no new taxes," signed a deal with Congress raising taxes by \$137 billion over five years. And according to Congress' Joint Tax Committee, Ronald Reagan holds the tax-hike record: \$171 billion in 1982.



USA TODAY

As part of his economic proposals, Clinton calls for \$200 billion in new spending and \$150 billion in new taxes, mostly on corporations and people earning at least \$200,000. Republicans warn that Clinton's health-care plan could boost payroll taxes.

Clinton, at a stop in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, said Bush was "misrepresenting" the Democratic proposal "because he knows that my tax program raises money on the upper 2% of the people whose taxes went down under his administration, and Reagan's, and he's trying to cut them more."

— Judy Keen and Adam Nagourney

SHIFTING POLLS: Democrat Bill Clinton's lead has surged over President Bush's but could shift as easily as he gained it, according to three polls by the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press. The polls, taken after the Democratic convention from late July through Aug. 2, showed Clinton would beat President Bush by 21%, 27% or 25%. Margin of error: up to 5 percentage points. About half the electorate shifted over six weeks, and Clinton gained Ross Perot supporters after the independent quit the race, said Donald Kellermann, poll director. "It was the largest and most dramatic move in American political history. The Perot voters' principal concern was to drive President Bush out of office." He added that 71% of Clinton's supporters "consider themselves only weak supporters ... who would vote against the president rather than for Clinton-Gore."

GEOGRAPHY LESSON: Vice President Quayle failed spelling, and President Bush failed geography.

Bush referred to his opponent, Bill Clinton, as "the governor of a certain state ... located somewhere between Texas and Oklahoma." The Red River and a few sandbars are the only thing between Oklahoma

and Texas. Arkansas actually is located somewhere between Louisiana and Missouri and east of Oklahoma. "The man who promised he would be America's education president doesn't know his geography," said Bill McDonnell, director of Clinton's Oklahoma campaign.

TENNESSEE ELECTIONS: Incumbent Rep. Bob Clement, son of a three-term Tennessee governor, won the Democratic nomination for Nashville's 5th District over a former aide for Al Gore who didn't have the vice presidential candidate's backing. In other races:

► Incumbent Rep. Bart Gordon held onto the Democratic nomination in the 6th District, against abortion foe Don Schneller, who ran TV commercials of bloody fetuses.

► Rep. Harold Ford won the Democratic nomination in Memphis' 9th District with 65% of the votes, despite running under an indictment for bank fraud.

ALSO: Bill Clinton and Al Gore are on CBS *This Morning* from 7 to 9 a.m. Monday. ABC's *Good Morning America* talks with Tipper Gore between 8 and 8:30 a.m. Monday.

GOP CONVENTION: THE ABORTION BATTLE

'Political price' of Bush's stand

Every Republican seems to know exactly where the GOP should stand on abortion.

But it's hard to stand in two places at once.

After President Bush vowed Wednesday to keep a platform that would abolish abortion — "no matter the political price" — some questioned the wisdom of such a decision.

Barry Goldwater, the father of modern conservatism, predicted a fight over the issue could cost Bush the election.

"There is no way in the world that abortion is going to be abolished," Goldwater wrote in a letter to Mary Crisp of the National Republican Coalition for Choice. "If an attempt is made to include his (Bush's) position in the platform ... the convention will go down in a shambles, as will the election."

But those crafting the platform — 100 leaders meet Monday in Houston to consider revisions before the Aug. 17-20 event — see little chance of altering the plank calling for a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion.

Susan Good, Montana Republican chairwoman and a member of the platform committee, says the focus will be on boosting Bush. "Everything else is secondary," she says.

Not for a collection of 23 GOP luminaries — among them former first lady Betty Ford, Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter and Massachusetts Gov. William Weld — who have called for a platform "entirely silent" on abortion.

But conservative stalwarts attribute the controversy to manipulation of the media. "Mischief-making," says Phyllis Schlafly, who organized the Republican National Coalition for Life to protect the platform plank. — Debbie Howlett



AP

GOLDWATER: Says Bush may lose fight

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE

Democrats: Bill Clinton, Al Gore — Friday, Midwest bus tour continues, with stops in La Crosse and Chippewa Falls, Wis., and Minneapolis. Saturday and Sunday: Clinton — Little Rock, New York; Gore — Carthage, Tenn.; New York.

Republicans: George Bush — Friday, Washington, Kennebunkport, Maine. Saturday and Sunday, Kennebunkport. Dan Quayle — Friday, Columbus and Mansfield, Ohio; Washington. Saturday and Sunday, Washington.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: David Colton, Martin Kady, Bill Montague, Sandra Sanchez.

Election coverage

- Hillary Clinton, Anita Hill at ABA convention, 3A
- Waiting for the bus, 5A

'Fed up,' U.S. rejects new Iraqi challenge

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

COLORADO SPRINGS — The White House is again issuing warnings to Iraq after Baghdad "categorically" rejected U.N. inspections of government ministries.

President Bush, "fed up" with Saddam Hussein, said Thursday Iraq will comply with cease-fire resolutions authorizing U.N. weapons inspections: "Just leave it at that."

A U.N. team is expected in Baghdad today, acting on intelligence information about hidden missile equipment.

Iraqi Culture Minister Hamed Youssef Hamadi said Thursday the U.N. teams will not be allowed inside ministry buildings "because the aim ... is to hurt Iraq's sovereignty."

U.S. officials were emphatic:

► Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams dismissed the Iraqi stance as "preposterous."

"The Iraqis need to submit to the U.N. inspectors wherever and whenever the U.N. wants to visit," he said.

► White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said "all options are open" in forcing com-

pliance with resolutions.

The new Iraqi challenge is a repeat of a recent three-week stand-off over inspection of the Agriculture Ministry building.

It ended when U.N. officials agreed to bar U.S. inspectors from the team — sparking criticism about caving in to Iraq.

Security for U.N. officials in Iraq is also a concern, said Douglas Englund, regional director of the U.N. Iraqi weapons commission.

He cited acts of violence, including last week's attempted shooting of a U.N. guard.

► Investigation sought, 4A

Probe on Iraq policy could begin in days

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Attorney General William Barr could decide in days whether he'll seek appointment of a special investigator to probe Bush administration relations with Iraq prior to the Persian Gulf war.

Barr must make the decision by Monday, 30 days after the House Judiciary Committee's request.

The special-prosecutor law — due to expire in December unless Congress extends it — also gives Barr the option of asking for more time.

"There's a number of possibilities," says Barr spokesman Paul McNulty. "We're not speculating as to what it will be."

Democrats in Congress have in recent months questioned what they see as overly cozy U.S. ties with Iraq — including granting agricultural loan guarantees even after evidence surfaced that Iraq might have been using agricultural loans to buy military equipment.

The House Judiciary Committee recommended a special investigation after testimony that suggested administration officials may have tried to cover up information about the U.S. Iraq policy by withholding and altering documents requested by Congress.

The issue heated up after Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Texas, House banking chairman, began making weekly speeches on the subject last winter.



By Barry Thumma, AP
BARR: Deciding whether to appoint special prosecutor

One committee after another picked up on the issue, convening hearings on aspects that related to their jurisdictions.

Committees on agriculture, banking, armed services and the judiciary all have had a crack at "Iraqgate."

► Bush warns Iraq, 1A

House OKs aid for former Soviet republics

From wire reports

The House approved an aid package Thursday to Russia and the other former Soviet republics, overcoming the political pain of helping a former adversary at a time of economic distress at home.

The legislation had been requested by President Bush last April as part of a \$24 billion international aid package, but House action had been delayed until passage of a series of domestic bills.

The 255-164 vote, which came after White House lobbying sent the measure to a conference to work out differences with a similar bill the Senate approved July 2.

The measure includes autho-

rization of a \$12 billion U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund, which is spearheading efforts to help the ailing economies of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

On Wednesday, the IMF approved a \$1.04 billion loan for Russia to help its battered economy, the first installment on a \$4 billion deal.

The House debate Thursday made clear that lawmakers were troubled over sending new aid from a deficit-ridden U.S. budget to the former Soviet Union.

"We've got cities on fire," said Rep. James Traficant, D-Ohio. "The money should be going to America." Others noted rising U.S. unemployment.

'Horrificed' by Bosnia 'slaughter'

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

COLORADO SPRINGS — President Bush vowed Thursday to do "whatever we have to do to stop the killing" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the use of military force.

Responding to increasing pressure to investigate reports of Serbian concentration camps, Bush said he is "outraged and horrified at the terrible violence" in Bosnia.

One day after Democrat Bill Clinton called on the White House to "do whatever it takes to stop the slaughter of civilians," Bush lobbied for quick passage of a U.N. resolution authorizing the use of "all necessary actions" to deliver aid.

He also hinted the Pentagon has plans for potential intervention: "I would only suggest that this is a very complicated military question, very, very complicated indeed."

The U.S. actions came as images of emaciated prisoners, barracks and barbed wire in the camps were broadcast internationally.

Inmates told journalists about torture, beatings and rapes by their Serbian captors.

The State Department said it's lobbying "key allies" to support a U.N. resolution.

But Russia and others are reluctant to use force, fearing involvement in a blood feud.

Also Thursday:

► The Senate Foreign Relations Committee endorsed a resolution calling on the United Nations to authorize "measures that may be necessary," including "multilateral military force" to guard aid efforts.

The resolution also calls for the Security Council to lift the arms embargo against Yugoslavia so Bosnia can arm itself.

► Cardinal Angelo Sodano, Vatican secretary of state, said Pope John Paul II thinks "the United Nations (has) the duty and the right to interfere, to disarm one who wants to kill."

► The Pentagon acknowledged it's using intelligence resources to ferret out evidence of the concentration camps.

► NATO reportedly agreed to draw up plans for a Western force to deliver aid to Bosnia.

► Bush established diplomatic relations with Bosnia, Slovenia and Croatia in an attempt to pressure Serbia.

► Tales of atrocities, 4A

Horror in Serbian prison camps

By Sandra Sanchez
USA TODAY

Graphic images of detention camps inside Bosnia broadcast worldwide Thursday showed stark scenes reminiscent of World War II death camps: emaciated prisoners, barracks and barbed wire.

And inmates who dared speak, many unshaven and in filthy clothes, told journalists tales of torture, beatings and rapes at the hands of their Serbian captors.

Thursday, President Bush pledged that the United States "will not rest" until international organizations, such as the Red Cross, can inspect camps.

Serbia — whose forces have been fighting Croats and Muslims seeking independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Yugoslavia — deny it runs such detention camps.

But Bosnia claims 120,000 Muslims and Croats are held in Serbian camps, and says more than 17,000 have died or been executed in them.

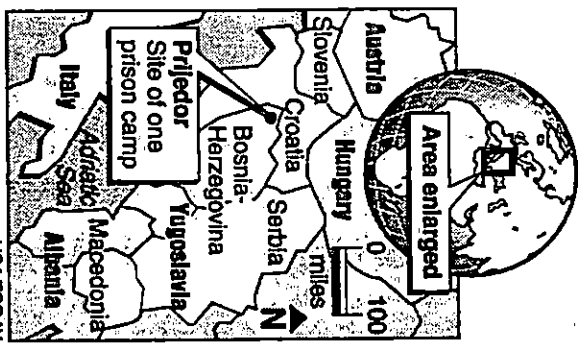


IN BOSNIA: Images of emaciated Muslim prisoners in a Serbian-run detention camp renewed world protests Thursday.

Independent Television Network via AP

CNN broadcast what it said was an interview with a Serbian camp guard, captured by Bosnian forces. He told of killing four men and women by pounding their heads with hammers. He said he also raped five women, ages 13 to

20, who were then killed. "I don't know how many I killed. I was firing at random," another captured guard said in the CNN broadcast. "A terrible massacre happened there," a woman who said she was recently released



USA TODAY

from a camp told CBS News. "They kill people and throw them into a fish pond. People are floating in a fish pond."

Britain's Independent Television News broadcast footage of skeletal Muslim prisoners waiting in long food lines.

► Bush demands probe, 1A

Two former inmates told a British Broadcasting Corporation radio reporter that Muslim prisoners in a Bosnian camp in Ripac had been beaten and shot to death by guards.

One guard carried a hand grenade near prisoners and threatened to kill them, a former inmate said. "He was threatening to kill us, to blow us up... Then he took a rifle and then he shot men in the head."

A man told The Associated Press he was a former inmate held for 50 days in three camps in Omarska, Trnopolje and a brick-factory near Prijedor.

The images brought back haunting Holocaust memories: "It's sad to say that 50 years after the end of World War II, we can see terms like 'ethnic cleansing,'" Says Malcolm Hoenlein of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Says group chairwoman Shoshana Cardin: "These are a grim echo of a tragic past."

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Bosnia fears it's 'too late'

New nation facing slow strangulation

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

CRNICI, Bosnia-Herzegovina — The three women, one Muslim and two Croatian, chat merrily with a visitor to this mountain village until asked how they feel about their newly independent nation being swallowed up by another.

"We are Herzegovian and Herzegovina will be its own, always," declares Anna, 22, the Muslim, her dark eyes defiant. Her Croatian friends agree.

But elsewhere in the new nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in its besieged cities and occupied rural regions, the light of independence is being snuffed out.

Bosnia — 43% Muslim, 40% ethnic Serbian and 17% ethnic Croatian — declared its independence Feb. 29, as four of Yugoslavia's restive republics decided to go their own way.

Serbia and tiny ally Montenegro remained in what was left of Yugoslavia. Serbs here revolted against independence.

At least 7,500 have died since the civil war began, although some Bosnian officials claim the toll is 40,000.

About 1.3 million are home-



COMRADES KILLED: A Bosnian soldier mourns after a Serbian mortar killed two of his friends in their bunker. Serbs control two-

thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbian military leaders say they'll be in control of Sarajevo, the capital, by October.

By George Hammer, Reuters

less or have fled Bosnia, amid the biggest refugee crisis in Europe since World War II.

Serbian fighters — helped by Serbia and the Serb-dominated Yugoslavian army — control two-thirds of Bosnia. Fighters from Croatia, formally Bosnia's ally, have occupied most of the rest.

The towns Muslims still control are being squeezed out;

Serbian military leaders boast they'll control Sarajevo, the capital, by October.

With independence, Bosnians had hoped for a "Switzerland of the Balkans" with all ethnic groups happy.

But with the de facto division of their nation, that dream seems dashed.

It was just a few weeks ago, when there seemed a chance

that peace talks might succeed, a joke made the rounds.

The presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia are in a boat when one lands a magic fish. The fish says it will grant them each one wish if they will throw him back in the water.

The president of Serbia says, "I wish for a Yugoslavia with no Croatians."

Croatia's president says, "I

wish for a Yugoslavia with no Serbians."

The president of Bosnia asks the fish: "Did you really grant those last two wishes?" The fish says yes.

"In that case," the Bosnian president says, "I wish for a glass of champagne."

With the existence of Bosnia in question, the joke doesn't seem funny now.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Radio Free America

A CERTAIN CREDIT must go to the presidential commission that keeps an eye on public diplomacy, including international broadcasting. In stating that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have outlived their usefulness, it's shown itself commendably independent of agencies it oversees. Independent but not, unfortunately, sound. These stations and some—not all—others have value. The U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy has missed a part of it.

The official Voice of America is the U.S. government's radio flagship, speaking for and about America in a context where a hundred governments broadcast to a huge global audience. But there is room and need as well for separate American stations that take on a task necessarily beyond that of the Voice: to inform local audiences that lack strong and secure local media of the full range of affairs within their own countries.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty long and well performed this service for Soviet-bloc countries. With the Cold War gone, some observers have found it reasonable for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to hand over the mission of domestic enlightenment to newly liberated local media. But in fact, as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty

contend, the new democracies are fragile, and local media are in many places shallowly rooted. Aspiring democrats look to the foreign radios to keep the local media honest and to prevent anti-democratic backsliding—crucial goals.

The proposal to establish similar domestically oriented stations broadcasting to China and other Asian communist ramparts carries an extra burden. In Asia now no less than in Europe earlier, there is an evident political purpose in filling with foreign radio the role of an absent domestic free press. But in Washington, setting up a new program necessarily entails budget and turf combat with government programs that already exist. Still, it's worth digging hard for the money for the new operations.

One case is special. The now well-accepted Radio Marti offers communist Cuba the straight domestic coverage that the better-known Radio Free Europe offers Eastern Europe: no problem there. But TV Marti is something else. Set up essentially to satisfy one politically potent faction of the Cuban emigration in Florida, this two-year-old enterprise broadcasts only in predawn hours and has enabled dictator Fidel Castro to strut as an anti-American nationalist protecting Cuba from "imperialist" bombardment. Radio Marti is fine. TV Marti is not.

Gridiron Gridlock

WHATEVER ELSE may make or break the still-too-secret proposal for a Jack Kent Cooke Stadium in Alexandria, getting there—by road or rail—may prove a killer. Just out is a transportation plan from the owners of Potomac Yard that assumes some monumental changes in approaches to the site. If everything proposed were to pop into place trouble-free, perhaps every fan would be seated for the kickoff and then well on the way home in timely fashion. But who believes that everything from a new Metro station to a six-lane road and ample parking will fall into place according to the game plan? There is the possibility of world-class gridlock on game days.

The plan assumes that Potomac Central Metro Station with a commuter parking lot would be built within an eight-minute walk of the stadium. This is not a new idea—a station was considered as part of the eventual commercial use of this site. But there are obstacles: winning the approval of two regional transportation boards, meeting federal clean air and transportation requirements, determining who would pay an estimated \$1 million a year in operating costs of the station (which Alexandria officials say the city couldn't afford) and waiting for the at least seven years it

would take to complete a station, assuming the Metro board approved it.

A new six-lane Potomac Avenue would be built to take stadium traffic off Route 1, and a two-lane tunnel would be dug beneath Route 1, which would be widened from two lanes to three northbound at South Glebe Road. In 1994, there would be 22,750 stadium parking spaces in four fields. This would be reduced to 13,000 in 2009, to leave about 200 acres for private development. The plan also assumes a major move from cars to mass transit. At first, the report estimates, 85 percent of the fans would come by car. By 2009, it projects, only 47 percent would, with the rest on mass transit. Other experts say that would be an exceptionally large percentage—larger than for any other football stadium in the country today.

When state legislators meet with Gov. Wilder next week for more details on the Cooke-Wilder proposal, every aspect of the transportation plan should be questioned closely. Other issues—including Virginia's decision on \$130 million in bonds requested for improvements at the site—could alter or upset the move, but transportation alone could be its undoing.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Moving on Aid for Russia

AID TO RUSSIA is finally beginning to accelerate. By a reassuringly wide margin, the House of Representatives has now passed the bill to expand American help. It should have been enacted in June, but it's crucial, and at last it's done. The International Monetary Fund has just made its first loan to Russia—\$1 billion for vital imports. The World Bank has loaned another \$600 million for the same purpose.

It's not the first foreign aid to post-Soviet Russia. There's already been about \$5 billion of loans and loan guarantees from many governments, a lot of it from Germany and some from this country to buy American grain. But the new American legislation will expand the IMF's power to lend, and the money from it and the World Bank will give the Russians much more flexibility, and more access to technical advice, than before. The vote in Congress and the support from the international lenders also provide important political support to President Boris Yeltsin, enabling him to show his long-suffering people some tangible benefits of joining the world system.

There's no time to waste. Opposition to Mr. Yeltsin and economic reform is rising fast in Russia as the standard of living keeps falling. The heads of the old Soviet-style state enterprises are emerging as a powerful force in Russia's parliament, fighting to preserve their power. Mr. Yeltsin faces a terrible dilemma in dealing with

them, for those enterprises employ millions of people. If the state cuts off funds, most will go bankrupt and create vast unemployment. If the state continues to fund them, a climbing inflation rate could create chaos. The new head of Russia's Central Bank has just announced a sweeping decision to keep them going. If that decision sticks, Russia won't come within miles of hitting its economic targets, the lower budget deficits and lower inflation rate that are the IMF's conditions for further lending.

That will raise a hard choice for the IMF and the industrial democracies that run it. Do they then cut off Russia from further IMF loans, as they have done in the case of Poland? That would be deeply unwise. Circumstances in Russia are unlike those in any other country.

Economic reform is important, but the crucial test for foreign aid to Russia ought to be its adherence to democracy. As long as Russia respects its people's rights, it is entitled to steadfast help despite the inevitable political setbacks in rebuilding its economic structure. When the House debated aid to Russia yesterday, member after member spoke of the unimaginable opportunity to help a former adversary—a people who have lived most of this century under a heavily armed despotism—to turn their country into an open and democratic society. As long as Russia remains faithful to those values, the West has an obligation to keep helping it.

The Next Rodney King Trial

THE FOUR Los Angeles policemen who were acquitted of most state charges in the infamous beating of Rodney King will now go to trial in federal court. It may sound like double jeopardy. But the courts have ruled that each sovereign, the state and the federal government, may bring charges based on its own statutes without violating the Constitution. There is ample precedent. In the South of the '60s, the United States often prosecuted civil rights offenders who had been acquitted in state courts because of torpid prosecutors or biased juries.

There will be differences in the two trials. This time, no one is likely to take anything for granted. In retrospect, state prosecutors have been criticized for assuming that the widely viewed videotape of the beating was conclusive evidence. Apparently, at least for the jurors in Simi Valley, it was not. At the first trial, Rodney King did not even take the stand. But in the federal trial, one of his lawyers says, he will testify. In addition, because the jury pool is so large—16 million people live within the jurisdiction of the Los Angeles federal court—there is little chance there will be no African Americans on the final panel.

The state charges involved assault and brutality, and the prosecutors only had to prove intent to use excessive force. The federal statute under which the men have now been charged requires proof that they used excessive force with the deliberate intent of depriving Mr. King of rights guaranteed by federal law or by the Constitution. Civil rights litigators agree this is a more difficult burden of proof.

But perhaps the most important difference between the state and federal trials lies in a possibility that was not contemplated in the first case but is much on everyone's mind this time. That acquittal led to violence in April may create pressure on the federal jurors to convict simply to avert a similar reaction. This would be wrong. The jurors' responsibility is to focus on the testimony and the evidence presented in court. Their decision should not be driven by outside factors. Like every other individual tried in this country, the defendants are presumed innocent until convicted—even in the face of powerful videotape evidence. Citizens called to serve in the federal case should be free to come to their own conclusions based on what they learn at the trial. No threat of explosion should affect their deliberations.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

John P. White

Perot Is Out, but His Plan Is Still Good

During the past 15 to 20 years, we have experienced an inexorable and distressing decline in economic performance. The U.S. savings rate has fallen from around 8 percent in the 1950s and 1960s to only one percent in the past decade. Not surprisingly, investment has slowed similarly, helped only by the massive influx of foreign capital in the 1980s. We have been enduring productivity growth of only one percent per year for about 20 years.

In the period from 1947 to 1973, American living standards doubled every 1½ generations. Given our economic performance from 1973 to 1990, it will take 12 generations to achieve such a doubling.

People's frustration over ever-slower increases in their living standard is reflected in the popular political support for pledges of no new taxes and the inviolability of ever-increasing entitlement payments.

The picture doesn't look any better when viewed against our major international competitors. The Japanese invest more than three times as much as we do, and the Germans twice as much. Not surprisingly, Japan and Germany show productivity gains that are much higher than ours.

Our marked decline in savings, investment and productivity must be reversed if America is to remain a great power.

When I accepted Ross Perot's invitation in early May to become the issues director for his campaign, it was already understood that the challenge was to build a platform that openly and specifically addressed the fundamental economic problems facing our society.

Ross Perot's focus was fixed upon creating more well-paying jobs by restoring our domestic economic health and improving our industrial competitiveness. We set about creating an economic growth plan that would be the centerpiece of the campaign. Our goal was to have the plan ready between the Democratic and Republican conventions.

As a third political alternative, we faced unusual challenges. Besides the short time available, we had neither staff nor data bases. We could not draw upon the talent and information of OMB or the congressional staffs.

We developed a two-part approach. First, to quickly hire a dozen new graduates from the best graduate schools in public policy. Second, to appeal to experts around the country for their advice. Help came quickly. The staff was in place in two weeks. I called more than 100 experts and received only one refusal from a professor close

to the Bush administration. We received help from staff members from both parties on the Hill and from within the administration. People were not asked to support Ross Perot, and confidentiality was maintained.

The task was made easier because there is a broad consensus among knowledgeable economists and budget experts of both parties that

"In the period from 1947 to 1973, American living standards doubled every 1½ generations. Given our economic performance from 1973 to 1990, it will take 12 generations to achieve such a doubling."

restoring productivity and international competitiveness requires eliminating the terrible drag of the federal deficit. While we may not know how to increase private savings in the short run, reducing the large federal "dissavings" will have a similar salutary effect.

The outline of a balanced budget proposal was presented to Ross Perot in early June. His guidance for fashioning the full plan was simple: (a) make it fair and broadly based, (b) do not let it hit the needy, (c) make the time frame relatively short and (d) do not put any option or constituency off limits. He never modified these principles.

The final plan approved by Perot on July 16 (one day before he withdrew) called for reductions in spending (\$415.9 billion), increases in taxes (\$302.5 billion) and interest savings of \$145.3 billion over five years in order to bring the budget into balance by 1998. The plan also calls for increased spending of \$109.3 billion for four major priorities: aid to cities, civilian R&D, education and infrastructure. It also includes targeted investment tax credits, a capital gains tax cut and making permanent the current 20 percent tax credit on research and experimentation.

Spending cuts were made in all budget categories including defense. The most controversial parts of the plan include spending curbs and increased taxes related to entitlements. While

entitlements have been considered politically sacrosanct, they must be controlled if the budget is to be balanced.

The program is designed to build gradually from savings of \$49.5 billion in 1994 to savings of \$264.2 billion in 1998 for a total of \$754.4 billion, including interest saved for the five years.

According to econometric analysis conducted for us by DRI/McGraw-Hill, the plan would have a modest impact (probably less than three-tenths of one percent in any given year) on overall economic growth in the mid-1990s and would cause unemployment to rise by less than one-third of one percentage point in 1994 and 1995. After 1995, economic performance improves. With lower government borrowing, long-term interest rates fall, prompting increased home building and exports coupled with declining imports. By 2002, the economy will have grown to nearly \$11 trillion from \$6.7 trillion in 1994. Both the federal and the trade deficits will have been eliminated.

As expected, the plan has drawn criticism. Some say that it would be unwise to do it in today's weakened economy. But it would not start now. This plan was designed to be fully developed as the new president's budget proposal for fiscal 1994, when the economy should be recovering.

A related criticism is that it would slow growth and raise unemployment in the near term. And it will. But those costs are relatively modest. We will not regain our economic strength without some sacrifice. To place our policy bets on growing out of the problem is worse than wishful thinking. It's irresponsible.

Key elements of the plan have been attacked. Some object to the tax increases, or the tax incentives or the entitlement changes etc. All points may be open to criticism, but the critics should say what they would do. The parties continue to call for budget discipline but artfully avoid specifics.

Allowing five years may be too short a time, but I doubt it. Our review of longer time periods did not yield any benefits.

Ross Perot guided and endorsed this plan because he saw it as both good public policy and good politics. All his senior advisers agreed. As a third political alternative, we had to offer a real alternative. What better choice than economic performance, the most important issue in this election?

The Perot challenge has ended, but the problem remains. We need to solve it for our sake and the sake of our children.

The writer was Ross Perot's issues director.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Charles Krauthammer

Communist Mafia on Trial

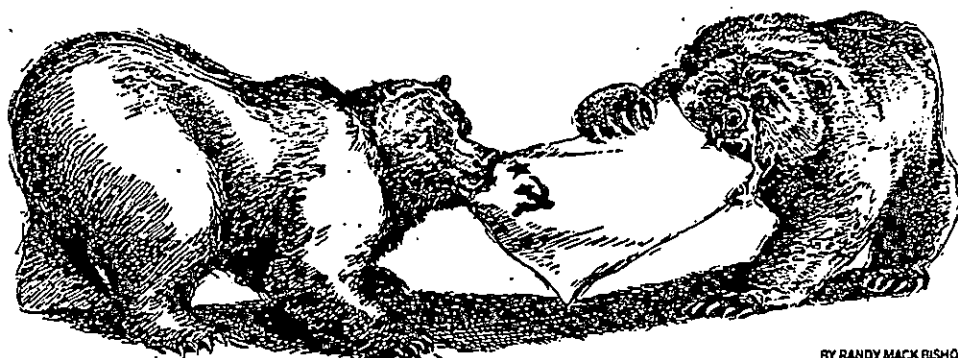
If you wish to understand the Soviet Union, wrote Irving Kristol 10 years ago, "you can make an excellent beginning by going to the movies and seeing 'The Godfather.'" Why? Because "the Soviet system since Stalin may be usefully regarded as a regime of Mafioso types who, incredibly, have become the political establishment."

Ten years ago. It is hard to remember 1982. In this amnesiac election year, it is hard to remember that there ever was a Soviet Union. But 1982 was a pivotal year in the Cold War. The Soviets had deployed missiles in Europe, and the NATO counterdeployment was meeting enormous popular resistance. U.S.-Soviet tensions were high. Millions were demonstrating in the streets against American nuclear weapons. Democrats in Congress were demanding a nuclear freeze and a resumption of arms negotiations. Amid all this clamor for reason and compromise, Kristol insisted that reason and compromise are not how you deal with the Mafia.

At the time, the virulent anticommunism of Kristol and his fellow neoconservatives was widely considered excessive, inordinate. Ten years later, the animating proposition of neo-conservatism—that Soviet communism represented unmitigated evil, resistance to which was the overriding moral imperative of "The Free World" (a term neocons refused to drop)—has been entirely vindicated by history.

Indeed, today in Moscow, Kristol's Mafia theory is the basis for one of the most important (and underreported) trials of our time. Before Russia's highest court, the Soviet Communist Party stands accused of criminal conspiracy. Not of perpetrating one, but of being one—a criminal enterprise that for 70 years enslaved the politics, economy, judiciary, culture, the life of the Soviet Union.

The trial is being held because Russian Communists are challenging Boris Yeltsin's ban of the Communist Party, and Yeltsin is counter-charging that the ban is justified because the Soviet Communist Party was not a political party but, well, a Mafia. The real Mafia infiltrates legitimate businesses and uses them as a front for its illegal activities. The Soviet Communists took over—in fact, created—the Soviet government in order to control, exploit and terrorize.



BY RANDY MACK BISHOP

Russian democrats seek not to punish individuals, but to indict the party and the past.

The government was no government at all but a puppet, a monstrous Mafia-style front.

The Moscow trial has been compared to the Nuremberg trials. Indeed, both are attempts at ideological detoxification. The Russian democrats, however, are not seeking to punish individuals. They are seeking only to indict abstractions: the party and the past. Very Russian, and very wise, because the circumstances surrounding Russia's de-Communization are very different from those that attended Germany's de-Nazification after World War II.

The Nazis had been totally defeated in war. Germany was prostrate and occupied. That is what made the Nuremberg trials possible. In Russia, however, the Communist leadership has been dethroned, but millions of Communist functionaries are still in power throughout the former empire. And the army's loyalty to the new regime has yet to be tested.

What to do in such compromised circumstances? As Chilean human rights scholar Jose Zalaquett has argued, under these conditions full justice—i.e., punishment—may not be possible. What is possible is truth—exposing with documentary evidence the evils of the previous regime.

Chile, where the former dictator still controls the army, is, like Russia, constrained from pursuing full "de-Nazification." Accordingly,

Chile's new democratic government commissioned an official report on the country's political victims that accounted in excruciating detail for every one of the 2,025 people murdered by the Pinochet regime (as well as others who fell in the concurrent civil strife). Publication and proclamation of the truth produced in Chilean society a remarkable catharsis, the beginning of national reconciliation and a degree of social peace achieved by few post-dictatorial countries.

Catharsis, reconciliation and social peace will be infinitely harder in Russia, where the thug regime was in power not for 17 years but for 70 and where it killed not 2,000 people but 30 million to 40 million. Nonetheless, there is no hope for the new Russia unless it begins with the truth about the old.

Justice can wait. Indeed, justice is an elusive concept when the accused is a system in which, as Vaclav Havel has argued, tens of millions were to some degree or other complicit. But if not justice, then truth. At the Moscow trial, the prosecutor has laid in evidence 36 volumes of hitherto secret Communist Party documents, detailing its involvement in everything from forced famines to ethnic deportations to international terrorism.

The truth-telling begins. It looks suspiciously as Irving Kristol had it 10 years ago.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The New, Post-Cold War Pragmatism

It is the historical moment for a broad-gauged inquiry into whither America, and the political season too, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has responded with "Changing Our Ways." The product of a team of non-fuddy-duddy citizens and former officials led by former China envoy Winston Lord, it invites attention as a coherent package of centrist possibilities.

The report does not claim even its signers' full agreement, and two participants—James Schlesinger and Richard Perle—refused to sign. Still, its thrust is unmistakable. It's unapologetically American, that is, high-minded, internationalist, ambitious and positive. Not for this band the old grim wisdom of holding on, waiting and muddling through. Nor the newer prescriptions of retrenchment for a nation supposedly in irreversible decline. Almost everything can be done, it says, over time, if we apply the wit and the will: A more prosperous economy can be built, and on it can be constructed a more livable planet and a freer and safer world.

What it takes, the report suggests, is to grasp the full implications of the world's shifting out of a Cold War gear. The problems are there waiting: population, environment, development, nuclear proliferation, security and so on. But the

"What ultimately counts is the way a political leader takes charge in a given set of circumstances."

resources are there too: the freedom from Cold War distraction, the energy of American ideals, the funds (from defense cuts and energy taxes) and the international institutions waiting to be honed and put to better use.

The report says all this, by the way, in a prose snappier and more readable than almost anything you've ever seen in foundation or bureaucratic robes.

The Carnegie crowd is cool, at pains not to be put down as "elite internationalists." They want foreign policy to be regarded as essential to the perceived welfare of the common man. Not only are they relaxed about considerations of grand strategy and power politics. It is their implicit premise that the United States no longer has permanent or potentially ominous enemies and therefore can turn safely to other concerns.

They are also relaxed about considerations of ideology as a driving force of foreign policy. They warmly approve of democracy, of course, but they do not insist it must be, in the vogue

phrase, a new organizing principle to replace the old organizing principle of containment of Soviet/Communist power.

Theirs is the new pragmatism, a post-Cold War, problem-by-problem approach that reworks familiar if not yet established ideas, stays in the mainstream where the public support lies and tries to push past philosophical contention into practical consensus.

Sometimes they get too glib. Can we be certain, for instance, that there may be short-term conflict between environmental care and economic growth but not long-term conflict? That attempting to suppress the supply of drugs, as against attacking demand, is futile and damaging? That at a time when new democracies are under painful strain, we can look forward to establishing still more of the breed? That American nuclear testing does not inhibit nonproliferation? That though it's not clear how much American defense spending ought to fall, it is clear that world

military expenditures should be halved? That it is best for the United States to yield "a measure of autonomy" and hand over security chores to the international institutions?

This last point suggests one of the pitfalls in writing big reports. There is a temptation to escape messy situations on the ground and to seek purities of design in the ether. Typically, the cover of this report bears a fetching photo of the globe taken from an overhead satellite.

Multilateralism, collective security, respect for the international rules: Great stuff, I am for it. But look how these concepts have fared in Yugoslavia. Might we do better in an analogous situation—actually, each new situation turns out to have dismayingly unique differences—the next time? I want to say yes. But to do better should we figure on being more multilateral or—heretical thought—less? Is yielding "a measure of autonomy" to the United Nations the recipe for effective policy or for a disguised retreat?

Good ideas are essential to policy. What ultimately counts is the way a political leader takes charge in a given set of circumstances. For that, the leader needs not only an intellectual lobe but a political one. The grand designs are necessary, the hard choices and tradeoffs even more so.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Richard Cohen

Death Camps On Bush's Watch

John J. McCloy was the personification of the Establishment. Wall Street lawyer, chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Chase Manhattan Bank and assistant secretary of war during World War II—he was a man who seemed to have done everything. In some respects, though, he is best remembered for what he did not do. He did not bomb Auschwitz.

McCloy, who died in 1989 at the age of 93, opposed a plan to bomb the railways leading to the death camp. He had his reasons, but also, it seems, his prejudices. Whether the latter influenced the former, no one can say for sure, but he saw enormous difficulties in such a raid, including a loss of life for Allied airmen. He did nothing.

It's probably not too much to say that the ghost of McCloy haunts Washington today. He was mentioned, although not by name, when Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) this week likened President Bush's tepid reaction to reports of Serbian-run death camps to the refusal to bomb Auschwitz. Indeed, the whole World War II experience—everything from the decision not to bomb Auschwitz to the Nazi genocide itself—provides the

"We cannot once again do nothing in the face of murder."

historic context for the policy discussion now underway: whether to use force against Serbia for its human rights violations—the rampant attacks on civilians as well as the reported death camps—and, if so, how.

The Balkans is one of those places that can be used to prove anything. Military men remind us that the area is so mountainous and rugged that a relatively few Yugoslav partisans were able to tie down a virtual German army. We are told by others that the bitter hatreds of the region are so ancient that they have set, like a stain, and cannot now be eradicated. We are admonished to remember Vietnam and the limits of military power and even the findings of commissions that studied the bombing of Germany during World War II: It wasn't all that effective.

So let us make some stipulations: Yugoslavia could be a trap. Should the United Nations or the West alone intervene militarily, it would get bogged down. Victory would not be possible, and once troops were withdrawn, the haters would be at it again, killing each other with utter abandon. We can also stipulate that both sides—indeed all sides—have violated human rights, for such is the nature of war, particularly of civil wars. Nothing about Yugoslavia is easy.

But let us stipulate also that to do nothing in the face of mass murders, torture, the purposeful killing of civilians and the reported existence of death camps diminishes us all morally. The State Department, having confirmed the existence of the Serbian-run death camps, now says it's not so sure. But journalists, no less expert reporters than diplomats, have interviewed people who have seen the camps. These accounts, reported first in *Newsday*, make for horrible reading: Starvation, beatings, other sorts of torture and poor to nonexistent sanitation facilities. This is not Auschwitz—that was a hell in its own category—but it is awful enough.

It's not fair to say that President Bush, the European Community and the United Nations have done nothing. The United Nations has instituted an embargo on Serbia, and the West has huffed condemnations. But, somehow, nothing concrete has been done to stop the killings, nothing to enable you or me to say that, at minimum, our government tried its best. The moral urgency the Bush administration brought to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is strangely missing here. The president has not compared the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, to Hitler, and the Bush administration—so quick to highlight Iraqi human rights violations—merely confirms what the news media report. If only Bosnia had oil.

In what was once Yugoslavia, history both cautions and admonishes. We must be careful, yet we cannot once again do nothing in the face of murder. We need two things: A president who will articulate our moral revulsion and galvanize the West and the United Nations to give the Serbs a swift kick to the groin—something that will stun it into a cessation of the killing. That is not a recipe for another Vietnam—no victory is contemplated—but simply a way for us to acknowledge that we have learned from history, not intimidated by it. Not another death camp on our watch. Not another Cambodia, either.

McCloy had his reasons for not bombing Auschwitz. Such a raid would have been difficult. It would have diverted scarce resources. It would have cost Allied casualties, and, in the end, it might not have done much. Like him, the United States and the West see nothing but difficulties, and so they do little. McCloy, a man of enormous accomplishments, remains forever tarnished because of Auschwitz. He should be a lesson to President Bush—not, as it seems, a role model.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Rowland Evans

And Robert Novak

Republicans In the Dumps

It is not the stinging assault on Bill Clinton by Mary Matalin that has so demoralized Republicans but the abject White House apology, leaving President Bush's reelection campaign up a tactical blind alley.

The situation is summed up by Republican loyalists as follows: A Bush comeback can be pulled off only if voters are frightened out of their wits at the prospect of a Clinton presidency; the fiasco surrounding deputy campaign manager Matalin's fax attacks will seriously inhibit future slashes; the way to victory, therefore, looks blocked.

Descent of the Bush-Quayle campaign reached the lower depths this week. Prominent supporters of the president now whisper that the campaign is over, and realistic hope has vanished. One reason is the shocking defeat in Michigan Tuesday of longtime party stalwart Rep. Guy Vander Jagt—suggesting that anti-incumbent voter rage has a Republican flavor. The other is what happened to Matalin.

In a campaign organization short on both commitment displayed and hours worked, Matalin is devoted to both Bush and 80-hour weeks. At her desk Sunday afternoon, she was stunned to read a Washington Post

"The way to victory looks blocked."

report that the Clinton campaign had hired a private detective to look into what one of the governor's aides called "bimbo eruptions"—women alleging sexual misconduct by Clinton. Matalin promptly incorporated the phrase into the third of a series of daily faxed reports on Clinton.

That would not have made the headlines had not White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner gone into a paroxysm of despair. He deplored Matalin for violating the president's no-sleaze edict and sent out deputy press secretary Judy Smith to announce Matalin's "apology." The damage was not undone when the president opened a Tuesday afternoon strategy meeting by giving Matalin an ostentatious hug.

The Bush campaign's distress is signified by the events begun by Matalin's fax attacks. The belief by Clinton strategists that she was orchestrated by Bush is, sadly from the president's standpoint, only half true.

Bush strategists privately acknowledge that the inability of the president to project a positive thrust means their only hope lies in savaging Clinton. But contrary to Democratic claims, there is no calculated plan of attack. Two weeks of listlessness as the Clinton-Gore ticket soared have sown despair among committed Bush backers, leading at least one key operative to think of resigning in disgust.

Thus, the good news was that Matalin finally took the initiative to point out that the Clinton-Gore campaign has been beating up on Bush relentlessly the past month (with the news media passing over the description of the president as a "racist" by Rep. Maxine Waters of California, a Clinton national co-chairman). The bad news was that Matalin did so in the smart-aleck style made familiar by Bush-Quayle campaign spokesman Torie Clark.

That is a style conservatives feel the Bush Republicans affect because they are unable to address seriously the huge ideological divide between the two campaigns. Even at Bush headquarters, there is concern that the truth about Clinton is submerged in wisecracks.

But in GOP ranks, Matalin is a hero and Skinner a villain. Any serious delineation by Bush operatives of the campaign's shortcomings soon turns to the beleaguered chief of staff, who now has bred a whole new epidemic of complaints. The White House-forced "apology" not only submerged Republican morale but raised concerns that further attacks on Clinton would be inhibited. Who will cut down the opposition if the slashers are to be repudiated by the White House?

That's another reason for Republicans to pray Secretary of State James Baker comes back to take charge, as veterans remember what happened four years ago. In 1988, GOP political operative Haley Barbour, running the Illinois campaign, put out hard material against Michael Dukakis. Like Matalin, Barbour acted on his own but followed general strategy. Dukakis cried bloody murder, and Bush was distressed. When Barbour went to Baker to explain, the campaign chairman told him not to worry. There was no apology.

Nevertheless, ultimate responsibility rests with George Bush, who never has decided whether he wants to be kinder and gentler or win at any cost. Having given his supporters so little to campaign on positively, the president now makes them worry about what happened to Mary Matalin when she went negative.

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The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

NASA Forms Team to Find Cause of Experiment Failure

European Research Satellite Is Boosted to Proper Orbit

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 6—Space agency officials formed a special team today to investigate problems that fouled the tethered-flight experiment aboard the shuttle Atlantis, while another research satellite deployed on the flight reached proper orbit.

NASA officials said any decision about reflight of the \$380 million tether system depends in part on determining quickly what went wrong and how much a fix will cost.

Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., which managed the tether program, has ordered relevant records impounded, said Ray Schwindt of Martin Marietta Corp., which built the failed deployment mechanism.

In the long-planned first major test of tethered spaceflight, the Atlantis crew unreeled the tether system to about 850 feet instead of the planned 12½ miles. The tether deployer, which resembles a fancy fishing rod and reel rising 39 feet from the

"I'm confident we did not have a hardware failure. It's some phenomenon up there that we don't understand."

—Ray Schwindt, Martin Marietta

shuttle cargo bay, jammed or stalled repeatedly.

Martin Marietta built the deployer, tether and other flight hardware under a \$128 million contract.

As soon as Atlantis is back in its hangar at Kennedy Space Center in Cape Canaveral, where it is to land early Saturday, the investigation team is to supervise dismantling the tether hardware, Schwindt said.

"I'm confident we did not have a hardware failure," he said. "It's some phenomenon up there that we don't understand." He said he hopes to have an answer within two or three weeks.

Thomas Stuart, NASA's tether program manager, said the sooner NASA refles the system, the cheaper it will be because the

200-person U.S.-Italian team is intact. "Personally, I hope we do it again, and do it quickly," he said, while acknowledging that such an attitude assumes that the deployer problem can be fixed easily.

George Withbroe, director of NASA's space physics division, said the tether system must compete with other science projects for limited space on the shuttle, on the basis of a "cost-benefit ratio," given the tight NASA budget.

But he added, "We had enough of a glimpse of what this system could do, a tantalizing glimpse, that it would be very exciting to fly it again."

The astronauts and flight team, meanwhile, focused on the positive, noting that they had flown the tether system through its riskiest phases, those closest to the orbiter, with no problem and had proved that the basic concept of tethered flight works.

Flight director Ron Dittmore said that all members of the U.S.-Italian team concurred in the decision to "retrieve the satellite and call that a good day."

"There were enough problems going on, multiple in nature, that the chances were low" that the system could achieve its major goals, he said.

