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Tuesday, August 11, 1992 [2]

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Mr President:

Attached are the two articles I mentioned plus the speech. We have been saying everything that is in the articles but it is helpful to have them from an independent source.

Speech is worth reading as

into
interests read 8-11-92
✓

daily
8/11

if it collects a lot of what you have been saying.

NFB

Put in
Nick
Brady
file

For New Jobs, Help Small Business

In this political season, as the candidates talk about how to improve the economy, there is too little interest in an idea that used to be a mainstay of party platforms — the need for a vibrant small business sector.

In the first three decades after World War II, many politicians favored programs to bolster small business because of concern about overconcentration of economic power. Between 1954 and 1979, the sales of the Fortune 500 companies as a share of gross national product rose from 37% to 58% and many commentators believed that the U.S. would evolve into a "new industrial state" dominated by large firms. In the 1990s, the U.S. needs to encourage small business for a different reason. We need a vibrant small business sector because we need jobs.

Since the Fortune 500 companies stopped growing more than a decade ago, small business has become the primary engine for creating jobs. During the 1980s, the Fortune 500 companies cut 3.5 million jobs while small businesses created more than 20 million jobs. During the past 18 months, the Fortune 500 have probably shed an additional 600,000 jobs.

The failure of the U.S. economy to recover since the 1990-91 recession is because small business isn't creating as many new jobs as it used to. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that new businesses added only about 144,000 jobs in 1991, compared with 1.5 million in 1990. According to provisional estimates for 1992, new firms added only about 10,000 jobs a month during the first quarter and 25,000 a month in the second quarter, compared with 100,000 a month during the 1980s.

Unfriendly Environment

There are two primary reasons small businesses have failed to create an adequate supply of new jobs since 1990.

First is the financial environment, which is unfriendly to small business in

ing a de facto employment tax on companies.

Since the great majority of workers without health insurance are employed by small businesses in retailing, restaurants and other service industries, there is great concern among those businesses that the federal government will soon require them to provide some form of health insurance. Such mandates could significantly increase their labor costs.

If the economy were booming, companies would add more workers despite the concerns about health care costs and other potentially expensive regulations such as the new disabilities act. But because economic growth since 1989 has been the poorest since World War II, many firms,

expand their overhead.

In the face of such constraints, there is no simple way to revive the small business sector. In the financial sector, the big drop in interest rates since 1990 will gradually ease the credit crunch for small businesses by restoring bank profitability and encouraging banks to become more competitive in their lending practices again. Other sources of credit are also starting to appear. Some financial planning groups, for instance, are evolving into de facto merchant banks by helping credit-starved small businesses obtain new capital from wealthy private investors. Meanwhile, the Securities and Exchange Commission wants to help ease the credit crunch by liberalizing its rules governing the registration and sale of new securities by small companies. But all of these measures will take time, and there is unlikely to be a broad-based recovery in credit access for small business until 1993 or 1994.

What can the government do? Both political parties want to encourage the creation of small businesses by improving the tax treatment of capital gains. The Republicans want to reduce the capital gains tax rate to 20%, while the Democrats propose to index capital gains for inflation and provide some form of tax relief for investment in new businesses. Despite widespread concern about the credit crunch problem, though, neither party has suggested changing the regulations that are encouraging banks to shift to more conservative lending policies.

The other critical small business issue for which both parties are still formulating policy is how to provide health insurance for the 35 million to 40 million Americans who now lack it. Most are dependent on jobs in small businesses. Yet only 39% of firms with fewer than 25 employees offer health care; 34% of firms with 25 to 99 employees do not. The Bush administration wants to improve access to health

Where The Jobs Aren't		
	FORTUNE 500 EMPLOYMENT	FORTUNE 500 SHARE OF TOTAL NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT
1954	7,857,483	14.6%
1960	8,178,511	15.2
1964	10,454,383	16.1
1968	13,987,210	20.6
1969	14,813,809	21.0
1970	14,607,881	20.6
1971	14,324,880	20.1
1972	14,878,849	19.9
1973	15,591,883	20.2
1974	16,255,946	19.4
1975	14,412,992	18.7
1976	14,838,163	18.6
1977	15,298,292	18.5

The Outlook

New Debt Phobia Is Slowing Economy

WASHINGTON

The great American borrowing binge is over, and consumers and corporations are paying off debts they took on in the 1980s. This is prudent, but right now it's hurting the economy.

The economy simply won't grow very much until households and businesses decide they have lightened their debt burdens sufficiently to spend as they usually do in a recovery.

The unanswered, and probably unanswerable, question is how much longer this period of prudence will last. When will Americans feel comfortable about their balance sheets and begin buying new cars and appliances instead of paying down debt?

According to Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, "We should experience a quickening pace of economic activity as the grip of debt burden pressures begins to relax." When? The central banker wouldn't guess. Switching metaphors, he said, "Last year, I characterized this process as the economy struggling against a 50-mile-an-hour headwind. Today, its speed is decidedly less, but still appreciable."

The reversal of what Mr. Greenspan called the "overbuying, overbuilding and overleverage" of the 1980s is under way. Payments on mortgages, credit cards, auto loans and other borrowing consumed about 15% of after-tax income when Ronald Reagan was sworn in for his first term, 16% when his second began, 17% when George Bush took over and peaked at 18.2% in early 1991 about the time the U.S. invaded Iraq.

But then, the great American borrowing machine went into reverse. By the second quarter of 1992, the Fed estimates, debt payments took 16.7% of household income, the smallest percentage in six years. Lower interest rates and the refinancing of millions of mortgages are one factor, but so is consumers' determination to get out of hock. Total consumer debt outstanding for cars, credit cards and other installment loans is \$15 billion below its November 1991 peak of \$736 billion, a drop of nearly 5% after adjusting for inflation.

Corporate interest payments as a percentage of cash flow have followed a similar pattern. Lower interest rates mean instant increases in cash flow for companies with floating-rate loans. And many companies have refinanced old debt or issued new shares to pay off costly old loans. For the first time in eight years, nonfinancial corporations last year issued more stock than they retired, and the trend has continued.

Only in the past few years have economists begun to appreciate how significant corporate and personal net worth can be in predicting spending behavior. Many warned that someday the debt burden would grow too big, but few knew how to predict when. Few have any idea when this present debt-repayment phase will end.

In a sense, this is uncharted territory. "There's no mathematical formula," says Wall Street economist Henry Kaufman. "My own suspicion is we're going to have to hack away for another 12 months at least to further loosen the grip of this debt." The decision of millions of firms and families to stop accumulating debt and start repaying it is a major reason for the economy's muted response to falling interest rates, he says.

Recent reductions in both short- and long-term interest rates should help speed the day when consumers are confident enough to buy more cars, couches, freezers and houses. Although falling rates hurt people living off interest on their bank

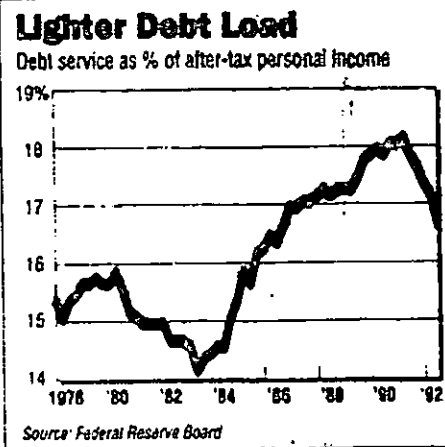
In the past six months alone, roughly one in every 15 home mortgages has been refinanced. "If interest rates go down another half percentage point, nearly every mortgage made in the last six or seven years is a candidate for refinancing," says economist Lyle Gramley of the Mortgage Bankers Association. Lower mortgage payments mean more money for other things.

The firming of housing prices also may relieve the itch to lighten debt burdens. For many, the problem hasn't only been too much debt, but a sense that their net worth is being eroded by the falling value of their homes. Stephen Zeldes, an economist at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, reasons that consumers are always wary about buying big-ticket items when they're uneasy about job security — but are even more so when their wealth is shrinking. Rising stock and bond markets are a plus, but only for the richest families.

Of course, more jobs and better wages would help a lot, too. "I really think they've paid off enough debt," says Sandra Shaber, who tracks consumer spending for WEFA Group, a forecasting firm. "People are worried about making a major purchase because they are worried about their jobs or paychecks or that bonus," she says.

So consumers and companies still suffer from the 1980s hangover. They're feeling a bit better, thanks, but it's too soon to plan the next party.

—DAVID WESSEL



accounts, they are helping to restore the health of many families' finances.

TREASURY NEWS



Department of the Treasury

Washington, D.C.

Telephone 202-622-2960

TEXT AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
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Contact: Claire Buchan
202-622-2910

Remarks by
The Honorable Nicholas F. Brady
Secretary of the Treasury
at the
HOUSTON CLUB
Houston, Texas
August 10, 1992

Thank you, Charles Brown. It is a great pleasure to be here today at the Houston Club.

In a few weeks, the presidential campaign of 1992 will begin in earnest, and the next three months will be a time of intense debate: where have we been? where are we going? how do we get there? who do we trust to take us there? These are serious questions; they demand serious answers. And if we do not take the time now for some honest reflection, we run the risk of being led in the heat of the coming campaign by nothing but the quest for partisan advantage. So today I would like to set out the Bush Administration's answers.

First, where have we been? We must recognize that in the last four years America -- and the world -- have been through a profound transition, a structural adjustment greater than any we have seen since the end of the Second World War. Let me give you a few examples:

- During this last four years America and her allies won a war -- a Cold War, but nonetheless the most protracted and expensive war of this century. This victory will bring immeasurable benefits to our economy as we reduce the enormous burden of military spending. But the benefits of peace did not come free: our country now shows the strain of having carried the burden of the free world's defense for almost 50 years. And the transition to a peacetime economy has meant a difficult adjustment period for defense workers, military families and their communities.

NB-1932

- Second, we are undergoing irreversible changes in the way the world does business. The information revolution -- together with advances in transportation and logistics -- has made it increasingly easy for a product to be designed in Illinois, financed in London, manufactured in California, and sold in Mexico. And technological and financial innovations move capital instantaneously to its most efficient use -- whether that is Paris, Texas or Paris, France. This puts direct pressure on our large corporations to meet world competition by reducing costs.
- Third, the volume of debt in every segment of society over the last four years has been at historically high levels. Those levels, however, are now beginning to decline as businesses strengthen their balance sheets and as the baby boomers become the parents of the 1990s, watching their budgets, saving for their retirement and their kids' education. Reducing the country's debt sets the stage for renewed growth in the long term -- even though it has meant slower growth in the short term.
- Finally, economic growth has been hindered by a financial system weakened first by overexposure to Third World Debt, then by failed savings and loans, and most recently by declining real estate markets. Banks, thrifts and insurance companies have become hesitant to provide the credit needed to fuel the economy.

In short, the Bush Administration, from its first days in office, has been faced with a new and broader range of economic challenges; and from its first days in office it has met these challenges head on. The savings and loan clean-up is a good example. By the end of 1988 the S&Ls were losing \$13.4 billion annually -- over \$36 million per day. Almost 21% of the industry was insolvent. Faced with such an intractable problem, it would have been easy to do the expedient thing: keep troubled institutions afloat; put off the day of reckoning while the tab ran higher and higher.

Instead, just eighteen days after taking office, President Bush proposed a comprehensive solution to the crisis, a solution that has now been tested by three years of execution. This program has cost the country real money, but not one cent has gone to S&L owners. Instead, it has gone to protect more than 22 million depositor accounts -- accounts that were the savings of millions of Americans, and in some cases all they had put away over a lifetime. We have cut the cancer out of the S&L system by seizing 718 insolvent thrifts. We have made S&L crooks pay the price, with over 900 convictions for major thrift crimes.

And the proof is in the pudding: in 1991, the industry as a whole earned \$1.6 billion — the first annual profit in 6 years.

And the S&L crisis is not the only hard job that President Bush has taken on and won. When George Bush entered office in 1989, Third World Debt exposure had been wracking the banking system since the summer of 1982 with no end in sight. For seven years the financial press had been filled with cliff-hanger headlines of potential collapse. The Third World Debt crisis was the most visible and persistent international financial problem in a generation, and had come to seem as permanent a part of the landscape as the Rio Grande.

But President Bush called for a thorough reassessment of the nation's policy toward international debt, and in March of 1989 the Administration put forward a new approach. We called on the banks and their sovereign borrowers to do two things: emphasize genuine debt reduction and encourage private investment. Following this voluntary, market-based debt strategy, over 90% of the troubled bank debt to Latin America outstanding just 3 years ago, has been restructured on terms acceptable to both banks and borrowers. The Latin nations have become dynamic trading partners: economic growth last year was 4% in Mexico, 5% in Argentina and a whopping 9% in Venezuela. And the money center banks have reduced their exposure to troubled countries by 65%. The Third World Debt crisis -- that once threatened to destabilize the entire financial system -- is over.

And every bit as important as the problems solved have been the problems avoided. These are worth careful thought: in three years we have seen the collapse of governments throughout Eastern Europe, a coup attempt in the Soviet Union, a war in the Middle East. As triggers for Armageddon, any one of these could have served -- yet the trigger was never pulled. Anyone who thinks about it for a moment can come to only one conclusion: the steady leadership of George Bush has served us well.

This, then, has been the achievement of the first Bush Administration: to face the challenges of a world in transition and retain America's leadership in the new world emerging from the old.

And make no mistake -- America is the leader of this new world. It is time to dismiss the sorrowful, whining lament of the Democrats in Congress that the United States is somehow on its way to becoming an economic backwater. The United States remains, and will remain, the world's preeminent economic power. With one twentieth of the world's population, we produce one fourth of its goods and services. Total U.S. output is about

twice Japan's, four times Germany's, and larger than the whole European Community. America is winning the export race: we lead the world in exports, and in particular we lead in exports of high technology goods, such as aircraft, computers, microelectronics and scientific equipment. Our living standards are 18% higher than Japan's and 15% higher than Germany's. And our productivity, the key to ensuring our living standards remain high, is about 10% higher than Germany's and 30% higher than Japan's.

But to keep our position of leadership, we must follow a clear and determined strategy. What is this strategy? What is our goal?

The goal of the Bush Administration during the next four years will be -- as it has been -- not to hide from change, but to face it; not to stand in place, but to advance -- to guide our economy through a difficult structural transformation and assure our competitive position in the new world. And in that process, President Bush will be guided -- as he has been -- by three strategic objectives:

Secure the Peace

First, we must secure the peace. The most important event of our generation -- not just politically, but economically -- is the end of the Cold War. The nation must not allow a generation's effort to be squandered by giving in to the calls to turn inward, to shirk the burdens of world leadership. Instead we must seize the initiative now so that our children will grow up in a world of peace and prosperity, where the United States aims its exports, not its missiles, at the former Soviet Union.

Securing the peace is not merely a matter of foreign policy, it is at the heart of our domestic agenda as well. We must recognize that in the post-Cold-War world there is no real distinction between foreign policy and domestic policy. Trade negotiations affect domestic employment; education policy affects future competitiveness; peace in the Middle East means secure energy sources to fuel domestic production; and investment from abroad means jobs for Americans.

Under the President's leadership, we are reducing the number of nuclear missiles aimed at this country from over 20,000 to 3,500, and the number will decline even further. Who, sitting with their children or their grandchildren this summer, would argue that this is not domestic policy at its most fundamental? Any politician who divides the complex issues we face today into one box labeled "domestic" and another box labeled "foreign" will quickly find himself in the "out-box."

Ensure America's Economic Leadership

Second, we must ensure America's economic leadership. In the post-Cold-War century, this will mean ensuring free, open and growing markets for our exports. In the 1980s, growth was fueled largely by debt and consumption; in the 1990s, growth must come instead from exports and investment. Our merchandise exports have increased by about \$195 billion over the last 5 years, and every billion dollars in exports supports about 20,000 new jobs.

That's why President Bush is working hard to complete the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico. NAFTA will link us with our neighbors to the North and South to create an historic trade partnership, and it is a true measure of the Bush Administration's commitment to create jobs.

And when that agreement is initialled, the next sound you hear will be a wail from the Democrats in Congress who -- like the Flat Earth Society -- cling to the discredited beliefs of the past. They lack confidence in American workers and in their ability to compete; they think that if we travel too far toward the new horizon of open markets and free trade, we will fall off the edge of the earth. Well perhaps they should venture as far as Texas, where trade with Mexico has increased by over \$9 billion since 1987. That supports thousands of jobs -- and that's just Texas. We expect NAFTA to create another 300,000 jobs across the country by 1995 -- bringing the total of American jobs directly resulting from opening trade with Mexico alone to 900,000.

But our trading partners also need to understand: it is no longer acceptable for them to close their markets while expecting us to keep ours open. For decades after the Second World War we offered our markets to sustain the alliance and to promote growth in economies that had been shattered by war. In the post-Cold War era, the rule is that all markets must be open, not just our markets.

Ensuring America's economic leadership will also mean adopting policies that foster savings and investment and promote job creation. That means reducing the cost of capital -- in particular by reducing the capital gains tax -- to encourage investment. And it means fixing our regulatory policies -- including reform of our antiquated banking laws -- to reduce the burden government places on economic activity and ensure a sound financial system that can provide the credit needed to sustain economic growth.

And ensuring America's economic leadership means particularly creating an environment in which small businesses can thrive. We must remember that many of America's largest and best known companies are becoming more efficient, trimming their operations, focusing their workforce on core businesses. These efforts are proving successful -- American companies have once again become world class competitors. But that means an inevitable shift in employment from these larger companies to smaller, more flexible firms. Two-thirds of the jobs created in the United States are created by small businesses, and we must not shackle the 4 million smaller firms that are creating the new jobs workers need during this transition. The Bush Administration is committed to providing the incentives for these firms to flourish and is dedicated to killing the regulations that throttle them.

Invest in America's Future

Finally, we must invest in America's future. Investment in education, as well as in technology and in research, is the key to increasing our workers' productivity. More than that, education is the guarantee of job security. Our grandfathers may have worked at a single job their entire lives. Today's employee will, on average, have had five different careers by the time of retirement. Education will be the key to mobility. If in their youth American workers have learned how to learn, they will have laid the foundation for a lifetime of mastering new skills and new occupations.

So America's workforce must be the best educated to remain the most productive. That means fixing our education system -- by implementing President Bush's plan to develop schools that are more accountable, to expand parental choice, to encourage states to set meaningful education standards, and to reward merit in the instruction of our youth.

And investing in America's future means not merely investing in our students, but in our workforce. As we transform our economy, we will not leave out those who must retrain as they shift from one career to another. That is why the Bush Administration has proposed the Job Training 2000 program, to rationalize the bewildering maze of federal training programs and provide an effective, efficient system of helping workers adjust to change.

And finally, investing in America's future means providing affordable health care for all Americans while dealing with the rising health costs of business. That is why President Bush proposed a plan for comprehensive health reform last February, to make health care more accessible by making health insurance more affordable, while reducing the runaway costs of care by making the system more efficient.

These have been -- and continue to be -- our objectives. They recognize the interconnection between foreign affairs and domestic policy; they deal with the dynamic changes in the way the world does business; and they encourage individual initiative rather than fuel the engine of big government.

But it is not merely our objectives that have defined the Bush Administration -- and will continue to define it in a second term -- but our methods of achieving them; not merely our ends, but our means.

The Bush Administration believes that government must achieve its goals by efficiently managing its resources, reducing the burden of government on the nation and its people.

In particular, the Bush Administration believes we must restrict government spending. That means focusing limited federal resources carefully on key problems -- not throwing money at them. We must measure the success of programs by the results they produce, not by the dollars they consume.

And it means seeking the line item veto and a constitutional balanced budget amendment. I cannot stress these points enough. The line item veto may sound like an "inside the Beltway" issue of little importance to those of you in Houston, Denver or Chicago who have real work to do, but I assure you that it is at the heart of any serious attempt to control this nation's deficit spending.

Why? Simply because that's the way Congress works. Every legislative proposal offered up in those halls -- no matter how laudable and responsible it may start out -- is viewed by 535 Representatives and Senators as a potential vehicle for their pet projects. So for the bill to pass, its sponsors must agree to pick up enough of those projects to get the votes they need. They know that, in return, at a later date they can count on support for similar undertakings of their own. That's just the way the system works.

This happens not just to Congress's own legislation, but to the President's proposals as well. Nearly every bill the President sends to Congress gets larded with a host of Congress's pork barrel provisions. And under current law, the President cannot strike those wasteful provisions when the bill is sent back to him for signature. Instead, he must accept the bill as Congress returns it, or reject the core initiative that he first proposed. He is not allowed to keep the essential and delete the superfluous. If the Congress ran this country's convenience stores, no one in America would be allowed to pick up just a carton of milk; he would also have to buy some motor oil, a deck of cards, three copies of People Magazine and a microwave burrito. It is no wonder the budget is out of control. The President must be given the tools to defend the American people from these senseless shopping sprees.

And the habits of the Democratically controlled Congress will not change. The Democrats in Congress believe in a big government that takes an ever increasing share of the national output each year.

In short, the American people must make a fundamental choice of values. We believe in the people, not in bureaucracy. We believe in traditions like hard work and the entrepreneurial spirit, not government omniscience. We believe that government's job is to protect and defend, whether at home or abroad; to enable people to go safely to their schools and about their work; and to create the economic climate for success. We trust the American people, not government, to allocate resources, and we trust the American people to create the strength to take on all comers in the world economy. We believe the government should only do what the people cannot do for themselves.

These values are the American peoples' values, and in a time of change, of transition, it is important to remember those constant values and beliefs that have made this country great. We need to remember that America's success is based on the achievements of its people, not on political slogans that come and go. The beliefs that we share -- our belief in a government that works with and for the people; our belief in the entrepreneurial spirit; our belief in the core family values that have sustained us for generations -- these are principles that have stood the test of 200 years of change. These are the principles that we should choose to guide America in the years ahead.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 11, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

H.R. 4026, which authorizes the preparation of a plan to rehabilitate a specified portion of the Zuni River watershed in New Mexico.

H.R. 5566, which temporarily suspends the statute of limitations applicable to certain land claims of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

August 11, 1992

August 11, 1992

Presidential Determination
No. 92-38

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Eligibility of Zambia to be Furnished Defense
Articles and Services Under the Foreign
Assistance Act of 1961 and the Arms Export
Control Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2311(a)), and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2753(a)(1)), I hereby find that the furnishing of defense articles and services to Zambia will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are directed to report this finding to the Congress and to publish it in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

For Immediate Release

August 11, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In accordance with section 540 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 360qq) (previously section 360D of the Public Health Service Act), I am submitting the report of the Department of Health and Human Services regarding the administration of the Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act of 1968 during calendar year 1991.

The report recommends the repeal of section 540 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act that requires the completion of this annual report. All the information found in this report is available to the Congress on a more immediate basis through Center technical reports, the Radiological Health Bulletin, and other publicly available sources. This annual report serves little useful purpose and diverts Agency resources from more productive activities.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 11, 1992.

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MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
August 11, 1992

ACTION

1. H.R. 4026 -- Zuni River Watershed Act.
2. H.R. 5566 -- Statute of Limitations Suspension for Certain South Carolina Land Claims.
3. Certificate for Secretary Derwinski for his 35 years of government service.
4. Resignation Acceptance letter for Jonathan Moore as U.S. Rep. to the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.
5. Letter to Mr. Al Williams re student loans per request from the President; letter to Mr. Robert Wallace re the VFW's concerns of President Yeltsin's visit and Senate Resolution 324; letter to Paul Weyrich re his support.
6. Four questions for Outdoor Life Magazine from D. Smith.
7. Proposed toll rate increase for the Panama Canal from Darman.
8. Daily point of light letters and summaries (08/10-08/16).
9. Personnel Selection -- National Advisory Council on the Public Service
10. Recommended Telephone call to John Akers of the Business Roundtable Education Task Force
11. Recommended Telephone Call to Senator Bob Dole re Lieberman-Kasten amendment to the tax bill on Enterprize Zones.
12. Governors' Birthday Letters for September.
13. Ad for the LA. and MS. State Trooper Magazines.

CLASSIFIED

1. Presidential Determination for Security Assistance to Zambia.
2. Russian Uranium and Plutonium.

INFORMATION

1. Calio memo attaching Weekly World News article re space alien and Clinton.
2. Moore memo re Federal Procurement Rules becoming so complicated they have resulted in Delays in awarding contracts.
3. Porter Memo re Analysis of Wall Street Journal Op-Ed.
4. Block schedule.
5. CEA numbers -- Producer price indexes for July.

REMARKS

1. Summer Olympics - Cards.
2. NAFTA Statement.

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers for 08/11/original
2. And accompanying briefing papers for 08/12

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1992

FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT: Telephone Calls to President Salinas of Mexico and Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada.

DATE: Upon completion of NAFTA negotiations

PURPOSE: To congratulate them on the conclusion of the North American Free Trade Agreement negotiations.

SECURE OR OPEN: Open

INTERPRETER: Not required

PHONE NUMBER: To be provided

CONTACT PERSON: Tony Gillespie (for Salinas), x6942
Barry Lowenkron (for Mulroney), x1305

TIME DIFFERENCE: -2 hours (for Salinas)
none (for Mulroney)

SUGGESTED TIMES:

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: -- North American Free Trade Agreement

Date of Submission:

Action:

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
PHONE CALLS TO PRESIDENT SALINAS AND PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY

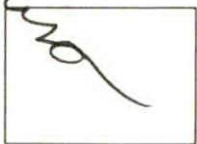
- [Carlos/Brian], Carla Hills reports that Jaime Serra, Mike Wilson and she have reached agreement on the NAFTA.
- This is an historic agreement which marks the beginning of a new era in North America. This agreement can lead the way to an eventual hemisphere-wide free trade area.
- Our Trade Ministers and their staffs have worked incredibly hard over the past year. They have shown what can be accomplished when there is the political will to tear down barriers to trade.
- Increased trade will be a powerful force for constructive change in all our countries.
- We have all had to make difficult compromises. And I know we will face criticism from various groups in our countries.
- But I am convinced that we have an agreement that opens a brighter, more prosperous future for all our peoples -- and especially our young.
- I plan to notify Congress of my intent to enter into the agreement when it returns in September. Consideration and approval of implementing legislation cannot occur until next year, but I will work hard to ensure an overwhelming "yes" vote.
- It would be good if we could get together when our Ministers initial the agreement in a few weeks. Our staffs can stay in touch on it.



Elizabeth

Chloe

Antoine



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MM
and Jack Done

Mark

David

James
Helen
John
Mary
Peter
Sarah
Thomas
Victoria
William
Zoe

① *Oxytropis arvensis* Linn -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: _____

TO:

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA
Deputy Assistant to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 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)

Mon 10-Aug-92 19:21 EDT

GOP PLATFORM WRITERS BASH CLINTON, UPHOLD ABORTION STAND

By Irwin Arieff

HOUSTON, Reuter - Republicans launched the countdown to next week's national convention Monday with a spree of Clinton-bashing and -- in an early test of sentiment on a divisive issue -- voted to renew support for banning abortion.

As expected, Republican platform writers beat back an early challenge to the platform's controversial stance on abortion.

A subcommittee of the party's platform committee voted 17-3 to reaffirm support for a constitutional ban on abortion and for a litmus test for federal judges to assure they are anti-abortion.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton backs legal abortions.

Subcommittee member Bobbi Breske of Delaware noted a constitutional ban would apply equally to victims of rape and incest.

"Are we just to neglect them and put lives in jeopardy through back alley because a girl is raped and she does not care to carry it?" she asked the panel. "We want to support an ideal but the realities of life are sometimes very ugly."

But Rep. Henry Hyde of Illinois said the unborn child simply becomes "the second victim" of a rape if aborted.

"We have wives and daughters and sisters and mothers -- we're not insensitive to the problems of carrying an unwanted pregnancy -- particularly when it's been put there by a criminal act," he said.

Republican backers of abortion rights will have two more chances to try to change the platform, which is the party's basic policy document -- in the full platform committee Tuesday or Wednesday and on the convention floor next Monday.

But changes are unlikely as President Bush has pledged to reaffirm the current plank.

A second subcommittee, meanwhile, voted to add language to the platform referring to a 1990 tax increase agreed to by Bush as "a mistake" and urging a repeal.

Bush has been haunted by the increase as it came after his 1988 "read my lips -- no new taxes" campaign pledge.

As they began drafting, platform writers were given a series of pep talks by Republican leaders, who charged that Clinton would drive up taxes and the federal deficit, burden business with unneeded rules and throw 2.6 million Americans out of work while Bush would cut spending and oppose tax hikes.

Stung by Clinton's rising popularity, the Bush camp began hurling the tax-and-spend allegation at the Democrat last week and he has been returning fire.

A draft Republican platform, written in advance by leaders of the 107-member committee and made public Monday, set forth a glowing view of Bush's record and blamed America's woes primarily on a Congress dominated by liberal Democrats.

The Republican National Convention, where Bush is to be renominated for a second term, opens in this east Texas oil and business capital next Monday.

As of now, the polls show Bush lagging from 20 to 30 percentage points behind Clinton -- even in Bush's adopted home state of Texas -- and Republican leaders hope a display of party unity and verve here will lure voters back in Bush's column.

Party leaders called the draft platform a strong summary of party beliefs even as they conceded disagreements exist.

"Republicans don't agree on everything, but we agree a party ought to stand for something," Gramm said.

"Our job here," said Republican National Chairman Rich Bond, "is to demonstrate that we are a united party, not a divided party."

"The final platform we adopt will not be a perfect document. We won't all agree with every position, word and comma in it -- but what matters is that we're all committed to George Bush," Bond said.

The draft platform contains few surprises on any issue. Its first two words are "family values," signaling an intention to emphasize that theme -- a catchword for traditional American moral views -- in the Nov. 3 election campaign.

And the first person named in the document is **Barbara Bush**, who is quoted as saying: "In order to grow, you must choose a cause to serve larger than yourself."

It backs Bush's programs on health care, education, the economy, the environment, crime, defense and foreign affairs and warns against the Democrats' approach to problems.

It calls for cuts in income-tax rates "as the deficit comes under control and says the way to help the poor is through free markets which "expand wealth for all" rather than through government aid or redistribution of wealth.

The draft also advocates "a national crusade against pornography" and denounces the use of taxpayer funds "to subsidize obscenity and blasphemy masquerading as art."

Mon 10-Aug-92 10:03 EDT
Clinton Leads Bush In 3 Polls
By The Associated Press

Democrat Bill Clinton continues to hold a significant lead over President Bush nationally and in Texas, where the Republican National Convention will be held next week, according to three recent polls.

A national poll of 600 voters taken for the Boston Sunday Globe found the Democratic ticket leading the GOP's by 24 points, 56 percent to 32 percent.

In Texas, the state that Bush claims as home, Clinton had a 14-point lead in two separate polls.

The Arkansas governor led the president 43 percent to 29 percent in The Houston Chronicle poll, published Sunday. The newspaper said the University of Houston Center for Public Policy surveyed 835 registered Texas voters July 31 to Aug. 5.