The plan to generate thousands of volts of electricity by towing the tether and satellite through the Earth's magnetic field and studying the effects would have required that the satellite be unreeled a minimum of 6½ miles, scientists said.

The crew was "elated," Dittmore said, because there had been a "very real possibility" they would have had to cut the tether, in order to protect the shuttle, abandoning the \$192 million, Italian-built satellite.

A last-ditch contingency plan called for two astronauts to spacewalk and either reel in the satellite hand-over-hand or collect the tether while shuttle commander Loren Shriver raised the orbiter to the satellite. Both were considered risky.

Another of Atlantis's payloads attained success today as the \$400 million European research satellite EURECA was boosted to its desired orbit. Controllers in Germany reported that they resolved data-communication problems that had prompted them to leave EURECA temporarily in a too-low orbit after its deployment Sunday.

The platform, packed with seeds, spores, crystals and other materials, is to remain in orbit for about nine months before being retrieved by another shuttle crew. Scientists want to study effects of weightlessness on its cargo.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

House Passes Bill to Expand Family Welfare Programs

White House Accuses Hill of 'Hollow Political Gestures'

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday passed a Democratic bill that would expand child welfare programs designed to keep troubled families together and in doing so joined the election debate about family values.

"There is a lot of talk about family values in this election year," said Rep. Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), House Budget Committee chairman and a chief sponsor of the bill. "But it doesn't mean much if we continue to allow the national shame of hunger among our children. It doesn't mean much if we are not willing to provide the resources to help our families stay together and provide for their children."

The 256 to 163 vote along party lines fell short of a margin large enough to override the presidential veto that Republican members predicted. In addition to the child welfare services, the legislation makes changes in food stamp regulations to make more families eligible to receive benefits. The measure is financed by imposing a 10 percent surtax on millionaires.

Republicans concentrated their criticism on the bill's "tax and spend" nature, with House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) citing the legislation as an example of why the federal deficit remains high.

But one House Republican leadership aide derided the bill as "the perpetuation of the bureaucratic welfare state. It's part of the facade being put up by the new Democrats to hide the fact they remain in their old policy modes."

Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.), the bill's other chief sponsor, worked for two years to bring the child welfare provisions to the floor and denied his sole intent was "jamming it to" Republicans.

"There has been an explosion in out-of-wedlock births, use of crack, homelessness and AIDS that requires us to devote more resources to this problem," Downey told House colleagues. "We simply cannot turn our backs on a generation of American children."

The House also finished another piece of family business yesterday, voting 251 to 144 to rescind the "gag rule" that prohibits abortion counseling at federally-funded family planning clinics. The vote, less than a veto-proof margin, came on a House-Senate compromise that was closer to the House bill passed 268 to 150 in April. The restrictive regulations, which the Supreme Court

upheld in 1991, are scheduled to take effect soon. President Bush has consistently vetoed provisions similar to the one passed by the House yesterday.

Judy Smith, a White House spokeswoman, said, "hollow political gestures, just days before the convention won't convince the American people that the Democrats are for family values."

A House Democratic leadership aide described the consideration of the family planning and child welfare bills on the same day, 10 days before the Republican National Convention, as a coincidence, noting that the family planning bill unexpectedly emerged from a House-Senate conference committee. Making a case that Democrats were not seeking political advantage, the aide said no controversial legislation will be acted on next week when the GOP holds platform hearings.

The Downey-Panetta bill, prompted in part by a 50 percent increase in foster children between 1986 and 1990, would create a new entitlement program designed to keep troubled families together, and their children out of foster homes. For families with high housing costs, more of those expenses would be deducted when calculating their eligibility for food stamps.

The \$7 billion in costs over five years would be offset by \$8.2 billion from the millionaires' tax, with the balance going to reduce the deficit.

A Senate tax bill would make similar changes in child welfare programs but does not finance them with such a tax.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9 a.m.

Committees:

Foreign Relations—10 a.m. Anthony Quainton for asst. sec. of state for diplomatic security. 419 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. General Accounting Office audit of Army pursuant to Chief Financial Officers Act. 342 DOB.

Veterans' Affairs—10 a.m. Markup of Dept. of Veterans Affairs Nurses Pay Amendments of 1992, Women Veterans Sexual Trauma Veterans Act of '92, Court of Veterans Appeals & Veterans Home Loan Program Revitalization Act of '92. 418 Russell Office Bldg.

Joint Economic—9:30 a.m. July unemployment figures. 628 DOB.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

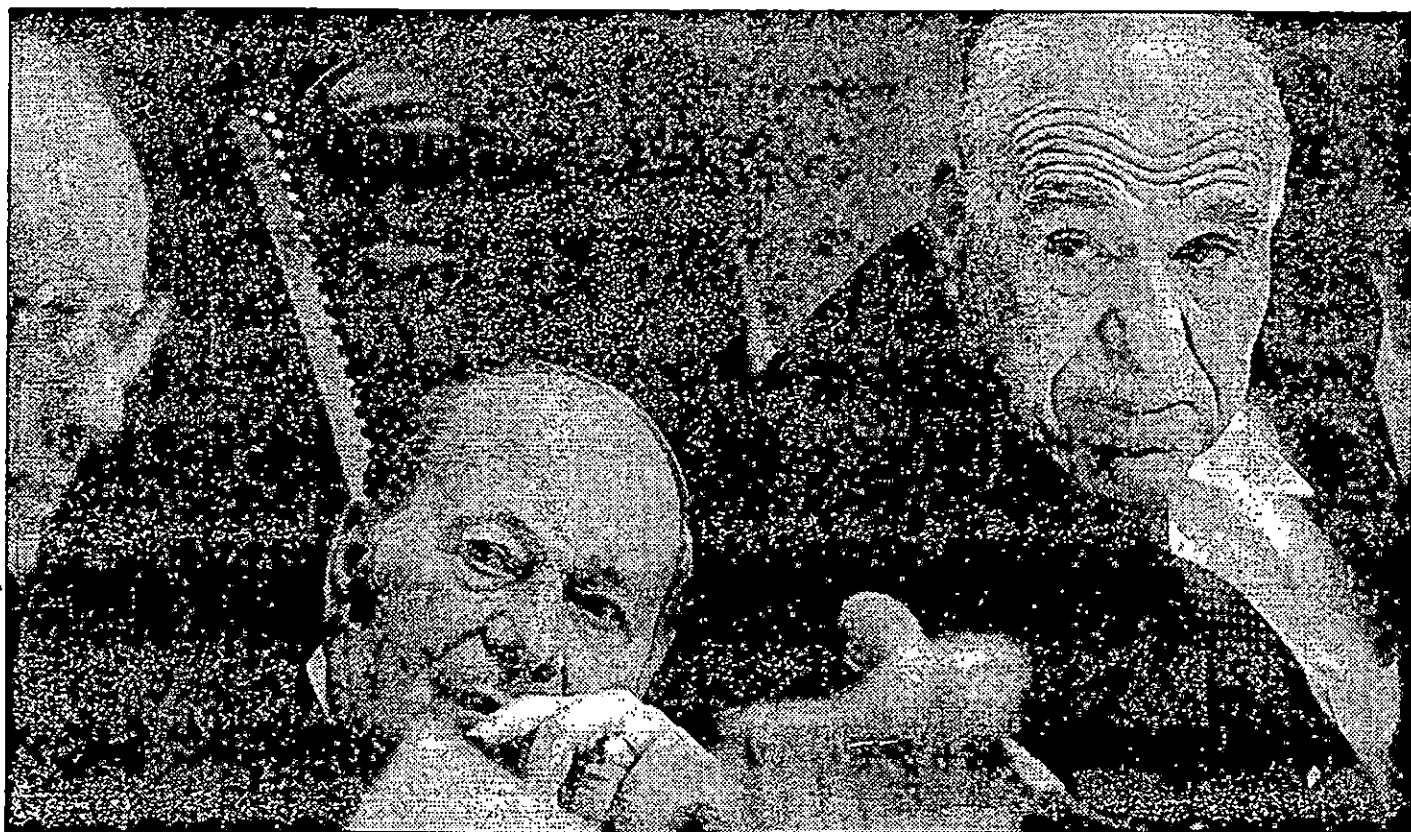
Committees:

Energy & Commerce—9:45 a.m. Health & the environment subc. Medicaid managed care & providers that serve poor. 2123 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

ON CAPITOL HILL



BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

House Banking Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), right, is shown with Rep. Frank Annunzio (D-Ill.) at hearing yesterday.

House Banking Panel Gives Gonzalez Subpoena Power

The House Banking Committee voted 31 to 19 along party lines yesterday to give Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) power to issue subpoenas for documents held by the CIA, other federal agencies and the states of New York and Texas in his continuing investigation of how the U.S. banking system was illegally used to funnel arms to Iraq.

Committee Democrats rolled over GOP objections to extending the subpoena power to U.S. intelligence agencies. Gonzalez said it was necessary to view intelligence documents because the agencies had extensive data on Iraq's nuclear and weapons buildup program as early as 1988.

The CIA, which has cut off Gonzalez's access to classified information, is investigating whether intelligence sources have been damaged by his disclosures on the House floor of U.S. dealings with Iraq before its invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

Also included in the subpoena is Christopher Drogoul, former vice president of the Atlanta office of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, who is to be sentenced Sept. 14 in the Italian bank's role in the illicit procurement network.

Altogether, 25 companies and banks will receive subpoenas for documents, as well as the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Justice Department, the Commerce Department, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, which regulates banks.

Some of those agencies stopped complying with the banking committee's requests for documents after the Justice Department said in May that they should not provide them, committee aides said yesterday.

Gonzalez has obtained subpoena powers from the committee twice in the past year and a half for the Iraq probe.

Timber Sale Blocks Removed

■ The Senate agreed yesterday to limit the public's ability to block sales of timber from national forests, dealing a rebuff to environmentalists.

In a victory for timber interests, senators approved a plan by Sen. Larry E. Craig (R-Idaho), aimed at reducing what he said were frivolous appeals designed to inhibit logging on public lands.

However, the measure was not as restrictive as an administration proposal

that would close off all appeals to the U.S. Forest Service, leaving court action as the only way to block such sales.

Craig's proposal would prohibit most people from asking the Forest Service to block timber sales. Only participants in a public comment period before a formal sale decision could file an appeal.

House Approves Reform Panel

■ The House gave final congressional passage yesterday to legislation setting up a bipartisan commission to reform Congress.

The one-year Joint House-Senate Committee on the Organization of Congress would recommend comprehensive changes in the way Congress does business. It is a reaction to increasing congressional gridlock and public dissatisfaction.

The bill was proposed by Sens. David L. Boren (D-Okla.) and Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.) and Reps. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.) and Willis D. Gradison Jr. (R-Ohio). The 28-member committee will consist of an equal number of House and Senate members, equally divided between political parties. The staff is to be volunteers from the political science and academic communities.

From staff reports and news services

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

GOVERNMENT GRIDLOCK

Last of Five Articles

To Choose or Not to Choose a School

Bills Stalemated on Issue of U.S. Aid to Private Education

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

With an "education president" in the White House and a Democratic majority in Congress, the last three years seemed like a prime time for federal action on lagging student achievement in the nation's schools.

But 90 percent of President Bush's term has passed without enactment of a single piece of education reform legislation. And Education Secretary Lamar Alexander has rated the chances for a compromise on two pieces of modest legislation near passage as "not good."

The debate about how to boost achievement among elementary and secondary students of all socioeconomic backgrounds has stuck on a political divide: Bush's proposal to help lower-income families pay tuition at private or religious schools.

The issue, with its long, emotion-charged history, has so divided Congress and the administration that even modest funding to encourage school experiments has been lost, delayed and threatened with an election year veto.

It was this battle over private school "choice" that largely caused Congress to miss its April deadline for

See GRIDLOCK, A13, Col. 1

GRIDLOCK, From A1

acting on Bush's broader education strategy, resulting in the loss of \$100 million this fiscal year. Congress set the money aside for whatever education programs were authorized in new legislation, but none were, and with the deadline's passing the funds are to be devoted to other social programs.

As with other gridlocked initiatives, education and "choice" also have become weapons of presidential campaign warfare. The upside of that is that it encourages debate; the downside is that it tends to lock politicians and parties into fixed positions.

The inaction occurs at a time when inadequate schools are seen as a major drag on the nation's economy. Federally funded tests, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, have shown that U.S. students, on average, exhibit a grasp of basic skills but not the skills of sophisticated problem solving, abstract thinking and writing needed in the modern workplace. International comparisons of mathematics and science achievement have shown U.S. students at or near the bottom among developed nations.

After more than a decade of expressing concern about the quality of American schools, the government has failed to spell out a new, affordable federal role for improving education while still respecting local control of schools, a hallowed American tradition.

Supporters of the president's "choice" proposal see it not only as a way to give lower-income families access to private schools, but also as a means of subjecting public schools to free-market competitive pressures that will inevitably improve them.

A free market in education, argues Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, ranking Republican on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, would empower low-income students to leave bad public schools behind just as higher-income students can and do.

"Power is often in our feet: We walk out of bad restaurants, bad movies or bad retail stores," Hatch told fellow senators in January. "When we are taken for granted by a for-profit enterprise, we take our business to the competition. It is time to enfranchise low-income parents in education."

The idea is a favorite of many conservatives and helpful to Bush when appealing to ethnic Catholic

voters—as he did last month in a Pennsylvania campaign swing—who send their children to parochial schools, or want to.

But gridlock over "choice" was thoroughly predictable.

Proposals for federal aid to private schools for years have raised political passions because opponents—including influential teachers' organizations—fear such funding would undermine public schools and, in the case of religious schools, flout the separation of church and state.

Tax Credits Dropped

Nor have they ever appealed to the relevant legislative chairmen, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) of the Labor and Human Resources Committee and Rep. William D. Ford (D-Mich.) of the Education and Labor Committee. Over the years, they have cited similar reasons for their opposition.

"Choice, as the administration portrays it, is contrary to the Constitution and [public education] traditions of this country," Ford said recently. "Government has a responsibility to public schools and taxpayers. There is no concomitant obligation to private schools. If you take scarce resources from public schools and use them to pay

private schools, what happens to the kids left behind?"

President Ronald Reagan pursued tuition tax credits with no success and ultimately abandoned the idea. In his 1988 campaign, Bush also stopped pushing the issue, saying a debt-ridden treasury could not support private school aid.

Last year, Bush resurrected the idea of government "vouchers" to pay private school tuition as part of his education strategy, dubbed "America 2000." That proposal would have converted Chapter 1, which provides \$6 billion a year for schools to help disadvantaged students with language and math skills, into portable payments that each student could cash at any public or private school. Bush's latest "choice" proposal seeks \$500 million for \$1,000 vouchers that poor students could use at any school.

Bush's "America 2000" strategy also included efforts to encourage school experiments, national achievement standards and voluntary national tests in what some observers saw as an effort to broaden the federal role in elementary and secondary education beyond traditional aid to the disadvantaged.

Congress has argued about "choice" for more than a year, holding up even modest prescriptions in the meantime.

The Senate completed action on an education bill in January. By 57 to 36, senators rejected Hatch's amendment for six pilot projects in school choice for low-income students. Wisconsin has conducted a similar experiment in Milwaukee for two years, with inconclusive results.

The Senate passed, 92 to 6, a bill that would authorize \$850 million in competitive grants for local schools with improvement plans. The grant program, similar to one of the private RJR/Nabisco Foundation, would provide a comparatively large sum to spur more innovations such as those being tested around the nation. Those innovations include longer class days or years, schools located at work sites and contracts with private school officials to redesign public schools.

The House is considering similar legislation. But it has yet to reach the floor, primarily because of wrangling over choice.

Last October, the House education committee endorsed a compromise bill that would have funded private school choice pro-

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grams if a state's constitution permitted them. Choice advocates somehow interpreted that language, intended to be restrictive, as a victory.

Then the Senate vote emboldened Ford, however, who in February snatched back the compromise bill at the insistence of teachers' unions opposed to the language on private school choice. In May, the committee reported another bill that deleted mention of the issue and authorized state block grants of \$700 million that could be used for a range of school improvement efforts.

Alexander Is 'Not Hopeful'

"Obviously, the [public education] establishment doesn't like the effort to break their monopoly hold," said Rep. Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.), an education committee member and "choice" supporter. "Private schools are doing an excellent job. Unfortunately, most parents don't have that option."

If the House approves the Education and Labor Committee bill in some form, which it may do next week, a House-Senate conference will try to resolve differences between the two versions. The administration, which likes the Senate bill better, typically lobbies conferees at this stage of the legislative process.

But Alexander, the education secretary, said he is "not hopeful at all" that an acceptable compromise to the administration will be reached on the two bills, once the House completes action. An acceptable compromise includes choice, school innovations, looser regulations and voluntary national tests, an aide said.

Alexander sounded content to have the gridlock on education become a presidential campaign issue. "If the Congress is going to do nothing, I think the president will send the bill right back to them and go to the country and say, 'Everybody who wants to make a revolution in education vote for me and a new Congress,'" Alexander said. He explicitly urged a Bush veto of the House committee bill.

Both Bush and Democratic nominee Bill Clinton have made choice an issue in the presidential campaign. During a July 21 appearance at Archbishop Ryan High School in Philadelphia, the president used it to bash Congress and the Democratic Party for being "in the grips of a very powerful union, the NEA [National Education Association]," which he described as "an arm of the opposition party."

The Democratic platform, largely shaped by Clinton loyalists, criticized the administration for a choice plan it said would "bankrupt the public school system—the bedrock of democracy—through private school vouchers."

Many educators regard "choice" as less than relevant to the prevailing needs in the nation's classrooms.

"Choice is not on their list of requests," said Gordon Ambach, speaking as executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers. Nor has the National Governors' Association, Bush's partner in a 1989 "education summit," embraced such public aid for private schools. State chief executives, including Arkansas Gov. Clinton, have limited their "choice" plans to public schools, a stance that pleases politically influential teachers' unions.

Michael Casserly, acting director of the Council of Great City Schools, which represents large urban districts, called private school choice "a distractor and a false prophet."

Education leaders have begun to concentrate their reform efforts on curriculum changes, learning styles and social problems that block achievement, whether the

schools are city or suburban, public or private.

What has not been accomplished in Washington, many observers say, is a consensus between Congress and the White House on the role the federal government ought to play in addressing achievement-oriented problems facing students of all social strata.

Traditional local control of schools has meant that the federal role, dating from 19th century efforts to educate freed slaves, has focused on aiding disadvantaged students and guaranteeing opportunity for racial minorities. This role was made explicit with the passage of the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Federal programs have often created widely adopted models, as in bilingual education, or set directions like the post-Sputnik emphasis on math and science.

Bush's education strategy, shaped by declining U.S. competitiveness with better-educated work forces in Asia and Europe, implies a broader federal interest in improving the schooling of all. But the president has not articulated a case for an expansion of the federal role.

"Neither the president nor Congress has adequately discussed and clearly defined a newly expanded federal role in education," Casserly said.

Many educators believe the government could make an important contribution by financing studies to determine which school innovations work and prodding school officials to reach a consensus on the best methods of teaching core academic subjects. The Education Department has proceeded—without congressional authorization—to promote the development of curriculum standards and voluntary national achievement tests.

Casserly faulted both elected branches of government: "Basically, the administration proposed a legislative press release, and the Congress responded in kind. Neither [the House or Senate bill] is going to go very far in meeting the long-term education challenges of the country."

Kennedy and other critics call Bush's fixation on choice ironic because an existing program of education block grants, called Chapter 2, has for a decade permitted states and school districts to use the funds for private school vouchers. None has.

PARENTAL CHOICE

EDUCATION REFORM GRIDLOCK

- *Spring 1988* — Candidate Bush says government cannot afford private school aid.
- *April 1989* — President Bush proposes Excellence in Education Act, including magnet schools.
- *October 1990* — Version of Bush reform bill dies in Senate.
- *April 1991* — Bush proposes "America 2000" plan, including tuition vouchers.
- *October 1991* — House committee approves reform bill with compromise on parental choice.
- *January 1992* — Senate rejects experiments with "choice," passes reform bill.
- *February* — House committee revokes "choice" compromise, endorses revised reform bill.
- *June* — House touts new proposal for tuition vouchers.

SOURCE: Congressional Quarterly

The Washington Post

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Bush Issues Stinging Criticism Of Clinton's Economic Plans

President Vows to 'Fight Back,' Accentuate Differences With Democrat

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

COLORADO SPRINGS, Aug. 6—President Bush, responding to criticism within his party that he needs to better define his differences with Democrat Bill Clinton, today ridiculed his opponent's economic plans and said the only federal program a Democratic administration would eliminate would be a \$20 million federal subsidy for honeybee farmers.

In a speech here to a conservative group of state legislators, Bush again acknowledged he had been slow to challenge Clinton on specifics and conceded that on "some issues, especially economic issues, I'm afraid we don't yet sound all that different."

Bush sought to change that impression today, charging that the Clinton "New Covenant" economic plan was "a trojan horse" clothed in conservative rhetoric and filled with liberal ideas. "Is all this talk of what they call a New Covenant simply a coverup for some very old and tired ideas?" he asked.

Clinton's campaign quickly fired back at Bush. "President Bush has the worst economic record of any president since Hoover and now he

fense, school prayer and abortion, the president said his differences with Clinton were clear. "We are separated by a gulf as wide as the Grand Canyon," the president said.

But with the economy remaining a major worry for Republicans, Bush tried to draw out more sharply his differences with Clinton.

In a point-by-point rebuttal, Clinton's campaign argued that Bush has widened the federal deficit, raised taxes more than Clinton would and said Clinton's economic program would eliminate 100,000 federal jobs and a variety of programs, although none was cited

As he has in other recent speeches, Bush seemed to apologize for his campaign, saying "I've been a little slow to fight back" and acknowledging he lacked the oratorical skills of Ronald Reagan.

"Let me tell you why I have waited," he said. "People are sick of politics. I think they think this election year has gone on a little too long."

The president also suggested that his responses to Clinton have not been well received. "Every time I tiptoe into the water with this guy, they start yelling: 'negative campaigning.'" But, he said, "I am go-

ing to fight back. And I will define his record as he's ill-defined mine. And I will fight on the only battleground that really counts, and that is the battleground of ideas."

Bush did not mention Clinton by name as he did on his arrival in Reno Wednesday night. Today, he said he would "save the 'C' [Clinton] word for my convention in Houston" and promised to fight hard. "I am tired of being sluggish by these people."

Staff writer Dan Balz in Washington contributed to this report.

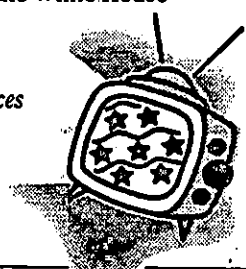
ON TV

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

■ C-SPAN, 5-6:30 a.m.

"Road to the White House"

Tape of
campaign
appearances
in Ohio



increase of 88,200 from January 1989 to May 1992.

In his speech, Bush placed a \$200 billion-a-year price tag on new programs he said the Democratic nominee has proposed and that the new taxes Clinton has proposed would cover only \$150 billion of the costs.

The president said he had proposed ending 246 government programs and another 4,000 specific projects that Congress has funded. Clinton, he said, "searched and searched through thousands of government programs and found only one that he would eliminate—federal subsidies for honeybee farms."

By comparison, Bush sought to project a tougher image of his role overseeing the budget, boasting that he has wrestled with some of Washington's powerful interests—the National Education Association, "the powerful teachers' union, the labor bosses, the ACLU, the Ralph Naders of Beltway fame."

"But I doubt anyone will get stung by taking on the honeybee industry," Bush said, a reference to a federal price support for beekeepers, totaling \$35 million over five years, that Clinton has said he would abolish.

On numerous issues—among them education, health care, de-

The Washington Post

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Clinton Gets Rousing Welcome—at Midnight

Thousands Jam Bettendorf, Iowa, Parking Lot on Democrats' Trip Along Mississippi

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

BETTENDORF, Iowa, Aug. 6
At the end of a long night's journey into a new day, Bill Clinton and his backroads bus caravan chugged up the long and winding parking lot leading to Jumer's Castle hotel. It was five minutes after midnight on a blind-black midsummer night along the Mississippi, 15 hours after the campaign trip began, when Clinton emerged from his coach and stepped into a frenzied scene that he said he would not soon forget.

The entryway was lined six-deep with faces and the parking lot was jammed with thousands more, people from Moline, Ill., and East Moline, Ill., and Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island, Ill., and Bettendorf who had been there since early evening, five or six hours many of them, waiting for this moment.

For the first half-day of the Clinton bus tour up the Mississippi, veterans of the post-convention trip from New York to St. Louis were saying that this one lacked the authenticity of the first one. That sense diminished as the day and night wore on, as it often does with Clinton: his trademark is that the later the hour, the better he gets, usually saving his most powerful moments for times long after the TV crews have shut down for the night.

Roadside crowds at rest areas and small towns between the major stops along the route had been recruited through a farm radio network that had three-day advance notice of the Blue Highways triptic. Local Democratic party functionaries set up phone banks to get out the crowds, but it is one thing to make the calls and another for the people to come. The crowd earlier in Burlington, Iowa, was estimated at 15,000, with some listening from a sound system across the street from the riverfront park, and others from boats moored in the still waters of the Mississippi.

From the second his shoes hit the parking lot pavement in Bettendorf, Clinton was engulfed by adoring, pleading sounds in the night.

Squeezing one outstretched hand with his left and patting another with his right, working high and low at the rate of 20 touches every 10 seconds, Clinton sidestepped along the rope line toward a podium near the lodging entrance. He was trailed by his ticketmate, Albert Gore Jr., and then their wives, Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore, and then Hawkeye

Democrats led by Sen. Tom Harkin, Clinton's erstwhile competitor for the nomination, the party loyalist who had long since forgotten that he used to call Clinton a pseudo-Republican with an embarrassing record in Arkansas.

Harkin spoke first, then Gore, then Clinton,

"I want to tell you I am just overwhelmed by this crowd at this hour ... you waited because you want your country back."

—Bill Clinton

one giddier and more hyper than the next. Harkin took after Vice President Quayle, describing Quayle's version of "Old MacDonald" as "Old MacDonald had a farm e-i-e-i-o...e."

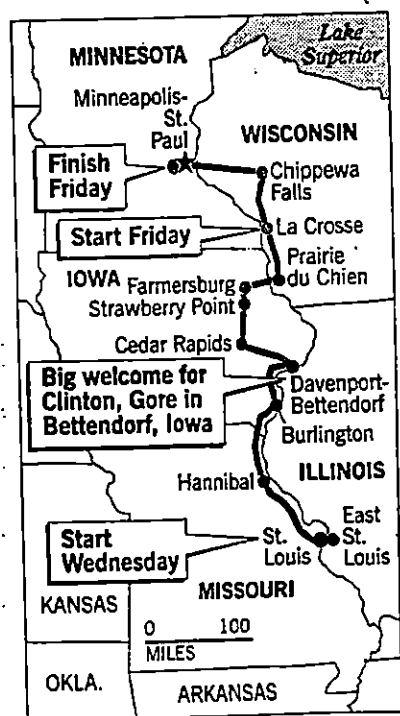
Gore bounded up to the microphone with the energy of an Aggie yell leader and shouted out his chant-along refrains, ending each cheer

with an unrestrained laugh, "heh, heh, heh," that echoed through the night.

By the time Clinton stepped up, the crowd was ready to laugh and yell at anything. "Well, shoot folks, it's 12:30," he began. "I didn't want to have a rally this late at night, so we showed up early enough to start it in the morning. I want to tell you I am just overwhelmed by this crowd at this hour. For those of you who waited this long, all I can tell you is I know you didn't wait for us—you waited because you want your country back."

After the speech, Clinton worked the rope lines again for another 65 minutes—here stopping to chat industrial policy for eight minutes with a few students, there making waitress Jenni Easler's day by responding to her impulsive request for "a big hug"—until he had literally shaken every hand there was to shake in the middle of the night in the Quad Cities.

Clinton is well aware that the thrill of August could chill with autumn. He implored the yearning crowd to stick with him through the whatever troubles arise before election day, describing the election as a contest between hope for change versus fear of risk. "Don't let them take your courage away," he said.



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President speaks in Colorado Springs yesterday.

Stating His Case, Bush Misplaces Rival's Home

Associated Press

OKLAHOMA CITY, Aug. 6—Vice President Quayle recently failed spelling, and today President Bush flunked geography.

Campaigning in Colorado Springs, Bush referred to his opponent, Bill Clinton, as "the governor of a certain state . . . located somewhere between Texas and Oklahoma."

The Red River and a few sandbars are the only things between Oklahoma and Texas, where Bush lived for 25 years and still maintains residency. Backers of the governor of Arkansas, which is between Louisiana and Missouri and east of Oklahoma, quickly made hay of the gaffe.

"The man who promised he would be America's education president doesn't know his geography," said Bill McDonnell, director of Clinton's Oklahoma campaign.

Coincidentally, Clinton poked fun at Bush's comparison of himself Wednesday to Christopher Columbus.

Columbus discovered America, but after three years in the White House, "Bush hasn't found it yet," Clinton said.

Clement Has Tennessee Nomination

Associated Press

NASHVILLE, Aug. 6—Rep. Bob Clement (D-Tenn.) won nomination to a third term today over a former aide to Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) who didn't have the vice presidential nominee's backing.

Clement, whose father was governor for 10 years, beat back a challenge from Chip Forrester, former state director for Gore, in the Nashville-dominated 5th Congressional District.

In the fall, Clement will face Tom Stone, a businessman who was unopposed in the Republican primary.

In the 6th District Democratic primary, antiabortion candidate Don Schneller, who ran photographs of bloody fetuses in television commercials, lost to Rep. Bart Gordon of Murfreesboro.

The ads, similar to those broadcast in other parts of the country, drew hundreds of complaints.

Neither the governor's office nor the state's U.S. Senate seats were up for grabs in today's voting, leaving most of the attention on Middle Tennessee's two congressional races.

All nine incumbent House members were favored to return to Washington. Republicans James H. Quillen of the 1st District and Don Sundquist of the 7th and Democrat John S. Tanner of the 8th had no primary opposition. Democrat Rep. Marilyn Lloyd easily won renomination in the 3rd District.

Rep. Harold E. Ford of Memphis, a Democrat, was expected to prevail in the 9th District despite running under an indictment for bank fraud, as he did in 1990.

No major changes were expected in the state Legislature, where Democrats hold a 56 to 43 advantage in the House and a 20 to 13 majority in the Senate.

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POLITICS

Goldwater Warns Abortion Plank May Wreck GOP

One of the most conservative voices in the Republican Party predicted yesterday that unless the GOP modifies its antiabortion position, "the Republican National Convention will go down in a shambles, as will the election."

Former senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona said in a letter to Mary Dent Crisp, head of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, that "abortion is not something the Republican Party should call for the abolition of. . . . There is no way in the world that abortion is going to be abolished. It has been going on ever since man and woman lived together on this Earth."

The party's platform committee begins weighing revisions to the platform in Houston on Monday—a week in advance of the convention—and Bush has vowed that the document's antiabortion language will not be changed.

On Wednesday, a group of Republicans favoring abortion rights also urged the GOP to drop the antiabortion plank from the party platform or else face losing many of its voters. The group proposed instead a "unity platform" that would be "entirely silent on the matter of abortion."

The group, led by Sens. John Seymour (Calif.), John H. Chafee (R.I.) William S. Cohen (Maine) and Arlen Specter (Pa.) and Govs. William F. Weld of Massachusetts and John R. McKernan Jr. of Maine and Betty Ford, the wife of former president Gerald R. Ford, said it would lobby the platform committee, but if the panel rejects its idea, the group said it would try to force a debate on abortion on the convention floor.

Support Fluid, Poll Shows

■ Only about half the voters in the United States support the

same candidate for president they backed in early June, and the dramatic surge in support for Democrat Bill Clinton could change again before the campaign is over, a Times-Mirror poll released yesterday shows.

Clinton's sharp rise in public support grows out of a combination of forces: traditional Democrats coming home to their party and disciples of Ross Perot moving to the Democratic ticket. About four in 10 voters who consider themselves independents and nearly four in 10 Democrats moved to Clinton between the two surveys. The biggest shifts, the survey found, came among core Democrats and among independents who generally support the GOP.

But Clinton's supporters are more united by their disaffection from President Bush than by their views of Clinton, and "there is little indication that this decisive voting bloc has made a firm commitment to the Democratic ticket," the Times-Mirror analysis said.

But the survey found far more bad news for Bush than for Clinton.

The organization reinterviewed 1,023 registered voters it had surveyed in June and found that Clinton leads Bush by 57 percent to 36 percent.

During the time between the two surveys, Clinton repaired his image with many voters, with 36 percent rating him more favorably than they did in June. Bush, in contrast, saw his image deteriorate, with 24 percent giving him a less favorable rating since June.

More worrisome to Bush was the finding that more than half the electorate—56 percent—said there is "no chance that conditions in this country will improve if Bush is reelected." The analysis concluded that voters are more concerned about making no change in the White House than in the risk of electing a newcomer.

—Maralee Schwartz
and Dan Balz

The Washington Post

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House Approves Aid for Economic Shift in Russia, Other Republics

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House last night approved a broad package of economic aid for Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union after Democrats squeezed more money for jobs at home from a reluctant Bush administration.

The measure, which now appears on the way to being passed in the fall, was approved by a vote of 255 to 164 as Democratic and Republican leaders pulled together in rare harmony and calmed widespread jitters over approving foreign aid during an election year dominated by domestic and economic concerns.

The centerpiece of the bill, which is similar to one passed by the Senate a month ago, authorizes a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. commitment to the International Monetary

Fund for all of its activities, including helping Russia rebuild its economy along free-market lines. The measure also includes \$417 million in economic aid and authorizes a U.S. contribution of up to \$3 billion for an international currency stabilization fund for the former Soviet republics.

The bill, strongly supported by the administration, now goes to a House-Senate conference, which is expected to iron out minor differences when Congress returns from its August recess.

During yesterday's debate, lawmakers of both parties noted the historic significance of economic aid to the former Soviet republics after nearly a half-century of Cold War hostilities, and they stressed this country's stake in avoiding a return to those dark days.

Reading from a letter of support

for the bill from all living former American presidents, House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) called the vote an "investment in the peace and prosperity of the American people." By helping the republics along a democratic, free-market course, the United States can "help shape the future in our interest," Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) added.

The administration had hoped to win congressional support for the aid package before Russian President Boris Yeltsin met here with President Bush in mid-June but ran into trouble from Democrats in both houses, who demanded action first on domestic needs. The Senate finally approved its bill 76 to 20.

But House Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) and other House Democrats held out for more

anti-recession spending for jobs, and a couple of weeks ago they began negotiations with the administration on a deal to break the deadlock. By Wednesday, they realized they had a "commitment to work it out" and promptly scheduled the bill for a vote, according to a Democratic leadership aide.

Before yesterday's session, Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) said the administration was "being forthcoming" about speeding up transportation spending by shifting funds from other domestic accounts, involving "somewhere in the range of \$400 million" to be spent as soon as possible.

In addition, Foley said, the administration "seems to be inclined to consider favorably" an increase in loan guarantees to help financially hard-pressed cities finance housing,

roads and other community development projects. He said the administration appeared receptive to increasing the authorization for loan guarantees "rather sharply."

"People told us [earlier this year] if we didn't pass that bill right away, there would be riots in Moscow," Bonior told the House yesterday. "There weren't riots in Moscow, but American cities exploded. Others told me that if we didn't act, Russia would have 3 to 5 million unemployed people. Don't they realize that there are 10 million Americans who are unemployed now?"

While Bonior hailed the tentative agreements with the administration as a "victory," he warned a final House-Senate compromise will not

be approved unless the administration completes the agreement to the House's satisfaction.

But some Democrats complained it was not enough. "Our cities are hurting in America . . . we must learn to take care of America first," said Rep. Barbara-Rose Collins (D-Mich.). "We don't even have a 'Buy American' on this bill," complained Rep. James A. Traficant Jr. (D-Ohio.).

In voting on the bill, 161 Democrats and 94 Republicans supported it, while 95 Democrats and 68 Republicans opposed it. Among Maryland and Virginia lawmakers, Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.), Wayne T. Gilchrest (R-Md.) and George F. Allen (R-Va.) voted against it.

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King May Testify in Next Beating Trial

4 L.A. Officers Face Federal Charges of Using Excessive Force

Associated Press

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 6—Four police officers acquitted of most state charges in the videotaped beating of motorist Rodney G. King surrendered today to face federal civil rights charges, and a defense lawyer predicted that King would take center stage in the next trial.

The videotape of police beating King after a traffic stop on March 3 last year prompted national debate on police brutality, helped to force Los Angeles police chief Daryl F. Gates from office and spurred reform in the police department.

But a jury in suburban Simi Valley acquitted the officers of assault and left one count against one officer unresolved, sparking three days of deadly rioting.

A federal grand jury indictment unsealed Wednesday charges the officers with violating King's civil rights under color of law. The of-

icers, Laurence M. Powell, Theodore J. Briseno, Timothy E. Wind and Stacey C. Koon, appeared briefly in court today and were released on \$5,000 unsecured bail.

U.S. Magistrate Judge George King ordered the men to return Monday for arraignment and selection of a judge to try their case.

If convicted, the officers face maximum sentences of 10 years in prison and \$250,000 fines.

Outside the courthouse, Powell's lawyer, Michael Stone, said that if the government fails to call King as a witness, the defense will. King did not testify in the state trial. "There are too many people out there who think Rodney King's testimony would have changed the result in the Simi Valley case," Stone said. "I want them to see it would not."

"The community needs to see this guy for what he is. He is not a victim, that's for sure," Stone added. "He was a felon that was

trying to escape arrest. And that's why we're here."

Police said King had led them on a chase before he was stopped.

The federal charges require proof that the officers deliberately intended to deprive King of his rights by using excessive force. The state was required to prove only that the officers had general criminal intent. Stone said there is little difference.

"In practical terms, I don't think the burden is any higher than in the state case," he said. "It's simply a use-of-force case, not a racial case, not a conspiracy case."

Lawyer Harland Braun, who took over the defense of Briseno when his lawyer had back surgery, said, "This is a political case, not a legal case, so I don't think legal analysis is very useful." He said President Bush's comments on the case and the riots forced federal prosecutors to seek an indictment.

Prosecutors would not comment.



ll, at extreme lower left, and Koon, top right in dark suit, after their bail and custody hearing yesterday.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

George's Prints Found on Portion of Iran-Contra Paper, FBI Expert Says

By George Lardner Jr.
and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

An FBI expert said yesterday he found two of Clair E. George's fingerprints just beneath the crossed-out portion of a 1986 draft statement to Congress that George is accused of censoring to protect the Reagan White House.

Testifying at the former CIA spy chief's trial in federal court here, FBI fingerprint expert Edgar S. Corley said he found prints from both of George's ring fingers on the document when he examined it just a few weeks ago.

The document, with George's thumbprint on another page, was recovered from George's safe at CIA headquarters. Prosecutors contend it is a key piece of evidence substantiating charges that George obstructed congressional investigations of the Iran-contra scandal and then lied about the statement under questioning by a federal grand jury last year.

According to the indictment, George ordered a top deputy, Alan D. Fiers, not to disclose certain facts to two congressional

committees. The facts involved the Reagan administration's secret military resupply operation for the contra rebels in Nicaragua. George is alleged to have feared disclosure would "turn the spotlight" on the administration and reveal then-White House aide Oliver L. North's central role in the network.

Fiers has testified that he wanted to tell Congress about how a congressionally authorized humanitarian aid operation for the rebels evolved into a military resupply line controlled by "private benefactors." But he said George told him to say nothing about the operation and delete mention of it from a draft statement to Congress that Fiers had prepared for George.

The draft from George's safe contained X's through a sentence about Ilopango air base in El Salvador, a headquarters for the aid operation. Just beneath that crossed-out segment, Corley testified, were two of George's fingerprints.

Under questioning yesterday morning by George's chief defense lawyer, Richard A. Hibey, Corley said he did not know when the prints might have been left on the document.

The afternoon session provided an illustration of how difficult it is for the prosecu-

tors to draw testimony from CIA officials that might put their former colleague's case in a bad light.

Thomas Twetten, who now holds George's former job as chief of covert operations and worked for George over most of his 30-year CIA career, repeatedly testified he could not recall critical events that would have linked his former boss to charges in the indictment.

Several times, when Twetten said he could not remember specific events or meetings, prosecutor Michael Vhay read back to Twetten answers the CIA official gave during earlier appearances before federal grand juries in 1988 and 1991.

For example, he was shown a document he discussed with George on Jan. 25, 1986, that detailed the role to be played by someone named "Copp" in upcoming secret sales of arms to Iran. The sales were intended to gain the freedom of U.S. hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian groups.

Twetten said he already knew that Copp was the alias for retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord, but yesterday he could not recall whether George knew that too. George has been accused of lying to several

congressional committees in late 1986 about his knowledge of Secord.

Vhay reminded Twetten that in 1991 grand jury testimony, Twetten had been asked the same question and had responded that George did know Copp was Secord.

Twetten also told the grand jury last year that it was "my belief that [George] understood who the players" named in the memo were. Yesterday, Twetten said his answers a year ago were "truthful" and "I stand by them today."

On several other occasions yesterday, Twetten said he would accept whatever he said in the past. But he added that being reminded of his previous testimony did not help refresh his recollection.

Twetten did disclose one new piece in the Iran-contra jigsaw puzzle that also appeared to support the prosecution's case.

He said that George and others at the agency had concerns about Secord and an associate, Albert Hakim, because of allegations that both men at some time might have been involved in shady arms dealings.

In early 1986, Twetten said North told him during a trip to Germany that one reason he wanted to keep Secord and Hakim in-

involved in the Iranian arms deals was because "they were important in his undertaking or activity in Central America."

That, Twetten testified, was the first he knew of their contra activities. When he returned to CIA headquarters, Twetten relayed that information to his immediate boss and then directly to George.

Twetten said he was worried about the involvement of Secord and Hakim, not only because of their reputations, but also because CIA policy advised against using the same individuals in more than one covert action.

Another high-ranking CIA official, Charles Allen, who coordinated the Iranian arms deals with North, said George had the only CIA copy of North's initial and "highly ambitious" arms-for-hostages plan.

On cross-examination, however, Allen acknowledged that he had made some misstatements to a House committee investigating the Iran-contra affair in December 1986, but was not prosecuted for doing so. Allen said the misstatements were unintentional and he had corrected them when shown a document that proved them to be false.

Air Force Says Flaw in B-2's 'Stealthiness' Can Be Fixed

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Air Force Secretary Donald B. Rice announced yesterday that designers of the B-2 "stealth" bomber have found a way to correct a flaw that caused failure of an important test of its radar-evading ability last year.

Rice declined repeatedly, in a news conference and a subsequent telephone interview, to say how much the fix would cost or whether he believes that it is worth the price. Two less expensive corrections are under study, he said in the interview, and he plans no recommendation until "early next year."

But with the Senate poised to decide the B-2's fate as part of the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill, Rice said that the plane passed its latest test "with flying colors" and that the new results ruled out any fundamental flaw in the "basic design of the platform."

The problem, he said, related to "edges and surfaces" and will not require change in the plane's external mold lines. Rice also said in the interview that the new fix will not diminish the B-2's flight performance or its ability to evade detection by other kinds of sensors.

Each B-2 costs an unprecedented \$2.2 billion, largely because of cutting-edge technology designed to make it undetectable, for practical purposes, by enemy radar or by visual, acoustic or infrared sensors. Helpless to defend itself if detected, the B-2 relies on such "stealthiness" to survive.

With its original nuclear bombing mission obsolete and its political base narrowed sharply in Congress, the B-2 program suffered a near-fatal blow last September when the Air Force reported that the bomber "did not meet the desired levels of performance" in a test July 26, 1991, of its ability to evade radar in one unspecified range of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Rice argued vigorously that the problem was not serious and that the B-2 remained the most survivable plane in the world. In one exasperated comment, he compared skeptical press accounts to "Elvis sightings."

Air Force officials noted in classified briefings that, for technical reasons, an enemy normally must use a wide variety of sensors during the several stages of an attempt to destroy a plane: detecting and tracking it, aiming a missile and guiding its chase of the aircraft, and determining when to detonate the warhead.

Because last summer's problem involved only one narrow band of

radar frequencies, they said, an enemy could not have used it to accomplish all those tasks.

But, in a rare public airing of an internal dispute, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney authorized spokesman Pete Williams at that time to say that the flaw was a "major problem." Yesterday, Williams introduced Rice at a news briefing with a strong note of endorsement: "Secretary Cheney is confident that the B-2 program is well on track."

Because the B-2 program is highly classified and "compartmented," neither the seriousness of last year's problem nor the efficacy of the fix announced yesterday can be assessed independently.

Congressional vote-counters said this year's Senate vote, which could come as soon as today, is too close to call. Last year's bill passed, 51 to 48, but Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) has since switched sides.

Levin has expressed outrage at an Air Force decision to shield Northrop Corp. from some costs of repairing the B-2's stealth deficiencies, calling it a clear breach of a law he sponsored requiring contractors to provide warranties that put their entire profits at risk.

Rice said yesterday that Northrop is fully responsible for flaws of workmanship but that the Air Force shares responsibility for design errors.

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Postal Service Plans Sweeping Overhaul

Buyout Said to Aim at Trimming 30,000 Jobs

By Shari Rudavsky
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the most dramatic restructuring of the Postal Service in the past 25 years, Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon will announce today a 25 percent cut in managerial positions and a complete overhaul of the service's much-criticized, military-style hierarchy, sources said yesterday.

The changes, which will go into effect over the next three months, aim to reduce next year's projected Postal Service deficit of \$2 billion and to delay by at least a year a stamp rate increase originally scheduled for 1994.

Runyon, who took the job of postmaster general last month, will announce the elimination of 30,000 of the service's 130,000 management jobs, congressional and industry sources said.

The service will offer early retirement to eligible employees as an incentive to leave and offer other employees positions that become vacant. While postal officials plan to

avoid layoffs, industry officials said they may be unavoidable.

The move won praise yesterday from some of the service's harshest critics, from union leaders to industry representatives. "At first blush this looks to be very good and very necessary," said Art Sackler, managing director of the Mailers Council, a coalition of business mailers. "Pushing people down and out and reorganizing positions is something people have called for a very long time."

Known as "Carvin' Marvin" in his former job as chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Runyon has said he wants to make the Postal Service more competitive and trim its bloated management. The plans will replace the Postal Service's 73 regional divisions with what one industry insider called a "two-pronged line structure."

Runyon's strategy is to reorganize the service on a corporate model rather than the military model, in which employees have to

See POSTAL, A5, Col. 1

Postal Service to Announce Major Overhaul

POSTAL, From A1

Follow strict rules and work within a rigid chain of command.

Mirroring a corporate model, the new organization will divide the post office into two divisions, a distribution and processing side and a customer services side, industry sources said. The first division will oversee the moving of mail while the customer services side will handle retail and business mail and express mail delivery, where the Post Office faces the greatest competition from private mail delivery firms.

In addition, the service's 42 top positions will be cut back to 24 and the word "general" removed from officers' titles. Only Runyon and the deputy postmaster general will retain their titles. Other officers will be called vice presidents with one executive vice president, known as chief operating officer, under the deputy postmaster general, congressional and industry sources said.

"It's eminently wise and very long overdue," said John Crutcher, postal rate commissioner. "The insiders in the postal establishment have complained for years that the administrative structure of the Postal Service is overburdened with a lot of unnecessary bodies."

One of the nation's largest employers, the Postal

Service has 748,961 employees, more than the U.S. Army. There are 24,000 employees in the Washington area, and it is unclear how many of those the changes will affect. About 2,400 work in Postal Service headquarters at L'Enfant Plaza, which is likely to be hit hardest by the reductions.

Each day the Postal Service handles an estimated 540 million pieces of mail, which are shipped to about 92 million households and more than 7 million businesses.

Runyon is scheduled to announce the changes today at 1 p.m. on Postal Service Television Network, which is available to workers throughout the service's 40,000 post offices via satellite, and at a press briefing after the broadcast.

Runyon is expected to announce a second phase of reorganization of the service's unionized blue-collar workers sometime soon, congressional and industry sources said.

Union officials said yesterday they do not know what Runyon's plans for their workers will be, but welcomed the managerial cuts. Tom Fahey, spokesman for the American Postal Workers Union, said the reductions go a long way towards decreasing the service's 6 to 1 employee-to-supervisor ratio. "There's too much fat. There's too much bureaucracy," he said.

"It's a very good step to try to orient this business less as a hierarchy and a lot more as a business."

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Executive Branch Gets Standardized Ethics Code

Question of Professional Memberships Unresolved

By Shari Rudavsky
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. Office of Government Ethics yesterday released its new standards of ethical conduct for federal workers, but put off a conclusive decision on one of the most controversial ethical questions—whether federal employees should belong to professional organizations.

The ethics office regulations dovetailed the congressional ban on honoraria for speaking, teaching and writing, another area of contention. Ethics office officials said that decision may be reviewed and amended if the congressional ban is declared unconstitutional.

Government ethics office director Stephen D. Potts said that because the office opposed the ban for federal workers, the regulations attempt to "restrict its impact as much as possible."

Running 300 manuscript pages, about 40 pages in today's Federal Register, the regulations establish uniform standards of conduct for approximately 2.1 million federal employees in the executive branch and in the armed forces, other than enlisted personnel. The rules cover seven areas: gifts from outside sources, gifts between federal employees, conflicting financial interests, impartiality in performing official duties, seeking other employment, misuse of position and outside activities.

They detail proper procedures for everything from accepting unsolicited gifts—only those worth \$20 or less, totaling no more than \$50—to prohibiting certain types of financial holdings that conflict with the employee's job.

"For the past 26 years, employees of the executive branch have been governed by a jumble of differing and sometimes conflicting conduct regulations," Potts said. The final regulations, "will give all executive branch employees one source of written guidance for ethics questions that arise because of federal service."

He added: "Our objective was to be reasonable, to establish a tone

that will convey itself to the public, to combat this feeling that you can't trust the government."

While some on Capitol Hill yesterday welcomed the regulations federal employee union officials said the regulations went too far in restricting employees' freedoms.

"These regulations place unnecessary further restrictions on the First Amendment rights of federal workers," said Diane Witiak, spokeswoman for the American Federation of Government Employees, referring to the ban on speaking, teaching and writing.

Witiak added that in issuing government-wide regulations the government ethics office did not recognize how agencies might differ.

Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) praised the new standards, and said they are "long overdue." In a statement released yesterday, he said, "At a time when the public's confidence in its government seems to be at an all-time low, these guidelines hopefully will contribute to rebuilding trust."

Employees will receive training on the regulations, which are scheduled to go into effect in six months. Potts said about half of the regulations published in today's Federal Register offer hypothetical examples of ethical questions to help employees understand the rules.

The regulations stem from a July 1991 order by President Bush to develop a government-wide code of ethics for all federal workers, rather than allowing each agency to write its own standards.

Potts said yesterday that the ethics office was postponing action on rules governing federal employees participation in professional organizations.

He said that while some have charged that federal workers belonging to professional organizations face a potential conflict of interest, the ethics office feels it "is extremely important for the federal workforce to be out there participating in professional organizations." Potts also said at yesterday's news conference, the ethics office is considering dropping the regulation.

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North American Trade Talks Near Conclusion

An Agreement Seems Imminent, Sources Say

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

After a marathon nine days of high-level negotiations, the United States, Mexico and Canada yesterday stood on the verge of concluding a continent-wide free trade agreement—possibly soon enough for a White House announcement today.

Bush administration, congressional and industry sources reported yesterday that trade ministers from the three countries were working to clear away some of the most difficult and politically charged issues that had bedeviled negotiators throughout the week. The talks are taking place over three floors of the Watergate Hotel, with U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills heading the American side.

Although the talks picked up momentum



CARLA A. HILLS
... heading U.S. delegation

Wednesday and yesterday, sources close to the negotiations said the talks had bogged down Tuesday over Canadian demands for a special exemption on clothing trade.

The aim of the North American Free Trade Agreement, known as NAFTA, is to erase tariffs and other barriers to the movement of products, services and money among the three countries. Because of the political and economic sensitivity of ending some trade barriers, the

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North American Trade Talks Near Conclusion

TRADE, From F1

transition could take as long as 15 years for some products.

The issues remaining yesterday concerned the length of time that duties would remain on some products; the amount of North American content that will be required for cars in order to receive duty-free treatment; the elimination of restrictions on cross-border investment; and an opening of government purchases in all three countries, including Mexico's public-owned oil company, Pemex, to companies throughout the hemisphere.

President Bush has made NAFTA a centerpiece of his reelection campaign, arguing during a Monday appearance in Dalton, Ga., that increased exports to Mexico because of the trade pact will add 300,000 new U.S. jobs by 1995.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton also supports NAFTA, but he along with House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) complained last week that so far the trade

pact has failed to satisfactorily address environmental questions and the problems of U.S. workers who lose their jobs to cheaper Mexican labor.

Any trade agreement must be ratified by Congress, but that will not occur until next year. With an agreement expected shortly, a completed text likely will be presented to Congress in a month, after the House and Senate return from the Labor Day recess. Congress then has 90 days to work with the administration to draft the legislation that will put the trade pact into effect and 90 legislative days—which could stretch over eight months—to vote on the agreement.

Congressional passage could be tough, with the opposition led by organized labor, which fears a further loss of jobs to Mexico, and by industrial and farm groups that face increased competition from Mexico because of free trade.

The political opposition in Canada is even greater and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is trying to rally support by arguing that the agreement will im-

prove on the 3½-year-old U.S.-Canada free-trade accord.

U.S. and Mexican sources said this Canadian political imperative is creating much of the last-minute friction in the NAFTA talks. On the auto question, for example, sources said the United States and Mexico agreed to a 65 percent North American content requirement to prevent countries such as Japan from establishing plants in Mexico that would just assemble cars from imported parts for sale in the United States.

But Canada, which has lured Japanese auto assembly plants with the promise of easy access to the U.S. market, wants a lower North American requirement.

On the textile question, the United States and Mexico have agreed that clothing made from fabric and yarn coming from North America qualifies for duty-free treatment. But Canada, with a thriving industry that makes suits from imported wool for sale in the United States, fought and gained a lesser content requirement.

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Heavy Combat Continues Around Sarajevo as Muslim Forces Attempt Breakout

By Tony Smith
Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, Aug. 6—Serb militia units used multi-barrel rocket launchers and other long-range weapons today to pound a town outside Sarajevo where Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led defense forces are believed to be stockpiling weapons for a drive to break the four-month-old Serb encirclement of the city.

About 8,000 Bosnian government militiamen in Sarajevo launched an offensive against surrounding Serb forces several days ago but were met with determined resistance from about 5,000 Serbs, who

are vastly better armed and who have the advantage of holding the high ground around the city.

Analysts here said the outgunned Muslims apparently had hoped to coordinate the breakout attempt with an attack from the town of Visoko, about 12 miles west of Sarajevo behind Serb lines, and had been accumulating heavy weapons there for the push.

It was not clear what effect the Serb shelling of Visoko today would have on the breakthrough effort, but military observers here said it is unlikely in any event that Bosnian government forces have sufficient firepower to cut a corridor through the Serb forces.

Nevertheless, Bosnian defense officials claimed they had cut a Serb supply route to artillery positions around the city from the Serb-held town of Pale, 10 miles east of Sarajevo, and that they had captured part of the Serb-held Sarajevo suburb of Ilidza. Serb militia commanders denied both claims.

Sarajevo airport was again caught in the cross-fire between Muslim and Serb forces, and U.N. officials said it was unclear when it would reopen to humanitarian aid flights for the city's 300,000 besieged civilians. They said mortar rounds also fell near the headquarters of the U.N.

mission in central Sarajevo. There were no reports of casualties at either site.

Scores of combatants and civilians have died in the recent fighting, and today Bosnian government officials raised the number of confirmed casualties in the factional war to more than 8,200 dead and 35,000 wounded.

The conflict has also created nearly 1.5 million refugees, mostly Slavic Muslims left homeless by the Serb forces' practice of expelling all non-Serbs from territory they control. On Wednesday, about 300 women, old men and children were forced to walk through the no man's land between warring sides to reach Sarajevo af-

ter they were driven from their home village by Serb militiamen.

The refugees said the Serbs took them by bus from Rogatica, 55 miles east of here, and ordered them to walk the last five miles across the front lines. "They told me to get out and crawl," said Bajro Misic, who lost his legs in an accident 10 years ago and arrived here with one artificial limb. He raised his hands to reveal palms bloodied from crawling along mountain roads.

The refugees arrived just before curfew Wednesday night as Serb mortars began pounding Sarajevo's Muslim neighborhoods.

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Bush Shifts Toward Force to Aid Bosnia

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush yesterday denounced the "vile policy of ethnic cleansing" practiced by Serbs in the former Yugoslav republics and announced measures to penalize Serbia and deliver humanitarian aid, protected by military force if needed, to victims of the inter-ethnic fighting.

Bush's statement in Colorado, as he ended a two-day campaign swing, responded to swiftly growing public and political pressure for action against atrocities reported from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Shortly before the presidential statement, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee passed a nonbinding resolution calling for some of the steps that Bush announced.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, who called for U.S. action on each of the previous

two days—for the first time getting ahead of Bush on a foreign policy question—praised Bush's statement as a step in the right direction.

Bush cautioned that the "complex, convoluted conflict that grows out of age-old animosities" will not be easily or quickly ended, and declared, "I'm hoping that we will not have to use force" in the drive toward containing its effects.

He announced, nonetheless, that the United States is seeking quick passage of a U.N. Security Council resolution authorizing "all necessary measures," including possible use of force, to facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistance, now blocked, to the besieged people of Bosnia.

Bush suggested he anticipates involvement of American forces, promising to do all in his power to protect the lives of any U.S. ser-

See BALKANS, A18, Col. 5

BALKANS, From A1

vice personnel in the humanitarian operation.

A White House official expressed confidence that the United Nations will go along with Bush's proposal, especially in view of the recent suspension of air deliveries of food and medical supplies through the Sarajevo airport and overland through Bosnian territory due to an upsurge in fighting. However, U.N. sources said passage of the U.S. proposal is uncertain due to the qualms of several nations about participation in military activity in the murderous climate of the Balkans.

A number of nonaligned nations view the Bosnian conflict as an internal matter outside the scope of U.N. activity, especially if it involves use of force. Furthermore, some delegations fear that U.N. troops already in Croatia and Serbia could be taken hostage or come under attack from vengeful Serb fighters if force is used by other U.N.-sponsored elements.

British Prime Minister John Major, in a letter to a political critic released in London, rejected use of force to end the fighting, saying it would pose "disproportionate risk to the lives of civilians and our armed forces." A British diplomat said, however, that Major had not ruled out supporting the U.S. plan for using force, if necessary, to protect humanitarian supplies, although London is seeking changes in the wording of the U.S. proposal.

"To truly end the humanitarian nightmare we must stop ethnic cleansing [the policy espoused by some Serbs to eliminate Croats and Slavic Muslims in their midst] and open any and all detention camps to international inspection," said Bush in recognition of charges that torture and massacres have been taking place in Serb-run camps.

While reporting that "we know that there is horror in these detention camps," Bush said he cannot confirm "on hard evidence" that genocide is being practiced there.

Bush said he has ordered U.S. intelligence agencies "to use every asset available" to find out what is happening in what he called "these concentration camps." Until now, Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams told reporters, "we do not see any evidence of a program of systematic or massive killing of innocent people by any of the parties to the fighting."

Bush's order to U.S. intelligence agencies and insistence that the

camps be open for inspection fell well short of the demand by Clinton and some members of Congress that force be used, if necessary, to open the camps and stop any atrocities that are taking place.

A White House official, expressing skepticism about the demands for forceful action, wondered aloud what its advocates have in mind: "To destroy the camp in order to save it? To bomb Belgrade?" Such actions, the official suggested, would pose dangers of U.S. involvement in wider conflict without necessarily being effective.

Bush moved to penalize Serbia, which the administration holds primarily responsible for the fighting, by announcing the United States will establish full diplomatic relations with "the legitimate governments of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina," other states emerging from the former Yugoslav republic, while seeking at the same time to "isolate Serbia economically and politically." The United States had granted diplomatic recognition to the other three states in mid-April but, until now, has not exchanged ambassadors or established embassies.

Bush called for tightening the economic sanctions that have been imposed on Serbia by the U.N. Security Council as "a real price to be paid for the Serbian government's continued aggression." He also called for placing international monitors in areas of the former Yugoslav republics that are not yet involved in the fighting and in neighboring states such as Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece to prevent spread of the conflict.

Bush's statement, delivered at Peterson Air Force Base in Colorado Springs, was cast as a report on the continuation of "an integrated strategy" which he said the administration has been pursuing for some time to defuse and contain the conflict in the Balkans. Officials said the statement and some of the measures announced in it were devised by national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger in a round of conversations yesterday morning, apparently in reaction to the intensified public and political furor prompted by atrocity reports.

Staff writers Bart Gellman in Washington and Eugene Robinson in London contributed to this report; special correspondent Trevor Rowe contributed from the United Nations.

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The Yugoslav Gulag

Days in the Life of Bosnian Inmates

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

ZENICA, Bosnia—The bus bringing Atif Ahmedzajic to the Serb-run detention camp at Omarska had just begun disgorging Slavic Muslim prisoners when the guards began shooting.

"Right there before my eyes, they shot dead three men. For the first one of them, I am sure they shot him 300 times," said the 51-year-old stone mason.

Before she was taken to the camp at Trnopolje, Semira Mejdanac, 21, said she was ordered to burn down her own house and 10 other Muslim-owned houses in her hometown of Kozarac.

"One of them was holding a knife to my throat all the time. They gave me some matches and said, 'Burn it.' I said, 'Burn what?' They said to start with the curtains and the furniture covers," said Mejdanac.

A 54-year-old mother of three sons named Muharema Filovic spent 15 days in the camp at Trnopolje and said she watched hooded guards come each night to take away teen-age girls.

"We would hear screams, and after about two hours the girls would be brought back. They were beaten up. While I was there, about 50 girls were raped. The guards were drunk. They were always drunk," said Filovic, who said her husband and sons are still being held in two camps.

These accounts come from lengthy and separate interviews here this week with eight recently released Muslim prisoners, four men and four women, who were held in three Serb-run detention camps in northern Bosnia.

They were released from the camps in June and July and sent by train or bus to Zenica and Travnik, two cities held by Bosnian government forces where about 28,000 homeless Muslims are being put up in schools, gymnasiums and pri-

vate homes. Several thousand of these refugees were prisoners in the camps, and most of them were driven from their villages and towns by Serb militia forces as part of what they call "ethnic cleansing"—the practice of expelling all non-Serbs from territory they control by threat and terror.

The picture that emerges from the interviews is that tens of thousands of Muslim men, women and

children have been or are being held in severely overcrowded, filthy Serb camps where beatings, shootings, gang rape and starvation are part of a daily routine.

None of those interviewed described the camps at Omarska, Trnopolje or Prijedor as death camps where large numbers of prisoners have been murdered or tortured. Nor have Bosnian health

See CAMPS, A18, Col. 1

CAMPS, From A1

workers found widespread evidence of torture among the released prisoners.

It is remarkable, however, that among the thousands of elderly men, women and children who have arrived as refugees here in Zenica and nearby Travnik, there are almost no young or middle-aged men. Refugees here say they believe their husbands, sons and brothers are either still in the camps or are dead.

The refugees' accounts—and thousands like them in recent months—could not be independently confirmed. One of the camps, Omarska, was visited yesterday for the first time by a group of Western journalists, but they said they were denied access to parts of the camp and could speak only to prisoners selected by their Serb guides.

The detention camps appear to be operated, to a large degree, by local Serbs from northern Bosnia. In the interviews, former prisoners gave consistent accounts of how they were ordered from their homes by Serbs they knew or recognized. They said they had drunk coffee with many of these men and had regarded them as friends. These Serb neighbors looted or burned their homes, former prisoners said, and hauled away their livestock and farm machinery.

They said they traveled in buses or in wagons pulled by tractors to the camps, which were hurriedly set up in school buildings and on factory grounds in mid-May, not long after full-scale factional fighting broke out here.

The roundup of Muslims in northern Bosnia, according to U.N. officials, coincided with a successful Serb militia offensive to punch a road corridor through the area to link Serb-held territory in Croatia by road and rail to neighboring Serbia, which has powerfully supported Serb insurgents in both Bosnia and Croatia.

The corridor is probably the single most important piece of evidence supporting Croatian and Bosnian claims that the Serbian government of President Slobodan Milosevic and allied Serb leaders in Bosnia and Croatia are carving a "Greater Serbia" out of the independent states that emerged from the ruins of the old Yugoslav federation.

While the number of Serb-run detention camps in Bosnia increased in number and size in May, June and early July, relief officials say their attention and that of the world was focused on Western attempts to open Sarajevo's airport to humanitarian aid flights and break the siege of the Bosnian capital. The highly publicized events in Sarajevo, relief officials say, served as a smoke screen for the creation of the detention camps in northern Bosnia.

When they arrived at the camps, former prisoners said, they were robbed of all their cash and jewelry, even their wedding rings. They said they were questioned individually by teams of interrogators whose tools were sticks and clubs. Beat-

ings were a part of each interrogation, the former prisoners said.

Omarska is a sprawling iron-mine complex that the Bosnian government says is the largest detention camp in the republic, with as many as 11,000 prisoners. Three former inmates said beatings occurred there regularly at midday as prisoners were forced to run in groups of 30 from their holding pens to a canteen for their one daily meal—a piece of bread and soup.

Many male prisoners at Omarska emerged from individual interrogation sessions covered with blood and unable to walk, former captives said. They said that each day some of these badly beaten men died in their holding pens, which included a truck garage, a group shower stall for mine workers and a cafeteria. These rooms were so crowded that former prisoners said they had to sleep in shifts.

Former prisoners said they saw Serb guards shoot and kill inmates who attempted to escape or who violated a camp rule that forbade looking out windows. Several former inmates described seeing fresh corpses each day in Omarska.

The U.N. Security Council voted unanimously this week to demand that all warring sides in Bosnia open their detention camps for inspection. Bosnian Muslims and Croats claim that the Serbs have 45 detention camps holding at least 70,000 people; Serbs claim about 40,000 of their people are being held in Muslim and Croat camps.

The leader of Bosnia's Serb faction, Radovan Karadzic, denied this week that his men were holding Muslims and Croats, and he invited international groups to come see for themselves. "This all is obviously initiated by Muslim propaganda," Karadzic told news agencies from

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A representative the International Committee of the Red Cross, the agency empowered by the Geneva Convention to inspect prisoner-of-war camps, said here this week that Muslim and Croat forces in this area have granted him access to places where they are holding Serbs. But Eric Mayoraz said he could not, under the rules of the International Red Cross, comment specifically on conditions there. He said, however, that he had received "good cooperation" and that "we could fulfill our mandate."

The Red Cross, however, has not been allowed to go to a number of Serb-run camps, including Omarska, despite an official Serb policy of cooperation. Mayoraz said security problems prevent the visits, and he said Serb militiamen have arrested and stolen the vehicles of Red Cross officials working in northern and eastern Bosnia. The Red Cross pulled out of Bosnia for nearly a month earlier this summer after one of its delegates was killed by Serb gunmen in an ambush of a food convoy in Sarajevo.

The U.S. government appealed this week for an emergency meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission to examine allegations of atrocities at camps in Bosnia.

From looking at and talking to former prisoners in the camps, an

obvious conclusion is that they have been starved. Recent arrivals from Omarska, brought here by train in mid-July, are emaciated.

Dzevad Hadzic, 16, said he lost 23 pounds in the seven weeks he spent at Omarska. He was taken there with his father on May 27 and left on July 15. He said he spent all but a few minutes of each day in a garage that housed between 3,000 and 4,000 men. "There wasn't enough room to sit down. We would try to sleep in the sitting position, taking turns.

"When there was lunch, they would command us to run in groups of 30. When we would enter the canteen, four or five Serbs would stand in the entrance with clubs. As we were running they would beat us. They would mostly hit the older people so they would fall and slow the younger people, and then they would beat us," said Hadzic.

Hadzic said he saw two blood-soaked prisoners die after they came back from interrogation. He said he heard shooting at the camp every day at about 3 p.m. and, each day on his run to lunch, saw "four or five new bodies in a meadow."

"Conditions of hygiene are criminal. There are not enough toilets for the people," said Fatima Bajramovic, a health official in the Muslim

city of Travnik, where about 1,500 released prisoners are now living in a high school.

Most women and children coming out of the camps are infested with lice, and many have an infectious skin disease called scabies, Bajramovic said. She also complained that there was not enough food, medicine or shelter in Travnik or surrounding towns to feed and care for the steady stream of released prisoners from the camps.

Moharema Menkovic, 42, whose husband and two brothers are still at Omarska, said she was taken to Trnopolje camp after she was ordered to bury the body of a young Muslim neighbor. She said the throat of Mustafa Kilic, 22, from her village of Kamicani, was slashed open in front of her by a Serb neighbor wielding a "very large butcher knife."

She told her story at a Travnik primary school where about 40 refugees sleep in each classroom. As she spoke, she broke down in tears and could not catch her breath. She seemed as furious as she was sad, and she kept asking why the West was allowing the camps to exist.

"I apologize," she said, choking on her tears, "but I must ask you where the world is."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Refugee 'Witnessed Massacres Every Day' at the Bridges on the Drina

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

ZENICA, Bosnia—Visegrad, a largely Slavic Muslim city of 22,000 on the Drina River in eastern Bosnia, was overrun by Serb paramilitary units and the Serb-led Yugoslav army on April 14. On that day, one of the Serb militiamen, a man who was drinking plum brandy, was asked by a reporter what was going to happen to Muslim men in the town.

The Serb ran his finger across his throat. Western witnesses were soon chased out of Visegrad, but Suljo Delic, 67, a retired maker of blasting caps who wears a black beret and has a recently broken nose, happened to be in town visiting his son in May when the conquering Serbs began a their "ethnic cleansing" campaign—driving all non-Serbs from territory they occupy by intimidation and brute force.

Delic, now a refugee here, took notes and tried to remember every last detail, but it is impossible to verify the story he tells. Delic said he saw what happened by looking out the window of his son's house, which is in the hills above the Drina, midway between two bridges.

The killings Delic said he witnessed occurred on both bridges. One bridge is new and unremarkable; the other, the bridge of Pasha Mehmet Sokolovic, is world famous. Built 414 years ago by the Ottoman Turks, it is celebrated in the "The Bridge on the Drina," a novel by the Nobel Prize-winning writer Ivo Andric, a Serb.

Blood began dripping from the bridges shortly after May 10, Delic said, after the Yugoslav army withdrew to neighboring Serbia and three Serbia-based paramilitary groups began patrolling the streets. They patrolled in two vans, two small trucks and one large refrigerated meat truck, Delic said. He said one of the trucks had a loud-speaker mounted on top.

"They drove around every day making speeches. They said, 'Loyal citizens of Visegrad, stay on your jobs. You have nothing to fear.' But they would collect people. They would do one street a day. They had a list."

"They took people in their vans and trucks to the bridges. They took them from the trucks and to the railing of the bridges. They forced them to lean forward. Sometimes they would shoot them and sometimes they would cut their throats. They threw them all into the river.

"I witnessed these massacres every day from my son's house. It went on from the 12th of May to the 17th of June. I counted one day, and there were 27 killed. When I saw it the first time, I had that strange feeling you have in your stomach—like butter-

flies or something—that you have when you are really frightened.

"In the middle of June, they came to the street where I was in my son's house. They ordered us out of the house. They said to us to wait in a schoolyard and they would bring the van to drive us out of town.

"Because I have already seen where that van goes, 11 of us started walking toward the Red Cross building to find some help. As we were going, two Chetniks [members of the militia units from Serbia] stopped us . . . They returned us to the schoolyard. They started to interrogate us. One of them hit me in the nose with his fist. My nose started to bleed all over. Then they kicked me with their boots and broke three of my ribs. Then they beat me up with a stick until the stick broke.

"They commanded me and a man who was even older than me to go in front of them and walk toward the bridge. We came in front of the hotel [near the old bridge] where the Chetniks stayed and where they ate.

"We came across the body of an old man with a mutilated head. They commanded us to drag him toward the bridge. As we were

dragging the old one, his skull was falling open and the brain came out.

"We dragged that body to the bridge, and they commanded us to throw it over into the Drina. There were two more bodies on the bridge. They had their throats cut. We were commanded to throw them in the river as well. On one of the bodies, four fingers on the left hand were freshly cut off.

"As I was in poor condition with broken ribs, we struggled. I was breathless. The Chetniks kicked us. We somehow managed to do it. I was all covered in blood.

"When we were walking back from the bridge, we found a piece of brain, some skull with hair on it and some children's shoes. They made us throw it into the Drina."

Delic said he spent that night sleeping outside in the schoolyard. The next day, he said, the local, Serb-controlled Red Cross used trucks and buses to take older people and women from Visegrad to the nearby village of Olovo. From there, he found a bus to Zenica.

Delic says he kept a diary of the atrocities but lost it when he left his son's house. He says, however, that he remembers what he wrote down.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Haitian Refugees With HIV Remain in Limbo as Asylum Claims Stall

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

One in 10 of the HIV-positive Haitian refugees being held at the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, has developed actual or possible AIDS symptoms as the months-long legal battle over their asylum claims drags on.

The 233 Haitians with the virus that causes AIDS, along with 59 of their relatives, are the only refugees remaining at the base, immigration officials said. Although the U.S. Public Health Service does not support quarantines for people with AIDS, Camp Bulkeley has become "a kind of quarantine" for other reasons, said health service spokesman Bill Grigg. "Basically because nobody knows exactly what to do with them," he said.

Although their numbers are small—roughly 36,000 Haitians have been intercepted at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard since a military coup thrust Haiti into violent turmoil last fall—the plight of these HIV-positive Haitians involves clashing provisions of U.S. immigration law and has raised fear among public health officials.

A federal Centers for Disease Control researcher warned in March that Camp Bulkeley, where HIV positive Haitians then

were being segregated from the rest of the refugees, could possibly represent an "indefensible" health situation for the United States. Since then, conditions at the camp have improved, health officials say, adding that none of the Haitians there has died.

All of the Haitians at the camp were given approval to enter the United States based on an initial screening that found their claims for asylum to be plausible, said Duke Austin, an Immigration and Naturalization Services spokesman. Subsequent medical tests revealed them to be HIV positive, and 23 have since developed symptoms of AIDS. Having the virus is among the medical conditions for which immigrants may be legally excluded.

The Haitians are caught in a legal limbo. District and appellate courts have agreed with immigrant rights attorneys that the Haitians have a right to legal representation. But the government has argued that the tentative approval granted for the Haitians to enter the United States did not confer on them such constitutional protections.

The government has until late October to appeal the case to the Supreme Court. The government could ask the high court to decide the issue at the same time that justices consider arguments on why the United States should be allowed to interdict Haitians at sea and repatriate them without

making a determination about their asylum claims.

With the legal issues still unresolved, immigration processing of the HIV-positive Haitians at Camp Bulkeley has ground to a halt, and attorneys are barred from the camp.

Michael Ratner, a Center for Constitutional Rights attorney who is representing the Haitians, characterized the government's response to the court order this

Camp Bulkeley at the Guantanamo Bay naval base has become "a kind of quarantine."

Bill Grigg,
U.S. health service spokesman

way: "The government's said, 'Okay, you guys. If we need to process these guys with an attorney, we're just not gonna process them. We'll leave them on Guantanamo.'"

As Haitians flooded into Guantanamo after being picked up at sea by the U.S. Coast Guard since last fall, public health officials expressed concerns about the conditions under which the refugees were being held,

particularly those found to have HIV. Initially the Haitians were housed in crowded tents, and sanitation facilities were poor.

James O. Mason, head of the U.S. Public Health Service, wrote to INS Commissioner Gene McNary March 25 to "strongly recommend" several steps to strengthen the health care provisions at the camp. Among the recommendations were day-to-day surveillance of the Haitians' health status, especially for tuberculosis, which is highly infectious; prompt, 24-hour-a-day care for "all acutely ill migrants"; continued AIDS counseling and education; and the distribution of condoms.

Grigg said health service officials have been satisfied with the response to their concerns. One public health official said the Haitians at Guantanamo are receiving better care at Bulkeley than they would get at health clinics in the United States, and far better than in their homeland.

The Haitians are being cared for by 27 defense department medical personnel at an 11-bed Navy hospital, Grigg said. They are receiving medication to prevent tuberculosis and other infections, as well as AIDS-fighting medications such as AZT, according to Grigg.

Earlier this summer, as the season of heavy rain and hurricanes approached, the Haitians were moved out of tents and into newly erected wooden buildings, according

to Lt. Cmdr Gordon Hume, a spokesman for the Navy's Atlantic Fleet, which is part of the military task force responsible for the camp. Hume said more shower stalls and wash basins had been installed to improve the sanitation facilities at the camp.

Judy Rabinovitz, an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union, which also is involved in the Haitians' litigation, said she is concerned that the government's immigration policies and the conditions under which they are being held at the camp have put the Haitians at unnecessary risk.

"It's just completely outrageous," Rabinovitz said. "There's no reason for the United States to be keeping those people there. There can be no pretense that this can be to the public health benefit of the United States to keep [233] people outside."

Although the Haitians are medically excludable, Austin said the government's first standard in determining their fate is whether the immigrants would face political persecution if they were returned home.

That doesn't mean, however, "that the only response to that is to bring them to the United States," Austin added.

Asked if that meant the Haitians would be sent to some third country or continue to be held at Guantanamo, Austin said, "The administration has never made any public statements as to what the disposition of these people will be."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Bush Warns Baghdad After New Threat to Bar U.N. Inspectors

INSPECTION, From A1

accepted at the end of last year's Persian Gulf War, the United Nations is charged with finding and destroying Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and the equipment for manufacturing them.

"We reject categorically visits to the headquarters of ministries because the aim . . . is to hurt Iraq's sovereignty and independence," Hammadi told reporters, according to a Reuters account from Baghdad. He said, however, that "as far as other places, the inspection teams can visit any place in the country."

His remarks were also reported, in paraphrased form, by the official Iraqi news agency.

Bush's remarks yesterday to reporters, which came during a campaign stop in Colorado Springs, were supplemented in Washington by Defense Department spokesman Pete Williams.

In a blunt warning, Williams said "the Iraqis need to submit to U.N. inspections wherever and whenever the U.N. wants to visit somewhere, whether it's a ministry building or a library building, or anything else." He said the U.N. resolutions authorizing such access are "clear."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said he was unsure whether to take seriously the statement by Iraq's minister of culture. Fitzwater said it is unclear whether Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is "just . . . trying to impress some-

body in his own country, or really intends to carry this out."

Fitzwater declined to speculate on what action the United States and its allies might take to enforce Iraqi compliance with the U.N. resolutions, but he reiterated previous warnings that "all options are open to us" including military action.

If Iraq resists the forthcoming inspections, officials said that contingency plans call for the U.N. Special Commission on Iraq to seek an immediate denunciation of Iraq by the U.N. Security Council. This would be followed if necessary by allied bombing of Iraqi military targets that have already been identified, the officials said. Whether the inspection team would be withdrawn from Iraq before the bomb-

ing campaign has not been decided, the officials said.

A U.S. defense official said Washington was not moving additional military equipment into the region in anticipation of any trouble. More than 5,000 U.S. Marines and Army troops are conducting amphibious landing and "live-fire" exercises south of Iraq in Kuwait, and more than 40 warships—including two aircraft carriers—are stationed within reach of Iraq.

Swedish Ambassador Rolf Ekeus, chairman of the U.N. Special Commission, has said he received assurances from Iraq's deputy prime minister after the disputed Agriculture Ministry inspection that Baghdad would comply fully with future inspection requests "provided due re-

gard is given to Iraq's concern for its security, sovereignty and dignity."

Officials noted yesterday that despite Iraq's insistence last month on excluding from the team that entered the Agriculture Ministry any inspectors from nations that participated in the gulf war, the new inspection team includes a handful of experts from the United States as well as several from France and Britain.

The team is chaired by Nikita Smidovich, a 39-year-old political affairs officer on the U.N. Special Commission who previously represented the Soviet foreign ministry in international negotiations to eliminate chemical and germ weapons. His deputy is a German, according to U.N. officials.

Bush Warns Baghdad on Inspections

President Vows to Aid
U.N. Enforcement as
Iraq Renews Threat

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

A new Iraqi threat to bar future United Nations inspections of government ministry headquarters provoked a swift response yesterday by President Bush, who said "we will help guarantee" U.N. access to the buildings as needed.

Bush's remarks came only a few hours after the Iraqi minister of culture was reported telling a Baghdad news conference that Iraq believes such inspections are unacceptable violations of its sovereignty.

U.S. officials said they decided to rebut the claim immediately as a signal of resolve to move more rapidly to support the U.N. inspection effort than the administration did last month.

At that time, Iraq was able to fend off a U.N. inspection of its Agriculture Ministry for three weeks before capitulating in the face of military threats by Western powers, prompting criticism from Democratic legislators and others that the Bush administration reacted too slowly.

U.S. officials said they viewed the statement by Iraqi Minister of Culture Hamed Youssef Hammadi with particular concern because a 26-member U.N. team is slated to arrive in Baghdad today for a week-long inspection beginning Saturday morning.

U.S. and U.N. officials said the inspection team intends to demand access to a range of Iraqi buildings, possibly including a government ministry building, that are suspected of harboring information or equipment related to Iraqi missiles and efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction.

"This is an inspection to discover things that we have reason to believe have not been declared to us," said one official on condition that he not be identified.

Under cease-fire resolutions Iraq

See INSPECTION, A15, Col. 1

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

OPPOSITION, From A16

age infighting and prevent future stability in Iraq. Syria is said to oppose any participation by the Vienna group in the planned Saudi gathering, while Iran reportedly is lukewarm toward the idea.

Syrian military officers have been meeting with Iraqi counterparts on the Iraqi-Syrian border near Deir Zor, according to Iraqi sources, but they said that, despite all its efforts, "Syria cannot influence Iraqi politics as much as it likes."

Bayan Jaber, the representative here of the Supreme Islamic Revolutionary Council of Iraq, said the United States, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iran all have different outlooks on the Iraqi crisis.

"It is not easy for us, and we have suffered a lot because of this," Jaber said in an

interview. "We need international and western backing which the Vienna Conference has and we also need regional support."

"We did not attend but we did not stand against Vienna," Jaber added. "But whoever wants to liberate his country cannot do it by remote control, hundreds of thousands of miles away."

"We who have fighters and mujaheddin inside Iraq need regional support because we need those countries' borders to be open to us to get arms, food and medicine in," Jaber said.

"But at the same time," he added, "we need international backing and protection to prevent Saddam from using fixed-wing planes and helicopters against our people."

The issue of American support for a such a "safe haven" in southern Iraq to protect the Shiite Muslim insurgents there was raised by the Iraqi opposition delegation that visited Washington last week.

The opposition leaders were told the Bush administration is giving the idea "serious consideration," according to Salih.

Iraqi Front Moves Toward Cooperation With U.S.

Plan by Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran for a Rival Opposition Group Is Seen Foundering

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Foreign Service

DAMASCUS, Syria—A coalition of Iraqi opposition groups seems to be moving toward closer cooperation with the United States following a visit to Washington last month by its top leaders, while plans of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iran for a regional rival opposition front have apparently collapsed, according to Iraqi dissident sources here and in Washington.

A six-man Iraqi delegation, led by Kurdish leaders Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani and including Shiite and Sunni Muslims, came away

without any firm pledges from the Bush administration for military and financial support, but with promises of protection.

"We have been assured that protection for the opposition will be maintained," said Barham Salih, the Washington spokesman for Talabani.

Meetings with Secretary of States James A. Baker III and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft boosted the prestige of the coalition in the often-fractious world of Iraqi exile politics. The team that visited Washington comes from a loose coalition of opposition groups that held its first

conference in Vienna two months ago.

In their meetings with Bush administration officials, the Iraqi delegation argued that the United States should stop waiting for a quick "palace coup" against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and instead should begin developing a longer-term strategy to topple him, modeled on the successful covert support for the Afghan *mujaheddin*.

Salih said discussions continued in Washington this week toward arranging further cooperation between the opposition groups and the United States.

Members of the "Vienna Group," as the coalition that met there is called, argued that resistance to the Baghdad regime could begin in the "liberated area" of Iraqi Kurdistan, which is protected by an allied air umbrella from attack by Saddam's forces.

The intelligence chiefs of Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iran had planned to meet late last month in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to form their own opposition front and coordinate strategy on Iraq's post-Saddam future. But the meeting was called off at the last minute, Iraqi and Persian Gulf sources said.

Shiite and leftist Iraqi dissidents

said the Syrian-Iranian-Saudi project collapsed because of disagreement over how to distribute the proposed front's political and military authority among various Iraqi groups. Syria has wanted a wider role for Iraqi leftist figures and Baathists who are now residing here, while Saudi Arabia and Iran have preferred to limit the influence of that group, one ambassador from a Persian Gulf country said here.

At a meeting of the Saudi, Syrian and Iranian intelligence chiefs in Tehran on June 28, it was agreed that the conference would include 240 personalities or prominent Iraqi figures in the diaspora who would be named by a group of experts.

An additional 60 seats would remain to be filled from inside Iraq, when and if the present regime collapses. But a proposed congress to be held in Saudi Arabia to launch

this effort now seems to have been put on hold.

A sign that the Saudis may be shifting their support to the Vienna group came when the Barzani-Talabani delegation met last week with the Saudi ambassador to Washington, Prince Bandar bin Sultan.

"He was very, very positive," said an Iraqi source who was at the meeting.

Bandar is said to have warned the group, however, that the head of the Saudi intelligence service, Prince Turki bin Faisal, was not persuaded by the Vienna group's strategy.

Shiite Muslim dissidents and gulf diplomats here said Turki has favored building an opposition coalition around prominent individuals rather than the existing opposition parties because he fears an important role for parties would encourage

See OPPOSITION, A17, Col. 1

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Post-Cold War Overhaul of Foreign Service Is Urged

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. Foreign Service corps must reinvent itself and produce a new generation of diplomats trained to look beyond traditional, country-to-country relations and view foreign policy in terms of transnational issues like economics and the environment.

That is the conclusion of a report, "The Foreign Service in 2001," prepared by Georgetown University's

IDEAS AND FINDINGS

Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and diplomats, members of Congress, academics and businessmen.

"For the past 60 years, U.S. foreign policy has been characterized primarily by resistance first to fascist and then to communist expansionism," the report said. "These two battles have been largely won. There is no historic precedent for the present period in which an activist, engaged United States is the dominant player in a [relatively] peaceful world."

Other federal agencies that fought the Cold War, notably the Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency, have begun to redefine their roles, noted the report released today. It characterized the Foreign Service's slow reaction to change as "less a crisis than a disappointment."

To overcome that problem, the report continued, the State Department and other agencies where the Foreign Service has a presence—the Agency for International Development, the U.S. Information Agency and the Commerce and Agriculture departments—must start thinking in terms that go beyond traditional duties such as stamping passports, negotiating treaties and keeping Washington abreast of political developments.

Multilateral diplomacy will increasingly eclipse bilateral diplomacy, the report said, noting that the most prominent items on the U.S. foreign policy agenda increasingly given to matters of trade and international monetary policy, control of narcotics-trafficking and terrorism and ecological cooperation. Increasingly, the report contin-

To carry out this new diplomacy, the report said, the Foreign Service must recruit officers with academic training different from what was valued in the past. It also must have people, who while possessing the requisite language and area expertise, are generalists able to handle the diverse demands of a "lean and mean" Foreign Service.

The report stressed that the Foreign Service must change its recruitment and personnel management practices and search for talent in areas previously considered off-limits.

used, the arenas for dealing with these issues most effectively are proving to be not the capitals of individual states but joint actions through a "reinvigorated United Nations Security Council" or such regional groupings as the European Community, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the Organization of American States.

Even the old-fashioned diplomatic practice of dealing with countries on a one-on-one basis needs new emphasis, as was made clear when the United States opened about 20 new embassies within two years to

deal with the breakup of the former Soviet Union.

"Most Foreign Service officers will spend most of their careers at posts other than the 'Top Twenty,' such as Paris, London, Ottawa and Tokyo." Instead they will be in more small, "storefront" embassies with skeleton staffs, the report predicted. However, because business, the media and other branches of the government will rely heavily on expertise in these outposts, the report added, "where the service's greatest contributions are more likely to be made."

Asserting that the Foreign Service must reflect American society, the report says that the service not only must do far more to recruit women and minorities but also "must address the needs of two-career families, single parents, alternate lifestyles, those with disabilities and others to allow the service the luxury of choosing the most-talented candidates from the widest possible range."

It says that the Foreign Service can no longer rely exclusively for personnel on the "closed, bottom-entry system," borrowed from the military, where new members begin as junior officers and rise rung-by-rung through the ranks toward ambassador level over a 20- to 30-year career.

It added that the Foreign Service should open doors at all levels to individuals who have worked in business or universities. Such "lateral entries" might last for a short time or mark a permanent career change.

The report recommends eliminating regulations and pension differences that hamper shifts between the Foreign and Civil services. Foreign Service officers who resign to follow other career paths but who might later want to return could then do so, and use the skills they have acquired elsewhere.

The report also called for the service to find ways to offer "meaningful employment" in overseas posts to spouses of Foreign Service officers.

Finally, the report pinpointed a need to streamline the top-heavy executive structure of the State Department. It offered several ways to do that: by eliminating layers of authority and consolidating bureaus with overlapping functions, for example, merging human rights with refugee affairs and narcotics matters with counter-terrorism.

"We believe the Foreign Service can meet the new challenges," the report concluded. "Precisely because of the difficulties of the work, the Foreign Service should continue to attract top-notch Americans looking for challenging and rewarding careers."