The Texas Poll, conducted for Harte-Hanks Communications Inc., showed Clinton with 49 percent support to Bush's 35 percent. The results, published Monday in Harte-Hanks newspapers, were based on interviews with 715 likely voters on July 30 through Aug. 7 by the Public Policy Resources Laboratory of Texas A&M University.

The Texas poll, being limited to those who said they were likely to vote, had 10 percent undecided, compared with the Chronicle poll's 23 percent undecided.

The Globe poll was taken last Monday through Wednesday. It showed 31 percent approval of how Bush is handling his job, a rating similar to the low numbers found in other recent national polls. One in five registered Republicans said they would like to see Bush step down so the GOP can nominate someone else.

However, Bush consistently outpolled Clinton when respondents were asked about foreign policy. Clinton was favored on domestic issues.

The Globe poll, taken by KRC Communications Research, found that the Bush administration still has one major strength: **Barbara Bush**. The first lady received a favorable rating of 75 percent.

All three polls had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.



USA TODAY

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

Campaigns keep mud in reserve

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

The Bush and Clinton campaigns are playing a high-stakes game of chicken, each waiting for the other to launch personal attacks.

Both sides have forsworn negative campaigning, so crossing the fuzzy line between character issues and mudslinging could backfire. Latest:

► Bill Clinton says it's fair to go after the financial dealings of President Bush's sons: Neil's involvement in a failed savings and loan, and Jeb's links to an indicted, missing executive.

And Clinton aides won't deny a Newsweek report they "will use Barbara Bush's GOP convention speech on 'family values' as an excuse to go after Bush family members."

But aide George Stephanopoulos says, "We're not intending to do it right now."

► Bush's camp says if Clinton launches that assault, it will retaliate with attacks on Clinton's accounts of marijuana use and how he avoided the draft.

"Bill Clinton's credibility is an issue in the race, but we're not prepared to talk about it yet," says Bush senior campaign adviser Charles Black.

Those issues, but not Clinton's marital history, are seen as fair game by Bush aides.

Clinton, on CBS *This Morning* Monday, was asked about his marriage: "If you want to go for somebody who is perfect . . . find somebody else. But you may not have anybody on the ballot, for all I know."

But a more crucial issue, says Democrat Stephanopoulos, is: "What did George Bush do to our economy?"

Bush's Southern campaign director Warren Tompkins disagrees: "It comes down to character and credibility. With Clinton, there seems to be some pattern of deceit here."

8/9/92

POLITICS

Republicans Fill Out Lineup of Speakers For Party Convention

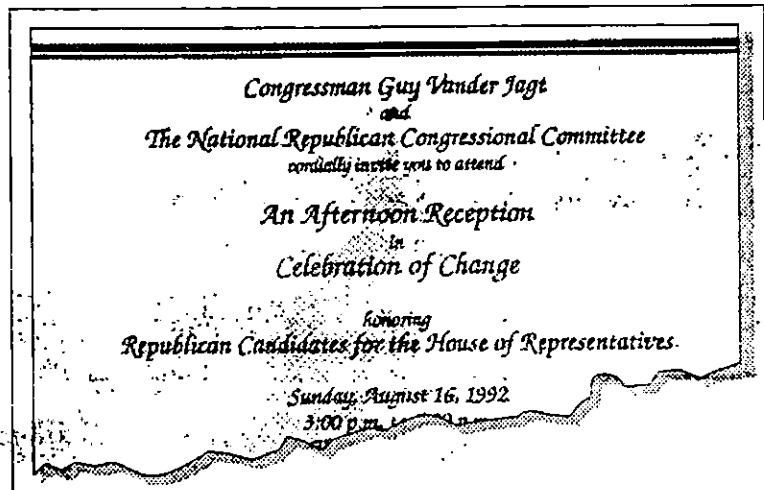
Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond promises "four days of facts, honesty and leadership" at the party's national convention in Houston, beginning Aug. 17. That, he said, will contrast to the "four days of facade, falsehood, diversion and rhetoric" at the Democrats' "Broadway show" in New York last month.

The GOP has filled out the lineup for its gathering, releasing a 16-page list of speakers that includes former presidents Ronald Reagan and Gerald R. Ford, First Lady Barbara Bush and onetime Bush campaign rivals Robert J. Dole, Pat Robertson, Jack Kemp and Patrick J. Buchanan.

Some of the choices spotlight issues on which the administration's position is viewed as hostile, such as the environment, abortion rights and AIDS. Party officials have said they want to show that—unlike the Democrats, who refused to let Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey (D), an opponent of abortion, speak at their convention—Republicans welcome speakers with divergent views.

A Republican fund-raiser's daughter, who is infected with the AIDS virus, will address the convention Aug. 19. But unlike the two AIDS speakers at the Democratic convention, who criticized the Bush administration for not doing enough to fight the disease, Mary D. Fisher is expected to speak about the organization she founded, the Family AIDS Network, a support group for friends and family of those infected with the AIDS virus.

Attempting to show the party's concern for the environment, En-



THE WASHINGTON POST

Despite his primary defeat last Tuesday, Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.) will preside at a reception for GOP congressional candidates next week.

vironmental Protection Agency chief William K. Reilly, who often has been at odds with administration policy, will speak.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, who disagrees with President Bush's antiabortion stance, is to nominate the president Aug. 19, and Dole, the Senate minority leader, will introduce Bush before his acceptance speech Aug. 20.

Former Bush administration drug policy director William J. Bennett, a conservative who has refused to join the Bush-Quayle campaign organization, is expected to nominate Vice President Quayle.

In addition to Barbara Bush, women set to address the convention include Marilyn Quayle, Reps. Nancy L. Johnson of Connecticut and Barbara F. Vucanovich of Nevada and Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin.

Sally Atwater, whose husband Lee ran Bush's 1988 presidential campaign and then took over the Republican Party until his death last year, will introduce Bond on the convention's opening day.

No Surprises, Please

■ The GOP is trying to make sure that there are no surprises from any of its convention speakers.

"If you have a speechwriter, we will still want to assign one of ours to work with you," Craig Fuller, Bush-Quayle '92 convention chairman wrote participants. "We only put on the teleprompter what is approved. This is a collaborative process, but the clearance process will end with me."

These are a few of the guidelines Fuller set forth in a five-page letter, according to Knight-Ridder.

The Democratic Party also had guidelines for its convention speakers. But Laura Quinn, press secretary for Bill Clinton's campaign at the convention, told Knight-Ridder many speakers did not bother to submit texts in advance for review or show up for rehearsals. "You're just not going to tell Mario Cuomo or Jesse Jackson what to say," she said.

—Maralee Schwartz



NEW YORK POST

METRO EDITION

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 / Chance of showers, upper 60s today; clear, less humid, high 50s tonight / Details, Page 2

40¢ in New York City 50¢ elsewhere

EXCLUSIVE

Book reveals U.S. envoy set up Swiss hideaway in '84 for Vice Prez & his secretary



Associated Press

GEORGE BUSH: Was in Geneva in 1984 for arms talks.

THE BUSH AFFAIR



SPY mag

JENNIFER FITZGERALD: Accompanied vice president Bush to Geneva.

Full details of shocking story — See Pages 2 and 3

NEW BOOK: BUSH

Veep Bush linked to

By JIM NOLAN

A newly published book quotes a former U.S. ambassador as saying he arranged for George Bush and his top female aide to spend time alone in a private cottage during an official 1984 visit to Geneva.

The ambassador, who is now dead, said Bush and the woman "stayed in adjoining bedrooms," and the arrangement was "so heavy-handed" that it made him uncomfortable.

The disclosure marks the first time Bush and his former appointments secretary Jennifer Fitzgerald — long-rumored to be his girlfriend — have been linked by a

named source.

The book, "The Power House" by author and former congressional aide Susan B. Trento, quotes Louis Fields, who was the U.S. ambassador to the Geneva disarmament talks, as saying he arranged for then-Vice President Bush and Fitzgerald to use a guest house in Geneva while they attended the talks.

According to a footnote in the book detailing Fields' account of the visit, the tryst allegedly took place "when Barbara Bush was out promoting her book about the family dog, [C. Fred, not Millie]."

Bush attended talks in Geneva in April 1984 — while his wife was in

SLY SMILE: Bush was a happy camper when he arrived at a conference in Geneva in 1984 — around the time of his alleged night of love.

Associated Press



HAD SWISS TRYST

his top female aide

the middle of a U.S. book tour.

Bush campaign spokesman Tony Mitchell yesterday denounced the report.

"It's absolutely garbage. There's no foundation for it," he said.

Numerous calls for comment from White House officials, including deputy press secretaries Judy Smith and Laura Melillo, were not returned.

Fitzgerald, who is now deputy chief of protocol in the State Department, was out of the country for a few days and couldn't be reached for comment, according to her secretary.

According to Trento, there is a

"confirming tape" of Fields' account, but she declined to reveal who has it.

President Bush has never been directly asked whether he has had any extramarital affairs. But during the 1988 campaign his eldest son, George, volunteered to Newsweek that "The answer to the big A (as in Adultery) question is N-O."

With polls showing Bush running strongest against Democratic rival Bill Clinton in character and judgment, the Bush campaign has made "trust" and "family values" a central issue.

Pressing that advantage, the

campaign will have the very popular first lady, in a break with precedent, give a prime-time address at next week's GOP convention.

Her topic — family values.

Fields, who served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations talks until his retirement in 1985, died of cancer in 1988.

But in a 1986 interview with Trento's husband, Joe — a former investigative reporter for CNN — Fields, then a lawyer in Washington, provided details of the alleged tryst between Bush and Fitzgerald.

The account appears in a footnote to a passage in chapter 14 in Susan Trento's book about super lobbyist Robert Keith Gray and influence peddling in the nation's capital.

The passage discusses the need to reshape Bush's image in the aftermath of the Republican landslide victory in 1984 by removing his chief of staff Admiral Daniel Murphy and reducing Fitzgerald's role in the president's political and social life.

"If Bush were going to become a viable presidential candidate in 1988, certain problems had to be addressed," the passage reads.

It continues:

"Two things among others had to be done. First Bush's longtime companion and powerful member of his staff, Jennifer Fitzgerald, had to be removed from the White House; Bush's sexual indiscretions had to be covered up if he ever hoped to be

president."

It adds — quoting an unnamed high level Reagan administration official — that when Bush decided to seek the presidency, Barbara Bush "put the law down, and it concerned Jennifer, and it concerned Murphy's black book [of women around the world] . . . A friend of mine who traveled with him [Bush] in the 1980s said it was absolutely unbelievable. It was Barbara giving an edict."

A short time later, in 1985, Fitzgerald was moved from Bush's White House office to his Senate office.

To back up her account of the Bush-Fitzgerald relationship, Susan Trento wrote a lengthy footnote about her husband's in-

Continued on Page 14

need for the new supple-
ment increase — 'revenue
' — and other drawbacks
said Joseph S. Murphy,
the City University sys-
tem said it was "premature to
any part of it" before the
board next week.

University chancellor, Clif-
ford Jr., briefed the college
the budget yesterday in
iversity official said only
plan was "extremely seri-

ous are set by the boards
of each system. But state
officials said that the recom-
mendations would be necessary
state would be unable to
amount of aid requested for
fiscal year.

Some said that decisions
not only after a careful re-

on Page 9, Column 1

st Kills 14 L.O. Wing

ers said it was responsi-
ble. The group has repeat-
ed responsibility for attacks on
targets in the last two

United Press quoted the
ing 20 people were killed

It noted in Beirut that the
Mr. Amal's security of-

The additional money will come
through a recomputation of aid for the
handicapped children in so-called spe-
cial education.

State regulations require that these

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

budget, but said they also considered
the projections of expenditures and sav-
ings accordingly.

Nevertheless, the leaders predicted
major battles ahead on the budget, in-

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

mary revealed the spending freeze is to
be selectively applied. [Page 6.]

The budget materials made available
today showed that the President intends
to achieve \$20 billion in savings from a

Continued on Page 6, Column 1



The New York Times/D. Corra



Associated Press

FAMILY VALUES: Barbara might have had those
hands around her husband's throat (top) if she'd
known what he was supposedly up to when he went
to Geneva to talk nukes with the Reds and allegedly
relaxed in a lakeside lovenest with Jennifer Fitzger-
ald, with whom he was snapped by The New York
Times (left) discussing preparations for the parley.

New book claims Bush had Swiss tryst with aide

Continued from Page 3

interviews with Fields in which the late ambassador allegedly said of the Geneva visit:

"It became clear to me that the vice president and Ms. Fitzgerald were romantically involved and this was not a business visit . . . It made me very uncomfortable . . . after I left the government I realized how serious this was . . ."

The footnote continues, quoting Fields:

"I am not a prude . . . but I

know Barbara [Bush] and I like her; it was just so heavy-handed."

Fields claimed the couple was "staying in adjoining bedrooms and there was no household staff for the visit. That's why I had to help make certain arrangements for the laundry, that kind of thing."

Fields said the cottage was the Chateau de Bellerive, owned by the Aga Khan's son, Sadrudin Aga Khan, who was a classmate of Bush's at Yale. On an earlier

trip to Geneva, in February 1983, Bush stayed at the Chateau with his wife Barbara.

According to the footnote, journalist Jay Gourley — a former colleague of Joe Trento at CNN — and William Joyce, a former law partner of Fields, both had been told similar stories by the late ambassador.

Over the last few days, The Post has spoken repeatedly with Trento, Gourley and Joyce.

All three confirmed they had spoken with Fields about the alleged Bush-Fitzgerald affair. All confirmed the substance of Fields' quotes in Susan Trento's footnote.

"I don't know if George Bush had an affair with Jennifer Fitzgerald," Joseph Trento told The Post. "I do know that a credible source in a position to have such information said that he did, and I have no reason to think that he lied."

Gourley, now the editor of a government newsletter, Justice Department Alert, said:

"Basically, everything in [the footnote] is correct. Fields confirmed he told Joe this and begged me not to use it."

"He [Fields] explained at length why he didn't think it was worth sacrificing his credibility," Gourley said. "He didn't consider it an issue of national importance and in so doing confirmed everything Joe told me except for a few details."

Gourley told The Post that Fields did not discuss "adjoin-

ing rooms or household staff," but did say "he made all the arrangements."

Gourley said he was asked by Joe Trento to speak with Fields after his interviews to convince the ailing ambassador to go on the record with his story.

"I tried to talk him into it but failed," said Gourley. "He [Fields] said there were only three people who knew, the other two would deny it, and his credibility would be destroyed."

Joe Trento did not tape his interviews. Asked if Gourley taped his phone conversations with Fields, the journalist responded: "I'd rather not answer that question at this time."

But William Joyce, Fields' former law partner, also confirmed that the late ambassador spoke of arranging a tryst in Geneva for Bush.

"I heard him say it," he told The Post. "I was stunned. I did not repeat it. I didn't think of George Bush in those terms," said Joyce, a Bush supporter.

Joyce said it was "hard to believe he [Fields] would say such things about someone he regarded so highly."

The lawyer said Fields had his office decorated with signed pictures and personal notes between himself and the president.

Gourley said there is "no doubt" in his mind that Louis Fields said the things he's quoted as saying, and believed these things to be true.

The insider who spilled the beans

By JIM NOLAN

Joe Trento didn't know what to expect when former Ambassador Louis Fields called in the summer of 1986 and asked him to lunch.

By the end of the conversation, Trento had been told an explosive tale — then-Vice President George Bush and top aide Jennifer Fitzgerald had spent the night alone in a house on Lake Geneva, in an arrangement made by Fields.

Now, six years later, details of the conversation with Fields appear for the first time in "The Power House," a book by Trento's wife, Susan.

Trento, an author and reporter, was an investigative reporter with CNN's "Special Assignment" when he sat down with Fields.

Trento met Fields through William Joyce, a lawyer with whom he had worked on several stories. Fields had recently joined Joyce's firm — Vance, Joyce and Carbaugh — after retiring as ambassador to the disarmament talks in Geneva.

The two men sat at a small conference table eating a sandwich, while Joyce ate at his desk nearby.

"He [Fields] was a very big Bush partisan," recalled Trento, who is now broadcast director for the National Security News Service, a non-profit service that provides information on national security stories to media.

"He wasn't talking to me as a newsman, but he was nervous," recalled Trento.

"He wanted to know whether or not he should be worried about what he knew. He wouldn't be specific, so I asked him what

He had been told that Bush and a top aide had spent the night alone in a house on Lake Geneva.

it was about."

Trento said Fields then told him that he was asked to make arrangements for Bush and appointments secretary Jennifer Fitzgerald to have a private visit at Lake Geneva at a "cottage" owned by the son of Aga Khan.

"He [Fields] described it in some detail — he was very nervous," Trento said.

"He said it was obvious they were having some sort of relationship by the way it was handled and the way they [Bush and Fitzgerald] treated each other."

But Trento said Fields "wasn't going to go on the record" — that is, allow the story to be written and attributed to him.

"He said he was not out to denigrate Bush," Trento said. "He was really debating what morally to do about his knowledge, and he cared it could hurt his professional career as a lawyer and lobbyist."

"Here was a guy who had learned something extraordinary and had left the protection of government, where he would

have never said anything about it," Trento continued.

"With the presidential campaign coming, I think he feared it could become an issue and put him in jeopardy."

Trento said he asked his deskmate at CNN, Jay Gourley, to interview Fields in 1988, when he learned the ambassador was dying of cancer.

"I wanted somebody else besides his law partner. I wanted another reporter to hear the story from him," Trento said.

Gourley interviewed Fields, who corroborated Fields' account to Trento.

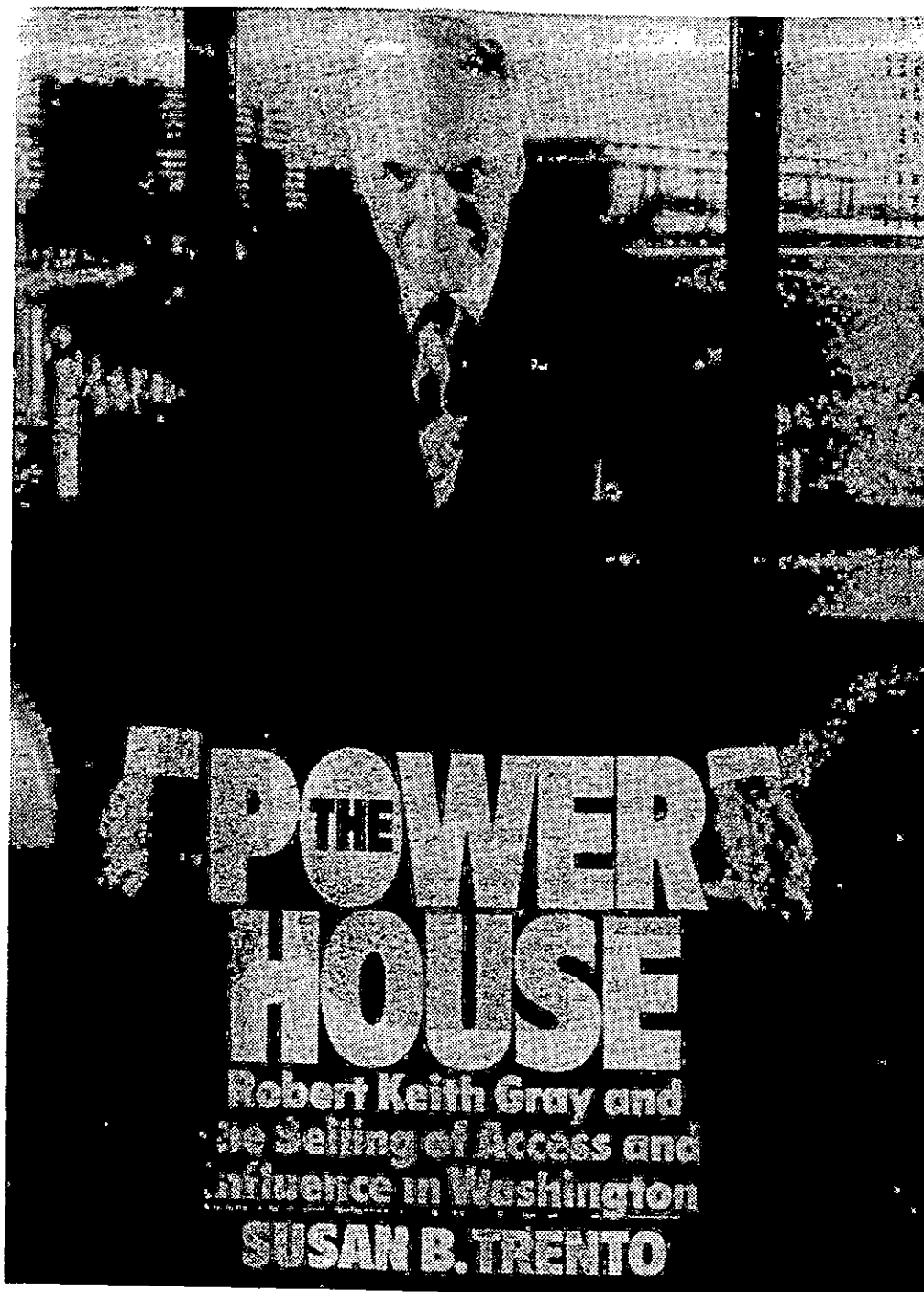
Trento said he considered Fields a "credible source. I think he was a guy who just talked too much and couldn't keep a secret."

A source who knew Fields well agreed with Trento.

Fields "always wanted to be in the center of things — to be everybody's best friend," said the source, who asked not to be identified. "He liked the Bushes, especially Barbara, very much. It just didn't make sense."

Trento said he approached his superiors at CNN about trying to track

See TRENTO on Page 14



HOT BOOK: This is the new book that names the alleged First Mistress.

TRENTO from Page 2

down the story after his lunch with Fields, but was told they were not interested.

"They told me to work on my other stories," Trento said.

"They had already demonstrated they would do nothing to offend the administration."

The journalist cited the

example of the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983.

"I had the story four days before the invasion and they refused to run it or even ask the defense department if it was OK to run it," said Trento.

Trento also said he was reluctant to pursue the story because the Washington media "treated me like I had leprosy" after

he broke the sex-for-votes story of former lobbyist Paula Parkinson in 1981.

"It speaks volumes about the incestuous sys-

tem that has grown up in Washington where political reporters fear losing access to sources by printing sensitive stories," he said.

In the Parkinson story, Trento had detailed how the former insurance industry lobbyist traded sex with GOP congressman for their votes on bills favorable to her clients.

Trento left CNN in April 1987, when the network disbanded the special assignment team. Fields died in May 1988.

With his wife, Trento later wrote "Prescription for Disaster," an account of the problems leading to the Challenger space shuttle tragedy.

The Trentos also wrote "Widows," a book about the counterintelligence community. Joe Trento is currently working on a

book about the Central Intelligence Agency.

He said his wife had "no intention" of using the information on Bush in her book, "The Power House," until she came across the story of how Washington super lobbyist Robert Keith Gray hired Bush pal and former chief of staff Admiral Daniel Murphy.

For years, prez watchers have groped in dark

By MARSHA KRANES

There have been published reports in the past few years about Jennifer Fitzgerald, the alleged longtime mistress of George Bush.

Most of the accounts just hinted at the liaison.

Hinted shyly in some cases — as

in an oft-quoted Washington Post piece noting that Fitzgerald has served Bush "in a variety of positions" since 1974.

Incredibly, none of the stories snowballed into scandal — as did infidelity articles about presidential candidates Gary Hart and Bill Clinton.

Several investigative reporters who have looked into the Bush-Fitzgerald relationship claim they could not find any evidence that warranted follow-up stories.

Some maintain the only way the story will ever be told is if Fitzgerald does the talking — which they claim is unlikely since she is not

after publicity, notoriety, revenge or money.

But several journalists think the story is there for the digging.

Joe Conason, writing in *Spy* magazine this month, contends that the media just haven't picked up the shovel.

He quotes a *Time* correspondent

as saying, "Anyone who says we investigated is fully wrong."

He explained: "This is how we tried [during the 1988 campaign]. . . We all said 'Hmmm. Let's call Jennifer Fitzgerald.' And she would never call back."

Wrote Conason: "By now it's obvious."

See JENNIFER on Page 14

Prez watchers

JENNIFER from Page 3

60]. Fitzgerald appears an unlikely sexual object. But her relationship with Bush began almost 20 years ago.

Here is a rundown of published accounts of the Bush-Fitzgerald relationship.

■ *Time* magazine in 1983 reported on the departure of a number of Bush aides who had grown tired of wrangling with Fitzgerald over turf and access to Bush.

"She has a strange hold on him and he has a total blind spot about it," an unnamed Bush aide was quoted as saying.

■ The *L.A. Weekly* in 1988 reported Bush staffers were aware of then-Vice President Bush's "long-running affair" with Fitzgerald — because of their behavior when together and the British-born divorcee's open, sometimes boastful, references to the liaison.

■ A week after the *L.A. Weekly* published its story, newspapers around the country reported that an aide to Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis brought up the Fitzgerald affair.

"I think George Bush should 'fess up," said Donna Brazile. "The American people have every right to know if Barbara Bush will share that bed with him in the White House."

Dukakis apologized for the remark, and Brazile was forced to resign from his campaign.

■ Two weeks before the 1988 election, the stock market plunged 43 points amid reports that the *Washington Post* was preparing an expose about a Bush affair.

But nothing about any affair appeared when the newspaper finally ran its story about Bush's personal life.

■ Kitty Kelley in her 1991 unauthorized biography of Nancy Reagan wrote about a 1981 cover-up involving "George and his girlfriend."

She described how former Attorney General William French Smith and then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig rushed from a Washington restaurant to bail out Bush and his girlfriend after they were in a traffic accident.

According to Kelley's account, Bush didn't want the incident to appear on the police blotter.

Smith and Haig "took care of things for him, and then came back to dinner," Kelley wrote.

■ Last May, Hillary Clinton referred to Jennifer Fitzgerald in an interview published in *Vanity Fair*. [The magazine left out her last name.]

The would-be Democratic First Lady, enraged by reports of her husband's alleged affair with Jennifer Flowers, claimed everybody knew there was a Jennifer in Bush's life, but nobody was writing about it.

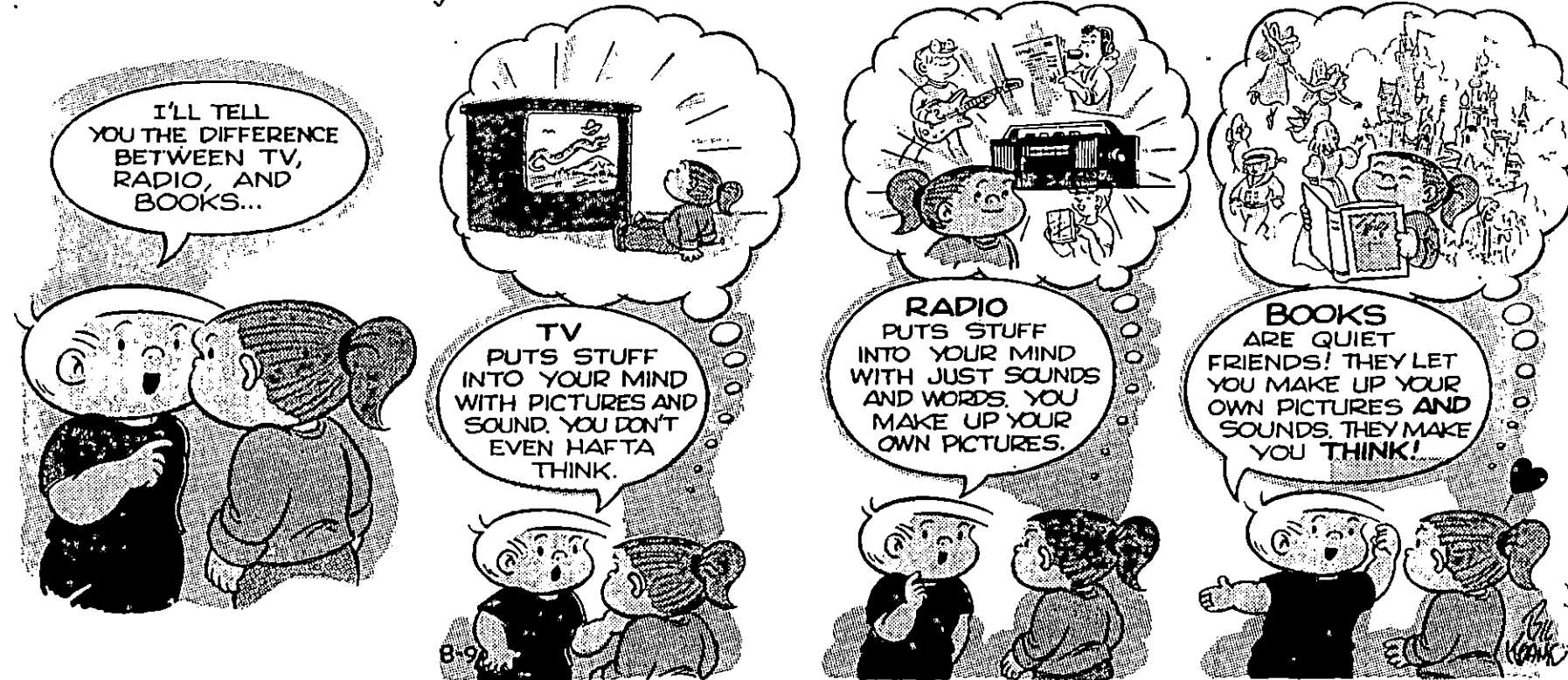
The only Fitzgerald story widely reported by the press involved a run-in she had in 1990 with Customs for smuggling two fur coats into the U.S. from Argentina.

Fitzgerald was fined \$648 for the violation.