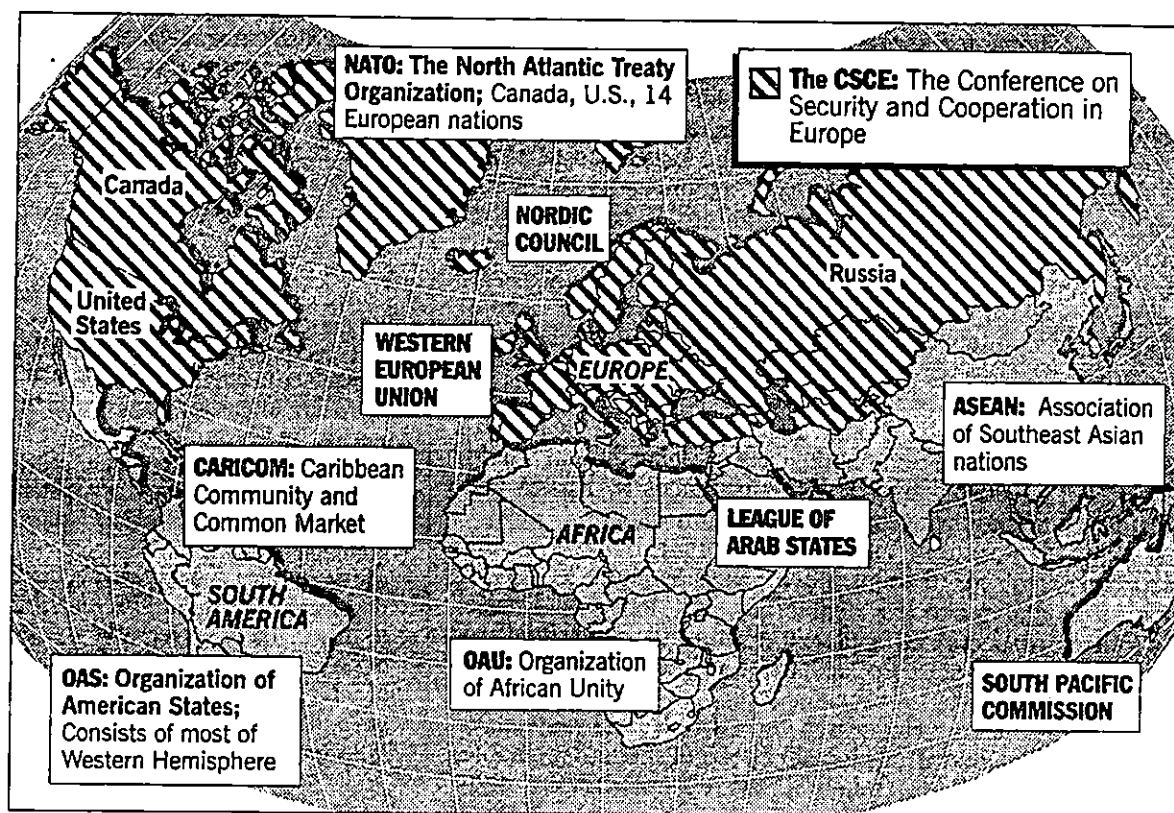
"Conditions are ideal for the service to enjoy its finest hour, if it is willing to perform at the new state of the art."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

A NEW DIPLOMACY

STUDY RECOMMENDS DEALING WITH MULTINATIONAL GROUPS. . . .



SOURCE: Europa Yearbook, 1992

. . . . AND EMPLOYING A MORE DIVERSE CORPS THAT BETTER REFLECTS AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOREIGN SERVICE GENERALISTS (1991)

Total Number:	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian American/ Pacific Islander		American Indian/ Alaska Native	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5,022	66.1%	21.1%	3.4%	2%	3.2%	0.9%	1.8%	0.8%	0.3%	0.2%

FOREIGN SERVICE SPECIALISTS (1991)

3,758	56.2%	31.8%	2.8%	2.4%	2%	1.7%	0.9%	1%	0.4%	0.2%
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SOURCE: State Department

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

TALKING POINTS

Ex-House Member, An Abscam Convict, To Work for Libya

More than a decade after being convicted for accepting illegal gratuities from FBI agents disguised as wealthy Arabs, former House member John M. Murphy (D-N.Y.) has been hired to polish the image of a longtime Arab adversary of the United States—Libya.

Murphy, a Middle Eastern affairs expert and 18-year member of Congress, registered in June as a foreign agent with the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

His filing indicates that his firm, Manhattan-based GBM Consultancy Ltd., has struck a \$200,000 agreement with Hassan Tatanaki, a Libyan national living in Cairo, to boost Libya's image in the United States.

"Tatanaki's business is the oil business, and his oil business has been affected by the embargo between the U.S. and Libya," said John M. Murphy Jr., a Staten Island attorney and son of the former congressman.

Joining Murphy in GBM Consultancy Ltd. is former Rep. David R. Bowen (D-Miss.), who heads the pro-Arab Council for the National Interest in Washington, and public relations consultant Albert Grasselli. Murphy apparently is piloting the Libyan project.

"Jack is sort of the leader," said Grasselli, a longtime friend of Murphy's who was vice president of Rockwell International for 24 years.

Murphy lost his House seat after video cameras caught him taking an illegal gratuity as part of the Abscam sting in 1980, which also targeted five other House members and a senator.

Running for reelection while under indictment, Murphy lost in November 1980 to Guy V. Molinari, the current Staten Island borough president whose daughter, Susan Molinari, won the seat in 1990.

According to Grasselli, the first step in Murphy's plan to boost Libya's image would be the release of the two Libyans suspected of masterminding the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. The deadline for reassessment—and possible strengthening—of the U.N. embargo against Libya is Aug. 15.

BLM Official Quits

■ Dean Stepanek, a senior career employee with the Bureau of Land Management who is under investigation by the Justice Department for possible misuse of government funds, has resigned his post.

Stepanek, the second-ranking official at the BLM, had been on administrative leave following completion of an inspector general's report into allegations that he improperly used government funds to visit and telephone a Russian woman. The results of the IG investigation have been turned over to Justice.

Interior Department officials said Stepanek was able to take advantage of an early retirement plan that the BLM is making available to employees as part of an internal reorganization. As part of the agreement, Stepanek will repay the government about \$7,000, the officials said. His resignation became effective last Tuesday.

From Congress to MTV

■ Deborah H. Johns, press spokesman for House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), will be leaving Capitol Hill in September to become senior vice president for corporate communications at MTV Networks. In 1988, Johns worked as a press aide during Gephardt's presidential bid and then joined the Dukakis campaign for the general election.

From staff reports and news services

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

The Democrats' They're Richer Now, More Settled. So Why Are They Licking Their Lips?

By Henry Allen
Washington Post Staff Writer

A thrill of hope crackles through Washington's Democratic government-in-exile: the be-reaved dinner-party Cabinet members, the usurped attorneys general, the unredeemed lobbyists, the frustrated flacks, professors and K Street torpedoes, the oilers and brakemen on the Democratic gravy train that got rusted to the rails a quarter-century ago.

A thrill of hope. A weary world rejoicing. The Plum Book is sold out at the Government Printing Office. "United States Government Policy and Supporting Positions," as it's officially titled, though even the government computer calls it the Plum Book—a list of the juicier jobs that could come open in a Clinton administration, Schedule C, GS-14 and above.

"Been out since Monday, a big rush on it," says the counter clerk.

And a conversation is going on in homes all over Washington: homes with big trees, new kitchens and yellowing wall shrines to the gods of public service—grip 'n' grin photographs of these good Democrats with Bobby, Hubert, George, Gene, even Jimmy and Walter, possibly Mike . . .

The conversation:

"This time, baby, I think we can win," says the lobbyist who married the event coordinator back when they were deputy secretary and special assistant under Carter.

"That's what you say about the Red Sox every year."

"I didn't really feel it with Dukakis, I never felt it with Mondale, with Carter in '80, but now I keep thinking maybe I should write some Op-Ed pieces, throw a fundraiser, fly out to Little Rock. I'm not going to beg for a job, I'm not going to grovel for a chance to work twice as many hours at one-third the pay but if they called, if they asked . . ."

These are not just the people already getting mentions for Cabinet posts, the Richard Holbrookes or the Warren Christophers. These are not the elder statesmen like Lloyd Cutler, hoping for just one more ride on the merry-go-round. These are not Clinton's Little Rock gang, either, or the people who got into the campaign early on, back when Clinton was dead meat wrapped in supermarket tabloids, and now they can't believe they've gotten this far.

No. These are Washington Democrats, the petite bourgeoisie of public service, the ones who are old enough to remember what it was like once upon a time, and young enough to think they can bring it back.

Bring back the shirt-sleeves savvy and little-cigar testicularity of the Kennedy hegemony. Bring back the probono smugness of a time when Nixon seemed no more than an ugly petit-mal convulsion in the American psyche. Bring back the Kennedy School of Government dream that a mix of higher education and a love for the lower classes (think of the redneck romance of the '70s, all those dinner parties with Willie Nelson as background music) could create a country where Heaven is a dream of endless second chances, no matter how much doom lurks in decline of empire, destruction of cities, drugs, divorce, depression . . .

Lost, all lost. To Republicans, of all people. By as much as 49 states, every four years. But now Clinton is leading by 30 points in the polls, Bush is shouting at crowds to shut up, Quayle is being Quayle.

A thrill of hope.

DEMOCRATS, From C1

"I can feel it, we could change things. It's like, you remember what it was like when we left grad school and came to Washington . . ."

"The Volkswagen . . ."

"All those books in the back seat . . ."

"Wasn't that when you used to wear the Greek fisherman's cap?"

"I was up in the attic last weekend, going through those books. 'Manchild in the Promised Land,' 'The Other America' . . ."

"Don't forget 'The Urban Villagers' and 'Blaming the Victim' . . ."

Time has passed.

For years now, the former deputy secretary has been a lobbyist who prefers to say he runs a "strategic planning" firm.

He hadn't planned his life this way.

"If somebody told me back then that I'd be making \$290,000 a year with two kids at Sidwell Friends, a car phone and August on the Vineyard, I would have said they were crazy," he says.

"Don't you like the Vineyard?"

"I work harder on the Vineyard than I do in Washington."

"I thought that's why you liked it."

"But I'm not making a *difference*, I'm not doing what I came here to do."

"The kids could go to Wilson."

"Be good for them, public school. I've spent all these years getting rich and not feeling guilty about it because I said to myself, 'If there was a Democrat in the White House, I'd give it all up in a second.' But what if I was lying to myself? If I don't go back into government will I feel like a phony? And if all our friends go back, will I feel like I'm missing the party? Can I handle another 20 years of the K Street Shuffle? Will the kids look at me and say, 'What did you do in the war, Daddy?'"

A thrill of hope. But when you go to these people, one by one, and ask them if they want a job in a Clinton administration, the first thing you get is a pause.

A pause and: "Sure, I'd like to serve my country again," says Robert Hunter, who got a degree from the London School of Economics, was a special assistant to Lyndon Johnson, worked for Carter's National Security Council and is now a vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Thirst

A pause and: "I would want to feel that I could do something," says Pat Griffin, who got a doctorate in political science, then worked as a top aide to Sen. Robert Byrd before ending up as a lobbyist at Griffin & Johnson on Connecticut Avenue.

A pause and: "I would love and hope that someone will pick up the phone and call me because I'd love to donate my time and expertise," says Sandy Perlmutter, who started out as a volunteer at the Democratic National Committee in 1976, and ended up assistant of the secretary of the Democratic Party until she left in 1989. "What I really like is this capturing of a spirit. There's a vitality people haven't felt for a long time."

A pause and: "I guess I feel a little like the old fire horse who hears the bell. I've always lived for the public policy process," says Rob Liberatore, who arrived here in 1975 with one-term liberal Sen. Floyd Haskell of Colorado and is now chief lobbyist for Chrysler Corp.

This is not the spoils system as we once knew it, with ambassadorships being auctioned off, with Mrs. O'Leary's slow son getting a job running an elevator, with the pigs planting both front feet in the trough, a tradition that goes back to yahoos in hobnailed boots who tore away at the huge cheese Andrew Jackson installed in the White House after he got elected. The hog wallow of patronage, in other words. That still exists, of course, but that is not what concerns the true Washington Democrat, whose cheese already comes from Sutton Place Gourmet.

The true Washington Democrat is more apt to be looking for moral vindication after all these years of being attacked as the new class, the professional class, the chattering class, Pat Buchanan's "professional political class," or Dan Quayle's "Iron Triangle" of congressional staff, bureaucrats and the media.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

These are the people who get scorned as "liberals." They poured out of the universities they'd loved and showed up in Washington to be the best and the brightest, to ask not what their country could do for them but what they could do for their country. They never left, either: One reason is that Washington is the closest thing to a campus that America offers in the way of a city—all the lawns, and people wandering around with piles of paper under their arms, and nobody sneering, "If you're so smart, why aren't you rich?"

These are the public interest types toiling under the twitch of fluorescent fixtures in Dupont Circle offices, the Volvo liberals of Cleveland Park, the foundation grandees who've been padding around for years in the monolithic gloom of Brookings or Carnegie, all the policy wonks with the boil o'

curls gone white now, the consultants, the accountants and the economists with the tired moral claim of a people living under an occupying army. They hold hardest of all to the claim that they are smarter, funnier and sexier than Republicans.

Hence their wistful anger as they've watched one election after another slip away.

"This is the last opportunity, ever, for everybody," says a 38-year-old Democrat who gave up a law office overlooking Boston Harbor to work as a Senate staffer, probing the great issues of our time from a desk about the size of an airline tray table. "Everybody will be on their best behavior—in their places with sunshiny faces."

Robert Reich, professor of political economy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government: "There's this great pent-up pool of humanity waiting their turn. The hungriest and thirstiest cadre are the Democratic lawyers on K Street—Ivy League-educated, waiting about a quarter-century for their chance to govern."

Harry McPherson, aide to Lyndon Johnson, author of "A Political Education" and now a lawyer here: "We've got guys in our law firm exactly of that kind—they came to Washington to cast a shadow and never had the opportunity."

Paul Costello, former staffer for Rep. Mo Udall, Vice President Walter Mondale, Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste, Kitty Dukakis and Sharon Pratt Kelly, now in public relations with Edelman Worldwide: "There are a lot of people in town, public service is what they want to do with their lives. All of these folks seem to have something missing in their lives. If Clinton and Gore win, the excitement is going to be contagious. How can you inoculate yourself against it? It's going to be hard for people whose lives have progressed with mortgages and families."

More hours, less quality time with the kids. Less money and more tuition to pay.

Eric Lewis, Princeton, Fulbright at Cambridge, Yale Law Journal; arrived in Washington in 1983 to clerk for Judge David Bazelon, became a partner at Nussbaum & Wald: "One thing I never thought was that I'd be satisfied going home at night playing with my kid."

Is he satisfied?

"I like playing with my kid."

Would he like a job in government?

The pause: "Only if I'm asked."

Can he be happy if he isn't asked?

Can he be happy being on the outside of the government he once expected to spend his life inside?

"I just read a book where the guy talks about somebody doing an experiment with Eskimos," he says. "They put a bunch of Eskimos out in the cold all day, then they put a bunch of other people out in the same cold in the same clothes. After an hour, the other people can't hack it. They look for a difference between the Eskimos and the other people, but the only difference they can find is: *The Eskimos expect to be cold.*"

But every four years, the Democrat Eskimo nostrils flare. Does that smell like a fire? Does that look like the sun coming up? *Yonder breaks a new and glorious morn...*

And then Hubert Humphrey yammers his way into riot-torn oblivion and George McGovern picks a vice presidential candidate who'd had shock treatments and Jimmy Carter can't get the hostages out of Iran and Walter Mondale promises to raise taxes and Michael Dukakis rides around in a tank looking like Crusader Rabbit and all of them thrash around in Republican mud like dinosaurs in the La Brea tar pits, meanwhile blaming the stupidity of the voters, the racism of whites, the perversity of the union rank-and-file, the crankiness of rednecks, the sexism of men, the horrible unenlightenment of flag-waving, deer-hunting, smut-busting, gay-bashing Mr. and Mrs. Front Porch USA.

But now, a thrill of hope. Bated breath. Raised hopes. Hooked tenters. For one thing, the Democrats have decided for the moment to forgo the Adlai Stevenson tradition of ask-

ing for votes on the grounds that they are smarter than the voters.

Robert Reich: "That old smugness is gone."

Richard Moe, lawyer, formerly Mondale's chief of staff: "This team has learned the lessons of the past."

Paul Costello: "With Washington having gone through the doldrums for so many years, there's a lot of excitement. For years, the Democrats persisted in the politics of evasion—they'd say the only reason they weren't in the White House was that they didn't have the telegenic candidate or the computers. There was the sense that they were unjustly deprived."

Every other Democratic race had a tone of indignant entitlement, but this one has more of a tone of restoration, of sins confessed and penance done, of forgiveness after years in the wilderness. No more acid, amnesty and abortion. No more Sister Boom Boom—which convention did he/she star at? No more high-squinting, morally outraged bewilderment at the fact that Larry Lunchpail and Karen Keypunch might vote for a Reagan or a Bush.

So far.

Democrats are being cautious, almost superstitious, about divvying up the Cabinet posts and the White House staff jobs.

But names get mentioned.

Consequently, a cadre of Democrats is beginning to get an aura, the kind of glamour you remember from college, those students who were celebrities merely by virtue of some magnificent potential, no matter how vague—the Holbrookes and Christophers, the Vernon Jordans and Derek Shearers, Roger Altman up at Goldman Sachs in New York, Richard Neustadt in Los Angeles, Madeline Kunin, the former governor of Vermont, the whole Progressive Policy Institute that has pushed a centrist marketing scheme to reassure ordinary Americans that Democrats think of them as more than a thickheaded fascist tax base.

Of course, it's possible that few Washington Democrats will get jobs. Clinton and Gore could sweep in and fill the administration with people from Arkansas and Tennessee.

Possible but unlikely. Gore grew up here and knows everybody—he's pure Washingtonian. (He only uses his Tennessee accent when campaigning demands it.) And Clinton has been shaking so many Washington hands for so long that insiders guess a dozen people have quietly told their spouses that they are, in fact, on the short list for Labor, Transportation, Justice, the National Security Council...

Remember the terror of the insiders when Carter and the huns of Georgia swept into town? Word went around that maybe no Washingtonians would get jobs.

"As it turned out, they all [expletive] did," says Jody Powell, who was Carter's communications director and now does public relations at Powell Tate. "That was the first mistake. There was a little bit of a sense that the Nixon administration had been an aberration, and the election of Carter was a return to the norm. That's not the feeling anymore. That may be healthy. One of the things we ran into was people pursuing specific agendas without concern about how it would affect the administration."

The difference now may be that there isn't much of an agenda—Great Society liberalism has been discredited in theories and bankrupted by deficits, says Harry McPherson.

But more is at stake than job training or day care. The dream here—as it so often is in America—is redemption. Before It's Too Late.

Rob Liberatore: "I wish this had happened 10 years ago. I went from a Takoma Park mortgage to a Spring Valley mortgage. If I don't go back am I going to be wistful, staring through the window at the banquet? If everybody I know goes to work for the Clinton administration I'll be thrilled for them, but if I don't go back I'll always wonder if I should have."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992



By D.B. JOHNSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Some 20 persons representing the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee rallied for about an hour yesterday in front of the CBS News Washington bureau to demand an apology from anchor Dan Rather, CBS Inc. board member Henry Kissinger and CBS News Middle East consultant Fouad Ajami.

The committee claims that the three made "racist comments" during a panel discussion on June 3 in New York held in conjunction with a Jerusalem Foundation dinner that raised funds for Israeli immigrants.

The charges of bias surfaced after Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), a liberal watchdog group, obtained a tape of the discussion during which Kissinger reportedly said, "You can't really believe anything an Arab says."

Ajami, a professor of Middle East studies at Johns Hopkins University, at one point commented that when he visited the Bedouin Arabs, "I insisted on only one thing: that I be spared the ceremony of eating with a Bedouin... so I was spared that ordeal." He also expressed doubt "about the cause of democracy in the Arab world."

FAIR complained that Rather failed to challenge the statements and had also warned about an "Arab population explosion." The group questioned the news anchor's participation in a fund-raising event for the settlement of Jews in East Jerusalem.

Rather is on vacation. Sam Hussein of FAIR said a protest may be staged in New York next week after the anchor has returned, claiming "a lot of people are angry and want to do something."

The Arab American committee, meanwhile, has written CBS calling for an investigation. Albert Mokhiber, president of the committee, said the remarks of the three panelists were "repugnant forms of anti-Arab racism and outrageous ethnic slurs."

Donna Dees, a spokeswoman for CBS News, called the allegations "ridiculous and outrageous." She said the Kissinger remarks were taken out of context, and that "Dan Rather has an exemplary record on fair and unbiased coverage of the Middle East."

According to the transcript, the former secretary of state, commenting on coverage of Middle East stories, said: "Well, one problem the press has or the media have is they report literally what is being told to them and what they see, which is quite proper. But in dealing with the Arabs, at least, I always felt, you have to understand how to deal with intangibles. When you deal with Israelis you're dealing with a Talmudic society that can drive you crazy—in the meaning of words that they can find—but it is really quite concrete."

He continued: "I tend to agree with Fouad, you can't really believe anything an Arab says. But you can believe the mood he creates, but that is an intangible quality."

Kissinger then recounted his dealings with King Faisal during which the Saudi ruler "made endless speeches" about Zionism, America and communism. "When we were finished, the note taker had closed his book, which was going to be sent to the PLO in Beirut. [Faisal] took me to the dog and he said, in English, 'I pray to the Lord Almighty for the success of your noble efforts based on your proven abilities'... in other words, pay no attention to what I've just said... and don't make me say that in anything that's being written down in notes."

Yesterday, the protesters at 2020 M St. NW, led by a young man with a bullhorn, chanted "Shame, shame, shame on you, Dan Rather, shame on you" and "Shame, shame, shame on you, Henry Kissinger, shame on you," as noon-time lunch-goers pressed past. Some protesters carried signs accusing CBS News of violating "human rights" and being "anti-Christian" and "anti-Muslim."

Leila Gorchev, a spokeswoman for the committee, said the organization plans to return today to the CBS News bureau for another demonstration at noon or 12:30. She said the Washington-based American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee is the largest grass-roots pro-Arab organization in the country, with about 70 chapters and an average membership of 20,000. She estimated that 2.5 million Arabs are in the United States.

Gorchev called yesterday's demonstration "a success, in the sense we managed to spread the word, we distributed a lot of fliers. But our real success will depend on CBS's response."

University had to reduce its contribution to the station by \$1 million, so every dollar counts. The station is seeking a minimum \$32 pledge from new members. On Wednesday, the station will air the movie "Car Wash," and the next evening, "Let's Do It Again," starring Bill Cosby and Sidney Poitier. Both movies, which will air at 8 p.m., are on loan from Channel 20, which got help from WHMM when the former's signals dimmed during the NHL playoffs this spring.

Channel 4 has added two reporters to its news staff. Alan Lee, who has been at WEHT in Evansville, Ind., will contribute features at 5. Jim Handy, who has been a reporter and weekend anchor at WFSB in Hartford, will be a reporter on the 6 p.m. news. Both start Monday.

In addition, Kathy Johnson, a producer at WSVN in Miami, joins WRC on Aug. 17.

Staffers at CBS News' "60 Minutes," the most-watched program on television, are still hoping that President Bush will agree to join Gov. Bill Clinton on a "special," perhaps next month, in which the two presidential candidates would have a "conversation" with the five "60 Minutes" regulars.

The White House has agreed to consider the offer—first extended in July by executive producer Don Hewitt—once the GOP convention is out of the way later this month.

Both Clinton and then-potential candidate Ross Perot agreed early on to join the conversation, but the Bush White House has delayed its final decision.

CBS would be willing to air the special—which could be extended beyond the usual hour format for "60 Minutes"—on a night convenient to both candidates, although it's unlikely either Clinton or Bush would want to bypass the 7 p.m. Sunday slot, where the program can command an audience of 20 million-plus homes.

Campaign advisers would be well advised to consult the 4 p.m. NFL lineups before settling on a date, however.

Joining the "conversation" would be Mike Wallace, Morley Safer, Ed Bradley, Lesley Stahl and Steve Kroft.

The September arrival of "Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman" on CBS's Saturday night schedule has been delayed until later in the fall because of the success of the summer replacement "Raven," starring Lee Majors as an unshaven bum.

"Raven," which showed a rerun Wednesday night, will get a fall run instead in the 9 p.m. Saturday slot, starting new episodes on Sept. 26.

"Raven" tied for 25th in last week's ratings and had averaged a 10.5/19 in five appearances through Sunday, which put the short-run series in a tie for 59th among 147 series seen on the four networks since September. Wednesday night a repeat of the pilot slipped to a 6.4/11.

Jane Seymour plays Doc Quinn in the old-fashioned western with a faintly feminist twist.

Speaking of Ratingzzz (you've missed them, haven't you? Of course you have, even though you would never admit it), the debut of the Saturday "Today" show, which was left for dead by the reviewers, averaged a 2.9/15 in the national Nielsen's.

Since it started at 7 a.m. in some markets where NBC had never aired a show at that hour before, the network refused yesterday to make any comparisons of its performance with previous NBC shows on Saturday.

Poor NBC. Do you realize that almost a week after Bryant Gumbel hurt a hand when the Jeep he was riding went into a ditch in Kenya during a hippopotamus chase, the "Today" staff in New York still doesn't know which wrist he cracked? He'll be back Monday so we can all see the bandage.

Rocker Ted Nugent will join MTV reporter Tabitha Soren when she covers the Republican convention from Houston.

NBC reports that primetime ratings for the Olympics averaged a 15.8/31 Wednesday night, ending a four-night drop. Tuesday the Games did a 15.4/29, the lowest so far for a night of competition since they began. The opening ceremonies on July 25 did only a 13.8/29, but they were just ceremonies, after all.

After 11 nights, the Olympics have averaged an 18.2/34, up 19 percent from the 15.3 average promised to advertisers.

Which reminds us, in addition to the closing ceremonies and the men's volleyball and marathon finals on Sunday night, the network will reprise the gymnastics competition for some darn reason.

NBC Entertainment yesterday lashed out (kind of) at a TV Guide report that the network's having contract problems with some "Saturday Night Live" stars. The network wants us to know that Mike Myers has four years to go on his contract, Phil Hartman has three and Dana Carvey, with a new long-term deal, is sure to be

HIGHLIGHTS

- Morning, primetime and late-night coverage of the Summer Olympics on WRC.
- Repeats of "Mary Tyler Moore" and "The Ed Sullivan Show" retrospectives on WUSA.
- Plus Richard Strauss's "Capriccio" from Salzburg on WETA.

Olympics Coverage

In the morning, canoeing, men's tennis and men's and women's track and field qualifying rounds. Three hours (Channel 4 at 7 a.m.).

In the evening, boxing, synchronized swimming, women's tennis, track and field, volleyball and freestyle wrestling. 4½ hours (Channel 4, 7:30 p.m.).

Later, women's basketball and boxing. 90 minutes (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Public Broadcasting

Great Performances: Capriccio From Salzburg (CC) (Channel 26 at 9) is previewed by Joseph McLellan on Page C2.

Specials

Mary Tyler Moore: The 20th Anniversary Show (CC) (R). Moore hosts this retrospective of the popular sitcom (Channel 9 at 8).

"The Very Best of 'The Ed Sullivan Show'" (CC) (R). Carol Burnett hosts this salute to the landmark series, which includes interviews with Sullivan's guests (Channel 9 at 9).

Series

America's Most Wanted (CC). A thief allegedly stabs a retired cop in a Washington pub and a man is wanted for a bank robbery and the murder of his wife (Channel 5 at 8).

Family Matters (CC) (R). Urkel's look-alike robot returns to fight crime (Channel 7 at 8).

Step by Step (CC) (R). Alicia's date backs out of the Sadie Hawkins dance, while Urkel from "Family Matters" pays a visit (Channel 7, 8:30).

Dinosaurs (CC) (R). Robbie becomes the leader of a vicious gang known as the Scavengers (Channel 7 at 9).

Hidden Video (CC) (R). A temporary secretary must schedule her boss's hectic love life (Channel 5, 9:30).

Perfect Strangers (CC) (R). The company psychiatrist puts Larry and Balki on a full-fledged stress test (Channel 7, 9:30).

20/20 (CC). With a report on whether border guards of the fallen Berlin Wall should be held responsible for their past actions, plus an update on a fraudulent claim report (Channel 7 at 10).

Monday Morning

CBS This Morning (CC). A two-hour question-and-answer session with Democratic candidates Bill Clinton and Al Gore (Channel 9 at 7).

In Other News

Channel 32 launches a nine-day pledge drive tomorrow night during which it hopes to add 1,000 members.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

By Lois Romano

At the White House, Bad News for the Messengers

At a time when President Bush is frantically trying to get his message heard above the din of Democratic volume and general mudslinging, the White House has axed at least three speech writers.

Steve Provost, the former Kentucky Fried Chicken spokesman and now Bush's chief speech writer and communications aide, told the writers Tuesday night that their services would no longer be needed.

The casualties so far: Joe Duggan, on staff for about a year; Mike Johns, there about six weeks; and Beth Hinchliffe, a two-year veteran. A fourth writer was expected to be removed but had left work early Tuesday before Provost could deliver the bad news; Provost departed on a Bush swing the next day—but he'll be back.

One of the writers, who asked for anonymity, said yesterday that while Provost did not criticize the quality of their work when he called them in individually, he did tell them that the White House felt fresh voices were needed.

"We all understand that this is the big leagues and that this is a very

sensitive period," said the writer, who wryly referred to the incident as the "Tuesday Night Firings." The writer also said they all believed the command came from above Provost.

But another White House source surmised that Provost asked for "carte blanche" when he was hired—and apparently everyone was warned that there might be a clean sweep.

White House spokeswoman Judy Smith said last night that everyone will be reassigned to the campaign or elsewhere within the administration.

We don't know who is replacing the White House group yet, but word is that Richard Nixon's former wordsmith Ray Price is being recruited to help craft Bush's high-stakes acceptance speech at the Republican convention.

Steve Provost and a likeness of his ex-boss.



WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ You won't be seeing a long touchy-feely film about George Bush at the Republican National Convention the week after next. Instead, the president will be introduced with a four-minute clip on the power of the presidency. "It'll end up making a clear comparison of the talents and experiences of a couple of guys running for president," said a senior campaign aide, "and give people an understanding of what it takes."

■ P.J. O'Rourke continues to display his political colors. He was the star guest at a fund-raiser for Arizona Republican Sen. John McCain Wednesday, and he quipped: "The great thing about Republican events is there's no recycling."

■ James Brown's battle with "The Commitments" goes on. The soul crooner, who claims 20th Century Fox used his image in the film without permission, filed an appeal here yesterday after his initial suit was thrown out.

■ It'll be '70s rocker Ted Nugent of "Cat Scratch Fever" fame who'll report from the Republican convention for MTV, replacing Megadeth's Dave Mustaine, who did the honors in New York.

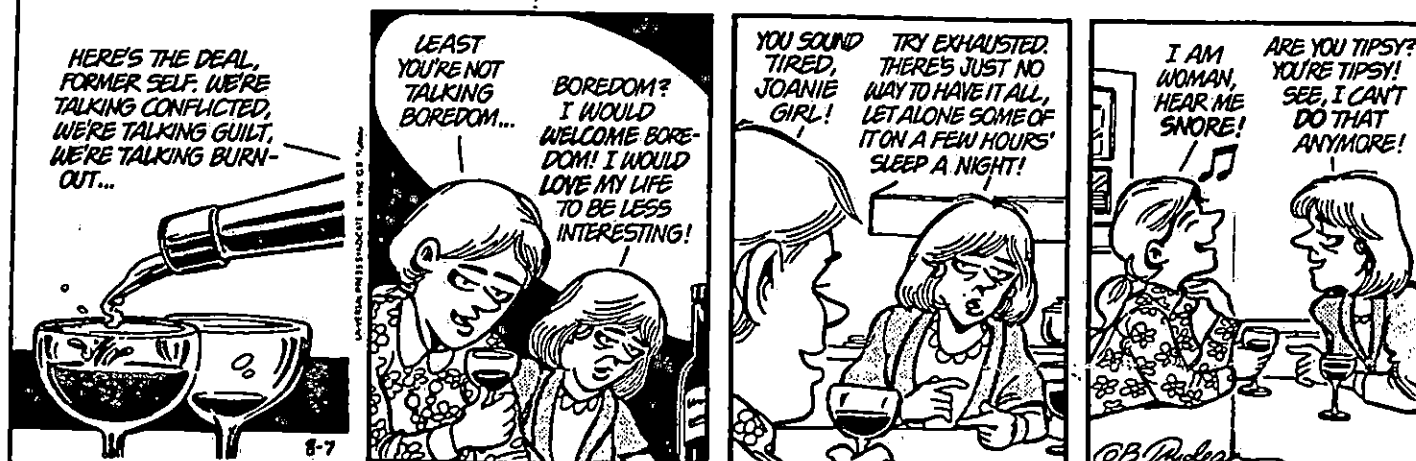
■ A federal appeals court in San Francisco has upheld a ruling that Frito-Lay Inc. and its ad agency will have to pay singer Tom Waits \$2.5 million for using a sound-alike voice in a Doritos radio commercial.



P.J. O'Rourke: Trash mouth?

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

A Costly Blunder for Daniel Schorr & NPR?

■ It could be called a case of wrongful outing.

Larry Buendorf, the chief of the Secret Service detail that still guards former president Gerald Ford, filed a libel suit in federal court here yesterday against National Public Radio correspondent Daniel Schorr, former "Weekend Edition" host Scott Simon and the network, The Post's Michael York reports from District Court. Buendorf claims in his lawsuit that Schorr incorrectly referred to him as a homosexual during an April broadcast.

In an apparently off-the-cuff exchange with Simon, Schorr said that Buendorf "was exposed as being a homosexual" after saving Ford's life in a 1975 assassination attempt. Actually, Schorr had his heroes mixed up.

Buendorf stopped Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme from shooting Ford in Sacramento on Sept. 5, 1975. Seventeen days later in San Francisco, Oliver Sipple spotted Sara Jane Moore pointing a gun at Ford, and pushed her arm just in time to deflect the shot away from the president. News stories soon after the incident disclosed Sipple's sexual orientation.

Schorr and NPR apologized to



Daniel Schorr: Off the cuff and into the courts.

Buendorf immediately after the suit was filed. "I realize that I made a dumb mistake," Schorr said. "I confused two incidents in California in September 1975." He noted, however, that he wished he had heard from Buendorf before the complaint was filed.



Louis Sullivan and George Bush: Maybe their tax returns were lost in the mail.

Peggy Noonan, Please Call the Party

■ The GOP is in dire need of some new one-liners.

HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan, February 1992: The Democrats' plan for a nationalized health system "would have the compassion of the IRS and the efficiency of the post office."

George Bush, August 1992: The Clinton "health-care system will combine the efficiency of the House post office with the compassion of the KGB."

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INTERNATIONAL

Cracks Appear in Cuban Government After Castro's Ill-Starred Tour of Spain

FOREIGN INSIGHT

By JOSE DE CORDOBA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MIAMI — More isolated than ever and demoralized after Fidel Castro's disastrous trip to a summit of Spanish-speaking presidents in Spain last month, Cuba's government is showing signs of strain.

For the first time in 33 years, Mr. Castro has indefinitely postponed Cuba's most important political ceremony, the 26th of July speech in which Mr. Castro traditionally gives a state-of-the-revolution address. The date marks the anniversary of Mr. Castro's attack on a military barracks in 1953 and the birth of his movement.

Officials at the Cuban Interest Section in Washington — which acts as Cuba's embassy in the absence of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the U.S. — said yesterday they don't know when the ceremony, scheduled for the city of Cienfuegos, will be held. "They don't know what to say," says Carlos Alberto Montaner, a Madrid-based leader of the Cuban Democratic Platform, a Cuban exile opposition group.

Separately, some human rights activists are convinced Mr. Castro plans to oust reform-minded Cuban officials.

"There is a purge of reformers coming," says Ramon Cernuda, a Miami-based human-rights activist who keeps in daily contact with activists on the island. Mr. Cernuda says Cuban state security agents have told human-rights activists to prepare for a wave of repression. "Our people are very worried about it."

"There are rumors," says Jesus Yanes Pelletier, a human-rights activist in Cuba, in a brief telephone conversation. "We don't know."



Fidel Castro

Mr. Cernuda says he's convinced Mr. Castro is preparing to jettison reform-minded officials who'd been useful to him in placating Latin American and European governments that have been pressing Mr. Castro to democratize Cuba. The reasoning, says Mr. Cernuda, is that with the debacle in Spain, Mr. Castro feels the reformers have outlived their usefulness. The possibility of political reform appears dead, so he no longer needs to keep closet reformers who oppose his policies.

"If they can't persuade international opinion, and are an irritant domestically, then they become a net loss," says Mr. Cernuda. He expects a number of high-ranking officials known as reformers to be accused of corruption or similar charges, and removed from their posts.

Mr. Castro's visit to Spain, Cuba's most important Western trading partner, which Mr. Castro hoped would be a triumphal tour that would gain him political breathing room and perhaps financial aid and foreign investment, turned into a fiasco. Mr. Castro was mocked in the Spanish press, which made fun of everything from the Cuban leader's concern for his security to his human-rights record.

For instance, El Pais, Spain's most influential newspaper, referred to him as a "dying star" whose trip to the region of Galicia, where Mr. Castro's father was born, "can only be understood as part of the magical surrealism of those lands."

Instead of large friendly crowds, Mr. Castro's every step, from the moment he landed in Madrid, were dogged by small groups of determined Cuban-exile demonstrators whose protests on occasion kept him from speaking. In Galicia, however, he did get a friendly reception at his father's ancestral village.

Worst was the icy treatment Mr. Castro received from his hosts. In a direct reference to Cuba, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez said, "We don't want either political prisoners or political exiles in our community." To underscore his alienation from Mr. Castro, Mr. Gonzalez met for almost two hours with Mr. Montaner and other Cuban exiles, the day after Mr. Castro left for home.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Trade Pact Puts Mexican-Americans In a Dilemma Over Jobs in Border Areas

By DIANNA SOLIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

EL PASO, Texas — In an aging El Paso neighborhood of auto-repair shops and apparel factories, Carmen Dominguez plots her comeback. A year ago, the Mexican-American seamstress lost her job stitching shirts and skirts when the plant moved across the Rio Grande to Mexico.

Now she heads *Mujer Obrera*, or Working Woman, a group fighting the flight of Texas garment factories to Mexico. The group's special fear: passage of a tariff-eliminating North American Free Trade Agreement among the U.S., Canada and Mexico and its potential to spur even more job losses.

Mrs. Dominguez's dilemma cuts to the heart of a debate in the 14 million-strong Mexican-American community, whose members are being urged as never before to support the treaty by its main backers, President Bush and Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Some U.S. Latinos aren't so sure they want it to proceed without strong safeguards for their jobs on the U.S. side of the border.

Last week, at a White House update on treaty negotiations, President Bush lauded Latino entrepreneurs in the U.S. as "heroes of the economy." His presidential-campaign strategists say the free-trade issue will win Latino votes in the important border states of California and Texas. Mexico's President Salinas, in turn, recently bestowed his nation's highest public service award for non-citizens on three Mexican-Americans. This week, President Salinas's staffers played host to a delegation of California legislators of Mexican descent.

Mexican-Americans might seem a natural lobby for the trade pact, and many Latino Chambers of Commerce have heartily endorsed it. But others fear for their jobs and worry about possible worsening of environmental pollution from factories on the Mexican side of the border that they say has already hurt their communities.

Jobs Come First

A recent Texas poll by the Southwest Voter Research Institute found that only 9% of Latinos would support a free-trade pact without job or environmental protections, although 70% said they would support the pact with those protections; 20% said they oppose the pact no matter what. Among Latinos, "the predominant tendency is 'compassion for Mexico, but don't take my job,'" says Antonio Gonzales, a project director for the institute.

Mexico's courtship of the Mexican-American community comes after decades of strained relations. Class-conscious Mexicans once looked down upon Mexican-Americans as poorer cousins and derided them for abandoning their homeland. But in the past few years, the Mexican government has tried to heal relations with a flurry of cultural and trade exchanges.

In the past year, the Mexican government has even employed Mexican-Americans in its ever-expanding cadre of lobbyists on the free-trade pact. Explains Herman Von Bertrab, a Mexican negotiator for the free-trade treaty: "They understand better the Mexican culture and the American culture. They can be the guys who link us."

Last week, Mexico's development bank announced it had set aside \$20 million in loans to stimulate joint ventures between Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

As the border blurs, so does the trade position of many Mexican-Americans. In El Paso the issues play themselves out vividly. Ten years ago, the city's garment industry was 21,000 workers strong. Now it has 15,000 mostly Latina workers. Retraining programs of the past did little more than improve the English skills of the

Latino work force, city analysts say.

Thus, Mrs. Dominguez is pushing hard for comprehensive retraining programs, already a theme of congressional debates on the trade treaty in this election year. A study from the University of California at Los Angeles shows that Latinos on the lower economic and educational rungs will be disproportionately displaced from jobs by free trade's economic integration. Overall, though, U.S. Latinos will gain, according to the study.

"We aren't against it, because we know we can't defeat it," says Mrs. Dominguez, "but we are making our demands."

So is Alicia Chacon, a Mexican-American who serves as El Paso County's chief administrator. She says that increased cross-border trade has already strained bridges, sewer systems, riverways and her temper. "We are, in essence, the experiment of free trade," she says.

Without strong, European Community-like provisions for worker adjustments and the infrastructure, "we should all oppose free trade, and I surely will," says Mrs. Chacon.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Counsel Oversight

Oh darn. We had almost hoped that Robo-prosecutor Lawrence Walsh would indict the former President of the United States. But now that Mr. Walsh has informed Ronald Reagan that he's not one of his targets, some other way will have to be found to shut off the haywire independent counsel contraption.

Usually in the movies, these mechanical manglers overstep themselves. The Iran-Contra counsel's office may have done exactly that. Some Members of Congress now believe that Mr. Walsh himself deserves serious scrutiny.

House Minority Leader Bob Michel recently learned that the General Accounting Office, Congress's so-called watchdog agency, *never* conducted a biannual audit of Mr. Walsh's office, which the law has required since 1987. The issue is of more than academic interest: Questions have been raised about how Mr. Walsh has spent some of the \$40 million attributed to his trip to the outer galaxies of the Iran-Contra affair.

When Mr. Michel wrote to Charles Bowsher, the Comptroller General, to request copies of the audits, Mr. Bowsher wrote back that the GAO "had recently begun work to review the expenditures" of all past and present independent counsels. Now, seven GAO analysts have been detailed to get cracking on the audits; a preliminary report is due by September 1.

Another question is whether Mr. Walsh and his top deputy, Craig Gillen, may have violated federal laws or regulations governing their office's expenditures.

An analysis done by Rep. Gerald Solomon of expense vouchers filed by Messrs. Walsh and Gillen estimates that they've spent more than \$300,000 in living and travel expenses, which let them commute weekly to Washington from their hometowns.

Hired by Mr. Walsh in 1989, Mr. Gillen was unwilling to move to Washington from his Atlanta home. Mr. Walsh has let Mr. Gillen live in Atlanta and collect large per diem expenses while he works during the week in Washington. Mr. Gillen lists his "primary work station" as Atlanta, but there is no independent counsel's office there. GAO rulings going back to 1931 specify that "an employee's work station is the place at which he expects to spend the major portion of his time."

Rep. John Duncan, a former judge, says Mr. Gillen's unusual arrangement has let him collect more than

\$100,000 in living and travel expenses beyond his legal salary. Other Members want to know if either Mr. Gillen or Mr. Walsh has ever filed a District of Columbia income tax return, since they live more than half the year in Washington. Mr. Walsh's office says it "believes we are in compliance with federal regulations."

Mr. Walsh, who is 80 years old, admitted recently that Mr. Gillen is "running the office." He told the Legal Times, "I rarely make a suggestion." He didn't even show up in court when Caspar Weinberger was indicted in June. But he still spends most of his time in Washington at the taxpayers' expense. Rep. Solomon says Mr. Walsh's expense vouchers show that during his tenure he's spent a total of \$25,000 for \$17 room-service breakfasts at his hotel and an additional \$40,000 for dinners.

Mr. Walsh stays in a suite at the prestigious Watergate Hotel, but he spends only \$95 a night, far less than the \$245 corporate rate. The lowest rate offered any other federal employee on an extended stay at the Watergate Hotel is \$150 a night. What appears to be a celebrity discount for Mr. Walsh may run afoul of ethics rules, which require that federal employees only accept discounts available to all employees. Mr. Walsh's unusual cut-rate deal with the deluxe Watergate is noteworthy, because the most the government will reimburse him for a hotel is \$110 a night. That would pay for the Quality Inn where Arlin Adams, the independent counsel probing HUD, usually stays.

Are we being hypertechnical about federal ethics rules? Hypertechnicality is the mother's milk of independent counsels. One of Oliver North's convictions was for accepting an "illegal gratuity" in the form of a \$13,800 security fence after threats from Abu Nidal. No doubt the aggregate of all Mr. Walsh's \$55-a-night hotel discounts could be viewed as an "illegal gratuity" by an inventive Robo-prosecutor.

We've asked many times here to whom these prosecutors are politically accountable. It's now clear that independent counsels, like the imperial Congress that created them, operate outside the normal checks and balances of American government. Congress allowed—or told—its own watchdog agency to ignore its duty to audit the counsels for five years. The Walsh outlays suggest that they now have unlimited access to the world's biggest deep-pocket client: the U.S. taxpayer.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Going for the Green

For all the good stuff in the new federal energy bill about opening up the electricity markets to competition, there's plenty to remind us that nothing passes out of Congress without a lot of cats and dogs and tin cans attached to it.

Under the House bill, private fleet operators would have to make sure that vehicles using so-called clean fuels account for 90% of their new vehicles by 2000. This seems to be the one weird idea that C. Boyden Gray, the President's chief counsel, is determined to inflict on the nation. The Senate version throws in tax breaks for the vehicles and their service stations.

None of this would do anything to reduce air pollution or even propitiate the false god of "energy security." Fleet vehicles account for a minuscule fraction of traffic on the road, and anyway, clean fuels aren't really clean; they just emit a different mix of pollutants. As Don Stedman of the University of Denver has shown ad nauseam, half the auto pollution comes from 10% of cars. Forcing these to get tuneups or buying up the clunkers would do vastly more to clean the air.

Another command-and-control concept that strikes the congressional fancy is "demand-side management." This practice consists of bribing utility customers to use less electricity. The idea is that curbing demand can be cheaper than adding generating capacity.

This sounds nice, but in practice these schemes often go overboard and subsidize uneconomic conservation. The reason, says former New York utility regulator Alfred Kahn, "is capture of the state agencies by the environmental groups." Any price to avoid

new energy production is OK by these folks, because energy consumption is bad, bad, bad.

In some towns now, electric rates actually go up faster than before. Poor households that can't afford to load up on new refrigerators, air conditioners and \$25 light bulbs (and thus qualify for rebates from the local utility) end up subsidizing those who can. And companies that have already spent fortunes becoming energy efficient are asked to subsidize, through their electric bills, competitors that skimped on energy improvements in the past.

At best, these conservation schemes need a lot of study and fine-tuning. But Congress would declare full-speed ahead, doling out tax breaks and other incentives. One provision even offers cash rewards to federal employees to encourage them to milk these utility giveaways to the max. That should frighten ratepayers in Washington, D.C., and other towns with big federal establishments; they can expect their own electric bills to rise to pay for weatherizing Uncle Sam.

There's a lot more of this. Congress would set efficiency standards for everything from shower heads to electric motors, and throw tax favors at windmills, solar power and biomass. Big-city bureaucrats will be pleased with new tax handouts to reward mass transit and punish employers that provide parking.

The underlying assumption is that energy prices lie. Americans consume too much and the wrong kind, and therefore they urgently need behavior modification therapy from the all-seeing, subsidies-for-all Congress.

Asides

Breaking the Pledge

We've written about the anti-tax pledge here from time to time. No doubt many skeptics thought it was a gimmick, something a politician could blithely sign, confident the voters would forget. But it's not a gimmick, as George Bush discovered. Now it's South Dakota Senator Tom Daschle's turn. In 1986 Mr. Daschle made a big deal about taking the pledge, and a week later he beat a GOP incumbent.

In 1990 he broke the pledge when he voted for the infamous budget deal. He now says he meant his pledge to be valid for only one year. Grover Norquist, the author of the pledge, says that's nonsense. He's in South Dakota today to remind voters that it's behavior like Senator Daschle's that's diminished people's faith in our political system. We'll find out come November whether South Dakota's voters accept Mr. Daschle's explanation.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Foreign-Policy President Finally Acts on Yugoslavia

Now that Margaret Thatcher, Bill Clinton, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and even the Vatican have urged him on, President Bush has decided to consider using force to ensure that humanitarian aid gets through to Bosnia.

Foreign policy, remember, is his strong suit.

If that seems harsh, it's precisely what Democrats are likely to say about Mr. Bush's partial, though certainly welcome, turnabout on the use of Western military force in the Balkans this week.

On Tuesday, Mr. Bush told USA Today that "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 . . . and what's the end. . . . I don't see the answers to my questions."

Yesterday, amid growing political criticism, Mr. Bush had found at least some answers. He moved to ask the United Nations Security Council to approve a use-of-force resolution at least for delivering aid past Serbian gunners. "We must stop ethnic cleansing," he said at last about the grotesque Serbian policy of creating ethnically pure living zones.

Either Mr. Bush had brilliantly maneuvered Mr. Clinton and the rest to endorse his policy before he announced it, or the president had reacted to rather than led events.

The Clinton campaign must be astounded by its dumb luck. A week ago, Mr. Clinton had issued a statement on the former Yugoslavia that was purposely

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

close to what Secretary of Defense Cheney had said about using force. In political terms, it was designed to "inoculate" Mr. Clinton against any charge of Dukakis-like foreign-policy tendencies. Yet the statement was quickly lambasted by White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater — poor guy — for proposing the reckless use of American armed forces.

"I don't know why George Bush chose to make this an issue," says Clinton adviser Michael Mandelbaum. Bill Clinton "wasn't trying to attack the Bush administration. He was trying to support the administration if it acted." The result is that on perhaps his largest election vulnerability, the issue of foreign-policy stature, Mr. Clinton has managed for now to get both to the right of, and ahead of, President Bush.

This may be a little unfair to Mr. Bush, because Western intervention in the bloody Balkans has always been a tough call. Mr. Bush's own military advisers have been telling him not to risk tarnishing his (and their own) Desert Storm military success by using air power to stop the killing in Bosnia.

The Europeans also want to take a powder. Francois Mitterrand wants a new Franco-German military force so long as he doesn't have to use it — a *force de futilite*. Germany is still trying to absorb the east, while Britain's Prime Minister John Major is no Iron Lady.

Yet if the New World Order is going to mean some sort of framework for acceptable international behavior, it's hard to see how it doesn't apply to Serbian aggression. And if the Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic can flout NATO and the U.N., others will learn from his success.

"I think that several things together in the Balkans add up to our vital national interest," argues Patrick Glynn, a one-time Reaganite now studying the Balkans at the American Enterprise Institute. Mr. Glynn has been wary of U.S. intervention. But the latest news of "concentration camps" has persuaded him that the threat of U.S. force is necessary.

The 10,000 refugees a day (and 2.5 million total) flooding into Hungary and elsewhere make this an international issue. So does the fact that if the Serbs, having cleansed Bosnia, turn next to Kosovo and Macedonia, they could spread the war to the Turks and Bulgarians. Preventing a regional war in Europe is surely in our national interest.

But aren't the Balkans a quagmire? Not if Mr. Bush is wise. He has more than the false choice between simply supplying "humanitarian" aid (even with military help) and some giant Operation Balkan Storm. A more discriminate use of force would even be a good precedent. If the only time the U.S. is going to use force is on the huge scale of Desert Storm, then the post-Cold War world is going to see few Saddam-like invasions but much more "ethnic cleansing."

Fred Ikle, another former Reagan policy official, thinks the West's policy goal should be to make the Milosevic government, which is already unpopular at home, pay a price if it continues its brutality. "The idea that a new government in Belgrade couldn't stop this is wrong," he says.

A tighter embargo (especially on oil), truth-telling broadcasts to the Serbian people, even covert action to help Mr. Milosevic's opponents are fruitful options, Mr. Ikle says. Down the road if needed, air strikes against military assets would make Serbian generals understand the cost of aiding Serb warlords in Bosnia.

Skeptics who say the Balkans could become a mess like Northern Ireland may have the right analogy but for the wrong reason. The Dublin government doesn't support the Irish Republican Army. So the IRA can only practice random terror not "cleansing." If Belgrade backed off, Serb warlords might still continue their terror, but it would be a fairer fight.

None of this requires U.S. ground troops, which would indeed be sitting ducks. What it does require is U.S. leadership. If Mr. Bush is willing to organize the world to douse the Serbian brushfire before it spreads, voters won't care if he had to be prodded to do it.

The Labor Department Is Anti-Family

By LINDA FROELICH

American employers are exposed to billions of dollars of liability for having flexible leave policies that help women with children and the semi-retired. If President Bush is serious about his pledge to get rid of regulatory policies that are making America uncompetitive, he should take a close look at the Labor Department.

I own and operate a small environmental consulting firm in Dayton, Ohio, and employ 14 people, 10 of them women. We have a generous leave and benefits package, but sometimes it just isn't enough. If a school or day-care center called regarding a sick child, I always gave permission for an employee to leave for part of the day and care for that child, regardless of how much work would be left waiting. As a mother, I have always felt that the needs of a sick child outweigh the needs of an employer.

At the same time, salaries and benefits—including the full cost of health insurance for employees and their families—make up a huge proportion of my yearly budget. I have one employee who missed 28 days of work in 1991, many of which were partial days, mostly to care for a sick child. I am simply not able to pay for partial-day absences when an employee's allocated benefits have run out.

I have never met any resistance from my employees on this principle. In fact, they have always considered the ability to take leave without pay a benefit. Partial-day absences are essential for any working woman with children. But the Labor Department says that I have broken the law.

The department tells me that if salaried employees take off for a day or more, I can dock their pay. But if they're gone for less than a day, I can't. This is true even if the employee comes into the office, has a cup of coffee, makes a couple of personal phone calls and leaves. It's also true if the employee happens to be a senior vice presi-

dent with a six-figure income. If I dock an employee's pay for working only a part of the day, that makes the employee an hourly worker instead of a salaried worker. The department's policy is not found in its regulations: It is an unwritten "interpretation" of them.

Using this logic, the department claims that all of my salaried employees (industrial hygienists, technicians, and hazardous materials managers) are hourly employees who must be paid time-and-a-half for any overtime they work. Over the past two years, this comes to almost \$20,000—a huge amount for a small business. Larger businesses accused of the same violation are facing liability in the tens of millions of dollars.

Before my run-in with the Labor Department, I was always able to make adjustments for the needs of my employees and their children. Now I cannot. One federal court has gone even further to say that I cannot even deduct from paid leave time for partial-day absences. My only recourse is either to pay a full day's salary for less than a full day of work or forbid people from taking less than a full day's leave. This certainly makes women with children less desirable as employees.

Another Ohio company was taken to court by the Labor Department over a policy designed to accommodate semi-retired employees. Pierce Processing Inc. is a professional engineering consulting firm with 20 employees. It is open 12 hours a day. Engineers used to be able to work any hours they wanted as long as they worked 80 hours in a two-week pay period. If they worked more than 80 hours, they were paid straight (as opposed to time-and-a-half) overtime for each hour over 80. If they worked fewer than 80 hours, they either would take paid leave or have their pay reduced for each hour under 80. This system worked perfectly for semi-retirees who occasionally preferred to take the afternoon off to go fishing or spend time with their grandchildren.

But when the Labor Department got wind of the practice, it forced Pierce Processing to stop it. The department found Pierce Processing in violation because, out of 58,000 total employee hours over a two-year period, 150 hours had been docked. The department claimed that this docking of \$3,450 should result in \$47,000 in overtime expenses. Fortunately, a federal court allowed Pierce Processing simply to reimburse the employees for the 150 hours (after four years of legal wrangling). Even so, the end result is that Pierce Processing now has a policy that requires everyone to either work a full day or take the entire day off. No overtime is paid to salaried employees. Is this a better deal for workers?

The Labor Department's policy does real damage to all employees with special needs: employees who want to take a class that is not available during off-work hours; employees whose health requires frequent medical treatments; pregnant women who have exhausted disability leave. The department has itself acknowledged the problem. Last September it issued a proposed regulation, that has never been finalized, relieving federal, state and local agencies from compliance with the "strict interpretation" of its policy on partial-day leave.

According to California Gov. Pete Wilson, this strict interpretation threatens to cost his state \$3 billion. The rationale for lifting the burden on government agencies is that government needs to be "accountable" and therefore cannot pay for hours not worked. Apparently accountability is not something that can reasonably be expected from private sector employees.

Ms. Froelich is co-owner of Helix Environmental Inc. in Dayton, Ohio.

Notable & Quotable

Helen Hayes, 91, speaking of her acting career, her husband Charles MacArthur and their daughter, Mary, who died of polio in 1949, in the July-August issue of New Choices for Retirement Living:

For all the deep satisfaction it gave me, my career was not a good thing for us—or the children. . . . My life is spoken of as a great success. But it's been a long time, and I still feel Charlie and Mary's absence so acutely. They're both with me all the time. I only wish I'd given it more thought before, when it could have made a difference.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Sinecures vs. Sewing Machines

By CAIT MURPHY

DHAKA, Bangladesh — In two parallel rows, 30 workers sit behind Singer sewing machines. The scraps of leather are passed from machine to machine down one aisle and up the next, gradually taking recognizable form as a jacket. At a finishing table at one end of the room, Munize Manzur, a 22-year-old U.S. university graduate, inspects a finished product and shows off the label: Made in Bangladesh. "Our partners were hard to please at first," she says of Apex Leathercraft's Italian joint-venture ally. "A lot of people have this idea that Bangladeshis are only good for reproducing. Now they're pretty impressed." The factory is expanding.

At the Dhaka Stock Exchange, too, progress is evident. Trading volume is averaging \$75,000 a day, up from \$10,000 a day in the first quarter, says Syed Mahbub Rashid, secretary of the exchange. A couple of foreign funds have moved in, and plans are under way to replace the exchange's two blackboards with a computer system.

Bangladesh has seen more than its share of natural disasters and political upheavals in its 21-year history, but there are some good things happening here. A new generation of home-grown entrepreneurs is beginning to make its mark, helped by an 18-month-old democratic government that has purged the socialist rhetoric from economic policy.

Distaste for Business

Yet despite these healthy signs, the Bangladeshi economy is not in good shape. Public enterprises are fat, lazy and insufferable. Much of the private sector has grown soft from a diet of protectionism. Entrepreneurs are frustrated by corruption and the bureaucracy's traditional distaste for business. In the rural areas, where 85% of Bangladesh's 115 million people live, subsistence is the norm.

Bangladeshis of every political stripe now acknowledge the obvious — that the country's economic history has been a series of gross mistakes that have left Bangladeshis no better off than they were at independence in 1971. Even leaving aside its special problems, Bangladesh serves as an example of how difficult it is to create a free-market economy in the Third World, where entrenched interests stand in the way of market reforms.

The government of Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia has made efforts to clean out the clogged economy and restore a sense of integrity at the highest levels. Last year, for example, it liberalized foreign-exchange controls and established a New Industrial Policy that streamlined approval procedures and allowed foreigners to repatriate profits without government approval. But then it undid much of the good work by giving a 50% raise to the ineffectual civil service, which specializes in tea breaks and keeping the aid pipeline stuffed with unspent foreign money.

This year's budget cut import duties, lowered the top income-tax rate to 30% from 45% and eliminated taxes on capital gains. "There is no alternative to reform," Finance Minister Saifur Rahman told parliament in presenting the 1992-93 budget. "All distortions, rigidities and imbalances of the economy must be eliminated; otherwise, Bangladesh will remain marginalized and locked up in the vicious

circle of poverty."

There's nothing wrong with the theory, but in practice, Bangladesh has adopted a stop-and-go approach to economic reform that has allowed the entrenched client class to sit tight while the government dithers. According to a recent study by Kamal Siddiqui of the National Institute of Local Government here, the most common ways that Dhaka's richest people acquired their wealth were: theft, embezzlement and kickbacks; smuggling and white-collar fraud; defrauding or not repaying bank loans; and acting as commission agents for aid projects. This last class, spawned by socialist planning and financed by foreign aid, can be relied on to oppose economic reform that curbs crony capitalism and robs the bureaucracy of its opportunities to tuck away a few taka at permit time. Nothing the government has done has rattled their gilded cages.

Bangladesh's public-sector enterprises

Despite healthy signs, the Bangladeshi economy is not in good shape. Public enterprises are fat, lazy and insufferable. Bangladesh shows how difficult it is to create a free-market economy in the Third World.

are another drag on the economy. These large state-run and state-financed companies have an unbroken record of futility. Most of them lose money every year. But easy credit from state banks, which the firms rarely bother to repay, has kept them afloat.

The name that pops up most often as the worst of the worst is the Bangladesh Power Development Board, which lost \$59.4 million in 1991. Through incomplete billing and fantasy meter readings, it has allowed employees and consumers to collude and rip off the agency. And when revenues fall short, how does the company respond? By raising rates. That way, honest people can subsidize the dishonest ones who steal power.

Government policy toward the public sector has been a pathetic effort not to offend anyone. Last year, Mr. Rahman proposed privatizing 42 state companies. That pleased the aid donors, who provide half of Bangladesh's national budget and cannot be ignored. But last month, to keep the unions happy, a labor conglomerate, the Sramik Karmachari Oikya Parishad, was promised there would be no privatization without its approval. Not a single industry has been privatized.

The poor management of public enterprises is compounded by a militant labor ethic. Strikes are a form of protest in Bangladesh and both major parties nurture labor wings that they can turn loose at will. Public-sector unions are not keen on economic reform, knowing that the overstaffed, unproductive state industries present a fat target. A donor initiative to pay workers to leave their state jobs evoked an "anti-golden handshake march." Just trying to fire "ghost workers" — non-existent employees on the payroll — can mean strikes and violence.

Government workers who aren't striking may well be skimming. There has been a set of reforms to reduce paper work and regulatory oversight of business, which is the most effective way to cut down corruption. But someone forgot to tell the customs agents, who are not about to give up their lucrative positions — the jobs are sold by auction — just because the finance minister changed the rules.

"On paper, Bangladesh has one of the most liberal import regimes in the region, but it never gets implemented," says Manzur Elahi of Manzur Industries. "When I imported machinery, a customs officer said, 'Where's your permit?' I told him I don't need it anymore. He told me, 'Then get me a letter that no permission is required.'"

Ask Bangladeshi business people what competitive advantage their country offers and the answer is universal: low-cost labor. The minimum wage is 900 taka (\$23) a month, the lowest in the region. But a low-wage economy is not necessarily low-cost. If power is expensive and intermittent, if credit is scarce, if transport is problematic and regulations cumbersome, then the fact that Bangladeshis make a few cents less a day is not going to make much of a difference to an investor.

"The guys who matter today in Bangladesh are the entrepreneurs," says investment adviser Imtiyaz Husain. "The banana sellers, the rice cookers — these people are living without any support from the federal government. If all these guys on the street corner can do it, why can't business?" By and large, the government has refused to face that question.

Managing Constituencies

Conceptually, Bangladesh has turned its back on socialism. Even the opposition Awami League, which nationalized everything in sight when it became Bangladesh's first government, now pays lip service to the market. But history has proved harder to unravel than to repudiate. Bangladesh remains an economic environment in which the emphasis is on managing constituencies — labor, business, donors, friends — rather than encouraging growth.

One exception is the garment industry — the world of Apex's sewing machines and leather jackets. Here, the government has played a useful supporting role. First, it introduced "back-to-back" letters of credit that allowed Bangladeshi garment manufacturers to import raw materials on credit and to repay with their export earnings, thus circumventing the politicized and inefficient banking system. Second, it set up a bonded warehouse system that allowed the import of raw materials tax-free.

In this case, the government followed what should be the first rule of economic policy: Do no harm. Instead of playing with the economy to make friends and influence people, it helped to shape a competitive environment in which Bangladeshis could succeed or fail on their own merits.

They succeeded. Now if only the rest of the economy could get the same treatment, Bangladeshis would stand a fighting chance of digging their country out of its economic hole.

Ms. Murphy is deputy editorial page editor of The Asian Wall Street Journal.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Bush Backs U.N. Using Military Force in Bosnia

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Bush threw his weight behind a United Nations resolution authorizing the use of military force if needed to deliver humanitarian aid to the civilians of Bosnia.

As both domestic and international pressure to stop Serbian aggression in Bosnia continued to mount, Mr. Bush declared that the outside world must do "whatever it takes" to get food and medicine to Bosnian cities. The president said his "heartfelt hope" is that military action won't be necessary. But he added that "the international community cannot stand by and allow innocent children, women and men to be starved to death."

Mr. Bush's remarks, made on a campaign swing in Colorado, represented his most detailed declaration so far about the civil war in the former Yugoslavia.

But the president also acknowledged the fundamental problem in adopting a more aggressive stand: As reluctant as U.S. military officers are to plan for military action in Bosnia, some of America's European allies are even more determined to avoid military involvement in a situation they see as a quagmire. That means it's far from certain that the U.N. Security Council will pass a resolution authorizing even limited international military moves to deliver aid.

Still, there were more signs yesterday that pressure may be building on European governments to do more. European diplomats said that recent reports that Serbian fighters are running Nazi-like detention camps for Bosnian Muslims have aroused public sentiment for moves to stop the violence.

And in the U.S., Congress took its first step to bless possible military action in Bosnia. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on a 12-4 vote, approved a resolution calling on Mr. Bush to push the Security Council to authorize the use of force to provide humanitarian aid to the new nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The resolution also declared that if the president asks, Congress should "promptly" consider authorizing use of U.S. military forces to carry out such a U.N. resolution.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton has been advocating a similar course of action to curb the Serbian militiamen fighting to seize pieces of Bosnian territory and "cleanse" them of ethnic Muslims. The Senate resolution appears to represent in part an effort by congress-

sional Democrats to follow his lead.

Despite Democratic pressure for action, not everyone in the party is eager to commit forces. Rep. John Murtha, a Marine veteran and chairman of the House Appropriations defense subcommittee, returned just days ago from a trip to Sarajevo. He warned that the hilly, wooded terrain around the city would require a large commitment of troops. "Nobody I met really believes that military action is a solution," said the Pennsylvania Democrat, who was an early supporter of the Gulf War.

Though Serbian gun placements in Bosnia are believed vulnerable to airstrikes, Sen. John Glenn, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said the U.S. must look beyond these targets and better clarify its goals. "You can't go down that track and bluff," said the Ohio Democrat. "These are people shooting at one another. They're not going to be easily bluffed."

Mr. Bush said he has instructed the State Department to "press hard for quick passage" of a U.N. Security Council resolution authorizing the use of "all necessary measures" to ensure humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Bush also promised to further isolate the government of Serbia, which is widely believed to be sending guns, fuel and other supplies to Serbian militiamen fighting in Bosnia.

And to underscore support for the other former Yugoslav republics trying to fend off Serbia, Mr. Bush said he is sending ambassadors and establishing full diplomatic relations with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. The U.S. earlier had recognized their independence.

Mr. Bush asserted that there aren't any attractive military options to stop the Yugoslav civil war, maintaining that "an enduring solution cannot be imposed by force from outside on unwilling participants." And in a reflection of European jitteriness over authorizing military moves, Mr. Bush said, "I have to tell you there have been some differences" among U.S. allies. Britain, in particular, is skeptical of any outside military intervention in the guerrilla-style civil war.

Still, some options are being discussed. Rep. Lee Hamilton (D., Ind.), ranking Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said that one action could be an enforced cutoff of oil to Serbia. "You can put a ship at the Danube and say, 'By God, nothing goes in the country,'" he said.

—David Rogers contributed to this article.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Ethics Office Approves Executive-Branch Rules

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Office of Government Ethics for the first time has approved uniform standards of conduct for executive branch employees.

The new regulations, which are to take effect in 180 days, will supersede ethics codes established by individual agencies and departments in favor of a single code. The standards come after years of study and review initiated by President Bush in 1989.

Stephen Potts, director of the government ethics office, said that the regulations will affect about five million workers and exclude only enlisted people in the armed services. He said the rules had been drafted in part to combat negative views of government workers.

Under the rules, employees are prohibited from accepting gifts from "anyone seeking business with or official action by" the employee's agency and "anyone substantially affected by the performance of an employee's official duties." Workers also are barred from giving gifts to superiors or accepting them from "lower-paid employees." In addition, the standards also bar employees from participating in government activities related to matters in which they or their families have a financial interest.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Competitiveness Council Is Target Of Democrats' Fire

By ROSE GUTFELD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Congressional Democrats took aim at the White House Competitiveness Council, threatening to cut off its funds and voting to force it to conduct its business in the open.

At a news conference, a group of senators led by John Glenn of Ohio announced a provision that would strip the council of its funding. The amendment would be added to an appropriations bill scheduled to come up on the Senate floor soon. The House has approved such a provision as part of its version of the bill.

"For two years now, we've seen how the council has weakened laws governing environmental protection, public health and worker safety," said Sen. Glenn, who said his action also reflected frustration at the unwillingness of the council to operate more openly.

Separately, on a 23-15 vote along party lines, the House Government Operations Committee approved legislation that would require the council to make many of its proceedings open to public view.

The council, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle and designed to review proposed rules with an eye toward curbing excessive regulations, has drawn congressional criticism for working behind closed doors with industry to weaken regulations. Striking back at the Democrats, Vice President Quayle's office yesterday released a six-page summary of actions the council has taken to save jobs and streamline regulation.

Among the highlights were several actions that benefited Ohio. The vice president's office said these included the council's efforts to oppose high mileage requirements for cars, which save auto-related jobs, and its push to scale back wetlands regulations, which is preserving \$6 billion of property value for Ohio land owners.

At the news conference, the senators said the vice president is to give a speech today in Columbus, Ohio, where he is expected to discuss environmental regulation and competitiveness. Mr. Glenn was joined by Sens. Max Baucus of Montana, Carl Levin of Michigan, Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut and Tim Wirth of Colorado.

The senators said their bill would be similar to the House measure, which would strip the \$86,000 council budget from a \$22.7 billion bill providing funds for the White House and Treasury. The White House has threatened to veto both the spending bill if the council money isn't restored and the Government Operations bill.

The Government Operations measure, in turn, is similar to a pending Senate measure, sponsored by Sen. Glenn. It would require the council and the White House budget office to make public most written communication they have about regulations; summaries of most oral communications about substantive regulatory matters; and substantive regulatory changes they propose. The bill would also limit the time the council and budget office could spend reviewing regulations.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

House Panel Seeks to Amend Securities Bill

By KEVIN G. SALWEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The House Banking Committee, setting up a turf war within the House, voted to amend a bill aimed at reforming regulation of the Treasury securities market.

The bill, an effort to step up oversight of the bond industry in reaction to the Salomon Brothers Inc. scandal, would require better records of transactions by Treasury bond trading houses and require the industry to improve its disclosure of prices and volume. It also would let the Treasury set sales-practice rules for the industry, reversing a five-year-old prohibition on such steps by the government.

Many sections of the bill, first put forward by Rep. Edward Markey (D., Mass.), would grant the Securities and Exchange Commission significant new powers over an industry that traditionally has been exempt from the agency's authority. The bill also would expand Mr. Markey's purview as head of the House Telecommunications and Finance subcommittee, which oversees the SEC.

But the Banking Committee moved to protect its turf by unanimously pushing through amendments that would allow the Treasury Department and Federal Reserve to make its own rules for the market. The amendments would require bank regulators to adopt "substantially similar" rules for the market to whatever the SEC might create.

Before offering the amendments, the committee's chairman, Henry Gonzalez (D., Texas), argued that "the bill before us is seriously flawed, because once again the Energy and Commerce Committee is attempting to give the SEC regulatory authority over insured depository institutions." Rep. Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.) added, "The Commerce Committee put the SEC in and put it in way overboard" by letting it become a primary rule maker in the Treasury market.

Another amendment promises to set up a battle with the Ways and Means Committee. That provision, also adopted unanimously by the banking panel, would force faster action on automation of the Treasury auction process, generally monitored by the Ways and Means Committee.

In taking on the two committees, Mr. Gonzalez has decided to challenge two of the House's most powerful members, Energy and Commerce Chairman John Dingell (D., Mich.) and Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.). Commerce Committee members, including Reps. Dingell and Markey, had hoped to take a bill to the House floor next week for action on the so-called suspension calendar, a venue reserved for bills without significant opposition. That seems unlikely now.

The amendments also are strongly opposed by the major industry trade group, the Public Securities Association, which said that multiagency rule-making authority "could result in inconsistency and unequal regulation of market participants."

The Treasury and Federal Reserve generally oppose the House bill, contending that it overregulates the industry and could hurt the market. Instead, they back a Senate version, adopted before the Salomon bond-trading scandal erupted last summer, that makes less drastic changes.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Candidates Are Either on the Bus or Off It

Bush Tries to Find The Right Course In Re-Election Bid

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. — Every now and again, George Bush's political vital signs begin to flicker on. Just as suddenly, they go out.

For a man who has spent most of his adult lifetime in politics, this re-election campaign is a struggle, and the stress and uncertainty flowing from that are sometimes painfully obvious.

In two days of campaigning this week, the 68-year-old Mr. Bush's performance ranged from satisfactory to dismal. On the eve of his own vitally important national convention, he is still feeling his way—testing self-deprecatory humor, worrying out loud about what seems to be a national obsession for “change,” seeking themes that he hopes will help to close a yawning gap between his sagging campaign and Gov. Bill Clinton's soaring one.

This week, dropping out of the sky in his Boeing 747, he talked mostly to folks who should already be in his corner — the Knights of Columbus in New York, disabled veterans in Reno, Nev., and conservative state legislators here in Colorado Springs. But even at these friendly events, what the campaign calls “comfort stations,” there was something less than universal acclaim.

The Knights of Columbus, a Roman Catholic fraternal order that is passionately opposed to abortion, cheered his vow to keep vetoing legislation supported by abortion-rights advocates. This is Mr. Bush's most loyal and trustworthy constituency. But some of them are worried. “He's facing such a long, uphill struggle,” laments Glen Hollenhorst, a delegate from Modesto, Calif.

Mr. Bush knows he has a problem. He joked with the Knights of Columbus that their patron, Christopher Columbus, was “the guy” who was faced “with questions at home about whether his global efforts were worth a darn. Some critics wanted to cut his voyage short. He even faced the threat of mutiny.”

Mr. Bush was referring to mutinous conservative critics who have suggested he should step down. Just like Columbus, though, he will persevere and win, he said.

But how? By seeking some kind of national renewal. Change for Mr. Bush means going back “to fundamental moral values... established by Almighty God.” He sees the “central issue” of the election as being one of trust—which candidate “do you trust to renew America's moral purpose?” The speech was well-received by his audience.

But, hours later in Reno, long after the evening news shows had been aired, he gave a rambling speech that left his audience — the annual convention of the Disabled American Veterans — disappointed. Even though he is a member of the group and even though he reminded these veterans he had been shot down by the Japanese in World War II, he failed to connect with them. “I don't know what he was saying,” said Everett Thurman, a delegate from Melbourne, Fla. “We're going to elect Mr. Clinton and get this economy moving again.”

Mr. Bush called the World War II veterans in the audience “old guys” who “kind of make me feel at home here.” He said he didn't want to swap war stories with the veterans “because then I'd have to listen to you guys. And I don't have time.” Some — not many — of the veterans laughed.

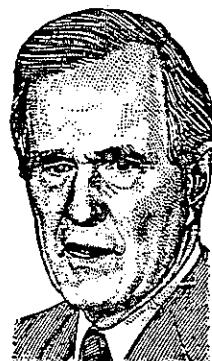
Here in Colorado Springs, he got a double dose of bad news when he awoke yesterday morning.

First came a new statewide poll showing him trailing Mr. Clinton by 47% to 22%, with only 56% of Republicans saying they'll vote for him — this in a state that hasn't gone Democratic in 28 years. At the same time, the Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph hammered him in a long editorial: “The trouble you find yourself in today is largely of your own making... running as a me-too Republican, content with making a few minor adjustments to the status quo, will almost guarantee your defeat in November. You might as well not run.”

Then he came flickering back to life again, in a red-faced, fist-pounding speech to the American Legislative Exchange Council, an organization of conservative state legislators. It was a new tack and most of the legislators liked it. “We've been looking as Republicans for George Bush to come out of wherever it is he's been,” said Dale van Vyven, a state legislator from Cincinnati. “I think he's done it here. That's what we need.”

The president conceded he's been hit with a “firehose of criticism” and that he has been “a little slow to fight back.” But now, he said, he is tired of “being slugged by these guys, and I will fight back, and I will win this election.” Mr. Clinton, he charged, talks like a conservative but is really planning massive new taxes and spending. “And as for all that talk about change,” he said, “it's all you're going to have left in your pockets when these guys get through with you.”

For all the trappings of office — the immense entourage, the planes, the limousines — Mr. Bush in this campaign seems very much alone. He mentions his wife, Barbara — she always gets a cheer — but she wasn't with him this week. Mr. Clinton was traveling with his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr.; Mr. Bush's running mate, Vice President Dan Quayle, was nowhere in sight and his name was never mentioned.



President Bush

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Clinton Road Trip Taking the Sunny Side of the Street

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
LACROSSE, Wis. — Democrats haven't tried optimism as a campaign strategy for a long time. But this year presidential nominee Bill Clinton is giving it a whirl.

During his bus trip this week in the Midwest, the Arkansas governor is espousing a distinctly middle-class type of can-do-ism. In Burlington, Iowa, with a nearly completed bridge spanning the Mississippi River in the background, Mr. Clinton declared, "There are a lot of people who don't believe that we can solve the problems of today, but we can! It's still the greatest country on Earth!"



Bill Clinton

This pose of optimism in the face of daunting problems was a Democratic staple for decades. Just think of FDR's jaunty cigarette holder in the midst of the Depression. But the Democrats' last Happy Warrior, Hubert Humphrey, had the misfortune to run at an especially unhappy time. Since then, the party has put forth a series of painfully earnest Cassandras, ceding to Ronald Reagan and the Republicans the mantle of sunny optimism.

But as the buses bearing Mr. Clinton and running mate Albert Gore rumble through the Midwest, it's again the Democrats who are selling the promise of a brighter tomorrow. The gloom-and-doomers, in Mr. Clinton's view, are that "crowd in Washington," led by George Bush. "This crowd in Washington, they wake up every day and try to think of someone else to blame," he declares on the stump.

Of course, it's easy to preach optimism when you are 20 points or more ahead in the polls, as Mr. Clinton is right now. Things seem to go more smoothly. The message of the day has an easier time getting across. The media coverage is more favorable. The crowds are large and enthusiastic.

Will Smiles Melt?

The real test of the Democrats' upbeat attitude will come when the going gets tougher. Already, the jabs from Mr. Bush and the Republicans are beginning to get sharper. Yesterday, the nominee was diverted into answering the president's charges that he is seeking "the largest tax increase in American history" and would vastly raise government spending. Mr. Clinton countered that the president ignored elements of his economic program that would offset his proposed tax increases with tax relief to lower and middle-income people, and also left out projected Clinton savings from such efforts as overhauling the health-care system.

The Clinton-Gore bus trip, an effort to recapture the spirit of the wildly successful trip the two candidates took right after the Democratic convention, had a rocky start in a sparsely filled gym in predominantly black East St. Louis, Ill. And crowds in general have been somewhat smaller than the first time around.

But the road show has gathered strength as it's gone along. In Muscatine, Iowa, a cheering throng held candles aloft to lure the eight-bus caravan to stop. Near Burlington, Iowa, the owner of a bar tried to entice a visit by hanging out a sign that read, "Clinton stop, I'll buy." And in Fort Madison, Iowa, several hundred people simply forced the motorcade to pull over by walking out in front of it.

"People seem to be awed," said Rep. Harold Volkmer after a rally of nearly 10,000 people in his hometown of Hannibal, Mo.

The feel of this tour is a little bit different from the first one. On the earlier trip, many of the people who came out seemed to be curiosity seekers hoping for a glimpse of the newest celebrities. This time, they seem more attuned to the ticket itself, and to the message of change and optimism that Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore

are preaching.

In Hannibal, 24-year-old Daniel Elliott held up a sign proclaiming, "I was a Republican for Perot. Now I'm a Republican for Clinton." Standing next to him, 46-year-old Diana Gabbert affirmed the sentiment. "I voted Republican for 20 years, but not this time," the former factory worker said. "Bush has no plan. He's lost touch with the people, the middle class. Clinton and Gore stand for change."

In stark contrast with Vice President Quayle, who hasn't been campaigning with the president and who is often completely unmentioned at Bush events, Sen. Gore and his name are everywhere. The Tennessee senator opens most rallies with a rousing introduction of Mr. Clinton, complete with a summary of his humble upbringing and an account of his governorship, points meant to counteract Republican avenues of attack about the Democratic nominee's character and record. Mr. Clinton, for his part, never misses an opportunity to compare his running mate to Mr. Bush's.

Courting Swing Voters

Gov. Clinton is using this trip to focus on many of the same issues that Mr. Bush used in 1988 to win over swing voters. For instance, Mr. Clinton stresses his plan to fight crime by putting more policemen on the streets. He also asserts that he would be the true "education president" by investing more in schools, guaranteeing anyone a college education who wants one and starting an apprenticeship program for those who don't. He hits the health-care issue hard, asserting that insurance companies and "bureaucrats" are to blame for rising costs that he, as president, would tame.

He rarely mentions painful problems such as the deficit unless asked, and uses Sen. Gore almost as a shield when he is confronted by questions about the environment and foreign affairs, topics on which the senator is considered better versed.

The one subject Mr. Clinton never ducks is the likelihood of continued Republican attacks on him right up until Election Day. At an especially enthusiastic gathering past midnight in Bettendorf, Iowa, Mr. Clinton warned that it was going to be a tough 90 days and said, "Don't let them take your courage away."

"Fight for change to the very end," he urged. "Give us a chance to bring America back."

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

BUSH ADVISERS SEEK a face-saving way to avoid a tax-relief-bill veto.

Kemp's criticism of the enterprise-zone provision forces the White House budget office to back his threat of a Bush veto, undercutting a compromise with Democratic Sen. Bentsen. "Kemp screwed it up," complains one top Bush aide. White House officials try to cast the saber-rattling as an attempt to influence a House-Senate conference next month.

Even some GOP backers of a capital-gains tax cut seem willing to overlook its omission for enterprise zones. Republicans are eager to claim credit, and campaign donations, for extending popular business-tax breaks. "It's not an urban aid bill. It's not an economic growth bill. It's an election-year tax bill," says one GOP staffer.

But most GOP political strategists think Kemp's confrontational stance would help Bush more politically than his critics' approach.

RABIN'S VISIT may give Bush a boost with new moves on peace talks.

The new Israeli leader will tell Bush next week that Israel will offer a broad plan for Palestinian autonomy at the talks that resume this month in Washington. An Arab official predicts Arab states will agree to lift their boycott of firms doing business with Israel in September or October — in time for Bush to take credit before the election.

Rabin also will report that he is suspending road projects in the occupied territories and freeing private, as well as public, housing. But experts worry that if peace talks bog down, Baker will be preoccupied with White House politics. Rabin plans to visit Clinton to make clear he isn't taking sides in the U.S. election.

BUSH'S CAMPAIGN plans more attacks, though internal chaos still reigns.

White House Chief of Staff Skinner told his staff not to be "misled" by Bush's apology over an anti-Clinton press release last weekend. "Our record alone won't cut it," he conceded. The big hits will focus on family values — campaign strategists hope this conjures up marital woes and Democrats' pro-gay-rights stance — and Clinton's tax increases as governor.

The President picks Ray Price, once Nixon's top speech writer, to draft his all-important Houston acceptance speech; Peggy Noonan, author of Bush's highly acclaimed 1988 speech and a favorite of campaign head Teeter, is in the wings. Backbiting rises among the Bush team with special contempt directed at Skinner. There's little improvement likely until Baker takes over, as expected.

One prominent administration conservative thinks Baker's waiting game aims to force Quayle out; the replacement would be Baker himself.

SPEAKER STATIC: The Bush campaign brags that, unlike the Democrats', the GOP convention will highlight congressional leaders. But conservatives complain two main speakers will be senators Dole and Gramm, the GOP architects of the 1990 budget strategy. Last month's Wall Street Journal/NBC poll showed voters overwhelmingly disapprove of Bush's explanation for raising taxes in that deal.

L.A. GEAR: Three of Clinton's campaign co-chairs hail from Los Angeles. One is Hispanic, another is black. But the only apparent qualification of the third Angelino, former party chairman Charles Manatt, is that he is the top partner in the lobbyist-law firm of Mickey Kantor, the Clinton campaign chairman who had a major say in picking the co-chairs.

COUNTERATTACK: As Republicans plan to make Clinton's threat to the economy a key theme of the Houston convention, the Democrat's strategists scramble to arrange an event for prominent business executives to endorse Clinton. The target date: the Monday of the GOP convention.

ABORTED BILL? The Democrats' "Freedom of Choice" abortion-rights bill stalls in Congress and now appears unlikely to pass. Senate leader Mitchell hurts himself by trying to get out front of the House on the issue and then not having the votes to end debate after Republicans craft an alternative to attract moderates.

POSSIBLE PICKS for justices court controversy for Bush and Clinton.

Conservatives, angered by Souter's backing of Roe vs. Wade, pressure Bush to ensure his next appointee is anti-abortion. Bush officials fear a top conservative choice, Judge Edith Jones, would spark another ugly fight with Senate Democrats. Bush would like to appoint a Hispanic, but his advisers see no candidates that fit their criteria.

Clinton's vow to pick abortion-rights justices stirs GOP charges of a litmus test. One possibility, Harvard's Laurence Tribe, is too controversial. Clinton advisers insist he is serious about Cuomo, especially as a chief justice. Two black women mentioned: Washington, D.C., delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton and Children's Defense Fund's Marian Wright Edelman.

Justice Blackmun, the Roe decision author, turns 84 in November and is the most likely justice to retire next.

MINOR MEMOS: Asked to remind a Senate committee of his position on an issue, Fed chief Greenspan replied: "I think you have me on the record as being ambiguous on that question." . . . Kemp's four-year-old grandson calls him a "very important public serpent." . . . Is there a Webster's in the House? A House-Senate conference is held up as staffers are sent to look up the word "exigent," meaning urgent.

—RONALD G. SHAFER

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

What's News—

* * *

Business and Finance

GM EARNED \$392 million in the second quarter before a \$749.4 million one-time charge, which resulted in a net loss of \$357.1 million. The auto maker warned that its slow recovery could falter because of U.S. and European economic weakness. The Big Three stocks all ended lower.

(Article on Page A3)

A massive Senate tax bill was delayed as lawmakers lined up to offer scores of amendments for constituents and contributors. Expectations are growing that the bill will become law.

(Article on Page A2)

American Express's Shearson Lehman Brothers unit said it is in discussions with several financial institutions to sell its Boston Co. money management operation. People familiar with the talks say that Shearson is asking for a price of at least \$1 billion.

(Article on Page A3)

British Petroleum posted a \$1.24 billion quarterly loss, and its new managers halved the oil company's dividend, slated a 10% work-force cut and unveiled a recession-wary strategy. The company's ADRs fell 8.1%.

(Article on Page A3)

Some big retailers had healthy sales gains last month, but analysts played down the results and said the industry outlook remains uncertain.

(Article on Page A2)

Stocks fell on disappointing earnings news, with the Dow Jones industrials losing 24.58 to 3340.56. Bond prices eased ahead of today's employment report. The dollar was mixed.

Oil prices rallied sharply after new saber-rattling by Iraq, which was followed by a harsh U.S. response.

(Articles on Pages C1 and C12)

* * *

Philips Electronics posted a 50% drop in second-quarter net, and the Dutch concern's executives said its consumer-electronics business may not be profitable for two years.

(Article on Page A6)

Hewlett-Packard expects to report that fiscal third-quarter net fell well below analysts' estimates. The computer maker said weak capital spending among its electronic equipment customers has been taking a toll.

(Article on Page A4)

GTE reached a definitive agreement to sell its world-wide lighting business in two pieces for a total of about \$1.1 billion to a Siemens unit and an investor group led by Citicorp.

(Article on Page C9)

Southwest Airlines agreed to buy 34 Boeing 737-300s. The order, valued at \$1.2 billion, comes as far larger airlines are canceling buying plans following several years of losses.

(Article on Page A2)

Bristol-Myers Squibb researchers developed an experimental drug that may be safer than current therapy for preventing rejection of organ transplants, but years of animal tests must be performed before human trials.

(Article on Page B8)

The House Banking panel voted to amend a bill that would reform regulation of the Treasury-debt market. The amendments aim at giving rule-making powers to the Treasury and Fed.

(Article on Page C5)

* * *

Markets—

Stocks: Volume 181,390,000 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3340.56, off 24.58; transportation 1284.11, off 7.09; utilities 221.08, off 1.44.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 4558.56, off 11.80.

Commodities: Oil \$21.42 a barrel, up 24 cents. Dow Jones futures index 117.39, off 0.20; spot index 116.15, off 0.34.

Dollar: 127.65 yen, up 0.05; 1.4773 marks, off 0.0037.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

World-Wide

BUSH ASKED the U.N. to authorize force if needed to deliver aid to Bosnia.

As pressure mounted to stop Serbian aggression, Bush called on the Security Council to authorize the use of force if necessary to expedite humanitarian aid. He said his "heartfelt hope" was that military action wouldn't be needed. There were appeals for intervention from many parts of the world, including the Vatican. A Senate panel voted to ask Bush to push for the U.N. resolution. (Article on Page A14)

In Brussels, NATO members agreed to draw up plans that could involve thousands of Western troops to ensure aid delivery. Options might include taking control of Sarajevo's airport or opening a land corridor from the Adriatic.

THE HOUSE APPROVED aid to Russia and other former Soviet republics.

The 255-164 vote, which came after White House lobbying, sent the measure to a conference to work out differences with a Senate bill. The House measure would provide \$1.2 billion in direct aid to former Soviet states and Eastern Europe. It includes economic and humanitarian aid, along with assistance in dismantling weapons, and also participation in a ruble-stabilization fund. (Article on Page A4)

The largest part of the package — and the most politically sensitive — calls for a \$12 billion contribution to boost the capital of the IMF, which is leading efforts to revamp former Communist economies.

IRAQ ASSERTED that U.N. inspectors won't be allowed to enter ministries.

Baghdad barred U.N. weapons inspectors from entering any of its government ministries, saying such visits were aimed at humiliating Iraq's honor and national sovereignty. The statement came as a 22-member Russian-led U.N. team prepared to go to Baghdad. In Colorado, Bush restated firmly the U.S. position that the U.N. resolutions requiring Iraq to permit the inspections "will be honored in full."

The House Banking Committee voted 31-19 to issue new subpoenas for documents from two states, the CIA and other agencies, as the panel probes U.S. support for Iraq before the Gulf War.