8058

THE FAMILY CIRCUS®

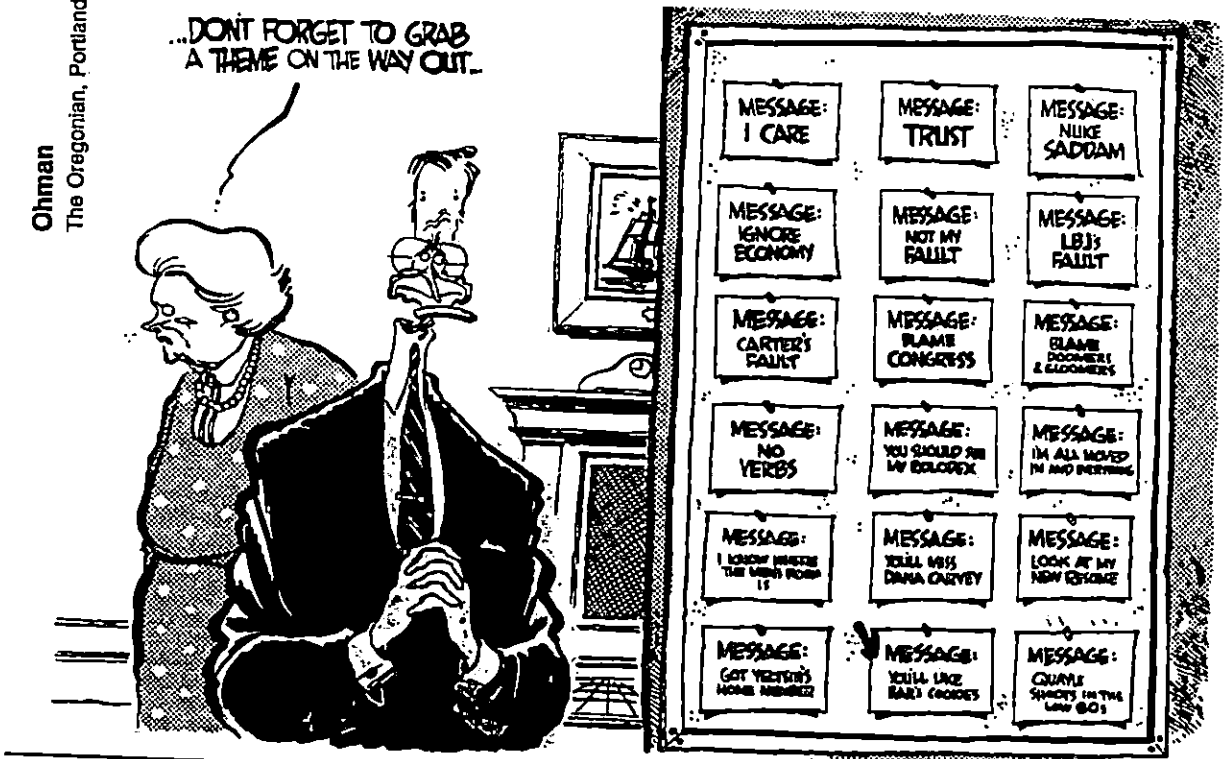
By Bil Keane



Chicago Tribune, Saturday, August 8, 1992

Ohman
The Oregonian, Portland

...DONT FORGET TO GRAB
A THEME ON THE WAY OUT...



INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Reuters

Hillary Clinton begins her ABA address Sunday, applauded by Anita Hill (second from right) among award winners.

Hill & Hillary

With her fans decked out in hot pink "I Believe Anita" buttons, Anita Hill heard Hillary Clinton anoint her as one who "transformed consciousness and changed history" when the two political celebrities appeared at the American Bar Association's annual get-together Sunday in San Francisco. Miss Hill got an award for her work in trying to derail the nomination of Justice Clarence Thomas. Another award winner, Rep. Patsy Takemoto Mink, Hawaii Democrat, said thousands of women were stirred to action by "the moment of

agony and anguish and despair that Professor Hill endured in the U.S. Senate."

Yesterday, the Wall Street Journal examined Mrs. Clinton's lavish praise for Miss Hill and asked if "the potential first lady is accusing a Supreme Court justice of perjury."



**JEANNIE
WILLIAMS**

News & Views

DEMS' TURN: Bill Clinton gets another fancy L.A. fundraiser Thursday a private dinner party at the home of movie mogul Lew Wasserman of MCA and wife Edith. How fancy? It's said to be \$10,000 per couple.

The Hollywood types should know that Hillary Clinton likes warm, funny movies, like *My Cousin Vinny*, but not scary ones. Bill is hooked on action thrillers, we learn from the September *McCall's*. Hillary likes anything with fave leading men Steve Martin and Sean Connery, but she walked out of *The Silence of the Lambs* because it was "too much." Bill stayed, while she went next door to watch the end of *Green Card*.

In a Congested Era, It's Women Behind the Wheel

Work, Errands Mean She Hits the Road More Often Than He Does, Study Concludes

By Stephen C. Fehr
Washington Post Staff Writer

A new federal study suggests that the increasing number of women commuting to work and running weekday errands is a major reason for the growth in traffic congestion in Washington and other urban areas.

More women are working than before and more are driving, the Federal Highway Administration study says. Women are making more automobile trips every day than men, especially women ages 30 to 50 who typically are raising families and holding full-time jobs.

Women with families generally are saddled with most of the trips to places such as the doctor's office, dentist's office, bank, school or day-care center, video store and cleaners, the study found.

"Men don't do errands," said Lorette Paris, 33, of Herndon, who makes an average of four trips a day between home, the babysitter's and her job at a Reston hotel. "Women in our society have two jobs. They have their home and they have work."

The study of travel behavior, released last week, says that in 1983, men and women made about the same number of car trips. But in 1990, women took an average of 5.13 trips a day, compared with 3.04 trips for men. The difference seems slight, but it means that every day, women are taking several million more trips than men for the first time.

According to recent census data, the number of women working in the Washington area increased by 40 percent from 1980 to 1990, compared with 31 percent for men.

Men still outnumber women in the work force. The number of automobiles in the area increased 48 percent during the decade.

The federal study, based on a survey of 18,000 U.S. households, says that the additional trips by women are during the weekday and largely for personal errands—the type of travel that contributes to clogged roads not only during rush hours but at midday. The report's author does not blame women for the increase in congestion, only notes the trend.

The author, Falls Church consultant Alan E. Pisarski, said: "We've all made sport of this. We say, 'You go tell the politicians the answer to congestion is to get women to stay home like they used to.'"

"I speak to some women's groups and I jokingly have told them if women had stayed home as they did in the 1960s and 1970s, we wouldn't really have suburban congestion problems," said Stephen C. Lockwood, the Federal Highway Administration's policy chief.

The humor is lost on many women who are now a permanent part of the work force.

"There are many of us who'd gladly sacrifice our jobs to reduce congestion as long as we could still get the paycheck to help pay the mortgage," said Sherry Conway Appel, spokeswoman for the Metropolitan Washington Council of

Governments. "We work because we have to, not because we're trying to cause traffic jams."

Charles Lave, a professor at the University of California-Irvine who studies transportation, said the growth in personal income has made it possible for women and

teenagers to get cars. At the same time, their use of mass transit is dropping, the study says.

"The growth in personal income has allowed women to demand the same amount of independence with the automobile that men previously had," Lave said.

Mary Anne Reynolds, spokeswoman for the Virginia Department of Transportation, said she was at Fair Oaks Mall late one night last week. "As I headed back to the car, I noticed every shopper leaving was a woman, probably a working woman," she said.

The study found that the number of auto trips taken by teenagers is about the same for men and women. Starting in their twenties and continuing until age 50, women make more trips than men of the same age, especially women ages 30 and 39. After age 50, men travel more often and longer distances than women, but the number of trips is low. Men still drive more miles a day on the average than women because their trips generally are longer.

As women have been driving

more, some researchers have noticed a sharp increase in the number of accidents involving women, although more men are killed or injured in accidents. The death rate is increasing for women while declining for men. Stress from job and family may be a reason.

"Many men are going home feeling like they can relax, while a lot of women are thinking, 'Oh, I have 15 more things to do before I go to bed,'" said Carol L. Popkin, a researcher at the University of North Carolina.

Christine Bintz, 36, of Reston, knows about stress. She juggles a full-time job at a Reston hotel, art classes in Alexandria and being the mother of a 2-month-old daughter and 14-year-old son. There are trips to the babysitter's, the doctor's office and the grocery store, among other places.

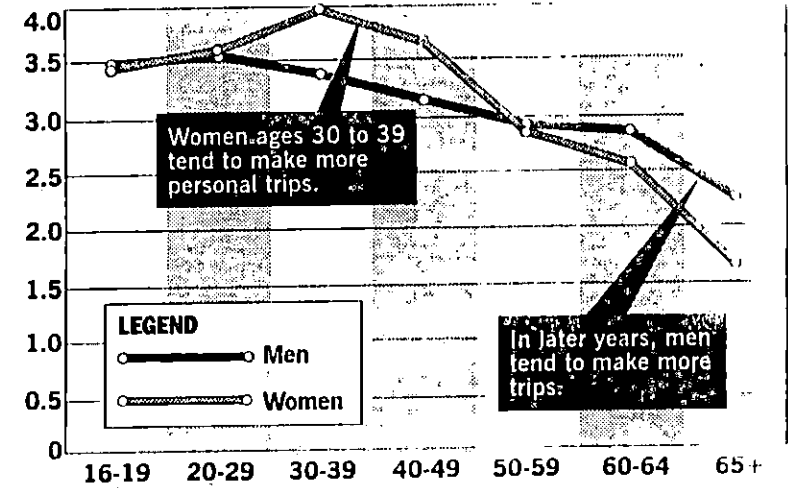
"It's a major adjustment for me," Bintz said.

Men and women have different views of the changes on the road.

"I have been appalled at the driving habits of aggressive young wo-

WHO'S DRIVING MORE

A recent federal study found that women are taking more car trips each day than men, although men tend to drive more miles. Here's a look at the average number of trips taken each day by men and women, by age group.



SOURCE: Federal Highway Administration

men in fast cars who tailgate without hesitation and who act with incredible recklessness in traffic at high speeds," said Richard L. Schmidt, of Arlington, who retired recently from the federal government. "How many times have I seen young women on the Beltway in the morning applying makeup at 60

miles per hour, while balancing a coffee cup?"

Countered Liz Zienski, spokeswoman for the Maryland Department of Transportation: "I just hate it when I get behind one of those men on the Beltway who is combing his hair shaving with a portable razor or adjusting his tie while he's driving."

PERSPECTIVE ON VALUES

There's 'Family' at the Microwave



Nostalgia masks a wish for women—but not men—to be bound by old conventions, from bedroom to kitchen.

By ARLENE SKOLNICK

Republicans have turned worry over the changing family into high-octane political fuel. Invoking "family values" to justify proposals ranging from banning abortion to restoring prayer in school, conservatives gained power in the early 1980s promising to lead a return to the "traditional" family of the 1950s. Fantastic as it now seems, they actually believed that "family values" had the magic to make women stay home, slash divorce rates and return sex to the confines of marriage.

Instead, the Reagan-Bush politics of nostalgia ushered in more than a decade of national neglect of the real problems facing American families. Anyone who argued that we can't turn the clock back, that we need as a society to come to grips with the new realities of family life, was branded as anti-family. One current Republican senatorial candidate—Rich Williamson of Illinois—has even denounced McDonald's and microwave cooking as anti-family.

Conservative rhetoric wouldn't be so bad if it was just hot air, but it has real consequences. For the past 12 years, while every other advanced industrial society has been making pragmatic adjustments to the needs of today's families, America has been backing into the future, lamenting the "lost" families of the 1950s. Instead of debating the merits of Murphy Brown or the Waltons vs. the Simpsons, we should be discussing how to help families cope with the real problems of family life in the 1990s—the need to have two or more incomes to make ends meet, the unaffordability of housing and health care, the inadequacy of child care, the spread of Depression-era conditions, the disgraceful number

of children living in poverty.

The nostalgia part of conservative rhetoric—the part that's not just mean and divisive—speaks to the deep yearnings that most Americans feel when they see images of happy families in TV commercials or reruns of *Ozzie and Harriet*. But in our hearts, most of us know that there's a gap between those images and reality. Even back then, most American families didn't resemble the Nelsons.

Even Dan and Marilyn Quayle seem to know in their hearts that things have changed. More interesting than their responses when asked what they would do if their daughter became pregnant is what they did not say. Neither said that

'We seem stuck in an era of transition, unable to go back to the old patterns, uncomfortable with the new.'

it was unthinkable that their daughter, reared in a home presumably infused with family values—a "Christian home," as her mother described it—could become pregnant before marriage.

Yet the Quayles, like many other Americans who want to bring us back to a time when chastity was the professed norm, are realists despite themselves. They perceive—correctly, as it turns out—two things, even if they won't admit it. They understand that parents and educators can't always control kids. They also understand that the norms have changed: Although a significant minority of brides and grooms still come to the altar as virgins, the vast majority are not.

There is another significant change that is seldom noted: In *Ozzie and Harriet* days, departures from the norm were tolerated in men, but "nice girls" who were no longer virgins had to keep up the appearance of being chaste.

Faced with some of the troubling fallout of the sexual revolution—sexual-

ly transmitted disease and teen-age pregnancy—it's little wonder that many Americans want to believe that if only we "just say no," we can do away with premarital sex. But historically, men have always resisted chastity norms for themselves. And 1990s women won't go back to the double standard.

Ultimately, the shift in sex norms and women's roles, like the other changes in family life, are rooted in basic social and technological transformations. Development of The Pill in the 1960s enabled women to plan their pregnancies and separated sex from procreation. A post-industrial service and information economy drew women into the workplace, granting them greater economic independence. A technological world demanded more educated men and women, and education encouraged critical thinking about society's ways.

We have not yet come to terms with the meaning of these shifts. We seem stuck in an era of transition, unable to go back to the old patterns, uncomfortable with the new. Still, marriage and family remain central in the lives of virtually all Americans, even if family togetherness at dinner time means taking the kids to McDonald's or cooking in the microwave.

The "family values" battle is no longer about the family, if it ever was. It is about the role of women in society, about diversity in the definition of "family," and about how much choice we permit in the most fateful decision a woman can make.

How ironic that the Quayles reflect different visions of family values. If her daughter became pregnant, Marilyn would force the 13-year-old to bear a child. Dan says he would support his daughter's choice. If reality and compassion can triumph over ideology even in the Quayle family, maybe there's hope after all.

Arlene Skolnick is the author of "Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty" (Basic Books, 1991) and is a research psychologist at UC Berkeley's Institute of Human Development.

DONNA BRITT

Julian Is A Real-Life Invisible Man

Today I am writing about someone who doesn't exist.

Well, okay, he lives and breathes and regularly consumes large pepperoni pizzas, but trust me—the guy just doesn't exist according to some people's view of the world. I know he's real because he has saved my life more times than it is comfortable for me to think about.

He is my babysitter.

Because Julian Gamble, 18, played football for Montgomery Blair High School in Silver Spring, he was able to teach my sons the basics of the game. For a divorced mom who knows squat about football, that might have been plenty. But Julian—who graduated with a B average in June—is much more.

For starters, he's everything required of someone caring for precious—and impressionable—kids: prompt, polite, a whiz at homework. He plays a mean game of Super Nintendo and isn't above rolling on the floor with laughter at Three Stooges reruns. He does dishes, takes out trash and changes light bulbs almost reflexively. He says, "Drive carefully," when I go out.

My kids adore him. In short, he's indispensable. And about to leave for college. So I can't imagine how I'll get by without a guy who some folks would swear is a figment of my imagination.

See, according to what I read in the paper, see at the movies and hear on certain talk shows, there are no young black men like Julian. Young black men who are hard-working and funny, respect adults and will study business at Indiana State University to become accountants.

There are no young black men who don't have kids out of wedlock, aren't using or selling drugs and who, in 1992, damn near blush when you notice the round imprint of a condom in their wallets.

"No, see, my dad gave it to me!" he said, tucking it away. "This is so embarrassing—my girlfriend saw it and wondered about it too."

The girlfriend is at the bottom of my only "complaint" about Julian. My kids say that now that he's in love, Julian is doing the sweet-nothings thing on the phone when he should be teaching them to kick butt at "Street Fighter II."

Even in this world, young black men, like young white men, can be innocent, vulnerable and smart—I saw several hundred of them sobbing at the funeral of my nephew, a University of Virginia student killed in a car accident months ago. Just as young black women can be intelligent, proud and chaste.

But the problem isn't Julian; his girl or the kids at the service. My whole world is filled with phantoms. Most of my friends in this city, and in the seven cities in which I've lived since leaving home years ago, are African American. Regular black folks, hundreds of them.

Not one is a prostitute, pimp, pusher or criminal. (Of course, the ones who once were recreational drug users and speed on the highway qualify as law-breakers, but their crimes are less likely to be linked to skin color.) Many are living exemplary lives by *anybody's* measure. And still they're invisible. It's

See BRITT, D5, Col. 1

Living With Phantoms We Need to See

BRITT, From D1

unnerving, having your whole life, most of the people you've known, be invisible.

"C'mon, these are the '90s," you say. "Surely we don't have to make these points now."

Yes we do, because most people raised in this nation, white and black, harbor some racism. How could they not? And that means they end up denying the Julians.

Remember reaction to "The Cosby Show" eight years ago? A friend, whose best pals and neighborhood are mostly black, does. "I read stories about how 'unrealistic' the show was, how no black people lived like that," he recalled recently at lunch. "And I remember thinking, 'Everyone I *know* lives like that. Or closer to that than anything else on TV before or since.'"

Occasionally, I get letters and calls from white people who think they know better. They tell me—a woman who's known hundreds more black women than they'll ever meet—that all black women are whores. They tell me that no black men care for their kids, that we as a group really are "naturally" criminal, lazy, immoral.

They think that a white person who commits a heinous crime is an exception. A black person who

commits a heinous crime is, well, black. And doing what black people do. They see no link between atrocities in Bosnia and atrocities in Somalia and Cambodia and in certain inner-city neighborhoods. Confronted with them, I take a deep breath and try to remember these people may not know better.

They never met my Detroit friend Denise, the gentlest, most fragile woman I know. Or Charles, the D.C. lawyer I've known since grad school whose sons are the most important thing on earth besides his wife. Or Michelle, whose husband is the only man she ever even considered sleeping with.

They don't know Mimi, who forged a career out of her lifelong love for animals, becoming one of the first people called on by the oil companies when there is wildlife to be saved after a spill. Or Matthew, 10, who's now reading "The Road Less Traveled," and replied "something by Shakespeare" when asked what he wanted for his birthday. They don't know Tanya or Kevin or Janice and Danton. They don't know my kids or me.

And they don't know Julian. Until they know him—or all of the others like him—they should shut up, listen and learn. And pray. That's how I realized that the people who think this way don't do it because their skin is white. They do it because they're ignorant. And that, thank God, can be washed away.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS
Saturday, Sunday, Monday September 12, 13, 14, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Susan Porter Rose	
Julie Cooke	
Anna Perez	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Ann Brock	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Sally Runion	
Jane Moore	
Peggy Swift	
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Secretary Baker	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Dennis Ross	West Wing
Margaret Tutweiler	West Wing
Steve Provost	Room 118 OEOB
Patty Presock	Residence
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Carol Powers	West Wing
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Chronological Files	
Event Files	(originals)

Down to Business

After the economy, Bush turns to his real priority: Trashing Clinton

Forget Harry Truman. George Bush's real hero is John Major, the British prime minister who made fools of the pollsters on his way to re-election earlier this year.

Last week the Bush-Quayle campaign staff summoned the prime minister's campaign managers for a skull session to screen Major's Vote Tory advertisements and search for ways to paint Bill Clinton as a Big Government Laborite. It may seem a little desperate to be poring over election returns from English parliamentary districts, but with Bush still trailing in the polls—by 15 points in the latest *Newsweek* Poll—the president's team will grab at almost anything.

Inside the White House bunker, campaign operatives report a strange euphoria. Maybe it's simple relief over finally achieving a sense of order after chaos. Under no-nonsense manager James Baker, meetings actually end on time and stick to the subject. Elementary, perhaps, but under Baker's predecessor, Samuel Skinner, meetings never ended and decisions were never final. Even better, Baker has given his boss something to say.

Bush's much-heralded speech to the Detroit Economic Club last week was far from a true economic-recovery plan. In fact, there is little any president could do to pull the country out of its economic doldrums, at least any time soon (page 40). Bush's aides didn't dare to use the word "plan" to describe the speech, knowing voters would scoff. But the president's "agenda for renewal" did offer a coherent explanation of where Bush stands vis-a-vis his rival on the leading issue of the day. Bush cannot simply attack Clinton as a tax-and-spend liberal; he needs to offer voters a clear-cut choice. Borrowing heavily from Baker's farewell speech from the State Department, Bush tried to show that he has devoted his presidency to making the world safe for free markets. All that time spent on foreign policy was really part of a master plan to help the American economy. Bush was in effect saying, The high-road rhetoric casts Bush in the role of global states-



THE NEWSWEEK POLL
If the election were held today, for whom would you vote?

38% Bush
53% Clinton

How is Bush handling his job as president?

35% Approve
58% Disapprove

of this Newsweek Poll: The Gallup Organization interviewed 700 registered voters by telephone Sept. 10-11. Margin of error is ± 4 percentage points. Don't know and other responses not shown. 12% of Newsweek Poll; 10% of Newsweek Inc.

His 'agenda for renewal' offered an explanation of where he stands vis-a-vis his rival on the leading issue of the day: Thumbs-up in Michigan

man—as opposed to, say, the governor of a small state. With Bush finally "defined," he and his aides can turn to the real business of the campaign: trashing Clinton.

For starters, look for Bush to bait the Democratic nominee on free trade in the days ahead. Clinton has been waffling on the North American Free Trade Agreement, waiting to see the me-

print before casting his lot one way or the other. But he is being edged toward protectionism by congressional Democrats under House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, who is insisting that the treaty be renegotiated. Clinton is in an awkward position. With union members accounting for only 14 percent of the private-sector work force, the Democrat does not want to appear to be the candidate of special interests. It is a sign of the growing suburbanization of America that Bush is happy to be a free

Cont.

under even when he must visit battle-ground states in the industrial Midwest. The Republicans are betting that the soul of the old rust belt is no longer Danouky and Hamtramck but Bloomfield Hills.

After taxes and trade, Bush's aides claim, the big issue is trust. The White House is eager to raise, once more, questions about Clinton and the draft. The press

is national press last week to avoid asking questions on the draft. The Bush campaign hopes that Clinton will finally be forced to deliver a "Checkers" speech to try to silence the murmurings.

Bush could still be saved by a dramatic new revelation about Clinton's personal life: the Bush campaign prays daily for "limbo eruptions." Still, Baker and his aides are under no illusions. The polls make it clear that Clinton's tax-the-rich and vote-for-change message plays better nationally than the Bush presidency. That means that Baker and company must be shrewd about playing local politics. In effect, Baker's tactical plan for the remaining two months of the campaign is to paint a pointillist portrait of America, assembling a patchwork of voting groups just large enough to equal 270 electoral votes.

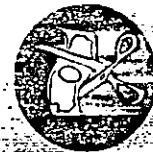
Shaky base: Baker wants a campaign organization that is supple and quick, able to use the power of the presidency to seize every political advantage. In other words, to dish out the pork. So Bush scrapped his campaign schedule to swoop into a McDonnell Douglas plant in St. Louis last week to announce an order to sell 72 F-15s to Saudi Arabia. The national press can carp about pork-barrel politics, but the gambit paid off in Missouri, which Bush must carry on Election Day. (The president managed to announce more than \$23 billion in federal subsidies, foreign arms-sales contracts and disaster relief in less than two weeks.) The GOP's strident family-values message may have backfired nationally, forcing both Vice President Dan Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, to declare a newfound tol-

erance for alternative lifestyles last week. But that did not stop Bush from flying into Virginia Beach, Va., to speak to a convention of fundamentalists, praising the Rev. Pat Robertson for his efforts to build a more moral America. The president has to shore up his shaky base among Southern conservatives, and he is willing to Bible-thump to do it. Bush has made a career of doing whatever it takes to win elections. With two months and 15 points to go, he is not about to stop now.

ANN McDANIEL AND HOWARD FISHERMAN WITH LARA BINGHAM AND BOSTON GLENNOR CLIFT

CAMPAIGN GAMBITS

George Bush has tried a host of different approaches to boost his standing in the polls. What works—and what doesn't:



★ **TAXES** ★ Mr. Read My Lips' new tax message: Maybe I'll lower your taxes. Or at least raise

them less than the Democrats will. Bush thinks voters support the candidate who costs them the least.

★ **FAMILY VALUES** ★ Bashing gays and Murphy Brown failed last week. Dan and Marilyn Quayle claimed



that their strident attacks had been misinterpreted. Bush's future speeches will preach tolerance.

★ **THE DRAFT** ★ Bush has stopped short of calling Clinton a liar for his seemingly contradictory explanation of how he avoided the draft, but his surrogates are doing it for him. By stepping up the attacks, Bush hopes to force Clinton into a "Checkers"-like speech.



★ **PORK** ★ Bush's habit of doling out the bacon at virtually every campaign stop is widely criticized by Democrats and the media. But GOP polls suggest it works.



Bush's statewide numbers have improved after each serving.

★ **TRIAL LAWYERS** ★ It's more than a bad lawyer joke: Quayle has won so much support for his criticism of trial lawyers (the largest single contributor to the Democrats) that Bush has joined the game, calling for an end to megabucks damage awards.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

is likely to help with a new spate of stories this week showing that Clinton lobbied to avoid the draft as a young man and then tried to hide the fact as a politician (page 48). The Bush campaign has put out an eight-page document on Clinton's varying explanations over 20 years. Bush will stop short of calling Clinton a liar: his surrogates will handle that chore. Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole, a Purple Heart recipient in World War II, took to the floor last week to chastise Clinton for his "tall tales" on the draft. The draft-dodger label deeply unnerves the Clinton campaign. The normally volatile candidate hid from

Thu 10-Sep-92 17:14 EDT

Gore Backs Family Leave Bill

DURHAM, N.C. (AP) — Al Gore met with critically ill children and their families at a Ronald McDonald House on Thursday as he challenged President Bush to prove his commitment to American families by signing the family leave bill passed by the House.

"When we talk about supporting values and placing a higher value on families, we can't do it just with lip service," Gore told the families, gathered to talk with the Democratic vice presidential nominee. "We've got to be prepared to follow through with real change for families to stay together," Gore said.

The House passed the family leave bill Thursday afternoon, 241-161, a vote short of the two-thirds majority needed to override the expected presidential veto.

The bill would provide 12 weeks of unpaid leave to employees so that they could care for newborn or ailing children, parents and spouses, or for medical leave if the employees themselves become seriously ill. The measure would apply to private businesses with more than 50 employees and state and local governments.

While Gore criticized Bush's position, first lady Barbara Bush defended the president.

"George is for family leave but it should be voluntary, not mandatory," Mrs. Bush said while campaigning in Lubbock, Texas. Asked if her husband would veto the measure, she said, "I have no idea ... but he feels it would break many, many businesses."

Logan and Connie Harris of Mount Gilead, N.C., told Gore about their struggles since their 19-year-old son Greg was diagnosed with a brain tumor. Mrs. Harris had to quit her job as a teacher to stay with her son while he undergoes treatment.

"I feel like family's important for the sick to get better. If it weren't for us being with our child like we've worked it out, I feel like that's one reason he's still alive," Logan Harris said.

At Ronald McDonald Houses, parents pay a nominal fee to stay with their children while they undergo medical treatment at nearby hospitals.

Before coming to Durham Thursday, he talked about family leave with families gathered at a public library in Lexington, Ky.

Thu 10-Sep-92 19:15 EDT

Barbara Bush says president will not cut Social Security

LUBBOCK, Texas (UPI) — First lady Barbara Bush told a senior citizens group Thursday that President Bush will not cut Social Security or Medicaid as Democrats allege.

"Every campaign year, the opponents always say that about Social Security," Mrs. Bush told about 200 people at the Senior Citizens Center in the west Texas town.

"In the language of our children — Not. We are not going to cut Social Security or Medicaid. That is the biggest campaign gimmick in the world and it is not true."

Mrs. Bush said Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton has sacrificed senior citizens programs to boost Arkansas' economy.

"He took all the money out of the senior citizen places and put it into the economy this year," she said. "I mean, that's a cinch."

She had no kind words for the Democratic-majority Congress, either.

"Think of George as the pilot of a huge airplane, loaded with your hopes and dreams for a better future," she said. "He takes off, he reaches his destination and then he circles the field. He's trying to land but he can't land because the controlling Congress is out to lunch."

"If this Congress won't act, let's get one that will," she said.

Fri 11-Sep-92 0:20 EDT

Quote of the Day

By United Press International

First Lady Barbara Bush telling a senior-citizens group in Lubbock, Texas, that her husband will not cut Social Security as Democrats allege:

"In the language of our children - Not. We are not going to cut Social Security or Medicaid. That is the biggest campaign gimmick in the world and it is not true."

Fri 11-Sep-92 20:24 EDT

LOUISVILLE, Ky. (AP) — Barbara Bush on Friday said her husband is a pilot for America's dreams, but he can't land because his ground controller — Congress — is "out to lunch."

Capping a daylong trip to Kentucky, Mrs. Bush told a supporters at the Bush-Quayle campaign headquarters that they should "Think of George as a pilot of a huge airplane carrying your hopes and dreams for a better future."

But "He reaches his destination and he circles the field," she said. "He's trying to come in, but he can't because the controller — the Congress — is out to lunch. A long lunch."

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Thu 10-Sep-92 20:16 EDT

BARBARA BUSH VISITS NCFL FAMILY LITERACY
DEMONSTRATION SITE IN LOUISVILLE

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 10 /PRNewswire/ -- First Lady Barbara Bush will honor the work of the National Center for Family Literacy (NCFL) with a personal visit to Louisville, Kentucky on Friday, Sept. 11. She will be visiting NCFL's national demonstration site at Wheatley Elementary, a Jefferson County Public School. Mrs. Bush is scheduled to arrive at 2:00 p.m.

For families enrolled at the Toyota Families for Learning Program located at Wheatley as well as the staff and friends of NCFL, the First Lady's visit will be a special treat. Mrs. Bush, who has been a strong advocate of the family literacy program, will meet with parents enrolled in the family literacy program and observe a classroom where parents interact with their preschool aged children.

Teachers from across the country who are attending this week's training program offered by NCFL will hear from family literacy's number one advocate as they too will have the opportunity to meet with Barbara Bush. NCFL's family literacy training has prepared thousands of educators to implement programs across the nation. As a result, over 10,000 parents and their children each year have the opportunity to climb the ladder out of poverty and have a brighter future by improving their literacy and life skills.

"Barbara Bush has played a major role in making family literacy a highly visible issue in this nation," said Sharon Darling, president of the National Center for Family Literacy whose headquarters is in Louisville, Kentucky. "I consider Barbara Bush the mother of family literacy in America. We are grateful that she would take the time out of her busy schedule to visit with the people who are instrumental to our success, especially the parents and children enrolled in the program. I am sure that the people who have a chance to interact with her personally will remember her visit for the rest of their lives."

JCPS Superintendent, Dr. Donald Ingwerson, and members of the Board of Education will be in attendance and will greet Mrs. Bush as she arrives at Wheatley Elementary. "Dr. Ingwerson has a vision for public education that acknowledges the critical role that parents must play in educating their children and the responsibility of the public school in meeting the educational needs of the entire family, especially the parents. The partnership we have formed with the Jefferson County Public Schools has been vital to the success of the National Center for Family Literacy," said Darling.

Parents and children learning together is the essence of NCFL's family literacy program. In the family structure, the parent is the child's first and most important teacher. A child is already at a major disadvantage if the parent is undereducated or lacks literacy and life skills. One of the most promising methods for breaking this cycle of undereducation is the family literacy approach, where parents and children attend school together. As parents identify their strengths and develop their literacy skills, essential messages about the importance of education are successfully passed on to their children. These parents and children soon develop as partners in learning and become partners for success.