Bush accused Clinton of wanting to levy "the largest tax increase in American history" and raise spending. The Democrat replied that Bush had ignored ideas to offset any tax increases with tax relief to lower and middle-income people — and left out projected savings from a health-care system overhaul. (Related articles on Page A14)

The U.S. confirmed it had proposed Aug. 24 as the date to begin a sixth round of Mideast talks and had offered to hold the negotiations again in Washington. In Jerusalem, settlers marched to protest government curbs on housing construction in occupied lands. Later, Prime Minister Rabin left on a visit to the U.S.

Four white police officers surrendered to federal authorities in Los Angeles on federal civil-rights charges in the beating of black motorist Rodney King. The defendants were released on \$5,000 bond each and ordered to return Monday for arraignment.

Anti-apartheid leaders called for U.N. observers to be rushed to the scene of a new South African massacre they linked to police. The black leaders said they suspect the police of complicity in the shooting of 11 people Sunday in a Natal township. Meanwhile, blacks occupied government buildings on the fourth day of protests.

The Centers for Disease Control said a national search turned up an additional nine cases of people with AIDS-like illnesses but without HIV. The agency has called a meeting for next Friday to review the findings. (Article on Page B8)

A U.N. team arrived in Somalia's devastated capital, Mogadishu, and was scheduled to meet with rival warlords to discuss security steps in conjunction with a planned international relief operation.

The Air Force has solved a key radar-evasion problem in the B-2 stealth bomber and the aircraft can be fixed without the need for major design changes, Air Force Secretary Rice said.

The Italian government pushed a package of anti-Mafia laws through Parliament after measures to break criminals' ties with politicians were watered down. The new laws allow police to use "sting" operations, wiretaps and infiltrators.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Action on Tax Legislation Is Delayed by the Senate

Many Amendments Offered Amid the Growing Belief The Bill Will Be Enacted

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The Senate delayed action on a massive tax bill as lawmakers lined up to offer scores of amendments for constituents and contributors on a measure that more and more of them expect will become law.

With the debate next week will come expected fights over a write-off for some assets acquired in takeovers and the shape of tax breaks for investors in blighted neighborhoods. Senate leaders hope to begin debate Monday and finish before members begin leaving Wednesday for the Republican convention and their August break.

"It's going to be very difficult," said Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D., Texas), the bill's chief sponsor. A final compromise then must be negotiated with the House, so the delay ensures that a bill won't go to President Bush until next month.

Division in Administration

The administration has threatened to veto the Senate version, but officials continue to express optimism that differences will be reconciled. It is divided between those, led by Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, who want to create more so-called enterprise zones in depressed areas and to cut capital-gains taxes for investors there, and those eager for Mr. Bush to sign a bill that otherwise contains many of his own economic proposals. Those include a deduction for real estate entrepreneurs' losses on rental property, a tax credit for first-time home buyers, and a one-time speedup of write-offs on new business equipment.

Sen. Robert Kasten (R., Wis.), who is leading the effort to expand the enterprise zones proposal with Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.), said he may modify his amendment to limit a cut in capital-gains taxes to investors in small start-up companies. He said as many as 150 tax-favored zones could be designated, for the same \$2.5 billion five-year cost as the Bentsen proposal. Sen. Bentsen's version would permit 25 zones, 15 of them in cities, to

qualify for business wage credits and generous equipment write-offs. The modest enterprise zones plans have emerged as the chief response to the widespread calls for urban aid after the Los Angeles riots.

Among other changes to the bill, Senate Republicans want to curtail two revenue-raisers that help pay the package's cost, projected at more than \$31 billion over five years. They object that the bill would make permanent two laws that limit the itemized deductions and personal exemptions that high-income taxpayers can claim. Both were part of the 1990 budget agreement to reduce the federal deficit.

'Good Will' Provision

Two Democrats, Sens. Paul Simon of Illinois and Kent Conrad of North Dakota, want to remove a provision creating a first-ever write-off for intangible assets that qualify as "good will," which generally represents the premium paid for a business based on the value of its reputation and brand names. Their still-emerging amendment would allow a uniform write-off for other intangible assets, such as customer lists, and in fact could set a shorter write-off than the 16 years provided in the Bentsen bill.

The issue has been fanned by unions, particularly for food-industry workers, who argue that the write-off — part of a joint effort by the White House and Congress to simplify a contentious, confused area of tax law — in fact would encourage takeovers and job losses. The potential success of the Simon amendment has alarmed the business community, which fended off a similar attack in the House.

Along with the myriad business-tax incentives, Sen. Bentsen included in the bill his proposals expanding aid to families torn by drug abuse. The House yesterday voted 256-163 for a broader package of family and children's assistance sponsored by Rep. Thomas Downey (D., N.Y.), but its \$7 billion five-year cost would be offset by a 10% surtax on taxable income exceeding \$1 million, a proposal that drew a White House veto threat.

Some Democrats were anxious to dare Mr. Bush to veto a family-aid program that many Republicans support but for the tax, though the House vote fell short of the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto. However, since the Senate bill also includes provisions on family aid, supporters say it's possible that the issue will be resolved as part of the overall package — without the millionaires' surtax.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

White House

Bush's Campaign Dismisses 4 Speech Writers

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 — The Bush/Quayle campaign, aware of the President's need to craft a message with broadened appeal, has dismissed a group of speech writers as part of a continuing effort to get the Republican Presidential campaign on track.

The dismissal of three writers — Joe Dugan, Beth Hinchcliffe and Janice Crouse — and a fourth whom the campaign would not name, was one of the first signs that Steven Provost, the new White House communications director, is bringing in his own team to revamp Mr. Bush's message.

The President's speeches have grown sharper and more folksy in recent days as the President has struggled to break through an avalanche of public-relations problems, including ominous public-opinion surveys and a clumsy Republican attack strategy.

The White House said that the writers would probably go to work in Fed-

A shakeup in pursuit of a broader message.

eral agencies or be reassigned within the campaign as researchers or as speech writers for someone other than the President.

For some people working within the White House, Mr. Provost's swift action to reshape the campaign's speech-writing staff was another sign that the campaign was reorganizing in preparation for a vigorous general-election fight.

Others feared that Mr. Provost's action signaled a move away from the conservative makeup of the speech-writing department, a theory that senior campaign officials discounted.

"I'm not clear that the reasoning was anything other than the new guy

bringing in his own people," said one White House official. "Provost has been given something no one has for a while, and that is to hire and fire as he sees fit. Carte blanche."

Mr. Provost, 32 years old, who succeeded former communications director David Demarest, was the director of communications for Gov. Thomas H. Kean of New Jersey from 1985 to 1989. He later served as vice president of public affairs for Kentucky Fried Chicken. With no previous experience in Presidential politics, he took over the White House communications job a month ago.

One Bush adviser called the restructuring simply "moving some bodies around" and said it would not affect the campaign's ideology.

"Speech writers don't set policy," the adviser said. "And if they do, they ought to be fired."

GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

The Republicans

Bush Says Rival Would 'Pull a Fast One' Over Taxes

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

COLORADO SPRINGS, Aug. 6 — Trying to steady the Republicans' wobbly conservative base, President Bush today made his most aggressive assault yet on Gov. Bill Clinton, charging that the Democratic nominee would "pull a fast one on the American people" and raise taxes by hundreds of billions of dollars.

Appearing before an enthusiastic group of conservative state lawmakers at the annual convention of the American Legislative Exchange Council, Mr. Bush made the economy the battleground of the day, targeting the issue on which his advisers believe he is most vulnerable and on which he has received the most fire from conservatives.

Ovations and Flag Waving

The President devoted his entire speech to portraying Mr. Clinton as a liberal Trojan horse. "Is all this talk about what they call a 'new covenant' simply some cover-up for old ideas?" Mr. Bush said, borrowing the slogan the Arkansas Governor introduced in the Democratic primaries and revived in his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention last month.

Campaigning today in Hanoverton, Ohio, Vice President Dan Quayle also played with Mr. Clinton's call for a new covenant. "It is not a new covenant," Mr. Quayle said. "It is a new cover-up for the failed liberalism of the past. Don't be fooled by slick politicians. We want the real thing, and that's George Bush."

Mr. Bush's speech, which drew two

In a conservative stronghold, the President focuses on the economy.

standing ovations and much flag waving, was an exercise in minimizing the Administration's disappointments on the economy and presenting the President as the heir to President Ronald Reagan's conservative policies — a mantle that Mr. Bush's conservative critics say he does not deserve.

The Bush campaign, for example, said today that Mr. Clinton "unabashedly proposes the largest tax increase in American history, at least \$150 billion over four years." That assertion is at best questionable. The tax increase signed by Mr. Bush in 1990, breaking his 1988 "read my lips" pledge, may actually have been larger. It was \$137 billion over five years.

The largest tax increase ever enacted was signed by Mr. Reagan in 1982. It raised taxes by a net of \$214 billion over five years, Senate Budget Committee figures show.

But while the Democrats have proposed a \$150 billion tax increase over four years, Mr. Clinton is also proposing offsetting tax cuts — for middle-income families or families with children, for the working poor and for businesses. According to calculations by the Senate Budget Committee, these tax cuts would total about \$58 billion. Thus, Mr. Clinton is proposing a net tax increase over four years of about \$92 billion.

Question of Credibility

Mr. Clinton, campaigning today in Iowa, said that Mr. Bush was a candidate with "no credibility" and that the American people would not believe White House assertions that a Democratic victory would lead to higher taxes and soaring spending.

"It can't stick; the American people can't believe a guy with this kind of record," the Democratic nominee said. "They're not going to do it."

The President has been trying to take the offensive against the Democrats in recent days, peppering his speeches with criticism of Mr. Clinton's policies on health care, military spending, abortion and education. As he wound up a two-day trip to New York, Nevada and Colorado, Mr. Bush was clearly turning up the heat significantly in the hope of lending some momentum to his campaign.

But even in the Rocky Mountain West, a traditional Republican stronghold, the President was facing bad news: The Denver Post published a poll, taken July 20-26 among 501 registered voters in Colorado, that showed Mr. Clinton leading by 47 percent to Mr. Bush's 22 percent. The poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus four percentage points.

The Colorado Springs Gazette-Tele-

graph, which generally takes a conservative editorial stance, warned the President today: "Running as a me-too Republican content with making a few minor adjustments to the status quo will almost guarantee your defeat in November. You might as well not run."

Angrier and Confident

In the face of this political pressure — and the rumors about his physical health — Mr. Bush appeared more good-humored, self-deprecating, energetic, angrier and confident today.

In a radio interview here the President said the Republican lawmakers, editorialists and columnists who have been suggesting he quit the race "can go jump in a lake."

In his speech to the lawmakers, Mr. Bush never mentioned Mr. Clinton by name, saying he would "save the 'C' word for our convention in Houston," and at one point even calling him "my nameless opponent." But today that came off as an attempt to make Mr. Bush's awkward habit of not being willing to call his opponents by name seem disarming and not a sign of timidity, as it had in past months.

"I have been blamed for everything except that crazy scoring system that was used in the Olympic boxing compe-

tion," Mr. Bush said. As the audience cheered and waved American flags, he added, "I am tired of being slugged by these people, and I will fight back and I will win this election."

The Gladiator Anecdote

Mr. Bush also complained that he was unfairly criticized when he returned Mr. Clinton's fire. "Every time I tiptoe into the water with this guy, they start yelling 'negative campaigning,'" he said. "I am going to fight back, and I will define his record as he has ill-defined mine."

To back his point, Mr. Bush told a long anecdote provided by his new speechwriter, Steven Provost, who has been supplying him with increasingly folksy flourishes intended to help him connect with the common man.

The story ended up painting Mr. Bush as a gladiator, buried up to his neck in sand, and Mr. Clinton as the lion attacking him. "As he did, the gladiator reached up and took a very ferocious bite in a very sensitive place in the lion's anatomy," Mr. Bush said. "And the lion howled in pain and ran for the exit, fled from the arena, and the lead centurion ran out and attacked the gladiator: 'Fight fair, dammit, fight fair.'"

On the Trail

CLINTON'S SUPPORT IS STEADY BUT FRAGILE, POLLS SHOW

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 (AP) Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic Presidential candidate, has a consistent lead of more than 20 percentage points over President Bush in three post-convention polls by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. But his support is soft and another major shift in loyalties could be in the offing, the center said today.

Three national polls taken by the center in late July and early August put Mr. Clinton's advantage over President Bush at 57 to 36 percent, 58 to 31 percent and 57 to 32 percent. But the polls also found that 7 out of 10 Clinton backers who were once in the Perot, Bush or undecided columns called their support weak.

GOLDWATER CRITICIZES ANTI-ABORTION PLANK

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 (Reuters) — Barry Goldwater predicted today that President Bush's strict anti-abortion stand would sink the G.O.P. Mr. Goldwater, the former Arizona Senator and Republican Presidential nominee, said the anti-abortion plank would make the convention "go down in a shambles, as will the election."

G.O.P. SENATOR BEGINS PRO-CHOICE EFFORT

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 6 (AP) — Senator John Seymour, Republican of California, today began a risky bid to assert his pro-choice position by lobbying his own party to abandon its anti-abortion plank at the Houston convention. Senator Seymour, an appointee who is running for his post, is lobbying members of the platform committee.

TEXAS CHANGES DISTRICT BOUNDARIES IN MID-CAMPAIGN

AUSTIN, Texas, Aug. 6 (AP) — State Senate district boundaries were changed in mid-campaign today to reflect court rulings, so the district boundaries used in the primaries will not be the same in the general election. Some nominees may no longer live in their districts.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992



Associated Press

President Bush trying on a Stetson cowboy hat he received from the American Legislative Exchange Council in Colorado Springs.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Bush Urges U.N. to Back Force to Get Aid to Bosnia

Security Council Is Asked to Act With Haste

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

COLORADO SPRINGS, Aug. 6 — Responding to mounting international and domestic pressure to take action on the Balkan war, President Bush called today for a United Nations resolution authorizing the use of force to deliver food and medicine to the besieged populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"My heartfelt hope is that that will not prove necessary, but the international community cannot stand by and allow innocent children, women and men to be starved to death," Mr. Bush said at a hastily arranged airport news conference following a campaign appearance here. He said he would "press hard for quick passage" of a Security Council resolution.

Hardening of U.S. Stand

Mr. Bush's words represented a hardening of the Administration's position on the Balkan war. But in calling for a United Nations resolution, Mr. Bush was taking a step to carry out an agreement, reached with other leaders in July, to seek United Nations authorization to protect the relief effort in Bosnia.

Administration officials said that even if force were used under these circumstances, it would be limited to supporting the relief efforts and not to impose an end to the fighting or to check Serbian aggression. Mr. Bush asserted today that no amount of outside pressure or force would end the bloodshed in the Balkans, which he said could go on for years.

Mr. Bush also stopped well short of committing himself to any military response, which officials have said would be confined in any case to air and naval power and not ground forces.

Consultations at U.N.

American officials began consulting with allies and members of the United Nations Security Council today to press for a resolution as quickly as possible, perhaps this weekend.

It thus remained unclear whether the President's statements were simply another twist in a Balkan policy that has fluctuated from passivity to rhetorical threats but has essentially been driven by a desire to limit American involvement in the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Outlining a series of steps he was prepared to take to demonstrate American resolve, Mr. Bush said he would immediately establish full diplomatic relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia and Croatia to support those new countries, which have declared independence from Yugoslavia.

Saying he said he felt a "moral obligation" to determine the truth of reports of torture and mass killings at Serbian-run detention camps, Mr. Bush demanded that inspectors be given full

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The New York Times

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Bush Proposes Action by U.N. On Bosnia Siege

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access to the camps and ordered American intelligence to use "every asset available" to investigate the reports.

The actions had been urged on the President for weeks by Democratic and Republican lawmakers as the Balkan war turned into a troubling test of the "new world order" that the President proclaimed after the Persian Gulf war.

At a summit meeting in Munich in July, Mr. Bush and the other leaders of the Group of Seven industrial democracies said they would seek a United Nations resolution on the use of force to deliver humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo and other places if the shipments were blocked by the Serbs.

Suspension of Airlift

Despite continued attacks by Serbian forces, Mr. Bush fell largely silent on the issue after the Munich conference, and withheld his first public response to the growing cry for action in Washington and from abroad until fighting in the area of the Sarajevo airport, a consequence of a Bosnian counteroffensive, forced United Nations officials to suspend their airlift of food and medicine into the besieged city. The airlift, suspended on Tuesday, was the only active international relief effort in Bosnia.

Mindful of the political risks of sending American forces into combat in an election year, the President also said he had not yet made the final decision to do so. "You can be assured that if force proves necessary, I will do everything in my power to protect the men and women involved in this international mission of mercy," he said.

Mr. Bush's decisions largely mirrored a bipartisan resolution endorsed Wednesday by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee calling for an American response to the Balkan violence. They represented a response not only to the violent unfolding of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, but also to the events of recent days, including reports of torture and mass killings of Bosnian Muslims at Serbian detention camps.

War-Crimes Inquiry

The Administration has been making conflicting statements on the camps for days and it was not until today that the President elevated the issue to the level of the Oval Office. On Thursday, the Administration issued a written statement by Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger calling for a war crimes investigation of the fighting in Bosnia.

"We know that there is horror in these detention camps," Mr. Bush said. "I cannot confirm on hard evidence some of the charges that have been made. It is absolutely essential, what-



The New York Times

President Bush called for a United Nations resolution authorizing the use of force if needed to deliver food to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

U.S. stand on the fighting in the Balkans hardens.

ever is going on there, that there be open inspections and that humane treatment of the people in these concentration camps be guaranteed."

But, he added, "In all honesty I can't confirm to you some of the claims that there is, indeed, a genocidal process going on there."

Asked if he felt a "moral obligation" to stop the killing if the reports turn out to be true, Mr. Bush said, "Well, I feel a moral obligation to see that these camps are inspected. I feel a moral obligation to see, just on the evidence that we have."

As he did on the detention camps, Mr. Bush tried to walk a careful line on the question of using military force in the Balkans. His aides have been counseling him for months that the Balkan war is a quagmire from which the United States might not be able to extricate itself for years if ground forces were committed.

Asked today if television pictures from Bosnia of civilians being shot and bombed made him want to send in American bombers to destroy the Serbian artillery positions, Mr. Bush said: "It makes me want to do whatever we have to do to stop the killing. I would only suggest that this is a very complicated military question — very, very complicated indeed."

He added, "We have the best intelligence in the world on this and it is not an easy military problem even for our fantastic Air Force."

In addition to pressing for a Security Council resolution that "will authorize the international community to use force, if necessary, to deliver humanitarian relief supplies," Mr. Bush said he would take these steps:

¶Name American ambassadors to Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Washington has recognized these former Yugoslavian regions as independent countries but has not yet established full diplomatic relations with them.

¶Propose that international monitors be posted in neighboring states to insure that the economic embargo on Yugoslavia is enforced.

¶Propose the establishment of civilian monitors to try to prevent the violence in Bosnia and Croatia from spreading.

¶Consult with "our allies in NATO on all aspects of this crisis and how the alliance, how the NATO alliance, might be of assistance to the United Nations."

Mr. Bush opened his remarks by reading from a prepared statement in which he said the war in the Balkans "is a complex, convoluted conflict that grows out of age-old animosities."

"Let no one think there is an easy or a simple solution to this tragedy," he said. "The violence will not end overnight, whatever pressure and means the international community brings to bear."

He added, "Those who understand the nature of this conflict understand that an enduring solution cannot be imposed by force from outside on unwilling participants."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Easing Open Safety Catch

*Bush, Under Pressure,
Now Talks About Guns*

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 — President Bush crept reluctantly to the verge of a military commitment in the Balkans today, forced to reconsider his cautious policy by reports of Serbian atrocities, by the prodding of Democratic campaign rivals and by the opposition of senior figures in his own party.

News
Analysis

In a rapidly changing political environment, supercharged by assertions that Serbian forces were carrying out torture and murder in detention camps that have reminded some of the Holocaust, Mr. Bush's effort to work behind the scenes to halt the fighting through diplomacy is running out of time.

He finds himself subject to criticism for timidity and indecision — the kind of thing he thought he had put behind him with victory in the Persian Gulf.

The pressure is coming not only from Gov. Bill Clinton and others to the President's left; he is also taking heat from Margaret Thatcher, from Republican conservatives such as Senator Bob Dole of Kansas and from his party's main voice on foreign policy on Capitol Hill, Senator Richard E. Lugar of Indiana. He is taking the pressure, moreover, in the midst of a faltering re-election campaign.

Mr. Bush expressed his "heartfelt

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Easing Open Safety Catch: Bush Talking About Guns

Continued From Page A1

hope" that the use of force could be avoided, and he spoke only of using military power to insure delivery of food, medicine and similar aid. But the debate has moved well beyond that.

After voting today for a resolution urging United Nations action against Serbian-backed forces, Mr. Lugar said he favored the use of air strikes by planes based on American carriers in the Mediterranean Sea against large Serbian artillery concentrations in the hills above Sarajevo and even against military installations in Serbia.

"We must get the Serbian Government to reconsider its support for the forces that are destroying Bosnia, and we must halt the atrocities," Mr. Lugar said. "I believe that aerial strikes can get that message across."

For now, at least, Mr. Bush disagrees, several White House aides said. According to Administration officials, the most Mr. Bush would be willing to support would be the opening of land routes into Bosnia for relief efforts and some air cover for convoys.

But Mr. Bush clearly felt that he had to take some public steps, as he did today. The events of recent days, with the State Department seeming to waffle on whether there had been atrocities, and with diplomatic initiatives being announced in the name of Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, sent political signals that the President was not interested.

Where? Bosnia?

Many in the Administration view Bosnia and Herzegovina as a backwater, with only marginal importance now that the cold war has ended. In the Tito era, when it provided an anti-Soviet if not an anti-Communist bulwark against Moscow, Yugoslavia was viewed as crucial, but no longer.

There is also a widespread feeling in Washington that the Europeans — especially the Germans, who pressed for early recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, in effect sanctioning the breakup of Yugoslavia — have utterly failed to contain a European crisis.

"Europe's response has been a complete shambles," said Representative Tom Lantos, a California Democrat on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

A Call by Clinton

The Bush campaign's response to Mr. Clinton's interventions has been shaky at best. When the Democratic nominee issued a statement on Yugoslavia last month that went only a tiny bit beyond the Administration's position, the White House press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, labeled it reckless. Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d later told Capitol Hill Republicans that Mr. Fitzwater had not even read the statement and had "screwed up."

Mr. Clinton has now moved beyond

his original call for military action to keep aid routes open. In his comments Wednesday in East St. Louis, Ill., he said he "would begin with air power, against the Serbs, to try to restore the basic conditions of humanity."

But Prime Minister John Major of Britain has repeatedly expressed reluctance to go along with any such attacks, as have French and German officials. Mr. Baker told Republican senators last week, before leaving for vacation in Wyoming, that one reason American policy had not been more forceful was European foot-dragging.

No Volunteers

Senior officials of all the major Western nations believe that nothing of lasting significance can be accomplished without the commitment of ground troops by someone to separate the Bosnians from the Serbs, and no one is willing to undertake that job. "Support for the poor little Bosnians would wilt with the first casualties," a French official said today.

"I don't think you can impose peace by military force," Douglas Hurd, Brit-

The pressure to do something about Bosnia.

ain's Foreign Secretary, said on Monday. "This is valley against valley, village against village, fighters mixed up with civilians, no clear targets, and I think the idea of achieving peace through air strikes would involve a lot more people being killed. So I regard that idea as very extreme."

From the American point of view, it is the Europeans who would have to provide any ground troops. The Pentagon has opposed military intervention from the start.

Even without the commitment of United States troops, Mr. Bush is reluctant to seem too preoccupied with events abroad when the electorate is preoccupied with jobs, health care, education and other issues at home.

Mr. Clinton paid close heed to that pitfall, remarking that he wanted to rebuild American cities, where, he said, more people were killed than in Yugoslavia. But he added, "You can't allow the mass extermination of people, and just sit by and watch it happen."

Quotation of the Day,
page 2, every day,
in the News Summary.
The New York Times.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

IRAQ TO BAR U.N. FROM MINISTRIES

Bush Is Reacting Sharply —
Inspectors Due to Arrive
in Baghdad Saturday

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 — Two days before an international inspection team was scheduled to arrive in Baghdad for another round of weapons searches, Iraq announced today that it would bar the inspectors from all its ministries.

The official Iraqi News Agency, monitored in Cyprus, reported that Culture Minister Hamed Youssef Hammadi said such searches were political and intended to humiliate Iraq.

President Bush, speaking to reporters in Colorado, responded sharply to the news, saying the United States would help guarantee that United Nations inspectors could enter any building they believed might contain information or material related to Iraq's weapons programs.

The team is looking for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as well as long-range missiles systems.

'Every Right to Inspect'

"I can't tell you what the inspection targets will be, but if they proved to be in the ministries, the United Nations has every right to inspect, and we will help guarantee that right," Mr. Bush said, adding that President Saddam Hussein "will comply with United Nations resolutions."

In New York, a spokeswoman for Rolf Ekeus, who heads the special commission charged with inspecting Iraqi sites, said Mr. Ekeus, who is now in Bahrain with a 22-member inspection team, had not been told officially of the Iraqi announcement, but had heard about it in news reports. The team was scheduled to arrive in Baghdad Saturday, the United Nations said.

The spokeswoman for the special commission, Agnes Marciallou, said: "We have no official reaction. Iraq has not relayed anything official to us."

The new challenge from Mr. Hussein comes after a three-week standoff in July, when Iraq prohibited a team from entering the Agriculture Ministry. When the confrontation ended, after threats of force from the United States, American inspectors on the team were barred from the building.

Asked today if he was not getting tired of Iraqi resistance to inspections, Mr. Bush said, "I've been fed up with him for a long time."

Threats to U.N. Staff

The regional chief of the commission, Doug Englund, expressed concern about continuing threats to the safety of United Nations personnel in Iraq. The latest was a gunshot by an unidentified assailant aimed at a United Nations guard outside a Baghdad hotel.

"We continue to have concern about security," he said as the inspection team assembled in Bahrain.

Guaranteed safety for inspection teams and free access to any building to search for banned weapons are the two demands that the commission made during the confrontation over the Agriculture Ministry.

House Panel Votes to Widen Inquiry Into U.S. Policy on Iraq

By **ROBERT PEAR**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 — A Congressional committee voted today to widen its investigation of the Bush Administration's policy toward Iraq, seeking additional evidence of how the United States helped Iraq build up its military arsenal before the Persian Gulf war.

The investigation seems likely to cause political embarrassment for President Bush in this election year, and the committee vote, 31 to 19, generally followed party lines.

The action by the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs comes just a few days before Attorney General William P. Barr must respond to a request by House Democrats for appointment of a special prosecutor. The Democrats say an independent prosecutor is needed to investigate "possible criminal activity" by Administration officials responsible for United States policy toward Iraq.

Intelligence Records Sought

The Banking Committee authorized subpoenas for records in the possession of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency, which eavesdrops on electronic communications around the world.

The intelligence agencies had evidence that Iraq was running a military procurement network in the United States and Europe in 1989, even as the Bush Administration was granting agricultural loan guarantees and other

aid as an inducement for Iraq to moderate its behavior and join the "family of nations."

House Democrats requested the independent prosecutor on July 9. Under procedures established by the Ethics in Government Act, Mr. Barr must respond by Monday. He could approve the request, reject it or seek more time to conduct a preliminary investigation of his own before deciding whether to request appointment of a special prosecutor by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Barr dislikes many features of the special prosecutor law, but he would be harshly criticized by Democrats if he did not seek a special prosecutor.

Factors in Decision

In deciding whether to open a preliminary investigation, the Attorney General is supposed to consider only whether the allegations are specific and come from a credible source. Under the law, he must seek a special prosecutor if he decides that "there are reasonable grounds to believe that fur-

ther investigation is warranted."

In proposing the subpoenas, Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the Banking Committee, said: "Reagan and Bush supported Saddam Hussein. They knew Iraq had a clandestine military procurement network operating in this country. They decided to tolerate Iraq's efforts to build nuclear and chemical weapons, and so they allowed the network to continue operating."

Iraq received large amounts of money from the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank, Banca Nazionale del Lavoro. The committee intends to subpoena a former executive of the bank, Christopher Drogoul, who pleaded guilty in June to Federal charges of conspiracy and bank fraud arising from a scheme to lend \$5 billion to Iraq.

The committee will also issue subpoenas to Federal agencies for records related to the bank and to Iraqi companies that bought American military technology for Baghdad.

Republican members of the committee complained that the panel was ex-

ceeding its authority in demanding documents from intelligence agencies. Representative Chalmers P. Wylie, Republican of Ohio, said the committee was "going far afield." Representative Bill Paxon, a Republican from western New York, complained that Democrats were using "strong-arm tactics" to gain approval of the subpoenas, and he said, "Ringling Brothers would be proud of this committee today."

Mr. Gonzalez has been waging a lonely two-year campaign to investigate United States assistance to Iraq before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. The investigation is embarrassing to the Administration, but would not have come so close to Election Day if the Administration had been more cooperative in the past, Mr. Gonzalez said.

Dennis M. Kane, an aide to Mr. Gonzalez, asked, "What is the Administration hiding?"

Mr. Kane said Mr. Gonzalez would issue the subpoenas as soon as possible, so the committee staff could inspect relevant documents at the offices of the C.I.A. and other agencies.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

America's Computer Ghetto

By Charles Piller
and Liza Weiman

The report by Elizabeth Holtzman, the New York City Comptroller, on the availability of computers in the public schools paints a discouraging picture of technological inequality. Inner-city pupils, especially African-American and Hispanic children, are being cheated in their efforts to use computers as learning tools.

New York's experience is no aberration, despite Federal figures that show that poor and minority students have made dramatic gains in access to computers. In 1984, twice as many white high school students used computers as minority students. Today, the percentages are nearly equal. But the Government's statistics are misleading: Simply counting computers is a useless way of measuring their effectiveness.

Instead of becoming instruments of reform, computers are reinforcing a two-tier system of education for the rich and poor. In affluent schools, students often use computers for creative exploration, such as designing multimedia presentations that explain the physics behind amusement park rides or the ecology of endangered wetlands.

In poorer, predominantly minority schools, teachers tend to focus on drill and practice routines for reading, writing and arithmetic — "drill and kill," as many educators refer to them. Most inner-city and remote rural districts lack the skills or money to train teachers to use computers effectively.

Politicians agree with educators that the U.S. must have high-quality computer-based learning in the public schools. And in the last decade, America has spent more than \$1 billion to that end. But there is little coordination. Nearly a dozen Federal agencies provide computers and promote their use in the schools. No one in the Federal bureaucracy even knows how much the Government spends to put computers into schools.

In their efforts to survive amid budget cuts and social decay, poor schools tend to use computers so ineptly as to repel students. At a Cali-

fornia school, equipment donated for a sophisticated computer laboratory were used almost exclusively for teaching students to type. "It'll be painful at first," the instructor told the students, "but eventually your muscles will learn to conform to the keyboard." The kids stared at their screens in stupefying boredom.

On average, training in keyboarding and programming makes up 30 percent of computer use in high schools and 15 percent in elementary schools. In many poor schools, the figure was closer to 60 percent.

Even when principals in poor schools try to use computers more creatively, their plans often fall prey to the logic of survival. There is enormous pressure to raise standardized test scores. And, paradoxically, rote, computer-based training can increase scores by a few points — even if it deadens critical thinking.

The effects of such computer use are clear: students' glazed eyes or routine misbehavior; teachers who telegraph low expectations and use computer games as bribes for enduring the insipid repetition of drill and practice. Such compromises reflect tacit resignation that these machines extend the misery.

Many students become familiar with information technologies in a general sense, but as passive consumers of information — usually in front of the TV. Once out of school, they are relegated to low-wage jobs where they may operate electronic cash registers or bar-code readers. They may find work as data entry clerks, typing page after monotonous page. They are controlled by technology as adults — just as drill-and-practice routines controlled them as students.

To turn this around, teachers need training to use computers effectively. The first computer in every classroom should be placed on the teacher's desk. At the district level, teams of technology trouble-shooters can take the pressure off individual schools.

Federal leadership should start with matching training funds for schools trying to use computers as tools for learning and creativity. And the White House should make universal computer proficiency a national policy before a generation of young people loses its shot at a better life in the information age.

Charles Piller and Liza Weiman are editors at Macworld magazine.

In poor schools,
children are
taught to type,
not to think.

Rumor and Justice in Washington Heights

By Rudolph W. Giuliani

Soon a grand jury will decide whether to indict Officer Michael O'Keefe in the death of Jose Garcia, the shooting that precipitated rioting in Washington Heights in July. Mayor David Dinkins must prepare this confused and outraged community and all New Yorkers for the possibility that Officer O'Keefe might not be indicted.

After the Los Angeles riots, Mayor Dinkins averted violence by quickly correcting false reports of rioting and looting in New York. But in the days after the Washington Heights shooting, he used his office to make unjustified rumors and media reports of police brutality appear valid.

Now he must untangle the facts and accept responsibility for letting sensationalism overwhelm realism. This is even more necessary now that Police Commissioner Lee Brown has resigned. Mr. Brown's increasing isolation from City Hall has created two separate and uncoordinated responses

Rudolph W. Giuliani, the former United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, was Republican candidate for Mayor in 1989.

es to civil disorder — a political response from the Mayor and a professional response from the Police Department.

The Mayor's calculated response to Jose Garcia's death led the public and the media to conclude that the shooting had been unjustified. Sensing political advantage, he rushed to Washington Heights, along with Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, to pose with Mr. Garcia's relatives and perpetuate characterizations of Mr. Garcia as an innocent bodega worker victimized by the police.

David Dinkins helped make Mr. Garcia a martyr, in part to promote his crusade for an all-civilian police review board — an idea unpopular with the Police Department leadership, including Mr. Brown. At present, the board has six civilian members appointed by the Mayor and six Police Department employees named by the Commissioner.

In his haste, the Mayor didn't bother to check Mr. Garcia's record. When he declared, "Justice we will have, but peace I beg you for," he had already taken sides.

Four violent days passed — in which dozens of stores were looted, cars were overturned and one man was killed — before the public learned of Mr. Garcia's history. This

information came not from Mayor Dinkins, who had Mr. Garcia's police file, unopened, at his fingertips, nor from Commissioner Brown, whom the Mayor had neglected to call back from a visit to California. The president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, Phil Caruso, finally opened the books: Mr. Garcia was a member of Los Cibanos, a Dominican

Dinkins helped make a martyr of a drug dealer.

drug gang, and had been convicted of selling drugs and was wanted for violating probation. Mr. Dinkins said he first learned of Mr. Garcia's record in a newspaper.

Since the the killing, more details have undercut the assumption of police guilt. The autopsy found no bruises on the body to support allegations of a vicious police beating but did find cocaine in Mr. Garcia's system.

A Wall Street Journal story noted that Mr. Garcia's hometown, San

Francisco de Macoris, in the Dominican Republic, was notorious for shipping drug dealers to New York and drug profits back home. And according to a report in Wednesday's New York Post, the District Attorney's office found no physical evidence on Officer O'Keefe's hand radio to substantiate claims that it had been used as a bludgeon.

This wasn't the first time Mayor Dinkins ceded neighborhoods to the forces of lawlessness. In early 1990, he failed to control street agitators boycotting a Korean grocer in Brooklyn, despite a court order to do so.

Last August, when street violence broke out in Crown Heights after an African-American boy was killed by a car driven by a Hasidic Jew, order was not restored for two days. A young Hasidic scholar, Yankel Rosenbaum, was killed. The Mayor was not confronted about his inaction in Crown Heights until the police complained about the number of officers who were injured and not permitted to defend themselves or the community.

If the grand jury decides against indicting Officer O'Keefe, let us hope that the Mayor will not offer a tortured rationalization for his misguided behavior, but an apology to law-abiding Washington Heights residents and the police who work to protect them. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

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Pound Foolish on Census Data

Census trends and economics statistics make for eye-glazing conversation. Yet they are vitally important to policy makers, scholars, corporate executives and anyone else trying to make sense of the economy. That's why the House and Senate budget bills are alarming: They propose making deep cuts in the Census Bureau and Bureau of Economic Analysis, agencies in charge of keeping statistical tabs on the U.S.

The cuts would be shortsighted. Collection of data on leading indicators that predict recoveries and recessions, and on foreign investment and other vital topics, would have to be eliminated or curtailed. The cuts threaten projects to analyze the 1990 census and improve the next census, for example, by overcoming the systematic undercount of minorities.

The U.S. needs better economic barometers, not truncated ones. Current statistics provide misleading snapshots of the economy by overemphasiz-

ing the once-dominant manufacturing sector and neglecting newly emerging service sectors. And the data are out of line with international convention, making comparisons impossible.

Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, has led a movement to beef up data collection, and the Administration has proposed budget increases to do so. But appropriations committees proposed sizable cuts, leaving the budgets too low by \$40 to \$60 million.

The money would not be hard to find in less important parts of the Commerce budget. It could be generated, for example, by imposing small fees for subsidized loans from the Small Business Administration or requiring banks to pick up a larger share of losses on such loans.

It makes no sense, after spending more than \$2.5 billion to conduct the 1990 census, to now refuse money to make the data usable. Good data are vital to good business decisions and good policy making.

Topics of The Times

History's Mystery — for \$599

The cover of the fall catalogue for New York City's upscale Hammacher Schlemmer emporium features a model of Columbus's flagship, the Santa Maria, priced at a cool \$599. Each model took "a minimum of 450 man hours to create," the catalogue declares, and was "faithfully reproduced by hand on the island of Hispanola [sic] (where Columbus first set foot)."

Stop the presses! Is Hispaniola where he landed? Historians would give their eyeteeth to know for sure. At least nine places in the West Indies have been cited as the first landfall, but Hispaniola isn't one of them.

The catalogue also contends that the models' design "follows the plans found in historical documents that were used to build the original vessel." That's news, too. Documents believed to describe the Niña were discovered 15 years ago, but it's not even known what type of ship the Santa Maria was. The Niña was a caravel. The slower Santa Maria may have been a cargo ship.

In the hype surrounding the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage this fall, a lot of misinformation is being offered as gospel. In fact, much about the man and the voyage remains a mystery. Hammacher Schlemmer is not the first to err — and won't be the last.

Hidden Killers

Anyone who has seen a child suddenly choke or vomit or lose his breath because he's swallowed something to which he's allergic has probably witnessed an anaphylactic reaction. These reactions kill several hundred young Americans each year, many of whom were unaware they were eating a substance lethal to them.

That's the gist of a study from Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, recounted in the current New England Journal of Medicine. And the reason an accompanying editorial calls for more explicit food labeling.

Peanuts, nuts, eggs, milk, soybeans and shellfish are the most common food allergens. Allergic youngsters — and their parents — learn to scour labels looking for them. But they can't recognize them in certain protein additives in processed foods. A "hydrolyzed vegetable protein," for example, could be made from soybeans.

The editorial rightly asks that the protein sources of additives be listed on labels, and that restaurants alert patrons to unexpected ingredients in their preparations. (A few years ago in Rhode Island a teen-ager died after eating the unannounced peanuts in a restaurant's chili.)

Americans increasingly want to know what's in what they eat. Americans with food allergies have to know.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

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Not Tough Enough With Serbia

President Bush, under pressure from Bill Clinton and public opinion, has quickened his response to the carnage in the Balkans. He will ask the United Nations to authorize military protection for deliveries of food and medicine. That's commendable but hardly enough to end the savagery.

Bosnia is being overrun by Serbian-sponsored terrorists. Its cities are being shelled and starved into submission. Its people are being routed from their homes, shot at as they flee, even as they bury their dead. Reports say thousands are being herded into concentration camps.

But the world so far declines to defend democratic Bosnia's territorial integrity the way it did feudal Kuwait's. Mr. Bush needs to mobilize reluctant European allies to face down Serbia with a credible threat of collective military force.

Yesterday the Administration announced several steps besides seeking to protect humanitarian deliveries. It upgraded U.S. diplomatic relations with Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia. And it called for tighter international enforcement of economic sanctions against Serbia, dispatch of international civilian monitors to other threatened Balkan areas and consultations with NATO allies.

What's still conspicuously missing is a Security Council resolution that would brand Serbian aggression

a threat to international security, demand full restoration of Bosnia's sovereignty and borders and authorize military force, if necessary, to insure compliance. Enforcement of such a resolution might best be delegated to NATO, which has sufficient forces already in the region.

There are risks in such an ultimatum. Air strikes alone might not be enough to silence Serbian guns. Bombing Serbian airfields and military installations would inflict pain but still might fall short. And the prospects for any ground fighting would have to be weighed carefully; a ground war would likely be more prolonged and cost many more allied casualties than did the U.N. coalition's war against Iraq.

But military force is now necessary to contemplate. Winking at Serbian aggression would betray Bosnia, and with it the professed values of civilized nations everywhere. Serbia would be emboldened to carve up other nearby territories. And success for its "ethnic cleansing" strategy would encourage like-minded demagogues to pursue ethnic wars from the Baltic to the Caucasus.

The world does not lack military options for defending Bosnia. What it lacks is the political will to deploy them. Washington alone is capable of galvanizing an effective international response. The place to begin is with the United Nations Security Council. The time is now.

Now, Federal Review of the King Case

The stunning acquittals of four officers on state criminal charges of using excessive force against Rodney King brought riots and ruin to Los Angeles in April. President Bush's shocked reaction spoke for many Americans. A Federal grand jury has now brought civil rights charges against the officers, making good on Mr. Bush's pledge for vigorous Justice Department action. A Federal courtroom is an appropriate forum to try this case; it scarred the nation as well.

When the Federal trial occurs, the accused are entitled to the same presumption of innocence that governed their state trial. Instead, the air is full of politicians' cries for conviction as the only just result.

Such thirst for the law's retribution is understandable. But it's a gross assault on the officers' constitutional rights, a bitter irony when the indictment charges them with denying Mr. King his rights. It plays into the defense complaint that local prejudice, which caused the state case to be moved to a mostly white suburb, makes a fair trial impossible even in the immense, diverse judicial district of central California.

One constitutional right that does not apply is the safeguard against double jeopardy — "... nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb." For generations the Supreme Court has deemed successive prosecutions by state and Federal govern-

ments to involve different offenses against different governments, even though the verdict may turn on the same or overlapping evidence.

Historically, the Justice Department has exercised its vast discretion with great care. It has reserved Federal follow-up prosecutions for perceived miscarriages of justice, the classic example being the failure of some states to get fair results in racial violence cases. Perhaps the best evidence that the acquittals were unjust were the pained reactions of police professionals across the country and even the stated revulsion of the former Los Angeles police chief, Daryl Gates.

Without second-guessing the original prosecutors, the Justice Department was well within its own guidelines in finding that the verdict "did not vindicate the Federal interest" in safeguarding constitutional liberties even of lawfully arrested people like Rodney King. That's a separate, national interest, hence a different crime.

Those who watched the original trial know that despite the damning amateur film footage of the episode, the case was anything but open and shut. That film gave ammunition to the defense as well as the prosecution, focusing the dispute on when, if ever, the officers departed from their rule book for arresting a violent or drunken person.

The nation is now on notice to view with care not just the bystander's film but the Federal trial itself.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Will Bush Act Now?

BOSTON

On Aug. 2, 1990, the morning after Iraq occupied Kuwait, President Bush told reporters: "We're not discussing intervention. I'm not contemplating such action."

Then he flew to Aspen, Colo. There he met Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister. They talked for hours. That afternoon, at a joint press conference, Mr. Bush took a much tougher line. He condemned "naked aggression" and said he was considering "the next steps needed to end the invasion." Mrs. Thatcher had stiffened his backbone.

Can she do it again — move him beyond mere calls for U.N. action? That is the question after her tough piece on The New York Times Op-Ed page calling for a threat of military force to end the Serbian onslaught on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mrs. Thatcher recited the horrors being visited on Bosnian civilians by Serbs. She said the West should serve an ultimatum that Serbia end its support of the aggression and recognize Bosnia's independence and territorial integrity. If not, she said, Western planes should hit Serbian gunners who are shelling Bosnian cities and should bomb military supply facilities, including targets inside Serbia.

One purpose of her piece — probably the purpose — must have been to wake up George Bush. For his unwillingness to act has been the key factor in convincing Serbian leaders over many months that they could continue to get away with the policies that have killed thousands of Bosnians and driven millions from their homes.

Will the President be moved? Mrs. Thatcher is no longer Prime Minister. But she may still have an important psychological hold on Mr. Bush. More than anyone else she seems to touch in him the fear of being regarded as a wimp.

And Mrs. Thatcher is not alone. She has spoken out at a time when Mr. Bush is under growing pressure to change his policy, from domestic political forces and from the ever more flagrant cruelty of events in what was Yugoslavia.

Most Americans have been relatively indifferent to the Yugoslav conflict over the last year, and reluctant to see this country get militarily in-

volved. But the accelerating horrors — the pictures of orphans murdered, of harmless people made refugees by "ethnic cleansing" — have begun to arouse Americans' moral outrage.

Last week the Bush campaign thought it would be a good political trick to attack Bill Clinton as "reckless" when he called for United Nations action to allow bombing of forces that attack relief efforts in Bosnia. It turned out that Governor Clinton had done no more than restate the Administration's own cautious policy.

This week the Democratic candidate was more forceful. "We cannot afford to ignore what appears to be a deliberate and systematic extermination of human beings based on their ethnic origin," he said in a speech. "I would begin with air power against the Serbs, to try to restore the basic conditions of humanity."

That view is being heard increasingly, across the political spectrum. Bob Dole, the Senate Republican leader, asked: "Why didn't we respond to this aggression 12 months ago?"

Senator Dole and others in a bipartisan group called for the use of "all necessary means" to gain access to detention camps where Serbs have reportedly been mistreating and even executing Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, Democrat of Connecticut, said the group favored limited air strikes to put pressure on Belgrade.

The Administration's fumbling on Yugoslavia was embarrassingly exemplified this week by State Department officials' inconsistent statements about Serbian detention camps. Finally Deputy Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger called for a war crimes investigation of what he said were "profoundly disturbing" reports of "death camps."

No one familiar with the Balkans can believe that military intervention in this conflict will be easy. Mr. Bush has been worried about the political cost if we do intervene and Americans are killed. But the cost of inaction — the moral and political cost — is growing.

No one is likely to concentrate George Bush's mind more wonderfully than Margaret Thatcher. He himself said last year that she had firmed him up during the gulf crisis, telling him at one point: "Remember, George, this is no time to go wobbly."

A. M. Rosenthal is on vacation.

Pressures
to move
on Serbia.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Guadalcanal, Aug. 7, 1942. And Forever.

By William Manchester

IF you were a young Marine 50 years ago, seeing Guadalcanal for the first time from a troopship, your view was spectacular. It seemed evocative of Baudelaire's "Les Fleurs du Mal" — beautiful and sinister. Except for occasional patches of shoulder-high razor-sharp grass, the island was swathed in tropical rain forest that, from the ship's deck, looked solid enough to walk on.

Actually, we found, once ashore, that the straight ground lay a hundred feet below vast cathedrals of banyan, ipil and eucalyptus trees. In between were thick, matted, almost impenetrable screens of twisted vines and slimy creepers — a green fastness broken only by streams veining the jungle. The forest seemed almost alive, a great squatting toad-like beast thrusting its green paws through ravines toward the shore, emitting faint whiffs of foul breath, a stench of rotting undergrowth and stink lilies.

I never saw combat on the island — my heavy fighting came later, on Okinawa — but I spent seven months on the 'Canal, as we all called it, and went back in 1978. So I know its terrible story. The leatherneck units making up the First Marine Division, which arrived on Friday, Aug. 7, 1942, were not only expected to fight in this steaming miasma — they had to, absolutely had to win.

In the eight months since Pearl Harbor, the Japanese had conquered Hong Kong, the Philippines, French Indochina, Siam, Malaya, Singapore, the whole of the Dutch East Indies and half of New Guinea. Japan seemed invincible. Now in the high summer of '42, using Korean labor, the enemy was building an airfield here in the Solomons preparatory to an invasion of Australia.

The Japanese, and the jungle, were only part of the challenge. Another was the decision, made by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, to give the defeat of Germany absolute priority. Japan would be taken care of later. There was also a lesser, but exasperating, problem for us. We were carrying World War I weapons because the Marine Corps, though part of the Navy, used Army equipment and did not get new hardware until the last G.I. had been issued his.

By dusk that first day, some 16,920 men had established beachheads on the 'Canal and on Tulagi, a nearby island. The surprised Koreans and their Japanese overseers fled into the bush, and Seabees were preparing to lay down runway matting on the airstrip, renamed Henderson Field.

Some ammunition and supplies were also put ashore that afternoon. The rest was supposed to be unloaded later, but at 1:43 A.M. on Sunday, Aug. 9, a powerful Japanese fleet roared down from New Britain, sank four of the five Allied cruisers and crippled the fifth. Our remaining warships and troopships departed, taking everything the Marines needed with them. Brig. Gen. Alexander A. Vandegrift, the Marine commander, immediately put all hands on half rations.

That first naval victory gave the Japanese command of the waters around the island, and they began landing reinforcements every night. Our prospects were dim. Gen. Douglas MacArthur thought our survival was "open to the gravest doubts." The Army Air Corps refused to send aircraft there; the crews of merchantmen bearing food for us refused

to sail there; the senior admiral in the Solomons refused to strengthen the force there. The Marines were written off — doomed.

Henderson Field was the key to survival. If the Japanese broke through our thin defensive perimeter and took it, the island would be forfeit. But there would be no surrender, "no second Bataan," as General Vandegrift told his colonels. If all was lost, he said, they would "head for the hills and fight on as guerrillas."

Bastogne was an epic in Europe: The 101st Airborne was surrounded for eight days. But the Marines on Guadalcanal were isolated for four months. By October, the typical leatherneck had a malarial fever and open, running sores (jungle rot). He wore stinking dungarees, had been reduced to eating roots and weeds and had lost 25 pounds. The Marines' plight may be measured by their surprise and gratitude when the commander of the Army's Americal Division on New Caledonia sent General Vandegrift 20,000 pairs of shoes, so his men would not have to fight barefoot.

The most dramatic of the countless engagements were fought on the nights of Sept. 12 and 13, a Saturday and Sunday. Although greatly outnumbered, the defenders enjoyed one tactical advantage: interior lines. The enemy had to move around our perimeter, through heavy jungle, but our men could be quickly switched to any threatened sector.

Lieut. Col. Merritt (Red Mike) Edson, commander of the First Raider Battalion, correctly guessed that the Japanese were planning a major assault on a long ridge south of the airfield. High, spiky, golden grass feathered the slopes of this rugged hogback, leading down to deep humid ravines and dense jungle. When the Japanese came, he said, they would come from down there and would come in great strength. Defending Bloody Ridge, as it later came to be called, were Red Mike's Raiders, the First Paratroop Battalion, and, in reserve, a battalion of the Fifth Marines.

Early Saturday evening an embarrassed naval officer handed the besieged General Vandegrift a message from Vice Adm. Richard L. Ghormley, informing him that because his ships were needed elsewhere, the Navy "can no longer support the Marines on Guadalcanal."

On the ridge an hour later, enemy flares burst overhead. Moving by their illumination, massive waves of Japanese with fixed bayonets swarmed up the slopes. All that night and the following night you could hear the coughing of the Raiders' mortars, the long staccato bursts of the machine-guns firing belt after belt, and their screams of pain as they replaced hot warped barrels with their bare hands. The Japanese were screaming too, and the Marine sergeants were shouting, "Ahoy, Raiders! Raiders! Rally to me!" It was extremely close but at daybreak, Monday, the Marines were still holding the ridge's last knoll, and the

The Marines, doomed, did the impossible.

Japanese were in full retreat.

President Roosevelt now saw that the 'Canal was shaping up into one of those decisive battles, like Waterloo and Gettysburg, in which both sides had resolved upon a showdown and prestige transcended strategic position. He directed his staff officers to "make sure that every possible weapon gets into that area to hold Guadalcanal."

Army troop divisions were on their way. Adm. William F. Halsey took over the fleet. Altogether 34 naval battles were fought around the island, with 65 major warships sunk, roughly half Japanese and half ours. Sealark Channel, between the 'Canal and Tulagi, was rechristened Ironbottom Sound.

The Japanese, having lost 25,000, killed, left as they had come, by night. By then the world knew that General Vandegrift's troops had won a pivotal battle.

But to me that struggle was more than a strategic victory. It was, and is, eloquent testimony to the fortitude of man. Men generally do what is expected of them; usually that is very little. On the 'Canal they were asked to do what was believed to be impossible, and the shining response of those Marines on the line is historic. I shall never forget them; nor should you. □

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Bush explores 'Grand Canyon' dividing him and Clinton

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

COLORADO SPRINGS — President Bush, saying he's tired of Democrat Bill Clinton lying about him, began a weeklong drive to the Republican convention yesterday that will stress the differences he has with the Democrats and poke holes in his opponent's programs.

"We are separated by a gulf as wide as the Grand Canyon," Mr. Bush said to cheers from the annual meeting of the American Legislative Exchange Council.

Mr. Bush told the conservative

lawmakers that Democratic programs calling for moderate change are "simply a cover-up of very old and tired ideas."

On several issues, Mr. Bush said, the Clinton-Gore team is telling one story but planning another altogether.

"I think there's a Trojan horse lurking in the weeds ready to pull a fast one on the American people," he said.

Mr. Bush's attack was the harshest yet and the first time he has devoted a full speech to describing the differences between him and his opponent.

But while the friendly crowd of 1,900 applauded his address, the president was greeted with grim Colorado poll figures. The Denver Post showed Mr. Clinton leading Mr. Bush 47 percent to 22 percent.

Mr. Clinton wasted no time challenging Mr. Bush's attack on his economic record and proposals. In Davenport, Iowa, he said that under Mr. Bush, government spending went up more than it had under Lyndon Johnson, the middle class was hit with a \$159 billion tax increase and private-sector job growth has decreased.

"He can't make those things go away," Mr. Clinton said. "He has no

credibility on this."

The "rapid response unit," an important part of the Clinton campaign apparatus, issued a side-by-side comparison of Mr. Clinton's and Mr. Bush's records on taxes and jobs during the hourlong stop in Davenport. It later issued a five-page update on the same subject.

Bush campaign spokeswoman Tbric Clarke said Mr. Bush plans to step up his attacks on Mr. Clinton's proposals as he approaches the GOP convention, which begins Aug. 17.

"It's all show and no pony," she said of the Democrats. "They talk a good game, looking good and sounding

good, but there is just nothing there."

A senior administration official said the White House has to sharpen the differences with the Clinton programs if Mr. Bush plans to win.

Campaign officials welcomed the strategy. "We should have done it six months ago," a top official said.

Other Bush aides said the president's aggressive approach to the campaign is being orchestrated by Secretary of State James A. Baker III, who is expected to take over the campaign after the convention.

Mr. Bush admitted he has been "slow to fight back" but promised: "I'm tired of being sluggish by these

people, and I will fight back."

In a 10-minute radio interview later yesterday, Mr. Bush lashed out at conservatives who have suggested he should quit the race for re-election for the good of the Republican Party and the conservative movement.

"Tell them to go jump in the lake," the president said on Denver's KOA radio. "I'm not a quitter, I'm a fighter. I've been down before."

Earlier Mr. Bush accused Mr. Clinton of advocating "the largest tax increase in American history, larger than what Mike Dukakis and Walter Mondale proposed together."

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

India is a strange and fascinating place. Because of its diversity of peoples and religions and its constant social experimentation, you can often find harbingers there of what will occur elsewhere.

It was that way when I made my sixth trip to India last year. What struck me with the force of prophecy was what Indians were calling the "criminalization of politics." Indeed, by then whole states — the Eastern state of Bihar being the most egregious — were run by murderers, racketeers and felons.

In this classic summer of American decision-making, one can see that dark prophecy coming true across the globe. A growing takeover of politics, but also of the military and the economy, by criminals is occurring in country after country. Some recent examples that we

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

A world beset by criminal forces?

might contemplate:

• As the former Soviet Union's economic "shock therapy" program fails, Russia's always proliferous criminals (the "mafia," they call them, but they are really just thugs and racketeers) are taking over more and more of the economy. This was inevitable: Under communism,

the Russian crime network has established a major beachhead in the United States and even appears to be moving into the nuclear-weapons-components business globally.

Digest investigative writer Nathan M. Adams concludes that the Russian "Organizatsiya" employs tens of million of citizens in the for-

There is no longer anything beyond the self to hold people together.

they were the ones who had the only "free rubles."

Russians are also committing crimes out of economic desperation and a growing contempt for the law; but that is far from the worst. The August Reader's Digest outlines how

mer Soviet Union and affects almost half its gross national product.

• As states as we have known them in the modern era collapse, we are seeing the new military forces behaving criminally, and for a very good reason: They are criminals.

Take the unspeakable tragedy that the well-armed Western nations observe every day without the will to stop it: Yugoslavia. What is most fascinating about Yugoslavia is the little-analyzed sociology of the conflict.

Tbday, 90 percent of the regular conscripts of the once-respected Yugoslav army have defected or have refused to serve. What has happened is that the Serb militias are now led mostly by hardened criminals, just as Hitler's legions were so often led by sadomasochists and other deeply troubled men. Like their earlier incarnations, such as the militias in Lebanon, the Serb "irregulars" preen and strut around, with every possible weapon of war hanging from their bodies.

Or take the case of the vicious Hispanic and black gangs in Los An-

geles. Or we might look more closely at the horror that is going on in Somalia, where an entire African nation of tribesmen has been destroyed by the thuggish remnants of the earlier "liberation movements" on the Horn of Africa.

The interested observer might well say that we have always had criminals and criminal organizations in the world, yet somehow the world still keeps turning. But that doesn't scan anymore, for the simple reason that the balance of forces is changing so dramatically. Internationally, we no longer have the resources or manpower to fight all these new types of wars. Nationally, the forces of civilization are not keeping up with either social or security needs. (Oakland's police force is outfought by the criminals; the District doesn't have enough police

cars; to cite only one report, "disadvantaged populations are increasing far faster than social services are available," according to a new Carnegie Foundation-sponsored report.)

The acute observer might want to explain away this syndrome by saying that people become criminals out of economic necessity, as in Moscow. That is only in small part true.

It is due mostly to the fact that the secular ideology of communism in the East has disintegrated. There is no longer anything beyond the self to hold people together. In America, the old "Americanism" is less and less the secular bond it was. And, to return again to India, the post-colonial secular Indian democratic state is breaking down into group rights — and group criminality.

There are many things that nations can still do to slow or even to halt this creeping breakdown of the order of so much of human society. But first they need to recognize the growing syndrome.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

PAUL GREENBERG

If there was a single noun used more often at the Democratic National Convention than "potatoe", it was surely George Bush — and never favorably. Certainly the president was attacked more frequently and with greater gusto than Bill Clinton was praised at that convention. There were times when the candidate seemed but an afterthought at a great anti-Bush circus. Again and again, the Democrats' great confab, production, pep rally and jump-start seemed little more than a four-day orgy of Bush bashing.

Nor was this relished activity unprecedented. Bill Clinton has been needling Mr. Bush for months, and his jabs have included such personal matters as the president's residence and tax returns. (He refers to Mr. Bush as "that fellow who claims Texas so he doesn't have to pay taxes in Maine.")

So what happens when the Republicans finally get fired up and start bracketing Bill Clinton's imperfections? You guessed it: The Democrats yell Foul.

Mary Matalin, the Republicans' answer to James Carville, pointed out the private investigator who had to be hired to handle the "bimbo eruptions" dogging the Clinton campaign. That's not only a colorful

Bimbo eruption

torical question about which presidential candidate had confessed to a deliberate "pattern of omissions" when it came to the Great Overrated Marijuana question in American politics. Chalk up another direct hit.

Clearly the two presidential campaigns are playing by different rules if (a) questions about Bill Clinton's improprieties are below-the-belt, while (b) attacks on George Bush's finances, taxes and family are within bounds. The Clinton campaign is on shaky ground — though

it doesn't lack for nerve — when it criticizes the Bush people for sinking to its own practiced level.

To quote a certified Democrat: If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen. Harry Truman had a point.

What we have here — on both sides — is not some sneaky, dead-of-night attempt to poison the wells of civil discourse but just the raucous noises of a robust democracy exercising its lungs. It's nothing to get excited about, much less huffy.

So what happens when the Republicans get fired up and start bracketing Clinton's imperfections? The Democrats yell Foul.

phrase but a perfectly apt description of the phenomenon. It should be noted that the phrase originated not with the Republican National Committee but with the Incomparable Betsey (Wright), old Clinton hand and chief troubleshooter where such messy matters are concerned.

Miss Wright is a kind of division chief for Bimbo Eruptions, and what could be a more accurate title? Note the general intellectual and moral stature of some of the gaudier claimants who have come out of the motel woodwork to claim a fleeting connection with The Candidate now that he's reached the ultimate in American celebrityhood. If those aren't bimbos and if they're not erupting, the grand American vernacular has lost all definition.)

Miss Matalin also raised a rhe-

A footnote: Reverting to wimp-hood, George Bush himself objected to his campaign's daring to refer to his opponent's personal peccadilloes, and got Mary Matalin to express her regrets. (Her statement was not an apology by any decent definition of the term.) She apparently is going to be penalized by her own side for hitting too hard. It's all enough to make one wonder if Mr. Bush is going to let his campaigners campaign — or insist that they stay above the battle he's in.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

MIKE ROYKO

Discomfort addendum

Most of us have been in the uncomfortable position of being unwilling witnesses to a domestic quarrel. It can happen at a party, with a couple suddenly snapping at each other. Or maybe the pair at the next table in a restaurant, with him snarling and her bursting into tears. Or her snarling and him bursting into tears. Or both snarling and bursting into tears. As a philosopher once said: "Who needs it?"

But who would think that we would have to be exposed to this sort of embarrassing stuff in a presidential campaign?

I'm referring to the relationship between Mary Matalin, who is deputy manager of President Bush's campaign, and James Carville, a top strategist in Gov. Bill Clinton's campaign.

In their nonpolitical lives, Miss Matalin and Mr. Carville are significant others. Or as President Bush might put it: "The romance thing."

But currently they are tending to business, which means they are working mightily to elect their chosen candidates.

And that has created a highly distasteful situation.

A few days ago, Miss Matalin, known for her sharp wit, dashed off an unflattering statement about Mr. Clinton and "sniveling, hypocritical Democrats." Apparently she was upset about all the unkind things the Democrats have been saying about Mr. Bush.

She really zapped Mr. Clinton, even getting in digs about his ample waistline, by saying: "You feel like a one-man landfill? No, Willie, it's not those Wendy's burgers or Dunkin' Donuts or even those scrumptuous home-baked cookies. It's that Alka-Seltzer feeling you get when you're the leader of the 'garbage load.'"

And she tossed in a dig about "bimbo eruptions." This, of course, was to jog our memories about that blab-for-profit blond creature who claimed Mr. Clinton was her lover boy.

Miss Matalin's outburst was kind of fun, if you enjoy oldtime political

mudslinging. And down deep, most of us do.

But President Bush, ever the proper preppie, had already vowed that there would be no "sleaze" in his campaign.

And it might have also occurred to him that the majority of adult men in this country have to struggle with protruding midsections and might sympathize with Mr. Clinton. As far behind as he is in the polls, Mr. Bush can't afford to alienate the beer-belly vote.

So Mr. Bush had to disavow her statement, saying: "This is not how I want to run the campaign." (However, most White House observers suspect that Mr. Bush, a skinny guy, secretly enjoyed seeing Mr. Clinton teased for being a pudge.)

And Miss Matalin had to fall in line and write a statement expressing halfhearted regret at her outburst. (However, most observers suspect that she didn't regret it at all and wrote the apology with her fingers crossed.)

But the most discomfort was exhibited by Mr. Carville. The poor guy didn't know what to say. There he is, loyally working for Mr. Clinton. At the same time, his main squeeze is ridiculing Mr. Clinton as a junk-food tubbo and a philanderer.

And the situation led to the New York Times writing: "Was Ms. Matalin overly tough on Mr. Clinton to compensate for her romance with Mr. Carville?"

If they should ever wed, what kind of thing is that to put in the family scrapbook? "Look, kids, this is what they wrote when your mom chopped up the fellow I was working for, hah-hah."

So Mr. Carville, after a long period of speechlessness, finally said: "This has nothing to do with Mary Matalin. It's all about George Bush."

Of course, that didn't make sense, because it was his very own sweetie, not Mr. Bush, who suggested that Mr. Clinton was a "one-man landfill." (Mr. Bush would never use that kind of language. Even in anger, he wouldn't go beyond saying something about "that big-tummy thing.")

And instead of standing around like a mope, what Mr. Carville should have done was say something to diffuse the tension.

Since I'm older and wiser in the ways of female creatures, I'll give him some free advice.

The next time she cuts loose that way, Mr. Carville ought to just chuckle and say:

"Well, you know my Mary. She's a feisty thing, with lots of spunk. That's why I love that gal. Says whatever pops into her cute li'l head. And I'm gonna send her a fax right now saying: 'Did anyone ever tell you that you're real pretty when you're mad?'"

It works every time.

Mike Royko is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 •

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

A sure thing that wasn't

In American politics, history insists on repeating itself even though the outcome is not always the same.

In spring 1948, a prairie-fire campaign erupted to pressure Harry S. Truman to withdraw from running on his own for the presidency. He had succeeded Franklin D. Roosevelt in April 1945 and somehow in the ensuing years, Truman's popularity sagged, at least in the polls.

It seems everybody was against him — Walter Lippmann, the Democratic Party, even the Liberal Party of New York, representing organized labor in New York State. Americans for Democratic Action came out against Truman, pleading with him to retire from office.

And whom were the Liberal Party, the ADA and other groups pushing for the Democratic nomination? Dwight D. Eisenhower. I remember as a political reporter in New York asking Alex Rose, the political genius who with New York labor leader David Dubinsky ran the Liberal Party, what he knew about Eisenhower's politics and his views. Was he even a Democrat? He is all right, said Mr. Rose; he's a liberal and he could get elected where Truman couldn't. So they went all out for Eisenhower, even though Truman had done what the AFL and the CIO (they didn't merge until 1955) had asked him to do — he vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill that then was repassed over his veto. For his pains, the AFL refused to endorse Truman, but the CIO did endorse him.

It was a sort of mass panic. Nobody in the ADA knew what Eisenhower's views were on any subject. And that wasn't the general's fault. He had been a soldier and not a politician. That his views were unknown became a sort of asset. (The fact that Gen. Eisenhower's wartime private secretary had also been his mistress was no problem since checkout counter tabloids were pretty tame in those innocent days.) Victory was needed because Truman would never be able, it was said, to beat the redoubtable governor of New York, Thomas E. Dewey. Defeated in 1944 when he ran against FDR, Dewey had maintained his leadership of the GOP. With Truman as his opponent,

Dewey was certain to be the 1948 winner.

The New York State Democratic Party was particularly disloyal to Truman. It had been a tradition that the windup Democratic presidential rally would always occur in Manhattan's old Madison Square Garden, on Eighth Avenue and 50th Street. But one had to reserve the Garden well in advance, otherwise the National Horse Show would get it. But the New York Democrats had no intention of wasting their money on a lost cause so it was left to the Liberal Party to reserve the Garden, which they did.

Truman made a fighting speech that night that had the packed audience cheering and shouting, "Give 'em hell, Harry." Truman predicted his victory and I remember one of the Secret Service men I knew look-



Harry S. Truman

ing at me at the press table, deadpan from his front row seat. Cautiously, he tapped his forefinger on his left temple as he lifted his eyes to the rostrum where Truman was orating about his coming victory next Tuesday.

Most if not all the polls had Dewey the winner. In fact, victory was so certain that the Chicago Tribune early edition that went to press before all the returns were in ran a Page One streamer headline announcing Dewey's victory.

Now I am not suggesting that President Bush is a fighting Truman. Would that he were. What I am saying is Mr. Bush should pay no attention to his critics — like George Will, today's brooding Lippmann, — who want him to step aside. It is true that if Mr. Bush is defeated, he has only himself to blame for having listened to such terrible advice-givers as the Darman-Brady bunch and, above all, for having broken his pledge not to raise taxes. He has only himself to blame if he loses after having achieved an unprecedented popularity rating following the Persian

Gulf war.

But that doesn't mean President Bush should retire in disgrace, which such a retirement would be even with a plea of ill health. He has not committed a Watergate blunder, nor did he so mishandle the Iraq war as to have made U.S. defeat inevitable as Lyndon B. Johnson did in Vietnam. Mr. Bush still has achievements to his credit — the war against Iraq. What if Saddam Hussein is still around; all he can do is fight off a handful of U.N. weapons inspectors. This was a war in which thankfully there weren't many body bags. In fact, the United States lost more soldiers in the non-war in Lebanon than in Iraq. So what if Saddam is still in power, if it is indeed power — what can he do? And to Mr. Bush's credit, he stood up for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and for Central Intelligence Director Robert Gates.

I am no admirer of President Bush nor am I now enamored about his campaign strategy. A president who thinks he can win an election by changing speechwriters simply doesn't understand his problem even at this late date. But that doesn't mean that I like the alternative — the Clinton-Gore ticket — much better. I think the conservatives who are pressing Mr. Bush to retire are ensuring the election of Governor and Mrs. Clinton in November. And then four more years?

It is argued that if Mr. Bush steps aside, the convention will nominate some outstanding conservative by acclamation, and thereby win the election. Ha-ha. There will be blood on the floor of the Houston convention. Candidates hoping to replace a gone Bush will be denounced by other candidates for failing the test of ideological orthodoxy. There is every possibility that a split Republican Convention could lead to the party's defeat and to its becoming, thereby, as irrelevant in American politics as the Labor Party today is in British politics.

In presidential politics, anything can happen; it frequently does. I hope President Bush disregards all the advice-givers to cut and run but, please Mr. President, do pay attention to those of your friends who want to see you win: Come up with an Economic Advisory Group that would restore voter confidence in the waning days of your administration.

Arnold Beichman, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

KEN ADELMAN

Four years ago, about a week before the 1988 Republican Convention opened, I wrote a column titled "Why Not Senator Dan Quayle?" It was not predicting Mr. Quayle on the ticket — I wasn't as foolhardy as that — but instead prescribing it.

Though heartily disappointed in many ways, many times since then, I remain comfortable with my original prescription. For I remain an unabashed Quayle-backer — no matter how unconventional that view is now.

It was rather unconventional then, too.

That Aug. 10, 1988, column began with its punch point. "The bright light to be George Bush's running mate is now a dark horse: Sen. Dan Quayle. Vice President Bush hinted recently he'd surprise the convention with his choice. He'd make a surprisingly good choice with Mr. Quayle."

The rest, as they say, is history.

I was subsequently told George Bush read the column, circled parts, and passed it along. However convincing the arguments were to him then — and every writer yearns for impact, exaggerating it whenever it happens to come — the case for Mr. Quayle has not taken among the American people.

They know Dan Quayle by the occasional gaffes and spelling goof he's made rather than by the serious work he's done.

Yet that's the fate of vice presidents, who, during a most uncomfortable time, occupy a most awkward office. It's a diminishing post at best — even such previously Washington giants as Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey turned into midgets as vice presidents.

John Nance Garner, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first veep, contributed nothing in that office except to dismiss it as not worth "a bucket of warm spit." Thomas R. Marshall, Woodrow Wilson's veep, portrayed being vice president as "like a man in a cataleptic state: he cannot speak; he cannot move; he suffers no pain; and yet he is perfectly conscious of everything that is going on about him."

Marshall's fellow Hoosier, Dan Quayle, hasn't spent the past four years "in a cataleptic state" at all. Maybe he'd be better regarded if he

Solid record that's no joke

had — for no visibility's better than bad publicity — but that's not his temperament nor manner.

Mr. Quayle made a big contribution by straightening out the bureaucratic spaghetti of the U.S. space program. He ended, or at least dampened, major rivalries in that endeavor, putting us on a straight course for space exploration. This surely won't yield many results soon but could yield big scientific results in decades to come. It's serious work.

Mr. Quayle's Competitiveness Council became the lone dike holding back the floodwaters of regulation. Absent Mr. Quayle's brave band of free-marketeers, all the Lil-

liputians in Washington's bureaucratic and special-interest forces would have tied businesses down in a tangled web. Again, largely unnoticed and totally unheralded but serious work.

As the sole officer in both the executive and legislative branches (since a vice president presides over the Senate), Mr. Quayle has done missionary work on Capitol Hill. He almost singularly urged Mr. Bush to ask Congress for a vote authorizing Desert Storm, which eventually worked out well.

Mr. Quayle helped put that vote through, just as he managed key legislation on clean air, disabilities and civil rights. He was most instrumental in Senate confirmation of Mr. Bush's two Supreme Court nominees. Again, quiet but quite serious work.

Not everything he's done, though, has been behind closed doors. Mr. Quayle punched into public consciousness with an assault against lawyers and a call for legal reform to stop the crippling proliferation of litigation.

More recently he ruffled feathers by criticizing "Murphy Brown" and lauding "family values." Most Americans supported the message but still dismissed the messenger.

For they harbor deep doubts about Mr. Quayle's abilities, especially his ability to become president of the United States. Indeed, Mr. Quayle's main failure as vice president — and it is a biggie — has been his inability to convince more Americans of his ability.

More people have, however, come to appreciate his character.

Who among us could have ever endured four years of pummeling, of unceasing mocking and snickering, that Mr. Quayle has endured?

In the face of so much taunting, Mr. Quayle retained his poise and undiminished optimism. The frequency and ferocity of it all would have flattened, if not broken, lesser men. Remember how a fine man, Sen. Ed Muskie, broke down in tears after only one New Hampshire editorial appeared criticizing his wife.

Woodrow Wilson said, "It is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you. When they are shooting at you, they can only take your natural life; when they sneer at you, they can wound your heart."

Mr. Quayle has taken such sneers with no wounds showing. Besides, he's done serious work in an woeful office and a harrowing four years since "Why Not Dan Quayle?"



Dan Quayle

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

CORD MEYER

Deadly games in Bosnia

While the peaceful competition between the world's best athletes at the Olympic Games in Barcelona commands the rapt attention of a huge audience, increasing notice is beginning to be given to more deadly games being played out behind the scenes in Bosnia's civil war.

The U.S. State Department spokesman has this week confirmed that "Serbian forces are maintaining what they call detention centers for Croats and Muslims," and that "there have been abuses and torture and killings taking place in those areas." Despite subsequent State Department qualifications, the evidence remains compelling.

These concentration camps appear to be one element in a massive process of "ethnic cleansing" by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the self-proclaimed president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic. The objective seems to be to decapitate the Muslim male leadership in Bosnia by incarceration in the camps and to drive old men, women and children into panic-stricken flight from their ancestral home.

As the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, testified in Geneva last week, nearly 2.5 million people have already been

displaced and 10,000 new refugees are being added each day to that total. Warning of "a new horrifying twist," Mrs. Ogata said "displacement seems to be the goal, not just the result of war, with the motive clearly being ethnic relocation."

With the main Muslim population centers in Bosnia under siege by Serbian militia armed with heavy weapons, the Muslim president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, has appealed to the European Community and to the United Nations for international help against the aggression. The Bosnian Ambassador to the United Nations, Muhamed Sacirby, has pointed out that the U.N. arms embargo effectively denies arms to the Muslims, while the Serbs have easy access to the supplies of the Yugoslav Army.

In the face of this mounting threat to the Muslim population, State Department officials claim they have gone as far as the international consensus will permit. They maintain that the U.N.-imposed economic sanctions on Serbia are being strictly enforced and are beginning to bite. They point out that neither Great Britain nor France is willing to consider the use of force against Serbia, and that in the absence of European support unilateral American action would be unlikely to succeed.

Before accepting this argument that time is working against the aggressor, a closer look at the facts is required. The latest issue of U.S. News & World Report magazine warns that military hardware from

Russia is being shipped to Serbia for hard cash via rail through Ukraine and Romania. The economic sanctions may have already sprung a leak.

Secondly, the passage of time under present conditions can only add to the number of starving and homeless refugees seeking asylum in an already overcrowded Europe. As the Palestinian issue demonstrates, this forcible ejection of an ethnic group from its homeland can result in an embittered diaspora that never forgets and never forgives. The Serbs may live to regret their ethnic

cleansing if they are permitted to complete it.

Moreover, there is the clear danger that successful seizure of 70 percent of Bosnia by Mr. Milosevic will only encourage him to do what he has long threatened to accomplish; the ethnic cleansing of the Serbian province of Kosovo. The more than 1 million Albanians who make up 90 percent of the Kosovo population are vulnerable since they are compelled to live unarmed under Serbian police control.

Fully aware of the danger of an

unprovoked attack to restore Serbian majority rule in Kosovo, the Albanian president, Sali Berisha, has called urgently for the stationing of U.N. peacekeeping forces in Kosovo. A farsighted pre-emptive measure of this kind can help prevent a widening Balkan war that could eventually involve Albania and Macedonia.

In fact, a former British foreign secretary, Lord Owen, has finally said out loud what many in Washington and London have been thinking: "When faced with concentration camps and sealed trains, we have done nothing."

In a letter to Prime Minister John Major, Lord Owen has written, "It is perfectly within the power of NATO to enforce an immediate cease-fire. Satellite reconnaissance could pinpoint any unauthorized military activity and retaliatory airstrikes could be launched from NATO air fields. This could be implemented within hours once the requisite authority has been got from the U.N. Security Council."

Lord Owen has fairly posed the issue and the American presidential candidates will have to make clear where they stand.

Cord Meyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

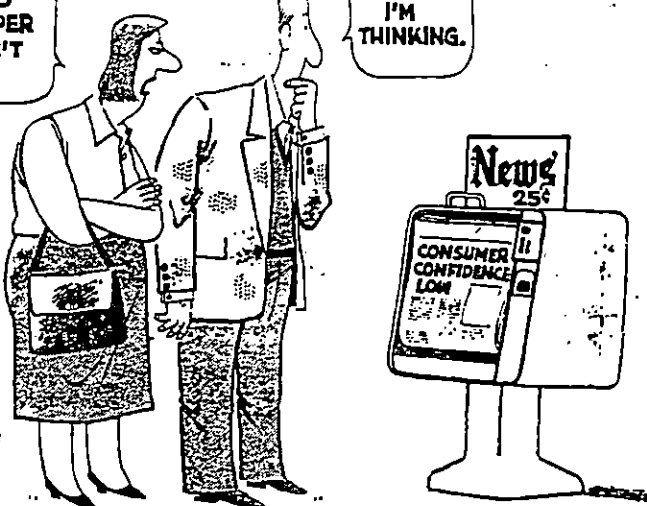
FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

WELL? ARE YOU
GOING TO
BUY A PAPER
OR AREN'T
YOU?

I'M
THINKING,
I'M
THINKING.

SKELLY



No candidate for the economy?

After launching Bill Clinton on a demagogic political campaign for the U.S. presidency — “during the 1980s the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans got 70 percent of the gains” — the New York Times abruptly pulled the rug out from under him. On July 24 a front page story announced, “White-Black Income Gap Shrank in '80s.”

This must have come as a shock to the newspaper's subscribers, who have been instructed for many years that during the awful Reagan era the poor got poorer and the rich got richer. How can this be true if, as the Census Bureau reports, the income disparity between whites and blacks narrowed? Everyone knows that blacks as a group are poorer than whites, so how could they gain income relative to whites if all the gains went to the wealthiest?

One can only wonder how the editors let out a front page story that so dramatically contradicts the paper's anti-Reagan ideology. On the other hand, they may not have noticed. This may be another example of the cognitive dissonance, or simultaneous belief in contradictory positions, that characterizes the discussion of the 1980s.

For example, Ronald Reagan's detractors claim that the 20 million new jobs created during the long economic expansion are low-wage, dead-end jobs — “hamburger-flipping jobs.” In the same breath, they complain of worsening income

equality resulting from faster growth of high-skilled, high-paying jobs as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Obviously, both can't be true. Such contradictory complaints lead to ridiculous policy implications. If Clintonites get their hands on economic policy, do they intend to suppress the growth of high-skilled jobs in order to prevent a widening gap in the income distribution? Will Mr. Clinton do what he accuses Mr. Reagan of doing — create only low-paying jobs — in order to have a more equal distribution of income?

George Bush is vulnerable on the economic growth issue. Why, then, is Mr. Clinton's campaign built around the “fairness” issue? The answer is that their obsession with Mr. Reagan distracts both candidates from good economics and good politics.

Mr. Reagan is the antithesis of the standard American politician. He has little confidence in government, but a great deal in the people. His rhetoric and policies strengthened people's belief in themselves and made them less dependent on government. A psychologically secure and financially independent citizenry is anathema to the governing class, which fosters fear in order to grow government.

Mr. Reagan, therefore, must be a failure, no matter the facts or political payoff from claiming his economic growth legacy. Apparently, both Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton would rather lose the election than don Mr. Reagan's mantle.

This means that neither candidate is capable of producing a successful economic policy. If the Democrats win, we will get a dose of anti-capitalist policies that are un-

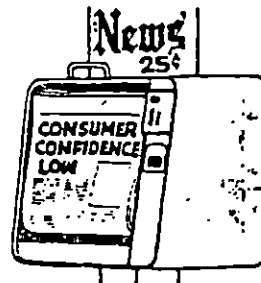
see ROBERTS, page F4

ROBERTS

From page F1

thinkable today in any other country, including communist China. If Mr. Bush wins, the economy will continue its four-year stall as moderates try to balance the budget while killing the economy with disincentives.

Many among the electorate realize that in 1992 the economy does not have a candidate. No doubt Bill and Hillary would do a lot of damage, but neither is there any future in leaving the Republican Party in the hands of the people who gratuitously squandered the Reagan legacy. Mr. Bush's defeat would discredit the anti-growth wing of the party and set the stage for future Republican success. The Democrats would not survive four years of Clintonomics.



President Bush has isolated himself from the people who flocked to Mr. Reagan, and literally no one is excited by the prospect of his reelection. Nevertheless, if Hillary and the gang around her show enough of their Bolshevik tendencies before November, Mr. Bush may get a second term in which to finish his destruction of the Republican Party.

The August issue of the American Spectator describes Hillary Clinton as “standing well to the left of her husband and enjoying an independent power base within his coalition.” She “is best thought of as the Winnie Mandela of American politics.” According to a General Accounting Office report, while Hillary was board chairman of the Legal Services Corp., public funds were used for political purposes that are explicitly prohibited by the corporation's charter.

But for Hillary, the ends justify the means, and these are inevitably left-wing ones. The American Spectator reports that while serving as director of the New World Foundation during 1987-88, Hillary lavished money on far left groups. There is little doubt that Hillary and her left-wing friends would maim the U.S. economy and create the conditions for Jack Kemp's victory in 1996.

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

MARTIN GROSS

Footling the bill for branded jeans

Last of five parts

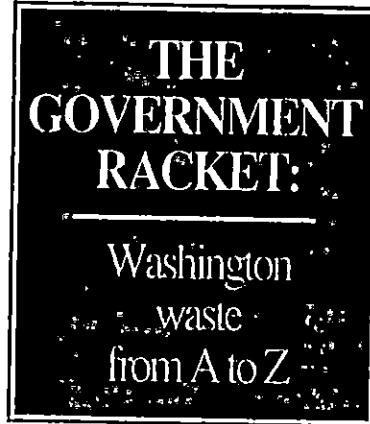
The slick four-color advertisement in a popular Japanese magazine showed an urban cowboy dressed in Wrangler jeans.

Why the expensive advertisement? For two reasons. First, blue jeans have become the rage of sophisticated Japanese men. And second, why not? The Wrangler ad was paid for by the American taxpayer.

Couldn't Wrangler afford to handle the advertisement itself? Surely. The company grosses \$550 million a year, but that's a comparatively small operation. The ad was actually run by its licensee, Wrangler of Japan, a Japanese-owned firm, one of whose partners is the giant conglomerate Mitsubishi. Despite that, the American government gave Wrangler of Japan a gift of \$1.1 million to advertise the blue jeans.

Again why? And to a foreign company?

It all began in 1990, when Con-



gress authorized the Agriculture Department to spend \$1 billion of our money, \$200 million a year for five years, to subsidize advertising of American agricultural products overseas, even if the money went to foreign firms. As part of this government "Market Promotion Program," the Wrangler ad was used to promote the sale of American cotton.

Last year, 630 brands, scores of them foreign, took the Treasury up on its generous offer. Were they struggling firms who got the government dole?

No way. The largest amounts went to mammoth corporations with the least need, all of whom gladly

accepted the taxpayers' handout. Look at this roster, a Who's Who of food products, and the amounts of their advertising tabs picked up by Uncle Sam:

Gallo Wines (\$5.1 million); Sun-kist citrus products (\$9.9 million); Blue Diamond Almonds (\$6.2 million); McDonald's (\$465,000); Pillsbury, actually a British-owned company (\$2.9 million); Tyson chickens (\$1.1 million); Ralston-Purina (\$200,000); Dole (\$2,450,000); Ocean Spray (\$1 million); Welch's (\$1,214,000); Hunt-Wesson (\$235,750); Kraft (\$100,000); Campbell Soups (\$450,000). Even Paul Newman's "Newman's Own" received a federal gift of \$100,000.

The Agriculture Department, which often serves as the arm of the powerful farm lobby, claims that American firms made back more than the expenditure. Even if true, which can hardly be measured, that's our tax money going out to the big corporations, and their money coming in. This is not a loan, but a federal grant.

And what about the cost of this extraordinary corporate welfare at a time of a \$400 billion deficit?

As Agriculture Department economists and dollar-blind members of Congress should know, if we borrow that \$1 billion today for this giveaway—as we are doing—by the

time the 30-year government bonds, at 8 percent interest, mature in 2022, it will have cost the taxpayers almost \$4 billion.

Anyone for too-tight Wranglers?

• *The price of prayer.* No, this is not the Chaplain Corps of the Armed Services, an old American tradition. This has to do with God and the U.S. Congress.

In the 1960s, the Supreme Court—drawing on the concept of separation of church and state—ruled that not even schoolchildren could be led in organized prayer at the beginning of the day. But the U.S. Congress is apparently immune to the verdicts of the court and too religious to do without divine counsel.

Each session of the House and the Senate is opened with a prayer. Is it led by a pious member of the body, or some volunteer clergyman—Catholic, Protestant or Jewish—from the community, hopeful the legislators will see the light during their deliberations?

No, that's too simple. Everything Congress does (and the White House, too, as we shall see) has to cost money, and a lot of it. Both Houses of Congress have their own full-time, salaried chaplains, at a stiff price to the taxpayers.

The House Chaplain gets a salary
see GROSS, page F4

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GROSS

From page F1

of — and this is not a typo — \$115,300. Not to be outdone, the Senate Chaplain spends much more per member-soul on his small body of 100 legislators. He receives about the same salary as his House colleague, but he has an overall budget of \$300,000, including pay for secretaries and office space to help him shepherd his sometimes wayward flock.

If it worked, it might be worth the price. But thus far there are no signs of divine intervention in the chambers of the U.S. Congress.

• *Palm Springs or bust.* "We've got \$49,000 left in our travel budget," a government bureaucrat confided in a travel agency. "Get us some meetings. We'll figure out what they're about later."

This startling quote is taken from the careful research of Rep. Lamar Smith, Texas Republican.

Mr. Smith has been studying government travel expenses, something that is impossible to pin down in the cleverly obfuscated federal budget where there is no such category. (Too easy to check up on). The figure he has come up with is a startling \$7 billion a year, about as much as we spend on Head Start, the National Science Foundation, and school lunches combined.

The Congressional Budget Office adds that in 1991, federal travel costs rose 11.5 percent in just one year. As

one travel supervisor told Mr. Smith: "There's plenty of fluff in that budget."

There is no greater perk for a bureaucrat than the exhilarating privilege (though he believes it is a "right") to get out of the office and travel to some distant point on the government's tab — often to a convention meeting or seminar held in a resort area. In fact, during the last month of the fiscal year, as the opening quote indicates, a travel frenzy seizes the federal agencies, which must spend the money or return it to the Treasury.

During that month, there are rush bookings to such popular spots as Las Vegas and Palm Springs, Mr. Smith learned.

"We found that supervisors assigned travel dollars to employees to spend before the end of the year," says the hard-nosed Texan. The facts back him up. During the last month of the fiscal year, there was a 48 percent increase in government travel. He estimates that the taxpayers will lose \$1.6 billion just from this last-minute travel stampede.

The whole question of civil servants traveling about the country so freely, and for free, is an issue Congress and the president must address. Judging from other excesses, a conservative guess would be that 50 percent of it is unnecessary and wasteful.

The solution:

- (1) Make year-end travel over the usual allotment illegal.
- (2) Re-educate the agency chiefs

on how *not* to travel at government expense.

(3) Cut the travel budget from \$7 billion to \$4 billion, an immediate savings of \$3 billion. Then look at the allotment again in a few years to see if it can be reduced further.

The Washington Establishment has been up in the air long enough. It's time to bring them rudely down to earth — but not into Palm Springs.

• *No one's in charge.* The image of the American president, with his near-regal trappings, elegant mansion, Oval Office, and Air Force One, conjures up a sense of power.

But in reality, his title of "chief executive" is a highly misleading one — actually a misnomer. Originally, the president was called the "chief magistrate," which is much closer to the semantic mark.

Under no circumstances can he be compared to a chief executive officer in American business. In a corporation, when things are tough, the CEO can get tougher — sell off subsidiaries, fire middle management, close plants, reduce overhead drastically.

Right here, the comparison between an American president and the CEO stops. The occupant of the White House is much weaker, especially when trying to run his "corporation," the federal government.

The president is only truly the chief executive when it comes to defense, external affairs and territorial integrity. There he's on firm footing as commander in chief of the Armed Forces. Congress likes to remind us

that they have the constitutional right to "declare war." True, but history shows that presidents are the ones who actually "make war," with or without Congress.

But when it comes to domestic affairs, the president is nobody's chief executive. In fact, the president can't really fire anyone except his own Cabinet and a few thousand political appointees — whose jobs must then be refilled anyway. The hole in presidential power is that once a budget has been settled, the president and the nation are locked in.

That's why veterans of the Washington scene correctly believe that no one is in charge of the government. Inexorably handed a budget larger than the previous year's, each federal bureaucracy, no matter how small or insignificant, is off on a spending spree, with no one, not even the president, to account to. Travel, furniture, supplies, outlays, are the agency's own business and no one else's. The bureaucracy knows that next year another budget, still larger, is on its way.

If power corrupts, then Washington agencies are corrupted absolutely by the absence of a chief executive with counterbalancing power. It's as if a private corporation were headed toward bankruptcy and no one would be allowed to try to turn it around.