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NCFL was established in 1989 as a private, non-profit organization with a grant from the William R. Kenan, Jr. Charitable Trust. NCFL's work has greatly expanded with a \$3.6 million contribution from Toyota Motor Corporation. The mission of the center is to provide leadership in promoting family literacy through training, research and advocacy. To date, NCFL's training has resulted in family literacy programs being implemented in more than 300 sites throughout the nation.

Darling serves on the board of The Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy which was established to support the development of literacy programs that build families of readers.

Wheatley Elementary is one of JCPS's designated magnet schools that emphasizes science, technology, environmental education, and studies for the whole family.

-
CONTACT: Watson Courtenay of Toyota, 502-584-1133

Bush tours new center for literacy

By Dottie Bean 9-12-92
Herald-Leader staff writer

First lady Barbara Bush took a private 20-minute tour of Lexington's new literacy center yesterday, then dedicated it as "a dream come true — an extraordinary place."

Bush and a small motorcade then left for what had to be one of the fastest trips down Lexington's heavily traveled Nicholasville Road, thanks to police escorts.

At Fayette Mall, Bush read one of her favorite stories to 24 Lexington schoolchildren and briskly worked a large crowd that gathered outside Waldenbooks while aides handed out autographed bookmarks.

After three hours in Lexington, Bush headed to Louisville, where she praised another literacy program.

At Lexington's Carnegie Center for Literacy and Learning, about 1,200 people — at least half of them schoolchildren — crowded onto the lawn for the dedication. Some said they had come primarily to see Bush.

"I'm crazy about her," said Jo Fisher, who drove in from Midway.

"She's a world-class lady, and I wish she were president," said Bill Brubeck of Lexington.

Not all the good will extended to President Bush.

A sign hanging from a house across the street said: "Love ya' Barbara, but read our lips: No more George Clinton/Gore '92."

Another sign held high above the crowd declared, "Reading, 'riting, right-wing Republican book burners."

The White House had advertised the appearance as non-political, but Bush found her chance to respond. When handed *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* by Literacy Center executive director Laurie Bottoms, she said, "It will be in the White House for four more years," then nodded toward the signs.

At Fayette Mall, Bush read *Arthur Meets the President* to



Barbara Bush hugged third grader Kirsten Curry, 8, after Kirsten gave the first lady a book the class wrote about why it enjoys reading.

Barbara Bush received a copy of *The Kentucky Encyclopedia* from Literacy Center executive director Laurie Bottoms. "It will be in the White House for four more years," Bush said.

■ **Bush announces jet sale.**
Page A6.

■ **Clinton lashes out at GOP 'intolerance.'** Page A6.

second and third graders from Stonewall Elementary School.

At least a dozen security

agents ringed the crowd outside the bookstore, with only one incident reported.

As Bush walked around the mall, a security agent took Margaret True of Lexington by the arm and escorted her out of the crowd.

True said she was trying to hand Bush a note about an anti-abortion march scheduled in Lexington. "All I wanted to do was

give her a 3-by-5 card."

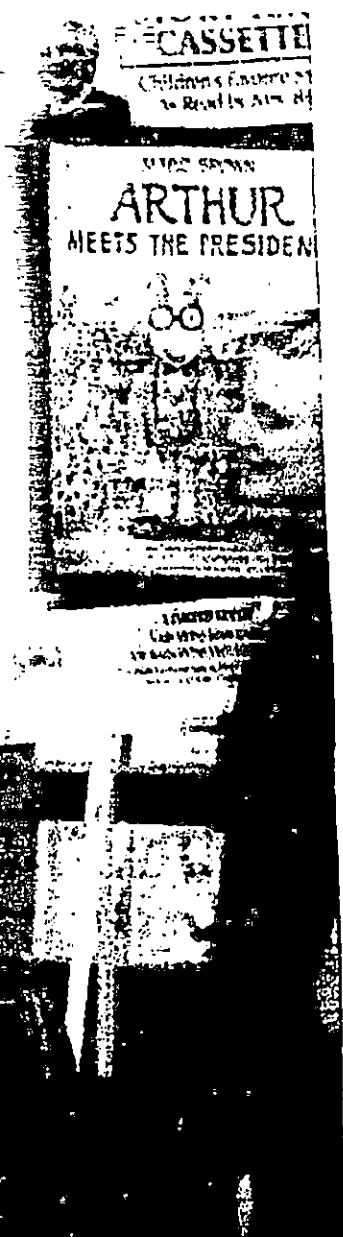
Bush didn't add to Lexington's economy by buying anything, but she did make a little money for the bookstore.

Waldenbooks had placed displays for "Barbara Bush's Story Time" audio cassette tapes near an armchair used by the first lady. After she left the store, several shoppers rushed in.

Ralph and Maxine Kessinger bought eight of the \$3.99 cassettes.

"We're buying some for our grandchildren and some for ourselves," Maxine Kessinger said.

Please see BUSH, A10



BUSH: First lady takes tour of literacy center

From Page One

Bush, who arrived in Lexington on Thursday night, stayed overnight with longtime friends Will and Sarah Farish at their Woodford County horse farm.

Farish and Lexington Mayor Scotty Baesler said it was Farish's interest in literacy that spurred Farish to raise about \$500,000 to help renovate the former Carnegie Library.

Once in Louisville, Bush visited a family literacy program at Wheat-

ley Elementary School.

Among the children and parents she met were Freddy Beckham, 4, and his mother, Ruby.

"Freddy might forget all this in a day or two," his mother said. "But I know this will stay with me for a long, long time. She seems like a real, nice, regular person and I felt like she was really interested in what is happening here."

The first lady gave an enthusiastic endorsement to the program in which parents and children work together in the same classroom during parts of the day.

During her hourlong stop at Wheatley, Bush also helped plant a sycamore tree that was a cutting from a tree said to have shaded George Washington's headquarters.

The first lady then went to the

Bush-Quayle campaign headquarters on Bardstown Road where she held something of a pep rally for Republican Party workers.

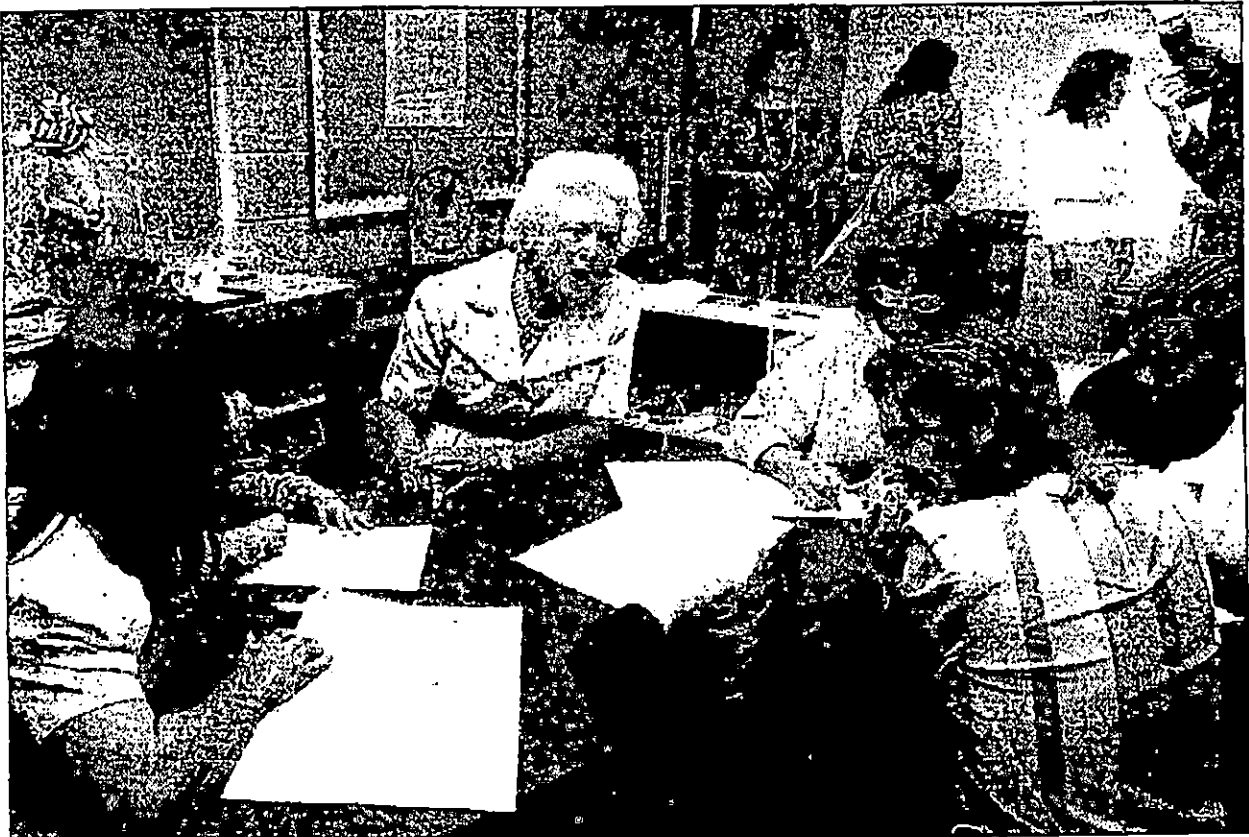
After a brief address to the party faithful, Bush came to the real reason for her visit.

"And don't forget to elect the most decent, honorable, courageous, wisest, most caring — and I've just gotten started — the best man in the world, George Bush."

FORWARDED
RECEIVED
9/12/92

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1992



STAFF PHOTO BY LARRY SPITZER

TAKING HER MESSAGE ON THE ROAD: First lady Barbara Bush talked with students and parents at Wheatley Elementary School yesterday during a visit to highlight the work of the National Center for Family Literacy, which is based at Wheatley. Earlier in Lexington, Bush called that city's new Carnegie Center for Literacy and Learning "a dream come true." Story, Page A 5.

"The Courier - Journal"

Front Page
Color photo

Metro Section pg 7
Courier Journal

9-12-92



STAFF PHOTO BY LARRY SPITZER

First lady Barbara Bush helped students plant a sycamore tree at Wheatley Elementary School. While in Louisville, she visited the school's National Center for Family Literacy.

First lady visits state, crusades for literacy, campaigns for GOP

By BEN Z. HERSHBERG
Staff Writer

First lady Barbara Bush came to Kentucky yesterday, crusading for literacy and politicking for Republican candidates in this fall's national elections.

After arriving from Lexington, Bush's Louisville visit started at Wheatley Elementary School on 17th Street. The West End school is the site of the national demonstration of an acclaimed literacy program that teaches parents and children together.

At the school, Bush planted a cutting from a sycamore tree from her home state of New York. Seven children toting shovels taller than they were helped plant the cutting at the direction of school Superintendent Donald Ingwer-

son. The cutting is from a tree that shaded George Washington's headquarters during battles at White Plains, N.Y., said Stan Le-master, founder of Historic Trees, which donated the cutting.

After the tree planting, Bush visited the National Center for Family Literacy. She met with the center's officials and teachers and parents taking part in the program. Bush spoke with a mother and a child working on a computer in a classroom. She then sat at a child-sized table next to 4-year-old Fred Beckham and his mother, Ruby Beckham.

The little boy was shy when the white-haired lady wearing a neon blue dress sat down, refusing, at first, to talk with her. That lasted about 20 seconds. Then he said, "I'm sorry" and "Hug," and gave

Bush a big hug, which she returned.

In Lexington, Bush called the city's new literacy center "a dream come true." Bush, principal speaker at the dedication of the Carnegie Center for Literacy and Learning, said it was an undertaking that the nation would be watching. "The whole world of literacy is in this one magnificent, old building," she said.

The center is housed in the former Lexington public library, built near the turn of the century as a Carnegie library. About 1,200 people attended the dedication.

Earlier, at a bookstore at a suburban Lexington mall, Bush's expressive reading of a children's

See BUSH
Page 8, col. 4, this section

Bush crusades for literacy

Continued from Page A 5

book to 24 elementary school students was a hit. The students gave her several gifts, including a small potted tree with dog biscuits attached to the branches. "This is a Kentucky tree for your Kentucky dog," one child said. Millie, the Bushes' English springer spaniel, was a gift from Woodford County horseman Will Farish III, a longtime family friend.

While her trip was billed as non-political, Bush was handed an opportunity to slip one political note into the Lexington event when Laurie Bottoms, executive director of the literacy center, presented her with a copy of The Kentucky Encyclopedia. As she handed the large blue volume to the president's wife, Bottoms said she was "sure it will be properly housed in the White House or wherever you choose to place it."

"I'm glad she came up and gave me this, and it will be in the White House — for four more years," Bush said, referring to her husband's re-election bid.

Bush answered questions from reporters in Louisville, telling one that the visit wasn't political, then talking at length about why her husband should be re-elected.

She told another, who asked whether she favored the family-leave legislation the House passed Thursday, that the president supports the idea of family medical leave but that he doesn't support mandatory leave.

After her school visit, Bush went to the Bush/Quayle '92 Headquarters on Bardstown Road. There she urged more than 700 cheering supporters to work for her husband. And she urged them to work for the election of Republicans Susan Stokes, 3rd District candidate for Congress, and David Williams, candidate for the Senate.

After her speech, Bush attended a fund-raiser at Churchill Downs for the Republican National Committee. She was expected to fly back to Washington, D.C., last night.

Information for this story was also gathered by staff writer Richard Wilson.

Courier Journal 9-12-92



STAFF PHOTO BY MICHAEL HAYMAN

Seneca High School band member Ameerah Granger wore a Bush sticker on her nose at welcoming ceremonies for Barbara Bush yesterday at the Bush/Quayle '92 Headquarters on Bardstown Road.



▲ Socks (with Chelsea) would be the first First Cat in a dozen years.



▲ A series of illnesses, including lupus, have dogged Millie's tenure.

A MATTER OF TOOTH AND CLAW

As the election heats up, a Democat has her eye on the White House

ELECTION DAY IS ONLY SIX WEEKS AWAY, and the American voter—thoughtful, concerned and well informed as always—is wrestling with the Big Important Questions. Who can best handle the economy? Who is best equipped to guide the country's foreign policy? Should the nation's First Pet be a dog or a cat? Yes, beyond such superficial distinctions as Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal, there lies the one truly unbridgeable chasm in our society—dog people vs. cat people. And this year, the choice is very clear. The Republicans, in the person of Barbara's dog Millie, represent continuity. The Democrats, epitomized by Chelsea Clinton's cat, Socks, represent dramatic change.

Millie, a 5-year-old springer span-

iel, is a female—rhymes with rich, as Barbara Bush once said in a different context. She has lived with the Bushes since 1987 and in the White House since 1989. She replaced C. Fred, a cocker spaniel who died in office. Millie's tenure has been marked chiefly by chasing squirrels, digging up flower beds and romping on the great lawn. In between she has shared the writing credits—with Barbara Bush—for *Millie's Book*, which became a surprise best-seller last year. Although royalties in 1991 amounted to \$889,176, no hint of canine cupidity attaches to Millie's name. Read her lips: The after-tax take was donated to charity. (On the issue of family values, Millie gets mixed reviews. She became a single mother in 1989, giving birth to six pups—out escaped censure.)

As for Socks, she is new and not much is known about her. Does she have claws? Has she been spayed? Does she ever miss the litter box? Is she a threat to bird life? Saying only that Chelsea "wanted a cat real bad," the Clinton campaign has chosen not to exploit Socks for cheap political advantage—probably because Bill and Hillary, who once owned a dog named Zeke, are allergic to her. Attempts to portray Socks' sire as a notorious tomcat appear to be just dirty tricks. What is certain is that if she gets to be First Pet, even if only by a whisker, any mice in the White House should watch out.

Next Jan. 20, someone will take the oath of office as President of the United States. And in the White House that night, it will be reigning cats or dogs. ■

9-15-93

■ EXTRA ENTERTAINMENT

PAPERBACK READER



MILLIE'S BOOK

QUILL/MORROW \$10

As dedicated to Barbara Bush, it says under a nice cover shot of the First Lady and the First Dog. A cutesy bio, with lots of photos of Mildred Kerr (get it?) Bush mixing with the hoity and the toity. Don't laugh — in hardcover, it sold more than Ronald Reagan's autobiography.

Q-1392

**BIO BONE TO PICK**

PETER CARLSON'S STORY ABOUT CELEBRITY autobiographies ["Kiss and Sell," July 26] was somewhat amusing, but I was slightly annoyed when he wrote mockingly about the lovely and very educational *Millie's Book*, incorrectly stating that lovely, caring First Lady Barbara Bush and/or best friend springer spaniel Millie earned \$889,176. In truth, ALL proceeds from *Millie's Book* were given to the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy!

PHYLLIS L. KENDALL
Arlington

7-14-92

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



When it's tough to be a lady

This is the day to be kinder and gentler to Miss Hillary.

Campaigning in the closet would be tough on any of us. In fact, all the wives are having a rough time of it this year.

Since Slick Willie is the spouse running for president, Miss Hillary is supposed to be the one we get free. Miss Hillary was saying goodbye to a group of schoolgirls in Michigan only the other day, and just for a moment forgot who she was supposed to be.

Suddenly she was at the throat of her handler. "You're telling me I have to do a back-to-school picture, but this is not just about going back to school," she told the startled flack. "We've got to talk about other things — like nutrition."

For the next half hour she became the policy wonkette she yearns to be, lecturing the girls on the importance of carbohydrates and food groups and the right kind of lettuce. Three of the girls actually stayed awake through the entire lecture.

If Mr. Slick becomes the president, Miss Hillary told an interviewer in Little Rock over the weekend, "I'll fall back on my experience here at home . . . and I will certainly be an advocate for the policies we think will make a difference. I'm comfortable writing legislation. I'm comfortable testifying."

A gentleman nevertheless has sympathy for her. There she was at Yale, wondering how on earth she could impose her '60s sensibilities on everyone else, and up walked this young man who — as we have been told in the official biographies — suddenly started bragging on the size of the watermelons back home in Arkansas, and how he wanted to be the governor of all those watermelons.

This seemed too good to be true: Who better to be told how to live their lives than those barefoot hicks back in the sticks? How could she know that the young man would turn out to be Casanova of the melon patch, that one day he would have an assistant in charge of nothing but his bimbos? But when he actually got himself elected governor and began



The bashful prince

to talk the big talk, Miss Hillary figured maybe she hadn't miscalculated after all. His growing prospects made all those mornings when he showed up at the back door of the governor's mansion, puzzled over where he had left his pants, seem worthwhile. Or at least tolerable.

But then, just when Mr. Slick got himself nominated for president and serious people began to take him seriously at last,

the mister's handlers came to her and told her to shut up. She was scaring the hicks.

She naturally quarrels with the idea that she got the hook in New York, yanked offstage and stuffed into a closet for the duration. She blames the press, accusing the reporters of not paying attention to her until she made her debut as a radical feminist at the Republican convention in Houston.

Tipper Gore, on the other hand, might like to have a little of Mr. Slick's famous watermelon tonic for her very own bashful prince. She was reduced to asking him for a date the other day on a call-in talk show, and Prince Albert was so flustered that he stuttered out "yes" in spite of himself.

Tipper has only recently got Al to take off his spats and vest when he goes to bed, though he still insists on shaking hands goodnight. It's not easy being the first lady of St. Alban's when the senator from St. Alban's is given to public musing — as in his famous book on the environment — about how tough it is to be a man and how he's not sure he's really up to it. (This may be why he decided he wanted to be a vice president.)

And now Mr. Slick, who has been hiding out with his ladies-in-waiting over the past few days until the draft-dodging questions blow over, is fretting because George Bush won't meet him for a debate. He sent his campaign mouthpiece out to talk to reporters yesterday.

"I think we're seeing a stonewall on debates from the Republican side," says his communications director, George Stephanopoulos, who is becoming as familiar to voters as the candidate.

If the president were not such an old meanie — old fighter pilots can get that way — he would send Barbara over to debate Mr. Slick. She could stick around to teach Miss Hillary to bake cookies, too.

APPLE SAUCE

By LARRY SUTTON

The First Lady's stepmother exercised discount diplomacy

The stepmother of **Barbara Bush** didn't sit around waiting for the recession to end. She devised her own economic policy.

Call it the "Can you get it for me wholesale?" plan.

Sauce came across a letter written by **Willie Martin Pierce**, who married Barbara Bush's widowed father in 1952. It was addressed to **Martin Edelston**, president of a firm called Boardroom Inc.

"Dear Mr. Edelston," the letter began.

"I am the stepmother of Barbara Bush, and because of this connection I am often privileged to receive magazines



Barbara Bush

and books at a generous discount — sometimes free.

"I am interested in your (classic books series) and would be happy to have a copy. Could you offer me the book wholesale or for less?"

"My husband, **Marvin Pierce**, was president of the McCall Corporation, so I feel most interested in publishing and I once wrote special feature articles for The Associated Press.

"I wish your success and will look forward to hearing from you. Very truly yours, Mrs. Marvin Pierce."

The letter was dated Oct. 22, 1991; portions were reprinted this week in a publishing industry tipsheet.

Pierce, who lives in Rye, told Sauce she does not ask for wholesale subscriptions anymore.

"I realized, in thinking things over, that it was not a good idea," she said. "It was undignified. So I stopped, and use the library more."

She said that while she does not talk with her stepdaughter regularly, "I've been in the White House and spent the night in **Abraham Lincoln's** bed. I'm very lucky in that she's been so nice to me."

Pierce was a writer, book reviewer, artist and, in the 1940s, a reporter for The Associated Press. She still paints, although none of her works hangs in Barbara Bush's room at the White House.

"I'm not quite sure what sort of subject matter would appeal to her," she said.

Edelston, who has a book of his own ("I-Power") coming out next month, said he thinks he replied to Pierce — "Although I didn't really believe it was her at the time" — but doubts that he sent her any wholesale books.

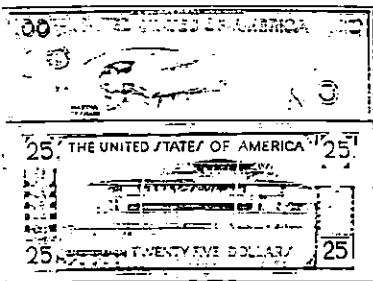
Pierce said she never received a reply from him.

CURRENCY

New Money

Here's a nice way to stimulate the dollar. Design Quarterly magazine has commissioned artist Richard Haas to design four dramatic new bills—in denominations of \$25, \$50, \$100 and \$200. Each bill features a prominent dead American (as the Treasury Department requires). The honorees: Martha Graham, Duke Ellington, Frank Lloyd Wright and Tennessee Williams. House Banking Committee chairman Henry Gonzalez supports the project because, he says, current cash is too easy to counterfeit. But it's unlikely the Treasury will make any changes.

Artistic license: The bills



WILDLIFE

Pass the Pepto

Put enough Europeans in a room, and they're likely to come up with this. An EC draft directive from Brussels may outlaw the use of the dye canthaxanthin in flamingo food—



and thereby turn the birds gray. In the wild, flamingos keep their color by consuming shrimp, a diet most zookeepers can't afford. The new directive

might not only disappoint "Miami Vice"-enthralled Europeans, it might make breeding a bit tougher: pastel works almost as well for flamingos as it did for Don Johnson. Frustrated zookeepers are trying to come up with some other way to keep the birds in the pink.

PERI PICKS

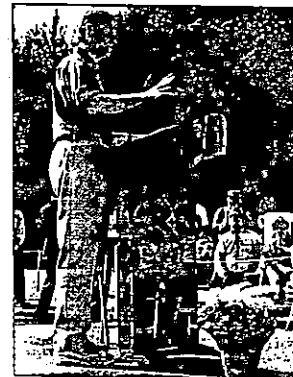
Goodbye, pinstripes and pearls. George Bush and Bill Clinton have set out in search of Real America—and they're dressing the part. So are those close to them, for better or for worse. As Election Day approaches, these folks are likely to show up in anything. PERI rates the players in what has become the Cotton Dockers Campaign:



Bill: ★ Some guys shouldn't wear jeans, no matter how much they need blue-collar votes. But the shiny shirt will pull in the ABBA constituency.



Hillary: ★★★★★ Strange but true: she somehow looks good in these goofy Tex specs. But let's hope she doesn't try the same look in California.



Al: ★★★★★ Comfy earth tones for a tree-hugging kinda guy. If he loses, he can always earn some extra bucks modeling for the Eddie Bauer catalog.



George: ★★ Will clearly wear anything—even this Mondrian-style number—to display the red, white and blue. Harry Truman would never have worn this.



Barbara: ★★★★★ See George. But in this case, the Summer Sanders look signals a certain robustness. Too bad horseshoes isn't an Olympic sport.



Dan: ★★★★★ Scores big with a cool Levi's-and-plaid combo. (Note to Bill and Al: quit jogging. Try golf.) And you gotta dig the leather belt and jumbo buckle.

PC WATCH

Out of bounds: Gadiiv congressional candidate Mary Jane Rachner, for insulting gays in Minneapolis's Star Tribune newspaper. Last week, the paper printed a candidate profile of Rachner—an infamous eccentric and homophobe—that said she had been endorsed by "the United Brotherhood of Workers at Kisaomo's Tool and Die Mfg." Seems Rachner, 71, included the fictitious "joke" on a questionnaire sent by the paper, which clearly did not check the answers. When gay-rights groups complained, the paper quickly apologized and lashed out at Rachner, who's expected to lose by a wide margin.

SHOW-BIZ

Hollywood Is Talking . . .

About Michael Medved's attack on its character. In his forthcoming book, "Hollywood v. America: Popular Culture and the War Against Traditional Values," the film critic and former screenwriter takes a page from George Bush and argues that today's films run counter to mainstream America. Medved claims Oscars are given mostly to movies that "show the dark side of society." While MPAA president Jack Valenti has called Medved "singularly uninformed," a few studio heads have echoed the call for more "family oriented" films. Many insiders say the book will make it tougher for Medved to work in Hollywood.

LUCY HOWARD and NED ZEMAN
with bureau reports



Forget lunch at Spago? Medved

9-11-92

Ex-CEO Linked to Neil Bush Is Indicted

From Times Staff and Wire Services

The former head of a Colorado thrift where President Bush's youngest son was a director was indicted Thursday on allegations that he diverted \$458,000 in bank money for his own use, federal authorities in Denver said.

The three-count indictment also accuses Michael R. Wise, former chairman and chief executive of Silverado Banking, Savings & Loan Assn., of falsifying Silverado's books to disguise his activities.

The Denver savings and loan, which failed at an estimated cost to taxpayers of \$1 billion and became a national symbol of the thrift debacle, at one time included Neil Bush on its board of directors.

The indictment is the first criminal indictment to stem from Silverado's collapse.

Authorities said the investigation is continuing, but declined to say how many people are being investigated or who they are. Justice Department prosecutor Marvin Collins declined to comment on whether any potential illegal activity being investigated involved Neil Bush, but he did say "there are no untouchables in this investigation."

According to the indictment, the \$458,000 Wise allegedly diverted to himself was part of a \$1.45-million loan he received from Silverado Financial Corp., parent of the thrift. Wise represented to Silverado that he would use the money to

pay off a bank loan from Denver's Cherry Creek National Bank, according to the indictment. Instead, authorities allege, he paid off a home mortgage and financed home improvements.

Wise and Neil Bush were among the former Silverado officials who were sued by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. for alleged mismanagement of the thrift. The suit was settled in 1991 for \$49 million, the bulk of which was paid by an insurance company and a special defense fund Silverado directors set up.

Wise, who now lives near Aspen, could not be reached for comment.

If convicted, Wise faces a maximum punishment of 15 years in prison and a fine of up to \$750,000.

QUAYLE'S REGRETS

Why government can't enforce some of his values

U.S. News White House correspondent Kenneth T. Walsh asked Dan Quayle last week about using government policies to enhance family values. The vice president's comments on:

Cracking down on TV content. You're getting into a very murky area of censorship of free speech. And I

pushes are being very intolerant of free speech. But I'm very reluctant to use the power of government to get into making determinations like that. I just don't know where it stops. And I am an absolutist almost when it comes to free speech.

Ending pornography distribution on military bases. You have to leave that

to the secretary of defense and others to exercise good judgment in what is sold at the PXs. I couldn't even tell you what is sold at the PXs. It becomes very problematic from a policy point of view and also from a constitutional point of view when the government starts to do various things [like controlling the sale of publications on military bases].

Republicans vs. Democrats. The difference that we have between us and the Democrats is that it appears to me that their family-values approach is a stronger, more involved government, where ours is one to empower people—choice in education, vouchers through health care, lower taxes, home ownership



On point. Hollywood "can do a better job."

come from a newspaper family, and that's just one absolute that I can't compromise. I've got to support free speech even though a lot of it I don't agree with. So, I would rather work to get behavioral changes. And we did have some success. Time Warner Corp. finally backed down on the song "Cop Killer."

Rewarding schools that are teaching good values. This is a local responsibility. You don't want the federal government detailing what the curricula should or should not be. Of course, I would like to see our education system more of a value-based education system.

Attacking college speech restrictions. You ought to have academic freedom. I find that in the name of political correctness, many of our cam-

for housing.

Hollywood's hits and misses. What I would hope is that Hollywood would be more reflective of our values. People have told me that we have really sparked a debate within Hollywood. Look at some of the movies that are unexpected big hits, something like "Home Alone," that they didn't think was going to be a hit, ones that are more simple, that do reflect some values. But we've gone a long way. We've gone from I think it was 1965 when "The Sound of Music" got the best picture, to 1969, "Midnight Cowboy," to 1991, "Silence of the Lambs." That is a big sea change. And I'm speaking out, others are speaking out. There is a silent majority out there that is saying to our elite in Hollywood, "Please, you can do a better job."

MONA CHAREN

Perhaps no speech at the Republican National Convention has received more vituperative responses than that of Marilyn Quayle. She spoke for only five minutes and yet managed to unleash a whirlwind of fury. This is emotional button pushing of a high order.

On the op-ed page of the New York Times, George Washington University law professor Mary M. Cheh let swing with a couple of roundhouses. "Marilyn Quayle is rich, powerful and a hypocrite," she wrote. "She congratulates herself for . . . nobly giving up her career to raise her children and promote her husband. She thereby demeans all women who have, in her eyes, apparently made the wrong choice."

Writing in The Washington Post, Amy Schwartz demanded to know why — if Mrs. Quayle really believes "that women do not want to be liberated from their essential natures as women" — she was addressing the Republican Convention.

The only way to make sense of Miss Schwartz's perplexity is to assume that she thinks Mr. Quayle be-

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

What she said, what they heard

lieves that the "essential nature" of women is that of mutes.

Time magazine takes it as a given that "Mrs. Quayle is urging women who care about their children not to work."

Mrs. Quayle, noting the reaction to her speech, feels misunderstood. "I never said women shouldn't work," she told me. "But I think I spoke the truth, and that's what bothers some people."

Looking back at the text of Marilyn Quayle's remarks, it is clear that she is responding to a very real — but dated — phenomenon: She recalls, all too clearly, the spirit of the age 10 or 15 years ago, when women were expected to emulate men. If they didn't — and fulfilled a traditional wife and mother role — they were scorned by men and women alike in smart company. Women were made to feel that being a wife and mother was inadequate. All of the celebration and kudos went to women "firsts": first woman fireman, first woman astronaut, first woman vice presidential candidate.