Presidents can, of course, use their persuasive powers as a national "bully pulpit" by submitting small budgets to Congress to begin with,

then using their prestige to try to get the anti-waste measure through. But that has not happened in modern times, except once in 1969. Whether a Democrat or Republican is in the Oval Office, presidential budgets are larger year in and year out.

Yet in fits of economy, some presidents have tried to save money and cut waste by *impounding* or *sequestering* funds — that is, not spending what Congress has already appropriated. In this way, they hoped to resemble a true chief executive.

But it was not to be.

The last president to lock horns with Congress by impounding money he didn't think necessary was Richard Nixon. That prompted congressional action to defang the president even further in domestic affairs. In 1974, Congress passed the Budget and Impoundment Control Act, which set up a system to stop any chief executive in an economy mood.

Stymied at impounding funds, the hapless president may have only one other option. He can contemplate vetoing part of the appropriation without having to reject the whole bill. This last-ditch effort is called the "Line Item Veto," but it has never been used in American history. If it is ever operational, it will be the president's final chance to become what he's already glibly, if falsely, called: the nation's chief executive.

Meanwhile, rest assured that no one, but no one, is in charge in the nation's capital.

SAMUEL FRANCIS

On the eve of the Republican Convention in Houston, an intellectual light bulb suddenly blinked on in the phone booth of the American conservative "movement": Wouldn't it be a swell idea to say that President Bush shouldn't run for re-election, that he should withdraw and let the convention nominate one of us?

As sometimes happens in the history of ideas, this brainstorm appeared to slam into the heads of several inhabitants of the phone booth at almost the same instant. First, columnist George Will wrote it up in his syndicated column. Then, Once-was-a-New-Right-leader Richard Viguerie unveiled his own version: Mr. Bush should withdraw, and the party should nominate Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and Secretary of State James Baker instead.

Then the conservative Orange-County Register weighed in with an editorial urging Mr. Bush not to run, and last week Burton Yale Pines, recently defenestrated from a senior

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Phone booth out of order

position at the Heritage Foundation, stepped forward to say the president should defenestrate himself from the GOP ticket.

You now know why the conservative "movement" fits inside a phone booth and why it's likely to remain there. "Movement" conservatism is simply incapable of asserting sensible political leadership.

The unpleasant truth is that for the last four years, "movement" conservatives have generally wrapped themselves in George Bush. It's true they were unhappy with certain of his policies (mainly his violation of his "no new taxes" pledge) and his general attitude, but for the most part no syllable of serious dissent could be read on their own lips.

As recently as May 1991, "move-

ment" leaders gathered in Bermuda and plighted fealty to Mr. Bush. Neo-conservative guru Irving Kristol, present at the Bermuda pow-wow, wrote that "President Bush is now the leader of the conservative movement within the Republican Party," though some others who were present say Mr. Kristol exaggerated. But at no time in the last four years have "movement" conservatives sought to develop alternative political leadership, as they did in the 1960s with Barry Goldwater or in the '70s with Ronald Reagan.

You now know why the conservative "movement" fits inside a phone booth- "Movement" conservatism is simply incapable of asserting sensible political leadership.

Came the primary season this year, and only Pat Buchanan crossed the line in the sand to challenge the president. Mr. Buchanan did reasonably well with rank-and-file conservative Republicans, but all he got from most "movement" leaders was a chopstick in the eye. Bill Bennett, Newt Gingrich, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Will and William F. Buckley, Jr. all either distanced themselves from him or pasted him as a "fascist," "anti-Semite" or no true conservative at all, and the Bush White House slyly encouraged such smears.

The unpleasant reason "movement" conservatives did nothing to challenge Mr. Bush is that they needed a sitting president. They needed someone in the White House to lend them the illusion of "access" and "influence," someone to invite them to receptions and dinners and impress their pet cash cows with how important they were. They needed to be able to tell their shrinking base of supporters outside the Beltway how "I told George" what he should or shouldn't do about this or that. They needed the jobs that are the executive branch equivalent of dogcatcher to support them-

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FRANCIS

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selves as they sang hosannas to the "private sector."

What they didn't need was any serious effort at national leadership, and as long as Mr. Bush had a 90 percent approval rating, they were pleased as punch to hail him as their chief, despite a constant stream of snubs, disappointments and broken pledges from the Oval Office.

Now, with Mr. Bush's ratings lower than a snake's belly, it has occurred to "movement" conservatives that "principle" demands they jump ship. More exactly, it has occurred to them that Mr. Bush should jump ship and leave them at the helm. What evidently has not occurred to them is why anyone should take anything they say seriously.

What then should rank-and-file conservatives — the people whom Whittaker Chambers called the "plain men and women of the nation" — do? First, they should recognize that neither Mr. Bush nor Bill Clinton represents their interests and beliefs and that voting for either of them will gain them nothing.

Second, they should understand that what "movement" conservatives offer is meaningless, that there is no such movement in any meaningful sense apart from a collection of think-tanks, magazines and computer tapes of money-givers.

In the next four years, the plain men and women of the nation need to start organizing a new movement that does represent their interests and beliefs on a serious political level, and the next time they get a collect call from the phone booth of the conservative "movement" in the Beltway, they should hang up and take the receiver off the hook.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 •

Heave HOV

Franks Wolf thinks high-occupancy-vehicle lanes aren't the way to go on the Dulles Toll Road, and the congressman isn't alone. Fairfax County Board of Supervisors Chairman Tom Davis and 11th Congressional District candidate Henry Butler agree. So do a lot of voters, which is why a state transportation official conceded their cause would be "politically popular."

Not that that is likely to change the state's plans. Next month, Virginia will open a new lane each way on the toll road between Dulles airport and Tysons Corner, a distance of about 12 miles. Not only will you have to pay a toll to use that lane, you will have to have at least two other people in the car.

Mr. Wolf says the requirement will add to driver frustration, continued gridlock and the safety problems associated with both. He wants to postpone the new lanes' HOV status indefinitely. State Sen. Charles Waddell warns that Mr. Wolf's proposal might lead to (brace yourself) a "one-person, one-car" approach to transportation. State transportation officials say they are under congressional orders to reduce auto pollution. Jamming more people into fewer cars is one way to do so, they believe.

This kind of forward thinking is another reminder of the bad things that happen to good people when government decides to "do something" about this or that problem. Transportation, health care, education, waste removal, mail service, you name it. There's no problem in this country so bad that government can't make it worse.

In this case, it's important to remember that government helped get us into this mess by separating highway construction and use from the law of supply and demand that governs the distribution of other goods and services in this economy. If you want to try some ribs on the grill tonight, you and your grocer agree on a price — or you buy them elsewhere — stoke up the coals, slather on cholesterol-enhancing barbecue sauce and you feast. — all without any advice from someone down in Richmond.

When it comes to highways, however, highway planners in Washington and Richmond get together to decide what you want, tax you for it, then set all kinds of rules determining how you use it. If you wanted ribs from the government's grocery store, you would have to find two other neighbors who wanted ribs that night, wanted to shop when you did and were willing to stand in long lines so you could go through the high-occupancy car lanes together. Something approximating that model went out with the Soviet Union. But the dream is still alive on our highways today.

State officials are right insofar as they claim that postponing HOV designation on the toll road won't solve the problem in the long run. If you build the roads, the drivers will come. The question is how to ration their access. HOV lanes are certainly one way to do that.

The best way to ration goods and services, though, is by price. The reason phone lines in this country aren't clogged from 9 to 5 every day is that consumers pay a higher price at peak demand than they do at off-peak hours. Congestion fees on the nation's highways could sort out those who had to be on the road at a particular time from those who didn't.

So don't build any more HOV lanes. Sell them to someone like Ralph Stanley, who is building a private toll road near Leesburg. Auction them off to the highest bidder. Let the entrepreneurs out there own the roads, maintain them, pay taxes on them. And let them negotiate the tolls on those roads with prospective consumers rather than confiscate their fees, as the government does now, through gas taxes.

There are plenty of objections to a plan like this. Government highway planners wouldn't have anything to do. State senators might see one person drive one car to work. All those complaints reduce to one: The free market, while "politically popular," doesn't work. It can if government officials or would-be government officials like the Wolfs, Davises and Butlers get the chance to let it happen.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

Where the rich get richer

Bill Clinton says he wants to soak the rich, an appeal to envy that is neither particularly original as Democrats go nor all that successful as economies go. As he seems to have his heart set on it, one hopes he won't make an exception for a group of fat cats that has prospered in bad times and in good, tycoons who rank in the top-paid 2 percent of all working Americans and who will only become more affluent in the years to come.

This well-known group ordinarily goes by the title U.S. Congress, but by almost any measure its members count as the moneyed few. Consider a few of the findings of a Money magazine investigation:

■ Congressional spending on itself and its 38,696 staffers has gone up an "astounding" — that's Money's word, by the way — 705 percent since 1970. That's more than 2½ times the 280 percent rise in inflation over the past two decades. Remember the concern about increases in defense spending? Well, U.S. military forces got an extra 311 percent during that period, barely keeping pace with inflation.

■ On a personal level, congresspersons collect \$129,500 each, which puts them in the top 2 percent of workers in this country. That's twice the pay of Canadian and British lawmakers. That figure doesn't include some \$38,702 in additional perks, including pension plans, tax-deferred savings plans, health insurance, free Capitol Hill parking, tax deductions for living in Washington, subsidized gyms and life insurance. "I can't think of a corporate pension plan anywhere near as generous," a spokesman for an employee benefits consulting firm told Money. The whole thing adds up to \$168,202 in compensation, even more for congressional leaders.

■ The nation's population has gone up roughly 50

percent since the 1950s. Congress' staff has gone up more than 400 percent. Capitol Hill employs more people than governments in all but three cities: New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. That's not a very fair comparison, at least in some ways. City workers at least take out the trash. Congressional staffers devote most of their time to seeing their bosses re-elected.

There's more, but this little review of Congress helps explain why this legislature is the most expensive in the world, more than 10 times as expensive as the Canadian Parliament. Put another way, each lawmaker will cost taxpayers about \$5.2 million this year.

House Speaker Tom Foley has proposed "the most far-reaching internal reforms in the history of the Congress," but they don't reach very far. They would save taxpayers an estimated four-hundredths of a percent of Congress' annual spending.

If Mr. Clinton wants to soak the rich, the choice is clear: Soak Congress. He can do it without a tax increase by slashing the amount of money Congress spends on itself.

George Bush, too, has this option. He also has more incentive, since this Congress has spurned the administration's proposals at almost every turn. In addition to considering a veto of congressional appropriations, he should insist on a closer look at the way Congress spends money on itself. Steven Schwalm of the Heritage Foundation says most of the money Congress appropriates for its operations is not audited. Money magazine calls for hiring one of the Big Six accounting firms to audit Congress' records annually "to abolish the labyrinth that passes for bookkeeping on Capitol Hill."

Here they are, then, the powerful, the proud, the privileged few. Soak them.

Ethics, the mayor and the council

Ethics seems to be as slippery as a bar of wet soap when it is left up to politicians to take it in hand. But District politicians might be forced to get a grip on their elusive ethics with some unsolicited though not unwarranted assistance from the private sector.

The government watchdog group Common Cause is not content with the D.C. Office of Campaign Finance's (OCF) questionable decision that excused Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly's acceptance of speaking fees and hotel costs from a company that subsequently received a multimillion dollar no-bid city contract. The group has appealed the decision to the city's Board of Elections and Ethics.

It is a move that could have been avoided had OCF conducted this investigation of impropriety with the same vigor with which it has pursued conflicts of interest by other elected officials. After a probe that lasted six weeks, OCF produced a report that absolved the mayor of any wrongdoing, raised awkward concerns about that office's possible conflicts of interest and left conspicuous questions unaddressed.

The most important of those questions is: When is the mayor not the mayor? Mrs. Kelly has defended her acceptance of honoraria from organizations she addresses, including the Municipal Bond Insurance Assurance Corp., by saying she was not acting in her official capacity. How she determines that remains unclear. As she is the top official of an important city, it is virtually impossible for her to make an appearance before a business group and not be appearing, at least in perception, in an official capacity.

But if the issue is a problem for some people, it is not one for OCF's Director Marianne Coleman Niles. In a letter to Common Cause Director Peter Williams, she attempted to define the parameters of a D.C. mayor's office hours: "the office of the Corporation Counsel in opinion 0633, states that the mayor has a 'non-

supervised tour of duty' based on the necessity to respond to constituent and city problems at various times and days outside the normally established work hours."

"Further, the mayor is not entitled to earned leave pursuant to D.C. Code 1-613.3(3). Therefore, since the mayor's responsibilities and work circumstances are unique and do not fit within the 'normal business hours' framework the hour of the day during which a speech is given is not relevant." So that means the mayor is always on. Right? Maybe not.

In the same breath, Mrs. Niles draws the inconsistent conclusion, "Accordingly, so long as the mayor is not acting in her official capacity a proper and consistent reading and application of all current governing provisions must allow for payment of honoraria regardless of the time of day when the services supporting the fees were provided." So when is the mayor on and when is she off? Mrs. Niles doesn't tell us.

Meanwhile, there is the D.C. Council, which could clear up the issue simply by creating legislation that deals decisively and precisely with the various temptations and conflicts that arise in a politician's life. Council member Jim Nathanson appears to be exploring that possibility.

Two years ago, the council did create a law covering honoraria. They didn't really mean to get tough, though. It was primarily a bill aimed at stopping the Rev. Jesse Jackson from running for D.C. mayor. It is full of holes, some of which Mrs. Kelly wiggled through, which is what happens when a law is created for the wrong reasons.

Establishing clear guidelines for ethical behavior and penalties for violation is an important piece of unfinished business the council must undertake this fall. It is better for this city's elected officials to police themselves than to wait for outside forces to do it for them.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 •

WILLIAM RUSHER

By now, most observers agree that George Bush's reelection prospects are in free-fall. The voters want a change in Washington, and the presidency is the most convenient target. The Cold War is over, so the relative youth and inexperience of Bill Clinton and Al Gore in the fields of foreign policy and defense don't matter so much.

The only question is what, if anything, Mr. Bush can do to reverse the current disastrous trend and win in November. Most people agree that the best remaining shot in his locker, and maybe the only one, is the speech he will give to the convention in Houston, accepting his party's renomination. I have already submitted in this space a draft of what such a speech might say.

Some commentators, however, have called for even more drastic remedies. There is, for example, a respectable body of Republican and even conservative opinion that wants Mr. Bush to replace Vice President Dan Quayle with someone like Jack Kemp.

But that presupposes that Mr. Bush's troubles are, in some serious way, related to the presence of Mr. Quayle on the ticket, and that simply isn't true. If the voters can be persuaded that Mr. Bush ought to be re-elected, the identity of his vice presidential running-mate will be virtually irrelevant — as it was in 1988, when the media's feeding frenzy over Mr. Quayle was at least as great as it is now.

Moreover, replacing Mr. Quayle at this point would be interpreted by the media (not to mention the Democrats) as mere evidence of panic in the Bush camp, and hailed as the all-too-belated correction of a previous, allegedly ghastly, error.

In addition, recruiting Jack Kemp for the vice presidential slot would be a misuse of that hard-driving man's great talents. Mr. Kemp is desperately needed at the Treasury Department as a replacement for the disastrous Nicholas Brady.

Finally, no possible replacement nominee for vice president, Mr. Kemp included, could avoid coming under attack by his own inevitable critics for his own inevitable flaws, or alleged flaws.

There are, however, Republicans, and conservative ones at that, who advocate still stronger medicine. Never mind dumping Mr. Quayle, they declare—dump George Bush!

It is not quite enough to say, in response, that it isn't going to happen. Of course, it isn't. Mr. Bush wants the nomination and, as the in-

Voices from the political dumps

cumbent president, he is in a position to compel his party to give it to him. So was Jimmy Carter, when the redoubtable Ted Kennedy challenged him in 1980; so was Gerald Ford, when the even more formidable Ronald Reagan took him on in 1976. But whether Mr. Bush will step down or not, should he?

The idea that the Republican Party could improve its chances by changing horses in midstream not only challenges the conventional wisdom about the advisability of doing so, it couldn't be done without

Replacing Mr. Quayle at this point would be interpreted by the media as mere evidence of panic in the Bush camp, and hailed as the all-too-belated correction of a previous, allegedly ghastly, error.

giving the impression that the party concurred in the criticisms of Mr. Bush by the Democrats and the liberal media. And that, of course, is exactly the opposite of the truth, at least as far as conservatives are concerned: We criticize him precisely for not battling the Democrats hard enough.

If the Republican Party were to dump Mr. Bush in a panicky attempt to put some more attractive choice before the voters, the voters would be justified in saying to it, in effect, "Why don't you just go away somewhere and lie down until you get your act together?"

No, the only possible solution for the GOP is to stick with Mr. Bush, and for him to redefine himself as the president he can yet be, if the American people will get over this madness of divided government and give him a Republican Congress that will work with him.

William A. Rusher, a senior fellow of the Claremont Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

ELMO ZUMWALT JR.

Limit pursuits beyond borders?

Opponents of the legislation: Point out a little publicized fact — that the kidnapping took place only after Mexico reneged on a deal in which the doctor was to be swapped for a Mexican in U.S. custody when officials suddenly demanded cash as well.

It was also explained that the decision did not provide the U.S. government with a blank check — such kidnappings would be authorized only in cases of national security or self-defense.

• The Panetta legislation would deny the president a limited option in certain situations, forcing him to escalate the matter as his only alternative would be the military option.

• While the obvious target of such extraterritorial kidnappings would primarily be terrorists, the intention is to maintain the full range of presidential options.

• While unilateral action by the United States in cases of extraterritorial rendition from foreign territory cannot be ruled out completely, opponents argue, any decision by the U.S. government to so act will be subjected to full interagency coordination and consideration at the highest levels.

While the law seems reasonable on its face, we believe common sense dictates that a president's options, if at all possible, not be limited.

Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., a retired Navy admiral, was chief of naval operations and is a columnist for The Washington Times.

Most of the international uproar over the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Alvarez-Machain case has now died down. That decision held that a U.S. court had jurisdiction over the defendant, a Mexican doctor accused of using his medical skills to prolong the life — and thus the suffering — of a Drug Enforcement Administration agent who was slowly being horribly tortured to death by his captors. The fact that jurisdiction over the doctor had been obtained by the act of U.S. agents kidnapping him in Mexico and that an extradition treaty between the two countries was in force (although silent on this issue) was, in the court's opinion, not controlling.

There is no doubt that this case has resulted in a much greater negative, rather than positive, reaction within the world community, especially among our Latin American neighbors. They view the court's decision as an endorsement of the policy that "might makes right" — in total disregard of the time-honored tradition among nations to respect each other's territorial sovereignty. The political fallout has been so great, in fact, that Rep. Leon Panetta, California Democrat, has proposed legislation that would serve automatically to ban such extraterritorial kidnappings in instances in which an extradition treaty between the United States and the country in question existed — absent that country's consent.

Hearings were held last week to air both sides of this volatile issue.

Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., a retired Navy admiral, was chief of naval operations and is a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

U.S. to establish ties with Balkan states

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

COLORADO SPRINGS — President Bush, promising "we will not rest" until Serbian-operated detention camps are opened, yesterday said Washington will establish full diplomatic relations with Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Responding to increased violence in what was once Yugoslavia, Mr. Bush also pledged to continue pushing for a U.N. resolution that would allow military protection, if needed, for humanitarian missions to Bosnia.

"The international community cannot stand by and allow innocent women and children and men to starve to death," said a grim-faced Mr. Bush, using note cards to comment on a crisis for which he has been criticized for inaction.

Mr. Bush hoped force would not be needed to get relief supplies to Bosnia and called for tighter economic sanctions on Serbia to show "there is a real price to be paid for ... continued aggression."

"To truly end the humanitarian nightmare, we must stop ethnic cleansing," he declared, pledging the United States "would not rest until the international community has gained access to any and all detention camps."

"It is absolutely essential, whatever is going on there, that there be open inspection and that humane treatment of the people in these concentration camps be guaranteed."

Atrocities have been reported in camps in which Serbs are holding non-Serbian civilians. Ethnic

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cleansing, which Mr. Bush labeled a "vile policy," refers to Serbian efforts to uproot Muslims in Bosnia.

Mr. Bush, known to be deeply reluctant to send U.S. troops into a Balkan civil war, rejected calls from Democrat Bill Clinton and Senate Democrats that American forces be used to quell the violence.

"Those who understand the nature of this conflict understand that an enduring solution cannot be imposed by force from outside on unwilling participants," Mr. Bush said.

Speaking to reporters after some Western campaigning, Mr. Bush said that if force should prove necessary he will do everything in his power to protect the lives of American troops.

"We know that there is horror in these detention camps. ... But in all honesty, I can't confirm to you some of the claims that there is, indeed, a genocidal process going on there," he said.

The president added, "We must contain the conflict and prevent its spilling over into neighboring states like Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece."

In a hastily arranged news conference at Peterson Air Force Base before returning home from a two-day trip, Mr. Bush said trying to stop the shooting in these nations would take "years of work."

Yugoslavia splintered when communism collapsed in 1989, giving way to long-standing feuds between the Serbs and citizens of Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia. Serbs oppose Bosnia's independence.

In his warning against U.S. military intervention in "blood feuds," Mr. Bush said, "the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is a complex, convoluted conflict that grows out [of] age-old animosities."

At last month's economic summit, Mr. Bush and the U.S. economic allies pledged to seek a U.N. resolution allowing the use of force if the Serbs continued to interfere with U.N. humanitarian efforts.

The United States has promised to

use Navy and Air Force aircraft to protect relief convoys if needed.

On Wednesday, Mr. Clinton charged in East St. Louis, Ill., that the White House has not done enough to stop the violence in Bosnia or to keep Serbs from rounding up opponents and minorities for execution in concentration camps.

"We may have to use military force. ... I would begin with air power against the Serbs to try to restore the basic conditions of humanity," Mr. Clinton said.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 12-4 yesterday to approve a resolution urging "all necessary means, including military force" to protect deliveries of humanitarian aid and halt shelling of civilians.

Both sides said the resolution opens the door to using U.S. forces. Not all agreed that is warranted.

"I encourage my fellow senators to reflect upon the reality of American casualties, as they will occur," said Sen. Frank Murkowski of Alaska, one of four GOP senators voting against the measure.

"We have to face up to the fact that we might lose some people ... but it's the right thing to do," said Sen. Larry Pressler, South Dakota Republican.

But Sen. Joseph Lieberman, Connecticut Democrat, said, "I don't think we have an acceptable option other than to tighten the noose. At a minimum, we have to be ready for airstrikes. This is not an invasion to win a war, but to stop Serbian aggression. We're not trying to liberate a country."

"He's [Mr. Bush] coming along," said Sen. Dennis DeConcini, Arizona Democrat and co-chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, who has sought a more aggressive posture in the area.

"He's a little tardy, but he's moving in the right direction. I don't want to beat up on him," he said.

Mr. Bush, however, joined the committee in calling for a full investigation of alleged war crimes by Serbia.

• Major Garrett in Washington contributed to this article, which is based in part on wire service reports.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

Yugoslav legacy: Take no prisoners

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The towering mountains of Bosnia served as the grave of thousands of German soldiers and their allies who never succeeded in breaking the back of Yugoslav resistance during World War II.

Memories of the most stubborn, bloody and uncompromising guerrilla war in Nazi-occupied Europe still haunt the thinning ranks of survivors. The prospect of another possible military quagmire in the Balkans is not something relished by Western military planners.

"Nobody took prisoners," recalled Miles Costich, who crisscrossed the mountains as a fighter

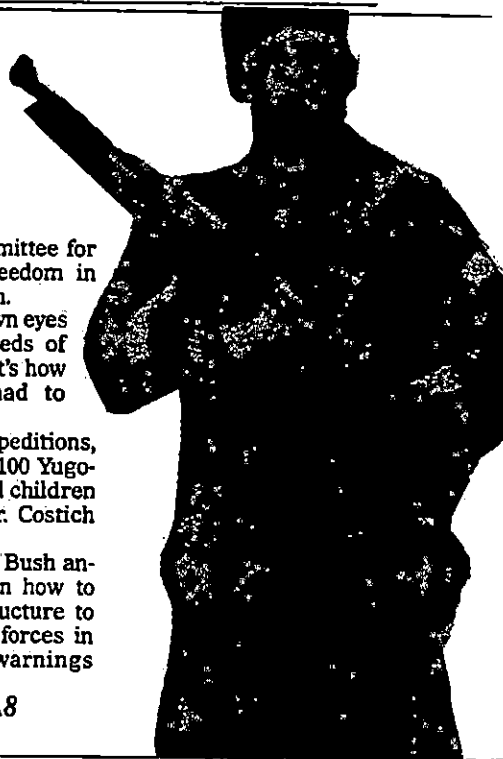
and now heads the Committee for Defense of Political Freedom in Yugoslavia in Washington.

"I watched with my own eyes the execution of hundreds of Germans," he said. "That's how Yugoslav guerrillas had to fight."

In their punitive expeditions, Nazi troops often killed 100 Yugoslavs — often women and children — for each German, Mr. Costich said.

Even before President Bush announced consultations on how to use NATO's military structure to help U.N. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, warnings

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were sounded about the possibility of sinking into a major military morass.

"If there is no diplomatic solution and the world thinks seriously of putting in an occupation force, then they should be prepared for a very long stay," warned Lt. Gen. Lewis Mackenzie, the departing U.N. commander in the former Yugoslav republic.

"I'd say the next 20 years — and even then, who knows what would happen when they left?" he told the Daily Mail, a British newspaper.

NATO planners estimated that at least 12,000 troops would be needed to seize control of the Sarajevo airport. To create a permanent ground corridor to the beleaguered Bosnian capital, a force of 100,000 soldiers is considered a minimum.

The terrain in Bosnia is ideal for guerrilla resistance — and a potential death trap for a regular army. The militias now involved in Bosnia are better trained and armed than the ragtag wartime resistance.

And no one knows to what extent the warring factions would turn on troops representing foreign intervention in their homeland.

At the height of their World War II involvement, the Axis strength in Yugoslavia comprised a million men, including 18 German, 14 Italian, eight Hungarian and five Bulgarian divisions.

The most violent military engagements were fought in eastern and western Bosnia, Montenegro, and the mountains of Croatia.

The Nazi security forces included two locally recruited SS divisions. One of them, the Handzar, consisted

of Bosnian Muslims.

The Yugoslav guerrilla units — Josip Broz Tito's communist partisans and the royalist "chetniks" led by Gen. Draza Mihailovic — were lightly armed and politically divided. The West — mainly Britain — swung its support behind Tito in 1944 with massive supplies of weapons.

Yugoslav sources estimate German losses in Yugoslavia from 1941 to 1945 at 300,000 dead. About 1.7 million Yugoslavs — soldiers and civilians — were killed during the war in combat, mass executions, concentration camps and internecine strife.

The strength of the World War II partisans was their no-compromise attitude toward the occupier and their firm belief in Allied victory. They fought a war of constant movement, holding villages and small towns only temporarily and striking from mountain hideouts.

The ethnic guerrilla units fighting in fragmented Bosnia today have behind them intense military training acquired under a Tito-era program known as "defense against all points of the compass."

In the event of invasion from outside, they planned to transform the country into a network of self-contained armed units.

The program included the building of well-stocked arms caches and ammunition depots, as well as small-arms factories. There are 11 such factories in Bosnia alone.

When the Serbian-led Yugoslav army withdrew from Bosnia earlier this year, it left behind an impressive arsenal that, according to Serbian sources, included 231 tanks, 800 artillery pieces, 87 rocket launchers, 5,000 heavy-caliber mortars, 100,000 automatic rifles and 15,000 machine guns of various calibers.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

White House to reassign three writers

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Three speech writers for President Bush were told this week that they would be reassigned to other posts, Bush administration sources said.

The three are Joseph Duggan, Michael Johns and Beth Hinchliffe.

Two of the speech writers are prominent conservatives. Mr. Duggan once worked for former Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. Mr. Johns was an aide to former New Jersey Gov. Tom Kean and before that a policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation.

Sources outside the White House speculated that the reassignments may have been an attempt by Budget Director Richard Darman to further extend and consolidate his power within the White House in case Secretary of State James A. Baker III moves in.

Many believe Mr. Baker soon will quit the State Department to oversee Mr. Bush's re-election campaign from an office in the White House.

A Darman protege, Robert Grady, is now expected to become involved in presidential speech writing.

Mr. Grady is acting deputy director at the Office of Management and Budget under Mr. Darman.

Steve Provost, the former Kentucky Fried Chicken executive who is now White House communications director, informed the three writers of their reassignments Tuesday afternoon.

But other sources familiar with the White House speech-writing operation said the reassignments merely reflected the desire of Mr. Provost to bring in his own team.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

Iraqis restrict probers U.S. demands full compliance

By Peter Smerdon
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

BAGHDAD — Iraq declared yesterday that it will not allow U.N. arms inspectors into government ministries, but the White House said Baghdad must honor the Gulf war cease-fire resolutions.

"The United Nations resolutions will be honored in full, and he [Saddam Hussein] will comply with U.N. resolutions, and I leave it at that," President Bush said at a campaign stop in Colorado Springs.

Questioned further later in the day, the president said only: "I can't tell you what the inspection targets will be, but if they prove to be a ministry, the United Nations has every right by international law to inspect."

A new U.N. inspection team, which is due to fly to Baghdad today, would be the first to enter Iraq since the fruitless search of the Agriculture Ministry last month ended a three-week standoff with the United Nations.

"We reject categorically visits to the headquarters of ministries because the aim ... is to hurt Iraq's sovereignty and independence," Hamed Youssef Hummadi, culture and information minister, said at a news conference.

"The entering of ministries or the headquarters of ministries we will not agree to. This is one thing. As far as other places, the inspection teams can visit any place in the country."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater speaking with reporters in Colorado, said the United States did not intend to accept anything but "full compliance" by Iraq with U.N. resolutions.

"We seek full compliance, as we have in the past," he said. "I assure you that the intent of the United Nations and the intent of the United States are quite strong."

Noting that plans to enforce the U.N. cease-fire terms that ended the Gulf war have been considered for several months, Mr. Fitzwater said, "No one should be of any apprehension that there are not ways to seek a very forceful compliance with these resolutions."

In Washington, Defense Department spokesman Pete Williams said: "The Iraqis need to submit to the U.N. inspectors wherever and when-

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IRAQ

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ever the U.N. wants to visit, whether it is a ministry building or a library building or anything else.

"This would be only the latest in a series of preposterous statements ... about U.N. inspectors," he told reporters at the Pentagon.

The White House has warned repeatedly that Mr. Bush has not ruled out any options, including use of military force, to make Saddam follow Gulf War cease-fire agreements that require him to destroy all Iraqi weapons of mass destruction.

The U.S. Navy has about 40 warships in the waters near Iraq, including two aircraft carriers that carry more than 150 warplanes between them. Additionally, the U.S. Air Force has dozens of aircraft based in the region.

Ambassador Rolf Ekeus, Swedish head of the U.N. special commission charged with scrapping Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, told a news conference Tuesday that the Security Council had been "somewhat slow" in reacting to Iraq's last rebuff of its inspectors.

He said he told Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz last week that "there will be very swift reaction if there is any tendency to block us this time."

Mr. Ekeus said he hoped the new team's mission would be "a surprise" for Iraq, including sites where "prohibited material of significance" was believed to be stored.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992 *

Democratic nominees drive bus over Bush's economic strategy

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CEDAR RAPIDS, Iowa — The Clinton-Gore road show pulled out a secret weapon in its escalating war with President Bush over the economy: working Americans.

At a small manufacturing plant in Davenport and then at the giant Quaker Oats cereal plant in Cedar Rapids, the Democratic nominees told how average folks are working harder and longer for less money.

"The biggest difference between me and the incumbent president's administration is that they really do believe down in the fiber of their being in what they call trickle-down economics," presidential candidate Bill Clinton told 6,000 people gathered under a blazing sun outside the Quaker Oats factory.

In Danvenport, his running mate, Al Gore, brought up the savings-and-loan bailout, saying, "When the wealthy and powerful want something done, you just better stand out of the way, because Bush and Quayle will move heaven and earth to get it done for them."

The slogans and the sound bites were much the same as on the first

day of the latest three-day bus trip through mid-America, which ends tomorrow, and on the first journey after the Democratic convention. The difference yesterday was they came on the day President Bush gave his harshest attack on Mr. Clinton for his economic proposals.

The Clinton campaign put out two press releases attacking Mr. Bush's record and said it was the worst "of any president since Hoover."

The Bush/Quayle '92 campaign also gipped the Democrats' bus trip through Mark Twain's America — "Adventures of a Pandermobile Across America." The Republicans suggested "Boy Clinton" was writing a new version of Twain's "Private History of a Campaign That Failed" by abandoning a "middle-class" tax cut. "If Twain only knew what a visionary he was," the campaign release said.

As the eight-bus caravan rolled through eastern Iowa and into Wisconsin along the path of the Mississippi River, the nominees continued to encounter enthusiastic crowds in farm towns and small cities.

Mr. Clinton stopped the caravan several times unexpectedly to get out and shake hands when he saw a

large enough crowd. Most came to wave, some to size him up and a few to protest.

On Wednesday, the troupe stopped seven times outside the normal schedule, causing some, like 26-year-old Katherine Paetz, to wait more than two hours to get close to the Baby Boomer ticket.

"I'm a Clinton supporter. I didn't think I'd say those words ... but I think he's proved himself," she said as the buses stopped in Muscatine in southeastern Iowa to greet about 300 people. A backer of 1988 nominee Michael Dukakis, she said this year is different: "It's that glimmer of hope. I don't remember feeling like that four years ago."

But as about 100 supporters crowded on one side of State Road 13 in Ryan, Iowa, Terry Sauser stood on the opposite side holding his 3-year-old daughter and watching with little enthusiasm. The sign on his convenience store read, "1992 Pres vote — None of the above."

"I don't think he's going to make any difference. Actually, I don't think either one matters much," said Mr. Sauser, who had been leaning toward Texas billionaire Ross Perot.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

Watch your mouth

Larry Buendorf, special agent in charge of the Secret Service detail that protects former President Ford, is suing National Public Radio and its correspondents Daniel Schorr and Scott Simon for libel.

The problem stems from two 1975 assassination attempts on Mr. Ford. In the first situation, Mr. Buendorf subdued Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme. Later the same month, Sarah Jane Moore tried to shoot Mr. Ford. Oliver Sipple, a citizen in the crowd, pushed Moore and deflected the shot.

In later news reports, Mr. Sipple was identified as homosexual.

In an NPR broadcast in April 1992, Mr. Schorr and Mr. Simon got their heroes mixed up, identifying Mr. Buendorf as having been "exposed as being homosexual."

The suit says Mr. Buendorf is not now nor has he ever been homosexual, and it calls the characterization "defamation of the highest order."

In addition to monetary damages, the agent wants a public retraction.

Last night, NPR issued an apology to Mr. Buendorf and Daniel Schorr read a statement about how he "confused two incidents." He called it "a dumb mistake." Mr. Schorr said he deeply regrets the error and he would have apologized

sooner if Mr. Buendorf had called it to his attention before filing suit.

Hot stuff

It takes a lot to stun a cynical sort like your typical Beltway Irregular, but that's just what happened when one of our number who works in the communications industry read a news release from the Federal Communications Commission. For informational purposes only, our correspondent passed the missive on to us. Smokin'.

Seems the FCC has charged Fourth Media of Atlanta with violating laws about obscene and indecent telephone messages. To make the charges stick, of course, the agency had to monitor the messages in question.

And then, perhaps to enlighten those of us who don't call those numbers, the agency printed passages from the tapes. We concur with the agency's assessment that "the work taken as a whole lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value," and we join our correspondent in wondering if the publication of selections from the tape is the best use of tax dollars.

One more thing — purely a matter of fulfilling our investigative responsibilities, of course: Does the

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



As of now, Gennifer Flowers will not be adorning prurient publications.

contain even more of this explicit stuff?

Sorry, said an FCC spokesman. The brief excerpts are considered by FCC experts to be sufficiently convincing.

Meditate on it

The Natural Law Party, which seeks to solve the nation's problems through "the light of science," has placed quantum physicist John Hagelin on the ballot in 17 states. The party expects to be on ballots in 40 states by Nov. 3 and has more than 75 candidates running for Congress.

The party is also active in England, where the reclusive George Harrison has shown his support for it by giving his first extended British concert since 1969. He was joined by Ringo Starr for the event.

The Natural Law Party is a branch of the Transcendental Meditation movement of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, once the Beatles' favorite Indian guru.

complete FCC document on the case, which will be available through vendors in the near future.

Flowers unfolding?

As long as we're on the subject of pornography, though, let's share the findings from our investigation of the promises spoken on the floor of the House of Representatives by Rep. Bob Dornan, who raged like an Old Testament prophet about how Gennifer Flowers would soon be showing up stark naked in various prurient publications. It may be nothing more than sound and fury.

Mr. Dornan allowed as how Miss Flowers would be exposed in the January issue of Playboy magazine. "He must have had his magazines mixed up," said Brian Paige of Playboy. He declared that the magazine has no intentions but said he could not vouch for some other unnamed publication.

Well, we know the name of that publication, because Mr. Dornan provided it in his recent rant. He said Miss Flowers would also be unveiled in the "election issue" of Penthouse.

"No," said a spokeswoman for Penthouse Publisher Bob Guccione. "We have pictures, but we're not sure if we're going to use them. It's up to Bob. He's looking at them now."

Mr. Guccione has hinted that he might publish the photos and that if

he does he will also throw in "another surprise as well." That's all he said.

Dial-a-Daryl

Move over, John Sununu, there's another public figure angling for a career on the talk show circuit. Former Police Chief Daryl Gates took to the air in Los Angeles as guest host on KFI-AM. He said the federal civil rights indictment of four officers involved in the beating of Rodney King was spurred by "hysteria."

Glad to help

So apparently George Bush has snared former Nixon speech writer Ray Price to write his acceptance speech. "He's already working on it," one source with top campaign connections told us. So much for the suggestion from Ambassador Sig Rogich that Pat Buchanan should be called in to pump up the conservative rhetoric. Anyway, that's not exactly Pat's thing. We tracked down Greg Mueller, Mr. Buchanan's spokesman, to see if the idea advanced any yesterday. "Naw," said Mr. Mueller. "Pat'll pass on writing the speech. But he'd be happy to pitch in on the platform."

— John Elvin



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Friday, August 7, 1992

8:00 am (15 min)	<u>Domestic Update</u> (Darman)	Oval Office
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
9:30 am (30 min)	<u>Pre-Brief for Interview</u> (Fitzwater) (TAB A)	Oval Office
10:00 am (30 min)	<u>Interview with U. S. News and World Report</u> (Fitzwater) (TAB B)	Oval Office
10:40 am	The President departs for Marine Corps Memorial in Arlington to Address Ceremony marking 50th Anniversary of Landing on <u>Guadalcanal in World War II</u> (McBride) (TAB C)	South Lawn <i>open</i>
11:50 am	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
12:15 pm 1:15 pm (15 min)	Personal Staff Time <u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Energy/Natural Resources Industry Leaders</u> (Demarest) <i>I've worked hard I deserve your support despite of opposition</i> (TAB D)	Roosevelt Room <i>Wires</i>
1:45 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office

9:30 Per-Brief
10:00 Press Conf.

UNP 08/06/92
6:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	08/07/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, August 7, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/27/2019 **OA/ID Number:** 90705-001

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

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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



2:00 pm (20 min)	Skinner, Darman, Yuetter <u>Meeting on Appropriations</u> Public Secretary (Carter)	Oval Office
2:20 pm (40 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
3:00 pm (15 min)	Meeting with Agriculture <u>Industry Leaders</u> (Demarest)	Roosevelt Room (TAB F)
3:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
3:30 pm	The President departs for <u>Kennebunkport, Maine</u>	South Lawn (TAB G -- Trip Schedule)
5:40 pm	<u>Arrive Walker's Point</u>	Kennebunkport, Maine

B RON Kennebunkport

SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEFING MATERIALS

TAB H -- Briefing on Local Issues, Maine (Demarest)

TAB I -- Maine Political Briefing (Kaufman)

7:10 POTUS In	10:01 Porter, Darman, Fitzwater, Teeter Out
7:33 Skinner In	10:03 Fitzwater, T. Smith In
7:52 Skinner Out	10:04 T. Smith Out
8:03 Darman In	10:08 POTUS Out to Press Room
8:05 Skinner In	10:04 POTUS In Briefing Room
8:17 Fitzwater In	10:25 POTUS Out
8:23 Fitzwater Out	10:30 POTUS In
8:30 Darman Out	10:41 POTUS Out to South Grounds (Tab C)
8:32 Skinner Out	11:40 POTUS In oval
8:33 Adm. Howe. (b)(3) In	12:30 Fitzwater In
8:43 (b)(3) Out	12:33 Interview with U.S. News (Ken Walsh)
8:52 Adm. Howe Out	1:07 All Out
8:59 Skinner In	1:12 Bayden Gray In
8:55 Super In	1:20 Gray Out
9:06 Super Out	1:22 Demarest In
9:17 Skinner Out	1:25 Skinner In
9:37 Skinner, Fitzwater, Howe, Porter, Darman, Teeter In	1:30 POTUS Out to Rose Room Valt Room
9:40 Boskin In	1:49 POTUS Invites all in oval for Photos
	2:00 All Out
	2:07 Skinner, Darman, Yuetter In

2:43	Skinner, Dairman Yeutter out
2:43	Adm. Howe IN
2:56	Skinner IN
2:57	" out
3:00	Scowcroft IN OUT
3:02	Skinner IN
3:05	Howe out
3:13	Demarest, Yeutter IN/Skinner out
3:16	POTUS IN Roosevelt room
3:33	POTUS Invites All in for photos
3:38	All out



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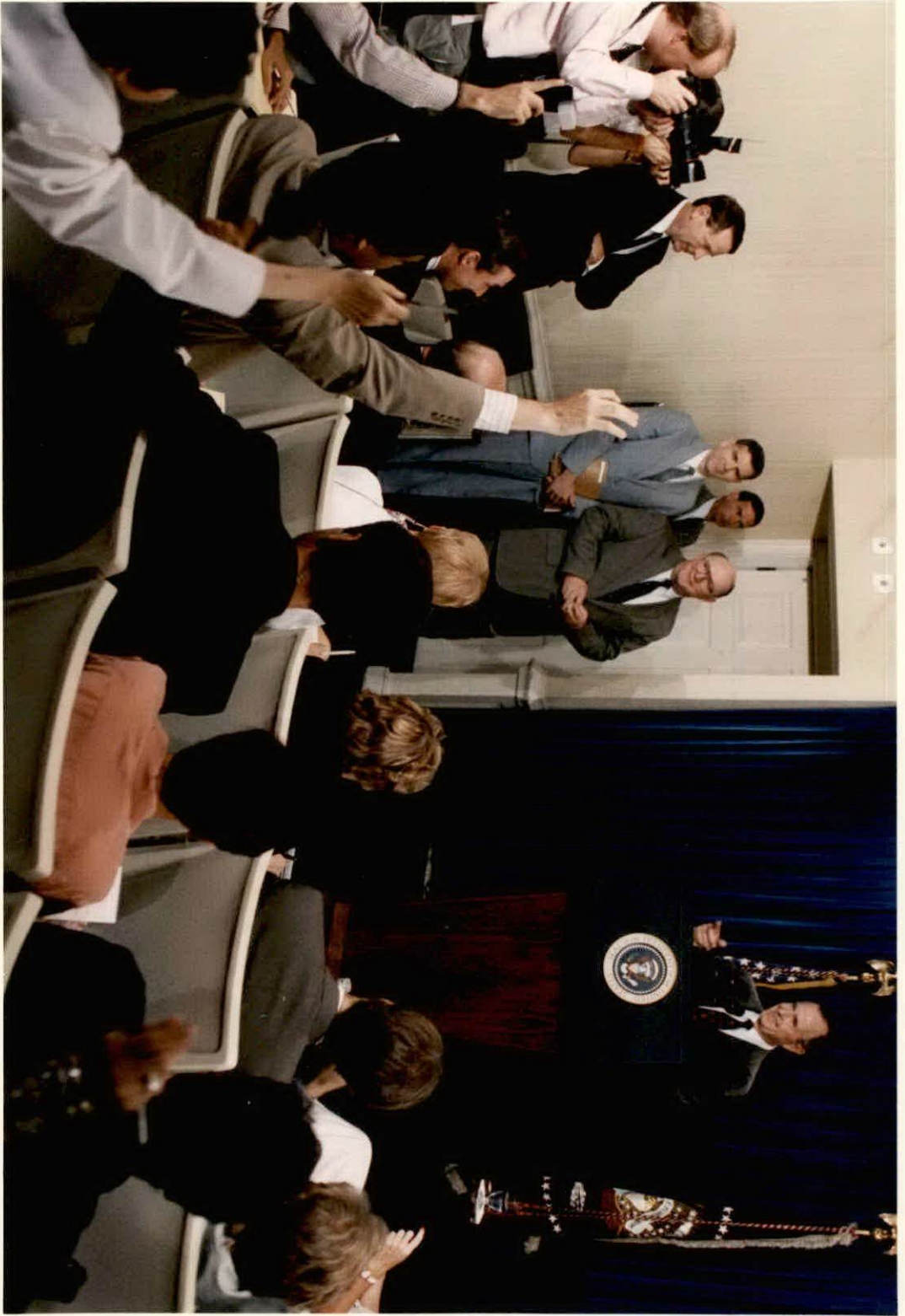


50th Anniversary
of Shalalacanal

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