But in the intervening years, the



Marilyn Quayle

feminists have come around to a revised view of family life. They've been correcting, to a degree, their overemphasis on career. Some have even begun to wonder whether the

effects of two-working-parent households on children have been fully assessed. Jane Fonda recently told USA Today, "When you see what's happening to kids, you can't help but think that somebody should have been at home, minding the kids."

Miss Fonda added that many mothers cannot afford not to work. What she didn't say is that one reason many women must work today — as opposed to, say, 1958 — is that the tax bite on the average family has become so enormous, but never mind.

Marilyn Quayle felt that she was responding to the feminists' scorn about her own choices. When she first withdrew from the work force to care for her kids, she felt their contempt. "If you wanted a family," she recalls, "they assumed you were an idiot."

But the pendulum has swung back some since then. Now the feminists are starting to edge closer to motherhood in their rhetoric. Family is no longer a dirty word. Sure, it's usually linked to the word "leave"

in the feminist vocabulary, but this is progress. Even the pro-choice feminists now sport bumper stickers that read "Pro-child/Pro-choice."

So when Marilyn Quayle stood before the world to proclaim that putting her children first didn't amount to "caving in," her critics heard something else entirely. They heard a judgmental zealot seeking to return women to the kitchen and the bedroom. This despite the fact that the speech included the sentence, "Nothing offends me more than attempts to paint Republicans as looking to turn back the clock for women." Mrs. Quayle touched women's most vulnerable spot — the uncertainty about whether they are doing right by their children.

In a less partisan year, it may be possible to see that serious people from both sides of the political-cultural spectrum are heading toward consensus on family matters. There is dawning agreement that children have gotten short shrift in recent years and that women's lives are different from men's — and also different from what they used to be.

C A M P A I G N 9 2

Mainers put Mrs. Quayle on spot

ASSOCIATED PRESS

SOUTH PORTLAND, Maine — Marilyn Quayle faced some tough questions yesterday at a local high school, and many students jeered her assertion that President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle have not made personal attacks on Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Bush and Quayle "have never attacked the Clintons' personal lives," Mrs. Quayle said. That drew a derisive reaction from many of the 850 students in the South Portland High School gymnasium.

"You find it. You show it to me," she said.

Later, in Portland, protesters representing groups including the AIDS activist group ACT UP blew whistles and shouted as Mrs. Quayle helped local Republicans open the Bush-Quayle state campaign headquarters.

In South Portland, one student asked Mrs. Quayle why the government had spent so much money in the Persian Gulf War, while the student's alcoholic brother cannot afford health care.

Another student asked why he

should trust the president in light of the state of the economy, and a third student took the president to task over the issue of family values.

Mrs. Quayle said spending on the Gulf War was the cost of peace necessary to build the world's economy.

"The president is working to create jobs. We're in a worldwide recession," Mrs. Quayle said. "Our job market at home is not as bad as

other developed countries."

She said that the family leave bill that passed the Senate an election-year ploy to make the president look bad at the expense of small businesses that would suffer under federal mandates.

Mrs. Quayle took the tough questions in stride, saying later that students like to have an opportunity "not only to learn but also to 'put 'em on the spot.'"

"Quite a bit of what you see, they're emulating the nightly news," she said.

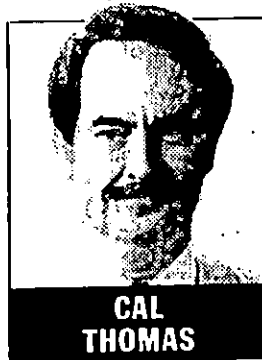
Later, in Portland, she accused the news media of embracing the Democratic cause.

"I don't know if they have the media on retainer. They're not going to give us a fair shake. I think the people are a lot smarter than they give us credit for," she said.



Marilyn Quayle hugs a toddler yesterday during a brief visit to an agricultural fair in Clinton, Maine.

AP PHOTO



CAL THOMAS

Hillary gets free ride in TV interview

In her interview with Hillary Clinton last Tuesday night on "Dateline NBC," Jane Pauley had an opportunity to question the potential first

lady in detail about the controversies surrounding her past writings and current positions. Instead, Pauley tossed a series of puff questions as light as marshmallows.

Pauley started off by attempting to establish Clinton's bona fides. She is an "expert on children's issues," Pauley said. Clinton's "expertise" has been expressed in controversial legal articles and through her association with the liberal Children's Defense Fund. Apparently, Pauley felt that probing the dark side of that organization might cause discomfort.

Instead of alleviating fears about what kind of "nanny" she might be to all our children, Clinton heightened them. She spoke of the need for a "comprehensive children and family agenda in this country." That sounds like more government intervention in the family, even government as family. This is part of the radical agenda that says parents just aren't smart enough to rear their own children anymore and so

they must cede their rights to "experts" who will do the job for them.

Asked how she would differ from other first ladies, Clinton said her approach would be different. "I've drafted legislation; I've testified about legislation; I understand how the pieces of a budget fit together, because it's not just an emotional hope on my part that we do better by our children. I feel so strongly that it is the smart, cost-effective, preventive investment that we need to make."

That's a formula for more government spending and control of the direction of our children's lives; but Jane Pauley never followed up on that, choosing instead to toss another marshmallow.

"When you hear yourself held up as you were at the Republican convention," intoned Pauley, ever more sympathetic and leaning forward on the couch to emotionally connect with her subject, "does it make you hurt or make you mad?"

Clinton never really answered the question, but Pauley did follow up, sort of. "What was the greatest distortion of your record?" she asked.

Clinton said it was taking her written articles out of context "to make it seem that I advocated that children should be able to sue their parents if they were told to take the garbage out or something like that."



Is this the real Hillary?

about old writings of his, but that didn't stop his critics from using them to deny him a seat on the Supreme Court.

Clinton also took the current radical feminist view of male-female relations and imposed it on history. "Anyone who knows anything about the history of marriage knows that wives and children were literally the property of husbands until about

From there the interview descended into personal drivel. Pauley: "Before Gov. Clinton declared for the presidency you prepared Chelsea — bad things may be said about daddy; was Chelsea at all prepared for bad things being said about mommy?" We learned that Clinton isn't much of a cook because she doesn't do much of it (and Jane says she doesn't either, giggle) and that both are of the baby-boom generation ("What about our generation makes you wish we'd grow up?").

Here was a missed opportunity to really learn about whether Clinton would be a co-President, as Bill Clinton has suggested, and where her public-policy views might find their way into specific legislation that would affect us all. Would she exercise veto power over Supreme Court nominees? How appropriate does she believe it is for the wife of a President to be actively involved in policy decisions? Is there any area that is out of bounds for a first lady?

This was an interview designed to further de-demonize Hillary Clinton and present her, not as the radical feminist that she is, but as a smiling, madeup, sweetly dressed, head-banded Middle American mother. It didn't work for me because we still don't know the real Hillary Clinton, except from what I've read in those old articles. Maybe that is the real Hillary Clinton after all.

Hillary Clinton sees role in child-welfare policy

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — It was supposed to be just another feel-good picture from the campaign trail, a few words, pleasant smiles and a polite goodbye to a group of children in Michigan.

But Hillary Clinton wasn't ready to move on.

"You're telling me I have to do a back-to-school

picture, but this is not just about going back to school," Mrs. Clinton told a startled aide. "We've got to talk about other things — like nutrition." For the next 30 minutes she discussed the benefits of hot lunches in schools.

Mrs. Clinton knows photo opportunities are part of the political pro-



Clinton

cess, but she'd rather be photographed as if she were tackling a problem. And if she becomes first lady, she says she'll be heard from the West Wing of the White House — the policy end — and in Congress, about the problems of children.

The Little Rock lawyer served on a task force that drew up Arkansas' 1983 education standards that serve as the foundation for her husband's record on that issue. She founded the state's largest advocacy group for children and serves on the board of Arkansas Children's Hospital.

If Bill Clinton becomes president, "I will fall back on my experience here at home" while defining her role as first lady, Mrs. Clinton said in a weekend interview.

"I will certainly be an advocate for the policies we think will make a difference," she said. "I'm comfortable writing legislation. I'm comfortable testifying."

She acknowledged budget problems could slow down her ideas, and advanced what may become an early excuse if her husband wins. "One senator I admire told us a few weeks ago that he believes Bill is going to win, but really worries that when he gets there . . . it's going to be a much worse financial picture than the Bush administration has led us to believe," Mrs. Clinton said.

She said education, prenatal care, nutrition, immunization and juvenile justice programs must be improved in concert.

Making headway in one area — such as literacy — is impossible without keeping children healthy and out of trouble, she said.

Early in the campaign, Mr. Clinton bragged about the value his wife would be to his presidency. "Buy one, get one free," he joked.

The campaign seems to have put her out of sight; at the Democratic

National Convention, Clinton campaign workers even passed out chocolate-chip cookies they said were baked to Mrs. Clinton's own recipe.

She offended many women during the primaries by saying she could have "stayed home and baked cookies" but chose to work. And she became a symbol at the Republican National Convention when the GOP argued that the Clintons and Democrats didn't gibe with traditional family values.

She disputes the idea that she has withdrawn from the political stage, saying reporters didn't pay attention to her speeches until Republicans in Houston tried to label her as a militant feminist.

"The issues I've cared about all these years have in a sense gotten a boost from these attacks," she said.

Hillary Clinton's Not-So-Hidden Agenda

The Republicans had great fun at their convention last month ridiculing Hillary Clinton as a radical feminist who promotes left-wing causes that undermine traditional family values. They accused her of comparing marriage to slavery, and of favoring the right of children to sue their parents over such mundane matters as taking out the garbage. Clinton's critics say her husband may be a moderate, but that she has a secret liberal agenda and the Rasputin-like influence to implement it.

What Hillary Clinton actually believes bears little resemblance to the caricature drawn by the Republicans. The charge that she is anti-family was concocted from a scholarly article she wrote in 1973, while still a student at Yale Law School. Entitled "Children Under the Law" and published in *The Harvard Educational Review*, it examines the murky area of children's rights and argues that in certain situations, children should be allowed to separate from their parents. While mildly radical at the time, Clinton's views are now accepted as standard fare by the American Bar Association. "I've read everything Hillary Clinton has written on this topic, and it's very clear she's writing about abused and neglected kids, cases where the courts are already involved," says Howard Davidson of the ABA's Center on Children and the Law.

Mrs. Clinton insists that she is not trying to give children a blanket right to sue. "There is no way that anybody could fairly read the article and say I was advocating that children sue parents over taking the garbage out," she told *NEWSWEEK*.



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

'I'm not talking about intervening over minor things': Hillary on the campaign trail

The article makes it clear that she would reserve the right for children who suffer from extreme cases of abuse or neglect. A child with a cleft palate whose parents refuse treatment would likely have a case; one whose parents refuse cosmetic surgery would not. Most attorneys now believe that when any abusive family situa-

tion reaches the courts, the child is entitled to a lawyer.

Hillary Clinton became a children's-rights advocate after working as a law student at the Yale-New Haven Hospital. Her assignment was to define the standards by which child

abuse would be judged and dealt with. "I know the situations that exist in this country whether the right wing wants to admit it or not," she says. "I'm not talking about intervening in families over minor things." In her work with the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based lobbying group, Clinton has argued that adolescents should be treated more like adults. Conservatives claim that if Clinton's views are fully embraced, they

would shift the burden of proof in family disputes from the child to the parent—a reversal that would transform the legal system. Clinton dismisses these fears as politically inspired, and says an example of her philosophy at work is the way some states—including Arkansas—handle abortion rights for young women. The Clintons support parental notice but oppose parental consent. "If you can presume that a child is competent to make a decision, you still want that child to have parental guidance wherever possible," she says. "But realistically, we know that in many cases that is not possible."

Except in the case of Supreme Court nominees, it is rare for a legalistic article to become a political issue, especially when it is squarely in the mainstream of thinking by the organized bar. Conservatives argue that the American Bar Association's backing only proves Hillary Clinton's liberal leanings. The ABA is under fire from the Bush administration for its allegedly leftist agenda, which included hosting Anita Hill at its recent convention. But a careful reading of Hillary Clinton's 27-page treatise leaves a different impression than the one created by her husband's political opponents. Clinton concludes the article with a cautionary warning about overdoing government intervention. That is a sentiment that usually wins cheers at a Republican convention.

ELEANOR CLIFT with
PAT WINGERT in Washington

After the Storm: An Agricultural Showcase Ripped Apart

A Plea for Pets Made Homeless by Storm

MIAMI, Sept. 7 (AP) — The head of Dade County's animal shelter pleaded for help today, saying the center was inundated with homeless pets in the wake of Hurricane Andrew and desperately needed more money and room.

"Thousands of people lost their homes, and the animals are just hanging around their houses, but the owners are gone," said Zoraida Diaz-Albertini, chief of animal services.

"We are getting double, triple or quadruple the normal number of animals coming in, and we're really not geared up for that kind of volume," she said.

One of the shelter's priorities is to set up a "pet city" near the military tent cities, which don't accept hurricane refugees with animals. This would not only decrease the number of animals in the shelter, but would allow people who won't abandon their pets to move into the tents, she said.

The shelter Ms. Diaz-Albertini runs has a capacity of 200 animals, but currently holds 350. She said 75 to 100 animals — mostly dogs — are arriving each day. Only 30 to 40 of the animals are reunited with owners, and foster homes can be found for only 15 to 20, she said.

National animal organizations have sent volunteers and are helping with small purchases, Ms. Diaz-Albertini said, but haven't come up with enough money to cover the cost of handling so many stray animals.

Because of the space limitations, some national organizations have been moving animals as far north



Associated Press

The hurricane has left Dade County inundated with homeless pets. A volunteer, Donna Schoech, held a stray dog as Rose Borkowski, a veterinarian, prepared to examine it yesterday in Homestead.

as Ocala in central Florida. Shelter officials fear that will make it harder to reunite them with their owners.

Ms. Diaz-Albertini said contribu-

tions could be sent to Dade County Animal Trust Fund, Hurricane Relief, Dade County Animal Services, 7401 N.W. 74th St., Miami, Fla. 33166.

9-14-88



BY PETER ALSBERG—THE WASHINGTON POST

Children Seen Losing Trust in Government

Responses in Poll Similar to Adults' Attitudes

Associated Press

The nation's schoolchildren, possibly influenced by what they hear from parents and other adults, are losing trust in their government, a recent survey indicates.

Less than half the more than 300,000 children in grades 2 through 6 who were surveyed in the spring by Weekly Reader, a nationwide classroom newspaper, said they believe their government can be trusted to do what's right.

"That's a reflection of our whole society, which is a sad commentary," said Sandra F. MacCarone, editor in chief of Weekly Reader, which is published by Weekly Reader Corp. of Middletown, Conn.

Respondents whose teachers mailed in the surveys were not a random sample or a scientifically chosen cross section. But the study was large enough to provide some insight into children's thinking.

Asked whether people in the government can always be trusted to do what's right, 45 percent of the students said yes, down from 53 percent in 1988 and 65 percent in 1984.

The national survey also found:

- Fifty-six percent of fourth graders and sixth graders agreed that "people in the government really care about what the citizens think," reflecting a decline from 64 percent in 1988.

- The percentage of those who agree "a lot" with the statement

decreases sharply from 28 percent in fourth grade to 11 percent in sixth grade.

- Most children believe it would be all right for a woman or a member of a racial minority group to be president, but only about 35 per-

Less than half the respondents said government could be trusted to do what's right.

cent think they could become president or would like to.

- Thirty-six percent said the government is good at providing shelter for the homeless, down from 42 percent in 1988, and 35 percent said the government is good at providing work, down from 40 percent.

The results are similar to those of polls of adults, said Everett C. Ladd of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut. But "the children are considerably more positive and optimistic than their parents," he said.

Weekly Reader will conduct a mock presidential election this fall, releasing the results in October. The poll has correctly predicted the winner in the last nine elections.

TICKLER 5/19
file daily 8/11

GP

May 18, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB TEETER *rw*

To
Connie Horner
Please keep
Parsons in
mind for
Sawley

I noticed the attached in the New York Times last week.

As you may recall, Dick Parsons is a very sharp black man who I believe was Chairman of the Crime Commission in New York and was offered the Drug Czar's job in 1989. We also discussed several other jobs in the administration, including a couple of the cabinet posts, with him.

Whether or not he liked the idea of a jobs program, he might be someone to have in and talk to you, Sam or Clayton about the problems of the cities.

GP

5-19

8/10/92 **THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN** 8/11

FYI. Dick Parsons was contacted by Connie, and apparently isn't interested in a full or part-time position at this time. He's currently committed to helping with the reelection effort and doesn't feel he can tackle anything else right now. Nonetheless, he was very appreciative of the call.

After L.A., How To Revive Hope In the Inner City

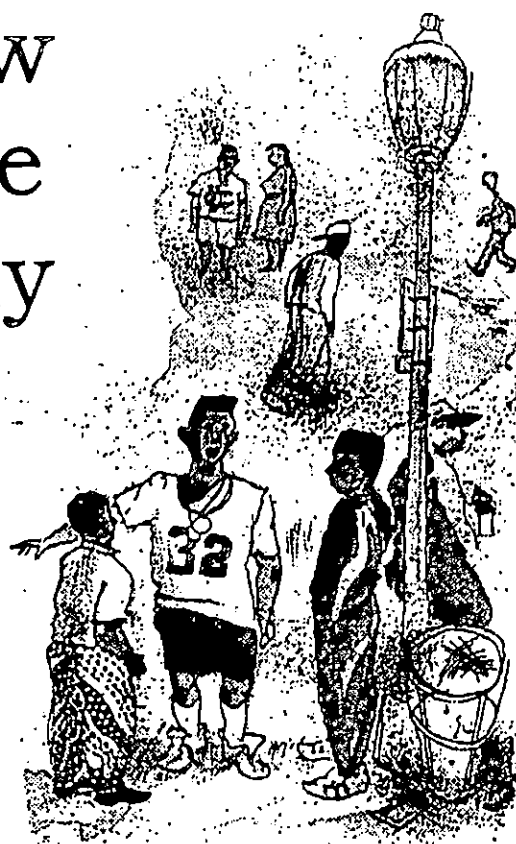
RICHARD D. PARSONS

Chairman and chief executive, Dime Savings Bank of New York

There's a short-term problem and a long-term problem. In the short term, you've got to get those kids off the street. The only entity big enough to really fund a program to do that is the Government. You have to have jobs that are fairly manual, that don't require a lot of skills, almost like a Works Progress Administration effort. There are enough jobs of a public nature, rebuilding infrastructure, that if I were President, I would have my advisers working on a W.P.A.-type jobs program right now.

But that's just a tourniquet to stop the bleeding. At best, Government has been the first step on the employment ladder for immigrant groups and minorities. I worked for Government — for Nelson Rockefeller and President Ford — for too many years not to have some understanding of its limitations, and the vulnerabilities of relying on just one sector for dealing with the problems of minority disenfranchisement. We can't get stopped on that first rung. This is a capitalistic country, you know, and the private sector is where the jobs are.

In the long term, we have to do something about the educational system. The schools need to turn out kids who have good technical skills and good communication skills. Kids who can read, write and speak the king's English. At my bank, I need either technicians or I need customer interaction people. They need to sit across from a customer, understand the customer's needs and communicate the bank's ability to meet those needs. I've spent time with kids in the schools, and I can barely understand these kids. It's a failure of our public school system.



6/17 Erin checking to see
if they have him down
for anything - they may not

6/17 Jan Naylor working on it,
will set appt with him
for sometime in June.

7/29 nothing back from Jan

Los Angeles Times

Special Counsel Probe of Aid to Iraq Denied

■ **Inquiry:** Atty. Gen. Barr rejects congressional request, cites lack of evidence of White House wrongdoing.

By DOUGLAS FRANTZ
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Atty. Gen. William P. Barr on Monday rejected a congressional request for an independent counsel to investigate

whether high-level Bush Administration officials violated the law in carrying out and defending their prewar policy toward Iraq.

In tough language, Barr said there was no specific evidence warranting an inquiry by an outside prosecutor into allegations that White House aides and other Administration officials acted illegally in providing prewar aid to Iraq or later tried to conceal the extent of the aid.

The Justice Department is already investigating the only two specific allegations of criminal conduct, and these involve low-level officials, said the attorney general.

Barr's decision cannot be appealed under the post-Watergate law on independent counsels, according to legal experts. Yet in closing the door on the month-old request by the House Judiciary Committee for a criminal inquiry, Barr sparked a new round of political accusations.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, who has said little about the issue in the past, said he was "troubled" by Barr's decision and urged the attorney general to conduct a full evaluation of the charges.

"There are plainly enough allegations of illegal conduct that the Justice Department itself should look into it," Clinton said while campaigning in Philadelphia. "The burden's on his back."

President Bush, while acknowledging the issue, said he would

Please see IRAQ, A7

Past Probes



Jordan



Meese



Deaver

Here is a list of independent counsel investigations:

PROBE LED TO PROSECUTION

- **Former Reagan White House aide Michael K. Deaver**, investigated by Whitney North Seymour, for violation of conflict-of-interest laws. Convicted. Cost \$1,469,650.
- **Numerous Iran-Contra figures** investigated by Lawrence E. Walsh, including Reagan White House aides Oliver L. North and John M. Poindexter and former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger. Seven guilty pleas, one conviction that stood, three convictions overturned and three pending cases. Cost \$31.4 million as of May 31.
- **Former top Housing and Urban Development officials** investigated for alleged conspiracy to defraud the government, investigated by Arlin M. Adams. Six indictments. Cost \$46,000 so far.
- **Former Atty. General Edwin Meese III**, investigated by James C. McKay for alleged improper connections to a defense contractor, Wedtech Corp. No prosecution. Former Reagan Administration White House aide, also investigated by McKay for Wedtech connections. Conviction overturned. Cost \$2,569,777.

NOT PROSECUTED

- **Hamilton Jordan**, former President Carter's chief-of-staff, investigated by Arthur H. Christy for alleged drug use. Cost \$181,938.
- **Tim Kraft**, Carter's national campaign manager, investigated by Gerald Gallinhouse for alleged illegal drug use. Cost \$3,348.
- **Former Labor Secretary Raymond J. Donovan**, investigated twice by Leon Silverman for alleged links to organized crime. No prosecution either time. Costs \$326,444 and \$7,025.
- **Former Attorney General Edwin Meese III**, investigated by Jacob Stein for alleged improprieties in financial transactions and appointment of business associates to federal jobs. Cost \$311,848.
- **An unidentified individual**, investigated by a counsel whose last name is Harper, for alleged willful failure to file an income tax return. No details were released. Cost \$44,498.
- **Former Assistant Attorney General Theodore B. Olson**, investigated by Alexia Morrison for allegedly testifying falsely to Congress. Cost \$1,514,465.

Source: Times wire reports

DAILY NEWS CLIPS
OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS
TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Well, Mitch and Beth are history. The Rim won't be the same without them, but we think we've got it covered. In the meantime, here's a list of things to do around the office when only three interns are left:

1. Answer the phones.
2. Answer the phones.
3. Fax a document while answering the phones.
4. Answer the phones.
5. Answer the phones.
6. Eat lunch while answering the phones.
7. Answer the phones.
8. Clip articles while answering the phones.
9. Answer the phones.
10. Xerox a document while answering the phones.



MARIA'S ON VACATION -- AND YOU'RE NOT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Los Angeles Times

IRAQ: Congressional Request for Outside Counsel Is Denied

Continued from A1

edging that his policy had failed, has defended his Administration's economic assistance and other prewar aid toward Iraq as an effort to bring it into "the family of nations." The Administration had hoped the economic incentives would foster stability in the Persian Gulf region by taming Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. Administration officials also maintained that any military assistance to Iraq was an inadvertent consequence of the financial aid.

Bush has denied that there was any criminal misconduct in prewar aid to Iraq or later in defending the policy before Congress.

Democrats in Congress accused the attorney general of "stonewalling" to protect the politically ailing Bush. They vowed to press

could not discuss its details because they had never been made public and the request was made years ago.

John F. Banzhaff III, a law professor at George Washington University, said there is no appeal of the attorney general's rejection of the request, a view supported by members of the Judiciary Committee and the Justice Department official.

On July 9, 20 of the 21 Democrats on the Judiciary Committee sent Barr a letter formally requesting an independent counsel. The letter described several areas of potential criminal conduct by unnamed current and former Administration officials in the execution and defense of the prewar policy.

Among other things, the letter alleged that military designations had been removed from a list of Commerce Department export licenses to Iraq that was sent to Congress. The law requires that Congress be notified when military equipment is exported. The letter also said officials had provided misleading testimony to Congress and cited alleged interference by the Administration with the criminal prosecution of the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank, which provided Iraq with \$5 billion in concealed loans.

The statute makes appointment of an independent counsel mandatory if specific, very senior Administration officials, known as "covered" individuals, are suspected of criminal conduct. An outside counsel also can be appointed if the attorney general determines the Justice Department has a conflict of interest in investigating allegations against someone not covered by the statute.

Barr rejected the request on both grounds, saying: "The letter contains no specific information concerning crimes by any person, let alone any 'covered' person."

The committee request also sought an investigation into actions by Administration officials in November, 1989, when they pushed through \$1 billion in food-loan guarantees for Iraq in the face of evidence of irregularities in the program and possible diversion of food aid to buy weapons.

"While the wisdom of that decision can be debated, the fact that it

was not criminal cannot," concluded Barr.

Gonzalez has accused a group of senior White House officials of thwarting congressional investigators by conspiring to withhold information and sensitive documents to cover up the extent of U.S. aid to Iraq. But Barr defended the handling of the congressional requests as routine and legal.

In apparent anticipation of the Democratic accusation that politics played a role in his decision, Barr said the department's review was conducted by career prosecutors, who concurred with the decision.

"Without exception, every prosecutor reviewing this matter at every level of the department is of the view that the criteria for invoking the statute are not present here," said Barr.

The attorney general said two

'Mr. Barr is playing a dangerous political game in a desperate attempt to protect the Bush Administration.'

REP. HENRY B. GONZALEZ (D-TEX.)
House Banking Committee Chairman

ahead, into the fall presidential election, with their investigations of the Administration's assistance to Iraq.

"Mr. Barr is playing a dangerous political game in a desperate attempt to protect the Bush Administration," said House Banking Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), one of the Administration's harshest critics on Iraq policy.

Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the Judiciary Committee, accused Barr of trying to "sweep the whole issue under the rug" and challenged Barr's ability to be fair while "the President's political life is hanging by a hair."

Judiciary Committee staffers indicated this was the first time an attorney general has rejected a congressional request for an independent counsel since the law was passed in 1978. However, a Justice Department official said one earlier request was also denied. He said he

'Without exception, every prosecutor reviewing this matter at every level of the department is of the view that the criteria for invoking the statute are not present here.'

WILLIAM P. BARR
U.S. Attorney General

matters in the Judiciary request are under criminal investigation. He identified them as the alteration of the list of Iraqi export licenses and allegedly contradictory testimony by officials to congressional committees.

"The allegations have been and are being properly investigated, and it is clear that the criteria for invoking the statute are not present," wrote Barr.

At a press conference, Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) disputed Barr's contention that the request had to set forth specific evidence of criminal conduct by identified individuals.

"The attorney general has misconstrued—whether purposely or not—what is required under the independent counsel statute," said Brooks. "The statute does not require Congress to present a signed and sealed indictment of criminal wrongdoing for the U.S. prosecutor to simply execute the next day."

While Brooks said the Judiciary Committee does not plan its own investigation into the Administration's Iraq policy, Barr's decision apparently will not stop other congressional investigations.

Rep. Charlie Rose (D-N.C.), chairman of a House Agriculture subcommittee, said he would continue his inquiry into possible misuse of Iraq loan guarantees under the Commodity Credit Corp. And Gonzalez, who last week issued new subpoenas in his widening investigation, was on the House floor Monday raising questions about whether the Administration allowed Iraq to operate an international arms-procurement network.

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON EDITION / LOS ANGELES TIMES

WORLD

U.S. Troops Check Out 'Hotel California'

■ Persian Gulf: West Coast Marines wait nervously in a Kuwaiti desert camp as tension rises between U.S. and Iraq.

By MARK FINEMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CAMP MONTEREY, Kuwait—Lance Cpl. Steve Broadhead and the other Marines in A Company try not to think about the 120-degree heat and the blistering desert that surrounds them. And they've tried to ignore the seesaw war of words between Washington and Baghdad that again appears to be nudging the United States closer and closer to war in this land of sand, oil wells and mines.

Mostly, though, the 165 guys in the California-based Alpha Company of the 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit try hardest not to think about just where they are right now.

A remote Kuwaiti military training camp just 30 miles from the Iraqi border, where blown-out barracks buildings, shattered windows, burned-out tanks and even an army truck that was blasted onto the top of a concrete bunker more than a year ago serve as reminders of last year's Operation Desert Storm—and, for many here, auguries of this year's continuing confrontation between the United States and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Among the other souvenirs of the U.S.-led assault on Iraqi-held Kuwait last year are the graffiti, and one example is particularly fitting for these Marines. Welcome, as the neat, hand-painted sign above one bombed-out barracks doorway labeled this place, to "Hotel California: Check In. Never Leave."

Like the situation itself, it's a slogan that Alpha Company regards with mixed emotions.

"It's kinda scary, but you really don't think about it," said Broadhead, a native of Lompoc whose unit is based at Camp Pendleton and scheduled to spend just 15 days in the remote desert camp the U.S. military has officially designated Camp Monterey. "You get a little nervous, but you really can't do anything about it. . . . It's a big desert out there, and really, you can't tell that you're just 30 miles away."

"After all, we are just here for a training exercise."

Indeed, the mission that brought Alpha Company and 1,800 other U.S. Marines to Kuwait last week is the first of three joint-training exercises involving the U.S. and Kuwaiti armed forces. It is part of an agreement between President Bush and the Kuwaiti emir to help rebuild the emirate's devastated military and to create a constant deterrent against Iraqi aggression.

Dubbed Eager Mace, the Marine training exercises were planned last November and were scheduled to last two weeks, ending Aug. 19. But as tension escalated over the issue of weapons inspections, with a defiant Baghdad pitted against the increasingly frustrated U.S.-led coalition that drove Iraq's occupation forces from Kuwait, the Pentagon announced that it was moving up the date of a larger, U.S. Army war-game exercise called Intrinsic Action from late September to this month. And Defense Secretary Dick Cheney made clear that the change in timing was meant as a strong signal to Hussein.

But in the process, the precise mission of the U.S.-Kuwaiti exercises—the third is this week's set of naval maneuvers, code-named Native Fury—has become increasingly vague, both to the Kuwaitis and to the U.S. military personnel.

When asked just how long the Leather-



Associated Press

U.S. soldiers taking part in Kuwait exercises simulate recovery of downed helicopter.

necks will remain here, the Marine public affairs officer at Camp Monterey would say only that Aug. 19 was the scheduled departure date.

Officially, the U.S. company commanders have welcomed their new symbolic role. In the words of Alpha Company's commander, Marine Capt. Jim Dumont of Granite City, Ill., "the term we've always used for the Marines is, we're on the tip of the spear. So, if needed to be called in to do something, we'll be the first ones there."

Asked whether he and his men have thought about the possibility that their training mission might suddenly become all too real, Dumont said: "Marines always have thought about that, and obviously the situation here is a little bit different than normal. So they're very up for anything that might happen."

The Marines interviewed at Camp Monterey—many of them California natives who are at least as worried about their families' concern for their well-being as they are for their own—all agreed that they are ready to fight if their orders should change overnight.

But each one also stressed the wish that the war games—daily 3 a.m.-to-10 a.m. exercises in urban assaults and weapons training with the Kuwaitis—remain just

games.

Typical of the sentiment was Cpl. Billy Nunez of San Jose, who, like most of the other men in Alpha Company, spent the entire Persian Gulf War at sea, aboard an amphibious vessel anchored off the coast of Kuwait.

"Oh, definitely," Nunez said, when asked whether he would have preferred fighting in the desert alongside the allied forces that liberated Kuwait. "I think everybody has a certain want, a certain need, to get out there. You train for so long—you don't want to just train for no reason."

Reminded that he was, at that moment, standing just 30 miles from an increasingly belligerent Iraq, though, the young Marine added: "Yeah, I know. I think I've always been ready for this. And if it happens, it happens."

"But if it doesn't, it's even better. . . . That way, there's no lives lost. I guess that's the worst thing—to lose my friends."

To cut the tension, most of the Marines have avoided news broadcasts on their small radios, instead focusing their off-duty attention on the Olympics. They're also concerned with coping with the blast-furnace desert winds and getting to know their Kuwaiti counterparts a bit better.

"How are the Dodgers doing?" asked

Lance Cpl. Greg Foerstal, whose family is back in West Los Angeles. "Lousy, eh? They got the best players in the world, and they can't even win a ballgame."

"Hey, what's going on in the basketball?" interrupted Cpl. Pierre Knight of New York City. "I just wanna know how much they beat 'em by."

"But, oh, say, can I say hi to my wife?" Foerstal shouted to a visiting reporter. "Her name's Sandy, and we've got a 4-month-old baby girl named Jayde. Just say we're doing fine. I'm thinking about them all the time. We're staying safe. Everything's good. And not to worry. . . . Oh yeah, and I love them."

Cpl. Eddie Freeman, a member of "A" Company from West Covina, explained that most of the Marines feel that their present duty is far harder on their families than on them. Their unit has been at sea for the past 75 days, and the last time they could phone home was three weeks ago, when they were in Singapore.

"It's rougher on them," said Freeman, who has a wife and two children back in California. "We're here. At least we know what's going on. They just have to watch the news."

Deepening their concern is what most of the Marines sense as a prevailing, election-year, isolationist sentiment in America that would diminish their role here, if, indeed, they do come in harm's way thousands of miles from home.

"I know a lot of people out here are wondering, too, you know, the last time we were over here, the support we got was overwhelming, and people are wondering if they are going to be as supportive to us again if we have to, you know..."

Cpl. Knight finished the sentence. "It just seems like the only people who really care about us being out here is our own family and relatives and that's it. The rest of the world is just like, eh? OK, they've done it already, and now we're here again..."

Deepening their concern is what most of the Marines sense as something of an isolationist sentiment in the United States that, they fear, would diminish their role if they should come in harm's way thousands of miles from home.

Perhaps it is that sense that was behind Alpha Company's somewhat-lesser-than-gung-ho mood outside Camp Monterey's pockmarked "Hotel California."

"Anybody who says he wants it to happen has got to have something mental, wrong with him," concluded Navy Corpsman Lamont Fletcher, a powerfully built Chicago native assigned to Alpha Company. "Look, everybody is willing to do what they've got to do. But really, everybody would really rather be at home."

And most of the Marines tried to be charitable about their present location, military camp the Kuwaitis call Al Tahreer, or Liberation, that was ravaged first by the invading Iraqis and later by the U.S. troops who liberated it—the same force responsible for its "Hotel California" nickname.

"It is good training—more of a live environment," Freeman said. "Back in California, at Camp Pendleton, there are so many regulations. With live fire, there are so many restrictions."

"This is more real life. An actual war has taken place here."

But as he paused and looked to the north across the heat mirages and fire-hot sand that lay between his combat-ready company and Iraq, Freeman pushed back at thought of its becoming real again.

"Sure, it's occurred to everybody here. It's in the back of our minds. But we don't have any control over it. . . . If they tell us we've gotta go, we gotta go. So there's just no sense getting all worked up inside about it. Just be ready—that's all we can do."

Los Angeles Times

U.S., Allies Agree on Bosnia Stand

■ **Balkans:** Resolution for use of force to ensure aid is offered to Security Council. Britain, France support measure that could lead to a NATO operation.

By STANLEY MEISLER and CHARLES T. POWERS, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—The United States reached agreement Monday with its three West European allies on the U.N. Security Council for a resolution authorizing "all measures necessary"—a euphemism for military force—to ensure the supply of humanitarian assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The resolution was quickly circulated to the other 11 members of the council, including Russia and China, for their views. The Security Council is not expected to vote on the resolution in open session until at least Wednesday.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher told correspondents that the United States, Britain, France and Belgium "have reached agreement on the proposed text of a resolution authorizing all necessary means to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance."

The resolution, according to Boucher, included a provision authorizing the delivery of food and medicine to the Serbian-run prison camps in Bosnia. News of the camps horrified much of the world last week following the release of videotape footage and survivors' accounts.

Boucher said the governments had not defined exactly what they meant by "all measures necessary" but added that ways of implementing the resolution were "being looked at in places like NATO, where they're planning and reviewing options for what they might do to support the U.N.'s efforts."

This seemed to imply that the Bush Administration envisioned a military operation by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in support of the 1,500 U.N. peacekeepers who are now trying to keep the airport at Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, open for relief flights.

But this kind of talk evidently troubled U.N. officials. In Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, for example,

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a senior U.N. official said that a major introduction of Western forces to ensure the safety of relief and humanitarian efforts in the former Yugoslav republics could threaten the "delicate situation" of peacekeepers now deployed in the area.

Cédric Thornberry, chief of civilian operations, said that military commanders in charge of 14,000 troops of the U.N. peace force in Croatia doubt the effectiveness of air strikes against guerrilla units.

The commanders are also concerned, he said, that the option of introducing large numbers of troops could destabilize peacekeeping operations in areas where the U.N. troops had established a balance between warring ethnic militias and neutralized their heavy weapons.

"We have some concern," Thornberry said, "that any operation you put on the ground—at this very delicate stage—could very easily upset the apple cart."

The doubts from the U.N. command in Zagreb, which directs the peacekeepers deployed in Croatia and observers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, came as NATO sources in Brussels said that the alliance had cleared the way for contingency plans for a protection operation, which could involve thousands of Western troops. Among the plans under consideration is the opening of a land corridor from the Adriatic coast to besieged Sarajevo, an operation that, some experts say, could require 100,000 troops.

A warning about military force came as well from Milan Panic, a Southern California businessman who is now prime minister of the shrunken Yugoslavia, made up of Serbia and Montenegro, the last remnants of the old Yugoslavia. He told the Associated Press that "Western intervention could lead to disaster."

"It could trigger a full-scale guerrilla war in Bosnia," Panic

said.

While the Western military option was under intensified study, the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva agreed Monday to take up alleged abuses in Bosnia. Pierre Mehu, spokesman for the commission, said that a two-day session will begin Thursday. The step was taken in the wake of a stream of reports about brutal conditions in Serbian-run prison camps.

Teams from the International Committee of the Red Cross are to begin inspecting some of the camps later this week. In the meantime, there were growing reports that the Serbs are busily removing prisoners from the most notorious of the camps.

The conditions in the prison camps have put renewed pressure on Western governments to intervene in the Balkan crisis and forced them, however reluctantly, to consider the introduction of military force. Just what force to use, however, remains an open question.

Some U.S. and other Western political figures have advocated the use of air strikes to neutralize the Serbian heavy artillery around Sarajevo. Military specialists, on the other hand, have doubted the effectiveness of air power against mobile artillery that can be moved quickly and effectively camouflaged in difficult terrain.

In Zagreb, the United Nations' Thornberry said that U.N. military commanders shared these doubts. "When you are not dealing with a conventional force, as is mostly the case here, you have a very limited capacity" to strike from the air, he said.

Moreover, he said, the deployment of a large land force would also be problematical.

"If there were such a commitment," he said, "it would raise quite serious questions, not only about the U.N. position in Sarajevo, but in the U.N. Protected Areas as

Los Angeles Times



Agence France-Presse

Bosnia's U.N. ambassador holds copies of Serbian documents that he says list names of non-Serbian 'enemies' in Bosnian town.

well."

The so-called U.N. Protected Areas cover large regions of Croatia taken last year by Serbian forces. The U.N. peacekeepers have succeeded in warehousing heavy weapons and, Thornberry said, gradually moving to demilitarize sections in eastern and southern Croatia.

"At the moment," he said, "we are operating on a series of agreements of honor. It is very difficult for us to envision maintaining this essentially cooperative arrangement . . . if you have a major military operation that is involving their brothers and cousins down the road."

Thornberry acknowledged that the threat of Western armed intervention has had some effect on the combatants. "I think it has calmed

them down somewhat," he said.

He said he believed that the intensified involvement of the European Community and the United Nations has a chance of being more effective than increased military intervention.

"None of us here believes that [the U.N. peace force] can do much more than run around with stretchers and ambulances until there is a political settlement."

A divided U.S. Senate, meanwhile, began debating a bipartisan resolution that would urge President Bush to seek Security Council authorization for the use of force not only to send humanitarian aid to Bosnia but also to secure Red Cross access to the Serbian-run detention camps there.

In commenting earlier on the U.S.-European agreement on a Se-

curity Council resolution authorizing force to ensure delivery of aid, a State Department official noted that the U.N. measure would stop short of recommending that force be used to open up the detention camps where Bosnian Muslims and Croats have been interned by Serbian forces.

However, echoing reservations similar to those expressed during the debate that preceded the Persian Gulf War, senators argued throughout the day over the wisdom of using military force to accomplish the more limited goal of securing supply lines for shipments of food into Bosnia.

Opponents warned that the war raging in the former republics of Yugoslavia is a near-impenetrable problem that the United States and its NATO allies can do nothing to resolve by force unless they are willing to commit tens of thousands of troops to an open-ended conflict in which they could suffer heavy casualties.

Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.) said that senators were told at a recent intelligence briefing that even the limited military aim of securing the Sarajevo airport and one overland supply route would "take at least two divisions" of ground forces. Sen. John Chafee (R-R.I.) added that sending ground forces to Bosnia would be tantamount to sending them into an "absolute quagmire like Lebanon."

Rejecting such fears as alarmist, supporters noted that the non-binding resolution would merely put the Senate on record as urging Bush to seek Security Council's approval for the use of force and did not amount to an authorization to commit U.S. troops to the Bosnian conflict.

"This doesn't necessarily mean we have to spend money or commit U.S. ground forces. But we have to have U.S. leadership... We have to accept our responsibility and step up to the plate... at a defining

moment in American foreign policy," Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD) said.

"Passage of this resolution authorizes nothing, nothing, nothing," added Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), the resolution's chief sponsor, who said the purpose of passing it was to back up the President and the Security Council by sending a strong message to the Serbians.

But Sen. John Warner of Virginia, the ranking Republican member on the Senate Armed Services Committee, disagreed, saying it would be dangerous to send a message without the resolve to back it up. "You can't have it both ways," he said. "If you send a message, you have to be willing to stand by it 100%."

Meisler reported from Washington and Powers from Zagreb. Times staff writer Michael Ross in Washington contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

Chill Is Gone, Loan Deal Near for Bush, Rabin

By NORMAN KEMPSTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KENNEBUNKPORT, Me.— Even the sun followed the script Monday as President Bush and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin patched up the once-troubled U.S.-Israeli relationship, pushing aside any remaining causes of friction.

Both Israeli and U.S. officials used words like *warm*, *constructive* and *friendly* to describe the meeting at Bush's seaside vacation home, the first U.S.-Israeli summit meeting since Rabin ousted Yitzhak Shamir in a June election. No one even wanted to recall the chilly atmosphere that had marked Shamir's relationship with Washington.

Bush and Rabin are expected to announce at a press conference today an agreement on conditions for U.S. loan guarantees that Israel needs to provide jobs and housing for an influx of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Although both sides insisted that a few loose ends remain for Bush and Rabin to chew over at a working breakfast, there was no doubt that the deal was done.

At the same time, Bush announced officially that Arab-Israeli peace talks will resume in Wash-

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RABIN: Chill Is Apparently Gone in U.S.-Israeli Relations

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ington on Aug. 24. The date had been widely reported, but Monday's announcement was the first confirmation that all parties had accepted the U.S. invitation.

"I think there is a real basis for hope that the sixth round of negotiations can lead to real, substantive negotiations and push this process forward in a very meaningful way," a senior Administration official said.

The U.S.-brokered talks, which began in Madrid last October, were deadlocked. U.S. officials complained that the primary cause of the impasse was Shamir's hard-line policy.

But for both Bush and Rabin, the primary objective for this meeting was to demonstrate a warm personal relationship. And that they did with a vengeance.

After a rain-swept Sunday and Monday morning, the sun broke through the clouds just after Rabin arrived at Bush's home on the Maine coast. Electric power—disrupted during the night—was restored soon after Rabin's arrival.

In the day's only discordant note, a small band of disciples of the assassinated Israeli right-wing leader Meir Kahane rented a sailboat to picket the Bush-Rabin talks from the sea, protesting that the new Israeli prime minister is too ready to make peace with the Arabs. The demonstration might have gone unnoticed except that Bush spotted the boat as he was escorting Rabin on a walk along the waterfront during a break in the formal talks.

According to a senior Israeli official, Bush burst into the living room of the house where U.S. and Israeli aides were at work on details while their bosses were enjoying the air. The Israeli said Bush exclaimed that the demonstrators were flying a banner with the message "*Kahane Chai*," Hebrew for "Kahane lives."

"I thought this guy was kind of dead," Bush said in reference to the militantly anti-Arab former member of the Israeli Parliament who was assassinated in New York in November, 1990.

The boat was promptly escorted away from the President's compound by the Coast Guard.

U.S. officials had expected Bush and Rabin to finish

their day on the tennis courts, but Israeli officials said Rabin declined because he "thought it was important to finish business first."

Both the senior American and the senior Israeli who briefed reporters after the meeting hinted strongly that the United States will grant Israel's appeal for about \$10 billion in loan guarantees during the next five years. But both, careful not to upstage the Bush-Rabin press conference, refused to provide details.

Asked if the agreement was sealed, the U.S. official said: "I said these have been very good, constructive and productive talks. I'll let you draw your own conclusions."

The Israeli official said that Rabin emphasized the importance of the loans to settle Jewish immigrants.

"In the Soviet Union, or what used to be the Soviet Union, there is a potential of over 1 million Jews who have expressed interest in going to Israel," the official said. "They are sitting on their suitcases, waiting to hear that there are jobs and houses for them" in Israel.

The official said Rabin expects to discuss new military cooperation between Israel and the United States when he meets in Washington today with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney. The new agreement is expected to include access to Israeli ship-repair facilities for U.S. naval vessels.

Rabin also plans to confer with Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee.

"When a prime minister comes to the United States and meets with the President, he also meets with the leader of the other party," the Israeli official said. "The prime minister is sensitive that there is an election in this country. He is doing all he can not to get involved in the political game."

Even before they began their talks, Bush and Rabin were pledging friendship.

"We are looking forward to strengthening a relationship that is strong and will be even stronger," Bush said. Rabin replied: "We would like to make sure that there is a better and more intimate relationship between our two countries."

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Los Angeles Times

GOP Platform Panel Refuses to Modify Abortion Stance

■ Campaign: The 'right to life' plank stirs controversy as the pre-convention proceedings get under way.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—After a one-sided but impassioned debate waged on both political and moral grounds, a Republican Party platform subcommittee meeting here Monday voted overwhelmingly against efforts to modify the party's long-standing opposition to abortion.

Despite the 17-3 vote against her cause, Ann Stone, chairwoman of Republicans for Choice, vowed that more efforts will be made today when the full 107-member platform committee is expected to begin consideration of the draft platform. The finished document will then be submitted to the Republican National Convention,

which opens here Monday to renominate President Bush.

Another subcommittee repudiated the 1990 tax increase signed by President Bush, sending a signal that Republicans believe Bush badly damaged himself and his party by breaking his "no new taxes" pledge. An amendment to the draft platform blamed the increases on Democrats in Congress and called for their repeal.

The drafting sessions, conducted by five subcommittees, marked the start of the party's pre-convention proceedings which Florida Rep. Bill McCollum called "the first day of the reelection campaign of George Bush and Dan Quayle." His comment touched off an ovation

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from the platform committee members all too aware of the faltering start in Bush's general election campaign.

Republicans clearly sought to use the platform to bludgeon Clinton with charges that his election would mean a return to what Republicans refer to as past Democratic policies of big spending and high taxes.

Oklahoma Sen. Don Nickles contrasted the GOP's draft platform with the Democrats' final document. "It didn't say much," Nickles said. "Except that if you read it closely you will see that it says 'more government.'"

But in terms of intensity of feeling, such partisan rhetoric was no match for the highly personal and often poignant tone of the hourlong debate over the abortion plank conducted by the subcommittee on individual rights.

The 1992 draft, which closely tracks anti-abortion language in Republican platforms since Ronald Reagan was first nominated for the presidency in 1980, declares "the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed," reaffirms support for an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution and urges the appointment of judges "who respect traditional family values and the sanctity of innocent human life."

"What's in me, is not a rock. . . it's a human life, that's now kicking me," said Mary Potter Summa, who chaired the subcommittee and defended the draft platform's abortion ban. An assistant district attorney from Charlotte, N.C., who already has one child, Summa said she is 4½ months pregnant.

Virginia Phillips, 67, of Alaska, said she had an abortion much earlier in her life because her husband did not want the child. "The bottom line is it was violent," she said. " . . . It was violent to my body." She urged the committee to show its concern and "loving for women," by adopting language that would continue to oppose abortion.

But there were strong feelings on the other side of the issue, too. Mabel (Bobbi) Breske of Delaware,

Barbara Mosbacher, sister of Bush's general campaign manager, Robert, makes case for abortion rights in GOP platform Monday.

who has three children, three stepchildren and six grandchildren, said that other Republicans in her home state with whom she had discussed the abortion issue had "without exception" expressed concern that the platform's opposition to abortion makes no allowances for victims of rape and incest, particularly for young women who have have suffered from such crimes.

In other situations, "we show concern for crime victims," Breske argued. "Are we to just neglect them [victims of rape and incest] . . . or leave them to the back alleys?" she asked.

Breske said that she supported language that would give rape and incest victims "an alternative" to carrying their pregnancies to term. But parliamentary maneuvering by abortion foes prevented Breske from actually offering an amendment to modify the abortion ban. Breske had only two allies on the committee, Mary Wiese of South Dakota and Deborah Leighton of Massachusetts. "I want to appeal to this group to go back to their constituents" and ask them about the abortion issue," said Wiese, a

longtime Republican activist and former Reagan-Bush campaign worker.

"I feel very strongly about this issue," she said. "But I feel even more strongly [about its effect on] the Republican Party."

Leighton contended that the effect of the ban was too sweeping and rigid and that some way should be found to show that the Republican Party was open to people "who hold a variety of opinions on the issue."

But such views were far outnumbered on the subcommittee. Illinois Rep. Henry J. Hyde, a longtime abortion foe on Capitol Hill, reminded the committee of the "inalienable right to life," asserted in the Declaration of Independence.

"Rights conflict," Hyde said. "A woman who wants to exercise her sovereignty over her body," by having an abortion, "conflicts with the right to life."

Others on the subcommittee disputed the assertion by abortion-rights advocates that the anti-abortion plank was politically damaging and claimed instead that the majority of voters, were op-



Associated Press

posed to abortion.

At any rate, said Keith Butler of Michigan, "this is an issue that transcends politics." And Butler, a black, likened the Supreme Court's decision supporting the right to abortion to the pre-Civil War Dred Scott ruling that upheld slavery.

For the Republicans to switch their position on abortion now, "would send a wrong signal," Butler maintained. "It would look like we were fudging," he said.

Although the debate over abortion is expected to continue during the full platform committee deliberations this week, it is questionable whether abortion-rights advocates have enough strength to carry their fight to the floor of the convention itself. Stone said after Monday's session that her side could count on only 25 votes on the 107-member committee, two short of the 25% required to get a minority report debated on the floor.

Abortion was not the only issue that provoked disagreement and controversy at the platform committee's opening session. Angela (Bay) Buchanan, who chaired her brother Pat's unsuccessful presidential campaign, held a press conference to release Buchanan's own proposed party platform.

Buchanan calls for increased emphasis on term limits for politicians, urges the President to test the constitutionality of the line-item veto, and backs the phasing out of foreign aid. His platform urges a freeze on new federal spending and hiring, and revocation of the recent congressional pay raise. It also calls for stepped up enforcement against illegal immigration, including construction of walls at points along the Mexican border with California and Texas, and denying most-favored-nation status in trade "to governments like the communist regime in China that murder and repress their own people."

Buchanan will address the convention Monday night at Bush's personal request, according to Buchanan's sister.

Meanwhile, on the subcommittee dealing with economic policy, Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber, one of a group of conservatives who have been urging Bush to take a bolder stand on economic policy, won approval for an amendment condemning the tax increases in the 1990 budget agreement as a mistake and calling for their repeal. Bush had endorsed the tax hikes, reversing his 1988 campaign pledge "read my lips, no new taxes."

"The Democratic Congress held

Los Angeles Times

Budget Focus Shifts Back to Wilson

By DANIEL M. WEINTRAUB
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SACRAMENTO—With an uprising by rank-and-file lawmakers beaten back, at least for the moment, the focus of state budget talks Monday returned to Gov. Pete Wilson, who marshaled forces late Sunday night to block passage of a \$58-billion compromise crafted by a Republican and supported by Democratic leaders.

Wilson, seeking to unify the Republican front, was to meet late Monday with the 13 Republicans in the Senate and planned to meet later with the 33 Republicans in the Assembly.

But saying he expected the state's record-breaking budget stalemate to go on for at least

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another week, Wilson canceled plans to attend the Republican National Convention in Houston on Monday.

"I'm not going to the convention because it is clear we're not going to have a budget," Wilson told reporters in Los Angeles.

Although the governor succeeded Sunday in getting all but two Republicans to reject the compromise spending plan crafted by GOP Sen. Frank Hill of Whittier, many Republicans have said that they want the 42-day budget deadlock to come to an end and might be willing to reconsider the proposal if Wilson cannot deliver something better.

Hill's plan, which cut more deeply into local government and the state bureaucracy than Wilson has accepted but was kinder to the public schools than the governor's proposal, fell three votes short of the 27 needed for passage in the

Senate Republican Leader Ken Maddy and Assembly Republican Leader Bill Jones, both of Fresno, joined Wilson in opposing the Hill plan, contending that its deep cuts in local government would force local tax increases unless cities and counties were freed of state restrictions on how they spend their money.

Wilson also has complained that the plan cuts too deeply into the executive branch. He has criticized provisions that would wipe out \$100-million worth of unfilled job slots, eliminate nearly 200 public information officers and wipe out funding for his Office of Planning and Research.

The Hill plan, which won the backing last week of the Legislature's budget conference committee, would cut general fund spending to \$40.7 billion from the \$43.5 billion the state spent in the fiscal year that ended June 30, according

Senate and eight votes short of the 54 required in the Assembly.

Wilson spokesman Dan Schnur said the Legislature's rejection of Hill's compromise shows that the governor has been unfairly criticized for failing to come up with a deal.

"What Frank Hill is doing is commendable in its intent," Schnur said. "It's a very romantic image—to think of this one lone upstart solving problems that all the recognized authorities can't resolve. It would be nice to be able to take a shortcut past all the problems that divide the two parties ideologically. But it's not possible."

Schnur said Wilson's meeting with the members is designed to let them know that the governor appreciates their "impatience and their eagerness" for a budget deal.

"But he also wanted to remind them that there are issues of substance and ideology that still need to be resolved," Schnur said.

to the Department of Finance.

Hill was the only Republican member to vote for the plan in the Senate. Assemblywoman Bev Hansen of Santa Rosa was the only Republican lawmaker to support the move in the lower house. But members in both houses served notice that they were intrigued by the plan and might reconsider it.

"This proposal gives us many of the things we've fought years for," said Assemblyman Pat Nolan (R-Glendale). "We're saying if there are objections, give us a list of those and let us go to work on them. Let us know that the end product will be something better."

Nolan is among those Republicans miffed that Wilson Administration officials have resisted cuts in the bureaucracy even as they are pushing for deeper reductions in spending on the public schools, which are popular with Republican voters.

"If the objections are that this

cuts too deeply into the state bureaucracy, then I'm not going to be a part of holding up the budget so we can add back bureaucrats and bureaucrats' travel," Nolan said.

Assemblyman Ross Johnson of La Habra, who like Nolan is a former Republican floor leader, said Democrats have moved a "considerable distance," and it is time for Wilson and GOP leaders to sit down and negotiate with the majority party.

"This cannot go on," Johnson said. "We have to resolve this."

"How in the world can we tell our constituents that we have cut, squeezed and trimmed government and the only thing left to do is cut local schools when the governor resists cutting public information officers—P.R. flaks."

Despite the rejection of his plan, Hill said Monday that he is not giving up on crafting a compromise

that can win the support of two-thirds of the members in the Legislature. He said he will join several members to map out an agreement on the so-called "trailer bills" that are needed to make a budget work.

Hill said Sunday's debate will give the governor and the top four legislative leaders "a new sense of urgency."

Yet there was no sign that the Republican members of the so-called "Big Five" were prepared to accept a deal anytime soon. In addition to Wilson, Maddy and Jones, the leadership quintet consists of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco) and Sen. David A. Roberti (D-Van Nuys).

In addition to indications by Wilson of further delays, Jones predicted that an agreement was at least eight to 10 days away.

Times staff writer Greg Krikorian in Los Angeles contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

Bar Assn. Renews Fight on Abortion

■ **Law: Members at convention recommend 2 to 1 that the lawyers' group drop its neutral stand and support women's right to choose.**

By JENIFER WARREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—Wading into the divisive debate over abortion for the third time in two years, American Bar Assn. members on Monday urged their governing body to take a stand in favor of a woman's right to end a pregnancy.

After a passionate debate reflecting the nation's bitter split over abortion rights, members recommended by a 2-1 margin that the ABA drop its position of neutrality on the issue and declare itself opposed to laws that restrict a woman's right to choose.

"In the 1950s, I'm ashamed to say we were neutral when issues of racial justice were before the courts," ABA President Talbot D'Alemberte told the 1,000 lawyers who gathered for the vote during the group's annual convention here. "The ABA may not, without grave risk to our credibility, withdraw from the debate over this vital issue today."

Abortion rights advocates heralded the outcome, cheering and embracing after the tally was complete. But the vote will be moot unless the policy is approved by the ABA's governing body, the House of Delegates, today.

Dallas attorney Darrell Jordan, a leader of the opposition, predicted that today's vote will be very close. Adoption of a policy advocating abortion rights, he warned, would establish a "litmus test" and "loyalty oath" for ABA membership.

"Wouldn't it be tragically ironic if in promoting this pro-choice resolution we deny other members their freedom of conscience?" Jordan asked.

The abortion issue has overshadowed everything else at this year's annual ABA convention, a six-day meeting of 13,500 lawyers featuring workshops on topics ranging from biotechnology law to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The ABA's abortion policy is more than a matter of internal intrigue. Groups such as the National Abortion Rights Action League say the nation's largest association of lawyers can provide an influential voice in the debate by testifying for legislation and filing supportive briefs in key lawsuits.

The ABA's foray into the debate began in February, 1990, when

the group formally adopted a policy in support of Roe vs. Wade, the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision that guaranteed the legal right to abortion. Women lawyers hailed the move as evidence that the ABA, long a staid, male-dominated organization, had become sensitive to issues of concern to its growing female membership.

But 1,500 members resigned after the vote, and six months later the policy was rescinded and a neutral stand adopted.

The reversal outraged many abortion rights supporters, and they have worked feverishly since then to change the association's position once again.

In San Francisco this week, abortion rights advocates distributed flyers, staged demonstrations and wore purple "choice" buttons to even the dressiest events on the convention social calendar.

At the same time, a paid political consultant has piloted a \$50,000 campaign to keep the ABA neutral. On Sunday night, foes slipped 10,000 flyers under the hotel doors of conventioners, making a last-minute pitch.

Supporters say the ABA has an obligation to take a stand on one of the fundamental legal questions of the day.

"If the government can make laws that require women to bear unwanted children . . . about what can the government not make laws?" Albuquerque lawyer Roberta Ramo asked in a speech before Monday's vote.

D'Alemberte, who sponsored the resolution in favor of abortion rights, added that the ABA—which remained mute on segregation during the 1950s—will be judged harshly by history if lawyers act like "potted palms" and become "immobilized by fear of conflict."

But opponents argue that taking a stand on what many view as a personal, moral question would polarize the association and drive members away.

"We are supposed to be a helping profession, helping to heal," said John Curtin of Boston, a past president of the ABA. "I ask you, does this move help to heal? My conclusion is it will . . . just add to the shouting."

Many opponents also feel that an abortion rights stand would undermine the ABA's credibility in evaluating nominees to the Supreme Court and contribute to the impression that it is a liberal, excessively activist group.

If the 520-member House of Delegates rejects the abortion rights policy, the membership could attempt an override—which requires a two-thirds vote—or launch an unprecedented referendum by mail of the association's 370,000 lawyers.

Los Angeles Times

Ex-CIA Chief's Statements on Secord Disputed

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A veteran CIA officer testified Monday that former CIA spy chief Clair E. George had expressed concern about retired Air Force Gen. Richard V. Secord's participation in the arms for hostages deal with Iran, despite earlier statements by George to the contrary.

The reluctant but potentially damaging testimony by George W. Cave provided support for the prosecution's charge that George, on trial for perjury, obstruction and false statements, lied to the Senate Intelligence Committee when he denied knowing crucial details about Secord's involvement.

"I can recall several times at which Mr. George expressed concern over Secord's involvement," Cave said as the prosecution neared completion of its case against George, the former deputy director for operations of the CIA and the highest ranking CIA official to be indicted in the Iran-Contra scandal.

Cave often referred to George not by name, but by his position as "DDO," as he listed CIA meetings and briefings in which Secord's role was discussed. Now a consultant to the CIA, Cave testified after U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth ordered courtroom artists not to sketch the witness.

Cave, a white-haired, balding veteran of 36 years of CIA service, said George thought Secord had become involved in activities for which he had no background. Cave cited as an example Secord's use of a Southern Air Transport 707 in February, 1986, to help deliver 1,000 TOW missiles to Iran. Southern Air Transport had been a "proprietary," or front company, for the CIA.

In addition to assisting in the TOW shipment, Secord's Swiss bank account was used to funnel funds to the CIA for buying and shipping the missiles. Secord, who also testified as a government witness, previously pleaded guilty to a felony charge of withholding information about Iran-Contra.

Under questioning by independent prosecutor Sam Wilkins, Cave said George also was worried about Secord's contacts with renegade CIA agent Edwin Wilson, who provided terrorist material and training to Libya and is now serving a federal prison sentence.

Cave's testimony followed that of former Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.), who told jurors on Friday that "Secord was the key to the door" of the Iran-Contra scandal. As jurors appeared glued to his words, Eagleton, a member of the Senate intelligence panel in 1986 when George testified, said George had withheld crucial information.

"No other single piece of information at that point in time would have been more important to the committee than to know what Richard Secord was doing," Eagleton said.

Cave said several times during his testimony that he could not recall whether George had attended CIA sessions in which Secord's role was discussed. But he later changed his statements, after prosecutors read back to him earlier testimony in which he had spoken of George's involvement.

In another development Monday, Lamberth "excused" without explanation juror David Willett Bullock, 44, a social insurance claim examiner, who had said he had expertise in martial arts, teaching, medicine, supervision and management.

The replacement of Bullock by alternate juror Ethlere Tillery came after a conference with defense lawyers and prosecutors in Lamberth's chambers. Lamberth said he would release a transcript of the conference after the trial ends or the jury is sequestered. Bullock could not be reached for comment.

Los Angeles Times

Wilson Welfare Plan—Will It Reform the System?

By VIRGINIA ELLIS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

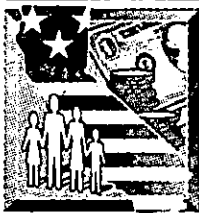
SACRAMENTO—Toni Hunter believes so strongly in the work ethic that she toils at a variety of jobs even though her efforts do very little to improve the family income.

Hunter, who receives welfare, took a \$5-an-hour part-time job for a while, working at the post exchange of a military base. But after the government deducted most of her earnings from her welfare check, she said she ended up with only about \$82 more a month for her efforts.

Twenty-seven and the mother of a 3-year-old daughter, Hunter said she prefers working to "sitting on my butt collecting aid. . . . But every time I do get a decent job it doesn't benefit me at all because they turn around and take away

most of my money."

Because variations of Hunter's experience are repeated throughout the welfare system, Gov. Pete Wilson is putting a plan before voters in November that he says



WELFARE IN CALIFORNIA
Behind the politics

■ One in an occasional series

will inject a new work incentive for welfare recipients—along with other wholesale changes in the way welfare is administered.

To its critics, the worst thing about Proposition 165 is a substantial reduction in the basic benefits

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in the Aid to Families With Dependent Children program, the main source of aid for women and children. Other features, such as work incentives, they say, are only window dressing for budget cuts.

Though the governor's plan has raised a chorus from critics, including those who suggest that he may be creating incentives for the working poor to join the welfare ranks, few would argue that the system is not badly in need of fixing.

"The current system doesn't encourage work. It actually penalizes work," said Thomas E. MaCurdy, an economist and senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. "People just have to work merely because they want to, because they aren't going to get any more resources because of doing it."

All agree that the Byzantine rules governing how much a recipient can earn and still receive benefits coupled with a decade-long decline in real wage levels for low-skilled workers have made work increasingly less rewarding for poor single women with children.

Many poor mothers find that welfare can provide more income for their families than if they were supporting them on low-wage jobs. In California, public assistance pays a mother and two children maximum food stamp and welfare benefits of \$10,200 a year, while a 40-hour-a-week minimum wage job pays \$8,840 a year.

The prospect of going off welfare also presents recipients with the loss of another significant benefit: free health care, which is lost one year after a recipient leaves the rolls. In the private sector, most low-wage jobs come without health benefits.

And for those who want to mix work and welfare there is little reward. At best, working nets only a few extra dollars a week. At worst, working provides less income than welfare alone. A report by the state's legislative analyst found that a job grossing \$800 a month would make a recipient "better off" by \$100 a month. As a result, only 7% of the parents receiving welfare report any job earnings.

"It's a lousy program. I'd scrap the whole damn thing," said Leonard Schneiderman, former dean of the UCLA School of Social Work. "It's not the kind of a program that anybody would now design that makes sense in the context of what poor people now need."

Scrapping or reforming the system has become a popular refrain across the nation as states try to find ways to ease the costly burden

of welfare and cope with some of its unintended side effects. Of particular concern in most states is the increase in welfare dependency—the long-term reliance on public assistance by poor parents and children.

In academic and political circles, there is widespread agreement that reform of welfare must be grounded in a simple philosophy: receiving public assistance must carry with it some obligation to work.

One solution that has attracted close scrutiny throughout the country is Gov. Wilson's Proposition 165. Although it incorporates many ideas that have been introduced in other states, the package as a whole has never been tried.

Like most engaged in the welfare debate, Wilson believes that the system discourages work by severely limiting outside income. Rules require a dollar-for-dollar trade-off: After small allowances for expenses, every dollar earned cuts a dollar from the monthly grant.

Wilson wants to replace these disincentives with rules that encourage and reward recipients for working by allowing them to keep much more of their earnings. The rules would go into effect if the initiative passes.

"Welfare recipients shouldn't be punished for working," he says repeatedly in speeches.

The big cuts in benefits Wilson proposes are a major part of the incentive he envisions for people to leave the dole and go to work. His plan calls for a two-step reduction, beginning with an initial 10% across-the-board cut in monthly assistance. Then, to give welfare mothers time for job hunting, it provides a six-month hiatus before a second 15% cut applying to all families that include "able-bodied adults" kicks in. The Wilson Administration estimates that more than two-thirds of those receiving welfare will be subject to the additional 15% cut.

The first cut would reduce the basic monthly cash grant for a mother with two children from \$663 to \$597; the second to \$507.

Because most families on welfare also get food stamps and those allotments are tied in part to family income, the drop in benefits would be offset somewhat by a 30% increase in food stamp allotments.

Wilson argues that the cuts would not be oppressive to families because the new work incentives would make it easier for them to get a job and earn back the lost income. The new rules would allow working families to keep the first \$30 of earnings a month and one-third of any additional earnings without a reduction in welfare

Los Angeles Times

Wilson Work Incentives

How Gov. Pete Wilson's initiative would seek to move parents off welfare and into the job market.

■ **Reductions:** The plan calls for a two-step reduction in benefits, beginning with a 10% across-the-board cut in monthly assistance. To give welfare mothers time for job hunting, it provides a six-month hiatus before a second 15% cut kicks in for all families that include "able-bodied adults."

■ **Incentives:** New work incentives rules would allow working families to keep a larger portion of their part-time earnings. Welfare officials calculate that a mother of two would have to work six to 10 hours a week at a \$5-an-hour job to bring the family income back to previous levels.

Other provisions of Wilson's initiative include:

■ **Limits:** Denial of benefits to children conceived after their mothers go on welfare and requirement that teen-age mothers on welfare stay at home with their parents unless they can prove in court that they have been subject to abuse.

■ **New state residents:** Those who go on welfare would be restricted to the benefit levels of their previous state—if lower than California's—for the first 12 months of residency.

■ **Teen-agers:** Those on welfare would be rewarded for going to school and penalized if they drop out.

■ **Pregnant women:** Those pregnant with their first child would not become eligible for benefits until after the baby is born.

■ **New powers:** The initiative also grants the governor new powers in the state budget-making process: It would allow him to declare a state of emergency whenever the budget is late or he deems it to be out of balance by 3% or more. During the emergency period he would have the authority to cut state workers' pay by 5% and reduce the budgets of legislatively enacted programs not protected by the state Constitution.

benefits.

"We really feel very strongly that this proposal allows families to earn and retain more income in order to provide for their families," said Catharine Comacho, an assistant secretary in Wilson's Health and Welfare Agency. "If families do respond to our work incentives they will be better off."

Welfare officials calculate that a mother of two would have to work only six to 10 hours a week at a \$5-an-hour job to bring the family income back to previous levels.

Hunter, the welfare mother who works part time, agreed that the incentives would make her better off when she is working. But she noted that the severe cuts would set her back even more when she is most in need—when the part-time work runs out and she is hunting for another job.

Wilson announced his plan in December and since then it has been widely studied and examined by scholars and welfare experts. Of prime concern to the experts: Will it markedly increase the number of recipients who get jobs?

They conclude that the work incentives will help a number of recipients but, they say, many more will be kept out of the job market by a shortage of geographi-

cally close low-skill jobs, health problems and especially lack of child care—a major expense for working mothers.

"One of the reasons why so many low-skilled women have difficulty working is that they have difficulty finding child care, given what they can pay for it," said Northwestern University economist Rebecca Blank.

A survey of the cost of licensed child care completed in March by the California Child Care Resource and Referral Network found prohibitively high costs in many urban areas. In Los Angeles, the survey placed the average monthly cost of part-time child care for a preschooler at \$237.

The state and federal governments spend about \$500 million a year on subsidized child-care programs for poor people in California, but a 1991 study by the Child Development Division of the California Education Department estimated that those programs were meeting only 10% of the need.

Mary Hruby, program coordinator for Crystal Stairs, a nonprofit agency in Los Angeles that provides services for poor families with children, said the numbers do not tell the full story: Fewer providers are willing to offer child

care for parents on a part-time basis, and there is very little care available for infants.

Comacho of the Health and Welfare Agency acknowledges that child care can be "problematic" for poor working mothers—especially the substantial number with infants—but suggests that parents can solve the problem by informal arrangements. "Co-opting is very popular," she said, referring to arrangements where families agree to trade baby-sitting duties. Or, she said, mothers can find family members who will provide low-cost or free child care. Those with infants, she said, can earn back the cuts in benefits by providing child care for another family in their home.

Hruby said although some poor mothers do resort to unlicensed informal baby-sitting, her research has shown those arrangements to be extremely "vulnerable and unstable."

Citing these and other problems with the Wilson initiative, few experts interviewed by The Times believe that the proposal would significantly reduce the welfare rolls or propel recipients out of poverty. Some believe that the initiative could induce some working women to cut back from full-time to part-time employment so that they can go on welfare.

"[The initiative] will have a modest effect perhaps, but it will not have a substantial effect on work behavior," said Harvard University public policy professor David Ellwood, a harsh critic of the welfare system whose work on dependency has been cited in Wilson speeches. "What we know is that it will hurt a lot of people but ultimately will not really provide people with an alternative to welfare."

The Administration's estimates of budget savings from the plan bear out Ellwood's conclusion. They show that 4% of California's 814,068 welfare families would leave assistance after Wilson's proposals go into effect and another 3% of the families would get part-time work. Comacho, however, believes those estimates may be too conservative.

Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation says Wilson's idea to "pay less to people in welfare and try to reward work and marriage is good," but Rector says the governor makes the mistake of trying to tinker with a system that is hopelessly flawed.

"What it does is that it's moving some people to work a little more but it's pulling more people into the welfare system and it's causing another group of people who are on the margin of welfare not to fully

work their way off," he said.

Rector said a mandatory work system is the only way to ensure that large numbers of recipients will get jobs. He favors a system that requires all recipients with children 5 and older to work in community service jobs.

Others cite further difficulties. Even if mothers get past the child-care obstacle, UCLA's Schneiderman questions how many are employable. "There are no jobs," said Schneiderman. "They do not have skills, and there are no jobs."

In a state such as California, where the unemployment rate was 8.9% in July, low-skill welfare mothers are forced to compete with higher-skill workers for jobs, he said.

Not all welfare experts agree that low-wage jobs are not readily available. MacCurdy says the job shortage plaguing the California economy is primarily in the high-wage, high-skills sector. He argues that there are plenty of low-wage service jobs that welfare mothers could do. He said jobs are particularly plentiful at fast-food outlets.

MacCurdy said the changes Wilson is proposing would move the welfare system from one that "penalizes the working poor" to one that is much fairer to the working poor. But he added that some full-time working mothers who are not receiving assistance "will find it in their interest to go on welfare [and work part-time]. . . . I'm pretty confident the caseload's going to go up."

Michael Wald, a Stanford University law professor and former director of the university's Center for the Study of Families, Children and Youth, said the debate over work incentives fails to recognize the severe hardship that some families in unique circumstances would face as a result of the initiative.

A legislative committee report on the Wilson plan noted that the cuts would even apply to "a woman with breast cancer who may be far too ill to work for a period of time" but is not considered permanently disabled.

Comacho acknowledges that some recipients may suffer temporary hardship, but she says the number would be small.

"In any system you propose you can come up with scenarios that are not an ideal situation and there will be some hardship," she said. "When you start looking at exceptions to your proposal, then it becomes a hard thing to draw that line and decide where you stop making those exceptions."

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Refines Campaign Art of Personal Politics

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PHILADELPHIA—A black woman holding a small boy seemed inconsolable. She sobbed with heaving breaths as she waited in the crowd outside Independence Hall on Monday for Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton to inch toward her.

"We need you," she cried, clutching Clinton's right hand.

Momentarily stunned by the woman's unfocused but obviously emotional request, Clinton embraced her and promised that as President he would work hard to make the country better. With little time and more hands to touch, the candidate moved on.

As he did so, the woman's voice swelled with urgency: "Please win, Bill. I really need for you to win."

It was just one moment on the campaign trail with Clinton, and not all that typical. Even Clinton's most ardent supporters usually manage to control their emotions when he passes by. But it tells part of the story of the recent days of his candidacy. Many of the people turning out for his rallies—Monday in Pennsylvania, last week in the Midwest, last month on his first bus tour after he won the nomination—seem to be searching for someone to believe in. Clinton tries to oblige.

For the most part, the crowds have been large and excited. They may be bolstered by many who are more anti-President Bush than pro-Bill Clinton, but the Arkansas governor seeks to win them all.

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CAMPAIGN '92

CLINTON: Candidate Refines the Art of Personal Politics

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over with a message of change and tries to make them feel that they are all a part of something. He thrusts himself into the crowds, encouraging them to touch him, and obligingly signs autographs.

"He wants to make people feel they are a part of the campaign," said his press secretary, Dee Dee Myers. "It's his way of getting the public on board in a very personal way."

In Philadelphia, more than 4,000 people thronged into Independence Park, which surrounds the historic hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed. The crowd overflowed into surrounding streets as Clinton spoke for about 30 minutes, reciting the basics of his stump speech, which he has honed from delivering several times a day.

As he has before, he warned his audience not to lose courage when it comes to voting, for change in November. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle, he said, will "tell you every reason in the wide world why you ought to be afraid of Bill Clinton and Al Gore."

"When they raise their old flag of fear, you tell them, 'No thanks, this time we're going to vote on our hopes,'" Clinton said.

Then, alluding to a dispute within the GOP over Bush's economic program, Clinton said: "Even in their own party they can't hold things together. Let's ask the President, before he spends all of the next two weeks jumping on Al Gore and Bill Clinton, where do you stand on your own leadership? . . . What are you going to do for America if you win?"

The Philadelphia audience was also notable because it was one of the rare times the campaign has attracted large numbers of enthusiastic blacks.

Although polls indicate that black voters are very likely to vote for Clinton, campaign officials have been concerned about the paltry numbers of blacks who have attended Clinton rallies.

"I noticed that many of the people here were African-Americans," said Myers, the campaign's spokeswoman. "It was the largest turnout [of blacks] we've had in a setting like this."

For some, like the 30-something black man at the Philadelphia rally who pledged his support, Clinton's visit recalled the '60s and a more glorious time for Democrats.

"You sound just like Bobby Kennedy," the man shouted as Clinton shook his hand.

Obviously delighted at the comparison, Clinton beamed.

The analogy is one the campaign tries to reinforce. Some of its literature features the photo of a young Clinton shaking hands with President John F. Kennedy, and rallies often are in places bearing the Kennedy name.

Another excited supporter—this one white—used a more recent comparison: "I'm going to vote for you. I haven't been this excited since President Carter was running for reelection."

Then there were the women.

Many of those who come to hear and see Clinton are clearly impressed with his schoolboy looks and Southern charm.

"He's so handsome," said one after he signed her campaign placard.

Another woman was not satisfied with a handshake. She grabbed him, and, before the Secret Service could react, she planted a kiss squarely on his mouth.

The flip side of that excitement is the cynicism and

the caution of some who turn out for the rallies. One balding fellow repeatedly reminded the swooning women and giggling teen-age girls of Clinton's alleged marital infidelities. "Careful, ladies, don't get too close to Bill," he said over and over.

After the tumultuous rally, Clinton appeared at a well-attended fund-raiser in a heavily Republican suburb, Radnor. It was at the home of Dr. Francis J. Bonner, a registered Republican who hosted a GOP fund-raiser two years ago—featuring a speech by Dan Quayle.

Clinton began the day with running mate Al Gore in New York, where they appeared on a two-hour edition of CBS "This Morning." They fielded questions from audiences in the Manhattan studio as well as calls from Los Angeles, Denver, Portland, Ore., Houston, Cincinnati and Jacksonville, Fla.

During the program, the two men continued to exhibit an easy relationship, with one chiming in freely after the other had finished answering a question.

At several points, Gore expanded on a Clinton response.

For instance, when asked to detail his experiences that would bear on his ability to handle international crises, including sending U.S. troops into combat, Clinton spoke of his actions as Arkansas governor. He said he sent the state's National Guard to train in Central America, had authorized force to quell a riot of Cuban refugees in 1980, and had used the Guard to remove extremists from armed camps in Arkansas.

"I didn't have any problem doing that," he said. And when called upon to make military decisions as President, he said: "I'll make the best judgment I can based on the expert advice I get from military leaders and based on what needs to be the right thing to do for the American people at the time."

Gore then noted that numerous governors with little or no foreign policy experience have gone on to become effective commanders-in-chief, including Ronald Reagan.

When a woman questioned Clinton about his commitment to civil rights, it was Gore who reminded the audience later that Clinton had once memorized Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech.

And when CBS's Paula Zahn asked Gore to rate Clinton's uneven environmental record in Arkansas, Gore deftly turned the potential land mine into an opportunity not only to boast of Clinton's accomplishments in that area but also to criticize Bush and Quayle for having "turned their backs" on environmental protection.

Clinton previously has conceded that he has at times favored the creation of jobs at the expense of environmental concerns.

"It's wrong," Gore said, to believe that cleaning up the environment will hurt the economy.

"The Japanese and the Germans are now openly proclaiming that the biggest new market in the history of world business is the market for new products and processes that make it possible to have economic progress without environmental destruction," Gore said.

He also contended that Arkansas is "one of only four states consistently in compliance with the Clean Air Act," adding that the Bush-Quayle Administration has "gutted" federal environmental protection regulations.

Time staff writer Edwin Chen contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times



Associated Press

Hairdresser attends to Bill Clinton while Al Gore mops perspiration during break in television interview.

Gore, in Connecticut, Calls for Backing From Defense Workers

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

STRATFORD, Conn.—Campaigning as a strong advocate of national defense, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore on Monday urged the recession-battered defense industry in Connecticut to support the Democratic ticket's "sensible, well-thought-out conversion program" to retrain laid-off defense workers for peacetime jobs.

"The other side will always say, 'Oh, the Democrats are weak on defense.' But they don't know what they are talking about," the Democratic vice presidential nominee said as he began a three-day swing through New England.

Despite the end of the Cold War, Gore charged, the Bush Administration "has not come forward with any kind of proposal or plan to take advantage of the experience, the talent and the fantastic capabilities of the men and women in the defense industry."

That, said the senator, is "one of the clearest differences between the Clinton-Gore team and the Bush-Quayle Administration."

Gore delivered his message during a lunchtime visit to Textron Lycoming, which makes turbine engines for numerous military airplanes and land vehicles, including the Army's M1A1 tank that was hailed for its

performance in the Persian Gulf War.

Two years ago, Textron had 5,000 employees; today, it has 3,300. "Everybody's worried," said William B. McDaniel, a spokesman for Textron, the town's second-largest employer. In the 1970s, as much as 95% of Textron's business was defense-related; it's down to 60% and shrinking.

An estimated 1,000 workers turned out to hear Gore, but many of them seemed unenthusiastic—even cool—to his message.

Perhaps sensing the mixed reception, Gore reminded the workers that he and Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, had supported the Gulf War, adding that they also support the use of force "if necessary" to enforce Iraq's compliance with the many United Nations resolutions that Baghdad had agreed to in 1991 as a condition of the cease-fire.

But Gore's central message was that the Democratic ticket has a clear vision of how to ease the pain of a shrinking defense industry.

"We need leadership in Washington that understands what this task is all about," said Gore, who is a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

"The choice in this election is very clear. We can have the same thing—four more years of the same rut that we have been in—or we can have a constructive, responsible change."

Los Angeles Times

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NATION

Senate Shelves '93 Defense Authorization Bill

■ **Spending:** Action on the measure is blocked by conservatives after signs that 'Star Wars' funding would be scaled back.

By ART PINE
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Senate apparently abandoned a fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill after conservatives blocked further action on the measure Monday in the face of a near certainty that funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative would be cut.

The decision to shelve the bill could mean that the Pentagon may be forced to settle for less money than it has requested next year for some programs. Congress is required by law to pass an authorization bill before appropriating funds for new programs. How lawmakers will resolve the problem is uncertain.

The unusual development was more evidence of disarray in the Senate, whose leadership proved unable Monday to obtain the necessary procedural agreements to pass the authorization bill before Congress recesses later this week for the Republican convention.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) said the situation would throw into doubt several key programs that had been part of the authorization measure, including an "economic conversion" plan for companies and workers hit hard by defense cutbacks.

It was not immediately clear whether the decision to abandon the defense authorization bill would be final. Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Me.) and Republican leaders were still trying late Monday to engineer some sort of compromise on the SDI issue.

But Nunn told reporters after the move that barring some sort of reversal, "the odds are against this [authorization] bill being approved this year." He called the abandonment of the bill Monday "a tragedy" from a policy-making standpoint.

Monday's action came in the wake of a test vote on Friday in which senators refused to table a move by Sen. Jim Sasser (D-

Tenn.) that would have cut spending on the SDI program to \$3.3 billion, from the \$4.3 billion provided in the original authorization bill.

The 49-43 vote on the Sasser amendment was heralded as a sign that after years of trying to cut the SDI program, opponents of the "Star Wars" venture were finally likely to prevail. President Bush has said repeatedly he would veto the defense bill if the SDI program were cut sharply.

Although Sasser had agreed to postpone a vote on the measure until today if necessary to give proponents of the SDI program a chance to try to muster more support, the Senate proved unable on Monday to move to a vote on that or any other issue in the bill.

When Mitchell attempted Monday afternoon to obtain unanimous agreement for the Senate to vote on the Sasser amendment today, Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.), a key proponent of the SDI plan, objected—effectively preventing the Senate from finishing the bill this week.

As a result, Mitchell and Nunn pulled the defense measure from the floor entirely.

Strategists said it was unclear how the Senate would get out of

the predicament posed by its failure to pass a defense authorization bill. The situation is so rare that those managing the bill have not had to deal with it before.

Technically, the chamber could recover by passing a so-called continuing resolution that gives the Pentagon authority to keep spending for individual programs at fiscal 1992 levels. But that strategy would prohibit changes from previous levels or for new programs.

Ironically, Wallop's blocking action does not guarantee that the Senate will provide the full \$4.3 billion for the SDI program. Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) said he would try again to cut the SDI program when the defense appropriations bill comes to the floor.

The recommendation in the authorization bill itself was a reduction from what Bush had sought for the SDI program. The White House had proposed spending \$5.4 billion for the "Star Wars" plan, but the Armed Services Committee had cut that back.

Also unclear was what would happen to the controversial B-2 Stealth bomber program, which was to have been the target this

week of a second attempt by liberals to slash defense spending further.

Bush had sought approval to build four new B-2 aircraft, but liberals wanted to halt production of the 16 B-2s that have been ordered so far. The planes are manufactured in Palmdale by the California-based Northrop Corp.

In addition to the SDI and B-2 programs, the defense authorization bill would have ordered changes in several major tactical aircraft procurement programs and would have pressed the armed services to review their historic roles in the nation's defense Establishment.

The House already has passed a defense authorization bill, but that will not become law unless the Senate reverses itself and approves one of its own after all. The House measure had sought similar changes and also had proposed an economic conversion program.

The provisions on SDI and the B-2 bomber were not the only controversial amendments that the Senate was facing this week. The chamber also was to have voted on a proposal to retain the current ban against abortions at military hospitals—another move that might have lost.

Los Angeles Times

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WASHINGTON INSIGHT

WITH BUSH DOWN . . . Emboldened by President Bush's slide in the polls, some members of Congress have decided to push ahead with legislation that seemed doomed a few months ago. . . . Sens. Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and William S. Cohen (R-Me.) plan to renew the post-Watergate independent counsel law, a measure Bush has threatened to veto. The law, under which top aides to former President Ronald Reagan have been prosecuted, is due to expire in December, and some members of Congress had given up hopes of reauthorizing it over Bush's objections. But no more. . . . With Bush preoccupied, the Senate is moving ahead with the law.

□

SHORE DUTY: The Navy's already-thin ranks of senior female officers are about to shrink even more as the service's top-ranking woman, Rear Adm. Roberta L. Hazard, retires next month. . . . Hazard's departure as the service's—indeed the world's—most senior military woman brings the number of active-duty female admirals from three to two, out of a total of 249. Her retirement comes as the Navy deals with the aftershocks of alleged sexual assaults at the 1991 Tailhook Convention. As assistant chief of naval personnel, Hazard had been overseeing new training programs to eradicate sexual harassment. . . . Her replacement: Rear Adm. Paul E. Tobin.



Roberta Hazard

□

FOLEY UPDATE: The fate of House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) seems to rise and fall with the Democrats' hopes for victory in the fall. . . . Several groups of dissident House members were meeting secretly to plot his ouster as Speaker, numbering among their complaints a general lack of political leadership and his failure to head off the House bank and post office scandals. But his opponents, who have yet to find an acceptable replacement, now fear that openly challenging him would undermine their party's chances of winning the White House.

□

EXPLETIVE DENIED: In the sacred and the profane department, the war of words between archconservative Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-Garden Grove) and liberal North Carolina Democrat W. G. (Bill) Hefner escalated last week after Hefner accused Dornan of cursing on the House floor. . . . To deny it, Dornan made an unusual trip to the House press gallery, where he collared several reporters who claimed to have overheard the offending remarks. Reporters present said Dornan "read them the riot act." Later, Dornan's office fired off a four-paragraph fax from fellow California Republican David Dreier of La Verne. Dreier insisted that "neither Dornan nor Hefner used profanity." . . . Accompanying the Dreier testimonial was a handwritten note from a House page, backing up Dreier. Just in case reporters didn't believe him, either.

□

GENDER BOOST: Democratic strategists in Washington are expecting political dividends for their party from what they hope will be contentious discussions of the abortion issue at Republican platform committee hearings this week in Houston. . . . The Democrats hope that a GOP squabble will energize voters backing abortion rights to rally behind Democratic women running for the Senate in the key states of California, Illinois and Pennsylvania. And the greater the success of these candidates, the strategists say, the greater the chances Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton will have of carrying those states.

—From The Times' Washington staff

Los Angeles Times

Quayle Reassures California Ranchers

■ **Republicans:** He tours the Central Valley, telling supporters the Administration will help them fight bureaucrats and environmentalists.

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

STOCKTON, Calif.—Vice President Dan Quayle stumped through the Central Valley on Monday trying to reassure ranchers that the Bush Administration sides with them in their fights with environmentalists and government rule-writers.

"We're here to let you know that we're on your side," the vice president told a group of cattle ranchers, as they chatted in a picturesque hay barn that happened to make a perfect setting for the evening news.

After meeting with 10 members of the California Cattleman's Assn., the vice president told reporters that the group is concerned with legislation that threatened its members' access to water, bureaucrats who could take land without just compensation and the federal Endangered Species Act.

He said the Endangered Species Act is the greatest of their concerns, adding that he believes the law should be relaxed. "My viewpoint is that . . . it probably needs a little flexibility," he said.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton and his running mate, Al Gore, "talk about putting people first," Quayle said. "Well, they put people first unless you happen to be a spotted owl or a giant garter snake."

He said President Bush is reviewing the act and may propose easing some of its provisions.

A Mervin Field poll showed that the President trailed Clinton in California by 34 points—62% to 28%—during the week of July 20-27. Quayle insisted that his party can still win this key state and its 54 electoral votes. "Things will turn around here in California—you can put that in the bank," he said.

At a press conference before a sweeping vista of pastureland and the Sierra Nevada, the vice president was asked whether he was correct in describing the cattle ranchers as farmers in light of the historical enmity between the groups.

"Ranchers, farmers, it's all the same," Quayle said. "They're ranchers more out here; they're farmers back there [in the East]. But the term is interchangeable. For the media, rancher and farmer is the same thing."

On this trip to California, he will visit Sacramento, Bakersfield, Los Angeles and Orange County before returning to Washington on Wednesday night.

Los Angeles Times

PERSPECTIVE ON THE BALKANS CRISIS

The Call to Arms Is All-American



We are unique in seeing a national obligation to use our power to do good; this time, even liberals are on board.

By MICHAEL NOVAK

Europeans are not Americans. One is constantly reminded of this truism by visiting in Europe, as I did for six weeks this summer. During that entire time I heard not one European say in conversation or on television or in print that his country should send troops or bombers to separate the warring factions in the Balkans. Yet on landing in America, it seems that's all I've heard. In emotional conversations. On talk shows. From (most notably) liberals. From Democrat Bill Clinton.

I have not quite adjusted to being home yet (when I left, Clinton stood at 22% in the polls, in third place), so maybe I simply haven't grasped some nuances, but the argument seems to go like this:

The bloodshed is awful, the constant shelling of cities unconscionable, the human cruelty simply unbelievable. This has to be stopped! **DO SOMETHING!**

As far as I can see, Europeans feel no such logic. They are sad. They deplore the carnage. They wish it were not happening. They think that talks should be held about it. They are willing to send humanitarian aid. But they do not wish to risk the lives of their own young men and women in a fight.

No European nation that I know of feels that its national mission is to protect human beings elsewhere, to intervene (like St. George) to save innocents from evil dragons. They do not regard other peoples in distress as part of their national obligation. They concentrate pretty much, and pretty closely, on their own national interests. They don't even talk about national ideals, such as a foreign policy based on the extension of human rights.

To feel such sentiments keenly, to feel that betraying them would be to forfeit your moral self-worth and national

honor, you have to be an American.

Since World War II, we Americans have grown up knowing that we are powerful. We are confident (sometimes too much so) that America is good. For Americans, it is as obvious as $2 + 2 = 4$ that power plus goodness equals national obligation.

Is it a surprise that the logic of armed intervention is now emanating most loudly from the American left? As a certified hawkish anti-communist (a record that now makes me very proud, especially in Eastern Europe), I broke from the left in 1973 over lessons (mistaken, I thought) being drawn from the Vietnam War. Now, many of the same people who opposed every anti-communist intervention these past 20 years, disparaged the military and marched for "peace" with flowers in their hands are demanding an air assault on Serbian positions or the sending of U.S. troops into the mountain redoubts of the Balkans. It figures. The Serbians are not fighting under the banner of communism or the international left. Communism is not an issue (although the old communist leaders are still in place), and so the emotions of the left have been disencumbered. They are free to love war.

God knows, the villainy of the current Serb leadership cries out for a punishing military action. For me, the last straw was the deliberate shelling of a cemetery in which infant victims of an earlier attack were being buried.

The sheer horror of the policy of "ethnic cleansing" has for weeks been too evil to contemplate, the memory of the Nazi policy against Jews, Gypsies and Slavs being still too raw. Then, this past week, came the pictures of concentration camps. In order to stampede ethnic populations into flight, Leeway has apparently been granted for sadism and brutality at the whim of Serbian officers. Reportedly, 2.5 million refugees have fled the former Yugoslavia, with more than 10,000 others taking flight daily. This macabre policy is working while diplomats go on pretending to believe in "cease fires" that only allow its horrid work to go on.

All who watch this sordid scene—Americans, anyway—feel corrupted simply by looking passively at the pictures. *Do something!*

I think it is particularly hard for those on the left to watch this, since liberals do believe (against all evidence) in the fundamental goodness of man. The sight of pure malice, the visible enjoyment of wanton cruelty, the clear and rational choice of evil means adapted to evil ends, and a total disregard for the suffering of other human beings—all this shatters the liberal faith. It is cognitively unendurable. *Do something, for God's sake!*

But also for neoconservatives like me there is something about being American that makes me unable to sit still for this display of raw human evil. We are a biblical people (even those among us who are atheists or agnostics). To see politics and war in moral terms is as natural to us as opening our eyes. The two great imperatives of what the ancients called the natural law—*Resist evil! Do good!*—are as deeply second-nature to liberals as to conservatives. Even those who deny the existence of a natural law sometimes obey it.

And so I must ask: What must be done? The Nazis could not tame guerrilla armies in Yugoslavia's hills and valleys during years of bitter trying. Sending ground troops today seems highly impractical.

Just the same, the Serbs must be taught a lesson. Surely their war machine can be punished as was Saddam Hussein's. Surely army bases, supply routes and depots in Serbia can be identified and destroyed from the air. Their leader should be declared a war criminal. A bounty should be put on his head, payable to anyone bringing him to trial. Such a man does not belong in civilized society, and civilized society has a duty to let him know that or become complicit in his crimes.

Michael Novak holds the George Fredrick Jewett Chair in Religion and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute. With the rank of ambassador, he represented the United States at the U.N. Human Rights Commission and, in 1986, at the Bern round of the Helsinki meetings.

Los Angeles Times

A10

Will World Fiddle
as They Die?*Only fast international action can save Somalis*

Civil war, drought and famine could easily push the death toll in Somalia to well over the million mark unless the international community intercedes quickly. The situation is being called the single worst humanitarian crisis in the world.

As many as 4.5 million Somalis are in serious need of emergency food, according to Red Cross estimates. At least one-third of those are expected to die from starvation unless the fighting stops and supplies can get through immediately. As many as three-fourths of all preschool-age children could die from disease and malnutrition if they cannot get the needed medicine and food before bodily damage becomes irreversible.

One in four Somali children has already died. Last week Times staff writer Michael A. Hiltzik visited a Red Cross feeding center and saw a starving 7-year-old boy who looked to be only 3. The food was too late for him; neither his father nor relief workers expected the child to live.

Tens of thousands of children and adults have died in Somalia since the crisis deepened when the nation's former leader, Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre, fled the fighting in January of 1991. They are the casualties of an internecine civil war. Unlike wars inspired by tribal loyalties, this fighting pits members of the

same Somali clans against one another. They are well-armed because of supplies provided by the superpowers during the Cold War. Somalia's civil war focuses not on ideology but on control. The hungry rebels also fight for the spoils of this war: relief supplies.

Armed thugs, many of them teen-agers, have stolen tons

of food and medicine from airplanes, relief convoys and food camps. They stole 40 tons from the Red Cross last week. Their booty, the only available rice in a country dependent on rice, is the sole currency of value in Somalia.

More food is in the pipeline. The U.N. World Food Program has shipped 23,000

tons, which is due in Mogadishu by the end of this month. But the looting and shooting make distribution dangerous and at times impossible. Even if that food reaches people in need, it is less than half of the amount that would be needed every month for the next year to save most Somalis.

As the death toll mounts, the United Nations must send in hundreds, perhaps, thousands of guards to guarantee safe passage for relief workers, food and medicines.

The Somalia crisis is much worse than the great famine that killed more than 1 million Ethiopians in 1984-85. The world responded then, and it must now. Decency demands nothing less.



Seventy-five percent of Somalia's preschool-age children could perish.

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN ONE

Where a Gun Is a Meal Ticket

■ In starving Somalia, food must pass through 'the most dangerous port on Earth.' Supplies are plundered, weapons are everywhere and jobless gunmen make up relief group 'security forces.'

By MICHAEL A. HILTZIK
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MOGADISHU, Somalia—More than 150 trucks were lined up in front of a makeshift partition of rusting sea containers closing off one end of the port of this crippled, starving capital. Armed men acting—or just posing—as security guards were everywhere, chatting, arguing or shouting at one another in familiar Somali style.

Suddenly, an encounter turned ugly. The hubbub raised an octave; one man was shoved against a container. In a split second, there was the cocking of rifle bolts and the pointing of a dozen muzzles.

Not one onlooker bothered to scatter. "Don't be afraid," said a CARE International worker, escorting visitors toward the quayside. "It's common in Somalia. We go through the fire to get to work every day."

That fight ended quietly, but many at the port of Mogadishu do not. Here, at the spot through which hundreds of thousands of tons of relief food will have to pass if the world is to stave off the starvation deaths of 1.5 million Somalis, an average of five people are killed by gunfire every day.

The section of Mogadishu that includes the port is a scene out of "A Clockwork Orange," with almost every male on the road, even children, toting weapons. Almost every passing vehicle sports a couple of gun barrels sticking out of its windows.

At the port itself, scarcely a relief ship docks without being looted. In one now-infamous episode in January, mobs emptied a dockside warehouse of 7,000 tons of food in 10 hours, nearly destroying the warehouse in the bargain. "The whole population of Mogadishu was running around looking like ghosts because they were covered in wheat flour," a relief worker recalled. "It was a free-for-all."

All this happens despite the presence of an armed "security" force now numbering 1,050 and growing larger by the day.

"This is the most dangerous port on Earth," said a Western relief official, "and for my agency it's the most difficult place of the 40 or 50 in the world where we operate."

He spoke amid the port's aura of sheer tension. A gridlock of trucks filled the broad Tarmac by the quayside, where two freighters were tied up for unloading; 150 trucks were coming in to haul away a Red Cross shipment just as port authorities were trying to release 20 others kept inside the gates overnight because of violence on the roads after dusk.

The two lead trucks faced each other across a narrow gateway made by shoving aside a sea con-

Please see SOMALIA, A3

Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

Comment

ON THE NATION

Going on
the Attack,
Memo-Style*Mary Matalin's nasty attack
on Clinton may be the Bush
campaign's low point. Now
there's nowhere to go but up.*

BY ROBERT G. BECKEL

WASHINGTON
The nasty memo about Bill Clinton from Bush campaign political director Mary Matalin dominated political coverage last week. Analysts tell us it has backfired miserably on the Bush campaign. Maybe, maybe not.

I know Mary Matalin, Mary Matalin is a friend of mine, that wasn't Mary Matalin's memo. Is she capable of being that tough?

Sure. She is also much too smart to have handed the Clinton campaign the anti-sleaze issue this early. What gives?

First, a memo as explosive as that had to be cleared by the top brass of the campaign. No political director in any presidential campaign I have been around would have the authority to release that kind of attack unilaterally. If he or she did, he or she would be gone—and certainly not have the "full confidence of the President."

So, the big boys knew and approved, maybe even had a hand in writing it.

But it doesn't matter who wrote the memo, but rather what it says about the George Bush-Dan Quayle reelection effort. They are frustrated, flailing and without a clue as to what to do. Except one. To cut Clinton to shreds on the character issue.

The problem is everyone knows, especially the press, this is the only way Bush can get reelected. These are not the halcyon days of '88, when the press and pundits stood by as Michael S. Dukakis was keelhauled.

Call it guilt over missing the story in '88, or just increased awareness of sleaze tactics by the press—it doesn't matter. It won't work this time.

The Bush team knows all this, of course, which makes this latest ham-handed effort to attack Clinton look even dumber than it is. Would it rekindle questions about Clinton? Some. Will it make future, more

Expect this to be a very close election, and expect the outcome to be decided by two or three debates.

subtle attacks less obvious? Probably. Will it be an early enough warning about what they can get away with to avoid embarrassment in the fall? Certainly. Will it be a factor in the outcome of the election? Absolutely not.

But the memo has accomplished something the Clinton campaign should be concerned about. This will mark the low point of the Bush campaign. Everyone—press, pundits, average voters—will tell you that Bush and his campaign are in serious, if not terminal, condition: The gang that can't do anything right. A President more proficient at vomiting than fixing the economy.

In other words, expectations for Bush are at an all-time low just before his convention. Weak, wimpy, not a leader. Sounds eerily like the rap on Bush just before his '88 convention. Then he exceeded expectations—the single most important goal of a presidential campaign—and got on a roll.

My guess is that he will this time, too. Not quite as big as '88, but a roll, nonetheless.

The Clinton people know the luxury of having low expectations and complete control of a national convention. When Clinton went to New York, the public didn't expect much. But when he picked Sen. Al Gore and gave a good speech, he vastly exceeded expectations and hit it out of the park.

If Clinton's expectations were low then, Bush's are almost laughable now. And it's time for his four days in the sun, while his team has a hammerlock on the convention.

So, expect a good show from Bush and his people in Houston. They do conventions well, and Bush has a history of rising to important occasions.

Expect Clinton's lead to shrink dramatically, maybe even to single digits.

Expect the press to report that Bush has begun to turn the corner.

Expect that James A. Baker III will be there to take credit for the turnaround.

Most important, expect this to be a very close election, and expect the outcome to be decided by two or three debates.

Robert G. Beckel, a policy analyst, served as campaign manager for Walter F. Mondale in 1984.

Los Angeles Times

EDITORIALS



of THE TIMES

A Kerosene-Age Approach

When will L.A. school district have a computerized accounting network?

An accountant working by kerosene lamp over a dog-eared ledger is an image rightly assigned to a bygone era. Unless you work for the Los Angeles Unified School District, in which case this scenario is not far off the mark—although at least the district does use electric lights.

Incredibly, the nation's second-largest school system still does not have a computer network. It has instead a hodgepodge of 19 systems that cannot communicate with each other. That means that if there is a shortage of books, a principal or a teacher must call around the city to find surplus texts. It means that accountants reconcile important budgetary information by hand. That's a major reason that, according to auditors,

the district was so slow to detect a \$130-million funding shortage earlier this year.

In the late 1960s the district began to attempt to build a computer network. But tens of millions of dollars later it still doesn't exist, and officials say they do not even know how much has been spent on computer equipment, programs and consultants over the last 25 years. Why? Because the expenditures are not computerized.

The most alarming thing about this cycle of ineptitude is that it isn't at all clear that it's over. A records search and interviews conducted by The Times show that the computer project was stymied by district indecision and infighting, the purchase of incompatible computer systems, loss of staff and funding shortages since

Proposition 13 was enacted. But even if staffing and funding problems were fixed, where is the assurance that more money would be well spent?

And was recent computer work done by the Cordoba Corp., a firm with strong political ties to past and present board members, also part of the problem?

The city needs the answer, because Cordoba is now overseeing the awarding of more than \$24-million in riot-related demolition contracts for Rebuild L.A.

The district must demonstrate that it has a handle on the administrative problems that led to its current computer mess. Los Angeles public school children can't afford a horse-and-buggy approach to their education.

Money's in the Mainstream

Minorities aren't getting fair share of arts funding, study indicates

A recently completed study of grants approved by the National Endowment for the Arts makes it clear that the NEA must do a better job of making sure that minorities get a fair share of arts funding. The NEA is aware of the problem and has been steadily improving its record on this score. But, still, a study by UC Irvine sociology professor Samuel Gilmore showed that only six states have minority funding proportional to their minority populations—and California isn't one of them. Obviously, more needs to be done.

The NEA might take its cue on this from its own expansion arts program, which is designed to help minority and emerging artists and underserved organizations that pre-

sent non-traditional arts. Candidates for these grants—which top out at \$50,000—are found through a variety of methods, including community networking. But these grants are minor compared to regular NEA grants, which range as high as \$1 million for a challenge grant.

Prof. Gilmore, with the cooperation of the NEA, conducted the research in an effort to establish a benchmark from which to judge future grants. His thought was that, given the attack on the NEA from the political right in recent years, there might be a push to limit grants to large, mainstream, Eurocentric arts organizations. His data should provide some ammunition to discourage such a trend.

Gilmore discovered one telling thing: NEA peer panels that are balanced ethnically and racially do a much better job of distributing grants proportionally to the minority population in their areas. To its credit, the NEA increased diversity on its peer panels in the 12-year period ending in 1991. But there's ample room for improvement.

Only recently, the NEA wisely voted to establish a committee to further explore issues of multiculturalism in its grants process.

Quotas aren't necessary; the NEA always should fund the best arts projects that come before it. But more must be done to make sure that all types of artists have the opportunity to compete for the grants.

Los Angeles Times

Comment

ON THE WORLD

Embracing the Carcass of the Cold War

*Candidate Clinton makes
President Bush look like
a dove with his recent
saber-rattling on the Balkans.*

BY ALEXANDER COCKBURN

With his call for air strikes against the Serbs, Bill Clinton offers yet another important reminder that when it comes to foreign policy, the Democrats are well to the right of the Bush Administration. He achieves the difficult feat of making George Bush look good.

The Cold War is over, and candidates for the presidency no longer need rattle their sabers along the campaign trail. There is, in 1992, a real opportunity to change the terms of debate. Faced with this opportunity, Clinton has shrunk back into the familiar blend of war talk and political opportunism.

If ever there was a case for avoiding partisan commitment, dismembered Yugoslavia is surely it. But Clinton now seeks to align the United States with Germany, which, with considerable success, has been trying to reconstruct the Nazis' World War II sphere of influence in the Balkans.

Anyone quite properly denouncing Serbian atrocities and "ethnic cleansing" should devote equal attention to the designs and behavior of the Croats and Bosnians, whose leaders' rhetoric has been couched at a level of nationalist and religious bigotry often outstripping that of the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic.

When the Serbs invoke the religious pogroms of the Nazi puppet state of Croatia in World War II, which saw the slaughter, in the name of Catholicism, of 750,000 to 1.2 million Serbs (along with Jews and Gypsies), their anguished memories are often treated as reminiscences of a distant past, irrelevant to the present.

But suppose, to take an analogy, that enclaves of European Jewry had survived in Germany after the war and were now confronted by the blood-curdling threats of a German government brandishing the Nazi flag. Would memories of wartime genocide be irrelevant? Croatia's president, Franjo Tudjman, already notorious for his defense of Hitler's racial policies, has chosen as the flag for the new Croat republic a design virtually identical to that of the old Nazi puppet republic.

Yugoslavia is a patchwork of nationalist anxiety, paranoia and religious bigotry. No ethnic or religious group, whether Catholic, Muslim or Orthodox, is immune from blame for the horrors now unfolding. Such is the mess into which candidate Clinton, seeking to capitalize on the hysterical anti-Serb tilt of the U.S. press, now urges military intervention against Serbia.

This is not an isolated example of Clinton's instinctive recourse to war talk and Cold War posturing. His discussions of Iraq these days take the form of tub-thumping oratory about President Bush's wimpish failure to go far enough in bombing Iraqis and punishing Saddam Hussein.

Cuba is yet another instance where Clinton has surrendered to hawkishness, this time on behalf of the most violent and fanatical lobby in the United States, the Cuban exiles massed in southern Florida. Back in April, at a rally in Miami's Little Havana, Clinton publicly endorsed a bill known as the Cuban Democracy Act. This bill mandates U.S. economic sanctions against any country or U.S. corporate subsidiary doing business with Cuba. The bill has been opposed by the White House.

Clinton's surrender to the exile lobby was bought fairly cheaply, with a \$75,000 contribution to his campaign. In return, Clinton declared, "I think this Administration has missed a big opportunity to put down the hammer on Fidel Castro and Cuba."

This is the candidate of change?

On the issue of Israel, Clinton has carried water for the spiritual soulmates of those fanatical Cuban exiles. At a moment when Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III were pressuring Yitzhak Shamir and his Likud coalition toward the conference table, candidate Clinton was howling for unconditional U.S. guarantees of the \$10 billion earmarked by Shamir for the financing of further illegal settlements.

Finally, judge Clinton by his posture on Haiti. Here at least is a chance for Clinton to make a convincing case for stringent sanctions and for a U.S. posture designed to restore the democratically elected leader, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. But Haitians somehow fail to excite the passions aroused by Bosnians in Clinton's heart. His pollsters probably tell him that America's "forgotten middle class" doesn't care for victims who are brown, very poor and near at hand.

Alexander Cockburn writes for the *Nation* and other publications.

Los Angeles Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 A11

Commentary

DRAWINGBOARD / MacNELLY

MacNELLY
Chicago Tribune



By William Costello of Newspaper Enterprise Association for USA TODAY

Is the U.N. being stretched too thin?

INTERVIEW

Former ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick says U.N. not equipped to handle its growing role.

Q: The United Nations suddenly is facing dozens of crises. Can it handle them?

A: U.N. institutions only work in hard cases, like invasions and war, where some country or countries are willing to assume leadership and take on heavy burdens, including putting together a coalition and maintaining that coalition. The United States and George Bush did that in the case of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Without U.S. leadership and the huge American military commitments, that operation simply could not have taken place.

Q: What happens when there is no leadership?

A: In the absence of such leadership either from the U.S. or any Western European group or country, there's been no comparable action in the continuing terrible crisis in what was Yugoslavia.

Q: And other places as well. How many places are U.N. forces engaged now?

A: The role has dramatically expanded. There were, I think, 13 instances of U.N. peacekeeping in the years prior to 1988 and there are 15 in operation today — at last count.

Q: Why such a change?

A: The explanation of that is very simple: It is that the Cold War basically paralyzed the U.N. institutions.

Q: When you were ambassador in the '80s, would the Security Council have acted against Iraq or addressed some of these other problems?

A: It wouldn't have been possible at any previous time in U.N. history. The only comparable peace enforcement action that ever was taken by the U.N. was in Korea when North Korea invaded South Korea. It happened because the Soviet Union walked out. And while the Soviets were out, the rest of the members of the Security Council passed the resolution, which would have been vetoed by the Soviets had they not walked out. The Soviets never made that mistake again.

Q: Is the U.N. equipped for its new, burgeoning role?

A: No, it is not. The United Nations is not a country or an independent actor in world affairs; it is an arena in which the member states make policy. They make decisions. They provide money. They provide troops. What the U.N. can do depends above all on the decisions of the member states. The secretariat is responsible for the administration of some permanent agencies of the U.N., but these permanent agencies of the U.N. cannot take on the peacemaking and peacekeeping functions.

Jeane Kirkpatrick is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and former ambassador to the United Nations. Today's Q&A was edited from remarks she made in an interview with USA TODAY's Michael Katz.

The costs of peace

The U.N. will spend \$1.9 billion this year to deploy 46,597 peacekeepers around the world, with the largest contingent of 19,500 troops located in Cambodia to deter civil war. Peacekeeping forces in other parts of the world:



Country	Troops
Angola	440
Oversee elections after years of civil war	
Western Sahara	375
Oversee vote on independence from Morocco	
Somalia	550
Supervise civil war cease-fire, humanitarian aid	
Lebanon	5,800
Oversee 1978 Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon	
Israeli borders	1,600
Since 1949, separate Israel and Arab neighbors	
Iraq	549
Post-gulf war buffer between Iraq and Kuwait	
Cyprus	2,200
Since 1964, separate Greek, Turkish communities	
India/Pakistan	40
Supervise 1949 cease-fire	
El Salvador	549
Supervise 1991 civil war peace accord	
Yugoslavia	15,000
Separate warring factions; humanitarian aid	

Source: The United Nations

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

SOMALIA

On lack of attention for Somalia:

There has been less attention on the misery in Somalia in the public focus. Ask the media why.

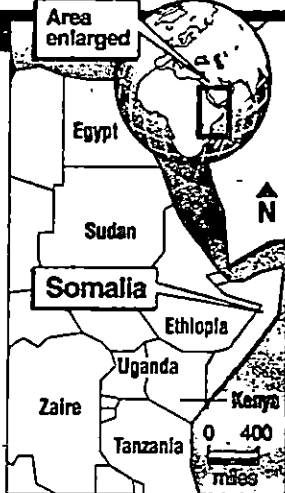
It's the media that have failed to focus on them, just as there has been for so long so much less focus on human rights violations in Burma, and in Vietnam for that matter, and in China. There's an element of arbitrariness about where the media focus and where the international institutions focus. It's very important that these major disasters be brought into international focus and international attention.

On U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali saying some members are concerned only about rich people's wars:

I think that was an ill-considered comment by Boutros-Ghali. The fact is that most of the peacekeeping operations in the world take place in what is called the Third World. Most of the troops and most of the money are in places like Cambodia and Namibia and Angola.

On money problems of the U.N.:

I have a lot of sympathy with his concern about the Security Council, members of the Security Council committing the



U.N. to major expenditures of money, which they are then slow in providing. Obviously, the member states have to pay for the operations that they authorize relevant to the maintenance of peace, no question about that. We pay a very large portion of the peacekeeping expenses. Larger than any other country. Larger than our general contributions to the U.N. system.

On the job Boutros-Ghali is doing so far as secretary general:

I wouldn't [comment]. He hasn't been there long enough. I think we just have to wait and see.

OTHER TROUBLE SPOTS

On preventing civil war in Cambodia:

Some of those troops are going to have to start carrying weapons and be prepared to shoot. Maybe not those troops, but where we send large numbers of troops into an area on the assumption that there is peace, that either must be a realistic assumption or they must send some portion of troops through there to use force as necessary to carry out their mission.

On possible U.N. presence in South Africa:

That was a monitoring proposal. If the government of South Africa and the principal members agree on U.N. monitoring, it ought to work. But South Africa is a big country.

On calls for U.N. becoming involved in the ethnic dis-

putes in places like Armenia and Azerbaijan:

I think we're going to have to develop more realistic notions about the distinctions among the different kinds of peace-making, peacekeeping and peace-enforcement missions which, by the way, Secretary General Boutros-Ghali did very well in his report called the "Peace Agenda." But we're also going to have to be more realistic about the requirements of collective security, I think. And we've also got to be more realistic about the requirements for leadership, the United States and the other major democracies.

On getting involved in many regions:

It's not enough to get involved. This is one of the things Iraq shows. Get involved and be prepared to stay involved.

Kirkpatrick on ...

YUGOSLAVIA

On whether to get out:
No, I don't think the U.N. should get out. The U.N. sent peacekeeping troops, who have been performing a useful function in Croatia. That's where they were originally assigned. There was a cease-fire in Croatia and they were sent to monitor the peace and keep the former combatants separated. The U.N. has sent no troops into Bosnia-Herzegovina, except to deliver humanitarian aid to civilians under very heavy siege.

On protecting children:

Those U.N. troops are peacekeeping troops. They're not engaged in fighting war. Many of them are not even armed. They're really not engaged in protecting the children. They're trying to deliver resources into Sarajevo, which has been blockaded and under siege, or to Goradze, another part of Bosnia which has been under siege.

On military involvement:

I have felt that it was time for a limited commitment, air and naval power, for quite some time. I have felt for at least six weeks that there was urgent need for action. I really believe that the European Community should take the initiative, but if the EC does not, then it's appropriate for the United States to do so. I don't think there should be any commitment of ground forces.

On possible actions:

Fighting forces are in the neighborhood. There are major European and American naval carriers and ships off the coast of Croatia and Bosnia that could provide a much tighter embargo on Serbia. They could provide air deter-



rence by selective attacks on Serbian naval bases and planes. They could focus on attacks on fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters, which have done so much damage to the civilian populations in Bosnia. They could also distinguish between the Bosnians who are the victims and the Serbians who are the victimizers in the arms embargo because it's the Serbians who have the arms.

On new holocaust:

I think it's terrible. We are living through a terrible massacre and we're doing very little — we collectively, the civilized, generous, strong, well-armed democracies of the West. I am not the only one who has thought, as we have listened to Western governments explain why it isn't feasible to take out the Serbian planes that are bombing Goradze and the airport in Sarajevo, about the lame excuses with which people explain why they never bombed Auschwitz at the time the Nazi forces were killing.

IRAQ

On Saddam Hussein and U.N. inspections:

Saddam Hussein made some commitments that were unconditional to destroy his weapons of mass destruction and to provide access that would permit international monitoring, and he has simply ceased doing that. By the time he permitted U.N. inspectors to enter, there was more than ample opportunity to remove anything of any interest.

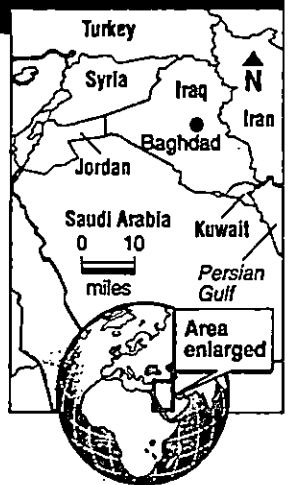
On removal of Americans from inspection team:

The compromise was ill-considered and unfortunate because what it constituted was a release of Saddam Hussein from the obligations imposed with the cease-fire. It was on the basis of those commitments that the forces engaged in Desert Storm ceased their assault on Saddam's forces.

On future Saddam challenges:

What he's doing is engaging in a kind of unilateral renegotiation of that cease-fire agreement. He's withdrawn cooperation from the boundary commission, which is engaged in a settling of the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait. He's engaged in violating the terms of the cease-fire with regard to the delivery of humanitarian goods by UNICEF. He has engaged in the violation of the cease-fire by using fixed-wing aircraft to attack Shiite populations in the south, where he's also engaged in heavy repression.

On Western allies acting



unilaterally:

We undertook to deprive Saddam Hussein of the ability to disturb the peace and security of the region. We made a firm commitment to restore peace and security in the region and ensure that Saddam Hussein did not again disturb it. Now, we should carry that out.

On what should happen in next standoff:

Saddam should be required to continue to implement all of the terms of the cease-fire and, if he does not, he should suffer dramatic retaliation.

On Western troop exercises being a provocation:

I don't think the administration's going to do anything unilaterally. I don't think anybody's looking for provocation. When you're dealing with Saddam Hussein, he needs no provocation.

Today's debate is on **AIDING ISRAEL**
and whether it's in the interests of the United States.

Aid now could nudge Mideast toward peace

OUR VIEW U.S. should reward
Israeli moderation
but not break promises to
Palestinians.

The secret to achieving a Mideast peace may be in knowing how to bend but not break.

New Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has shown that ability. Now, his host this week in Maine, President Bush, should reciprocate.

On Sunday, Rabin's government bent Israeli tradition by saying it's foolish to outlaw talk between Israelis and members of the PLO.

And he has ended a rigid settlements policy by scrapping his predecessor's costly plans to build 6,771 more homes in Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

Peace moves

New Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has moved to support the Mideast peace process by:

► Stopping 6,671 houses in the occupied territories.

► Seeking to end prohibitions against contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

► Vowing to provide some limited self-rule to Palestinians by early 1993.

Now the Bush administration can bend a little, too. It should agree to provide some of the \$10 billion in loan guarantees Israel needs to resettle 420,000 former Soviet Jews.

Bush denied such aid to former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir because of Shamir's inflexible push to expand Israel. By tossing out Palestinians to implant Jewish immigrants, Shamir violated U.N. and U.S. policy, inflamed Arab passions and built a roadblock to peace.

Rabin's moderation offers hope for peace, and Israel should be rewarded while the U.S. continues to watch its actions closely.

Promising as Rabin's changes are, he hasn't turned back the clock. He plans to continue 8,700 homes already under construction and supports 1,000 others in areas he thinks vital to Israeli security.

That's why Bush shouldn't approve all the loan guarantees right now.

U.S. aid should depend on Israel's showing continued moderation to achieve peace. And Rabin's government must continue to find ways to tear down obstacles to an accord to earn credit.

► Peace talks set, 1A

Aid is waste of money

OPPOSING VIEW Don't hand
more billions
to Israeli bureaucrats; taxpayers
could use the money at home.

The Bush administration should not guarantee immigrant-absorption loans — or provide any foreign aid — for Israel no matter what conditions the new Rabin government accedes to.

Foreign aid transfers wealth from American taxpayers to Israeli bureaucrats. Undoubtedly, each taxpayer could think of better ways to spend his own money. Any American wishing to resettle Russian Jews in Israel can do so directly.

On Israel's end, the billions of dollars our guarantees would make possible will be controlled by bureaucrats to build roads, bridges, sewage facilities and housing. "Boondoggle" is written all over the project. As we should have learned from commu-



By Sheldon L. Richman, senior editor, Cato Institute.

nism's collapse, governments can't manage economies. Their decisions are no match for entrepreneurs risking their own assets in a free market.

Israel's state-dominated economy is so poorly run that almost half the immigrants from the former Soviet Union are unemployed. Most of the rest are underemployed: Physicists are sweeping streets, concert musicians drive taxis. Conditions are so bad that the flow of immigrants has plummeted by 70%. Out-migration exceeds immigration.

Why should giving Israel's government more money make it any wiser? Stubborn economic planners never will give up as long as U.S. largess forestalls the inevitable day of reckoning.

As the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies in Jerusalem says, Israelis don't need handouts. They need capitalism. The investment and trading opportunities that would be stimulated by property rights, personal liberty and self-determination in a free-market context would benefit the Palestinians, the Israelis and the whole region.

Economic freedom is the road to both riches and peace.

Making milk safe

On another subject, USA TODAY says more safety studies are needed on hormone-treated cows.

Milk from cows treated with a genetically engineered hormone could be hazardous to your health. But government hasn't bothered to find out.

That mistake, unveiled in a report Monday by Congress' General Accounting Office, suggests FDA was asleep at the switch.

Sales of the milk and beef from treated cows — now a handful of research animals contributing less than 1% of the nation's milk — should be halted until safety is reviewed. As GAO suggests, commercial approval should be delayed.

But the public should not make the mistake of blaming genetic engineering for the potential health risk.

The problem GAO found wasn't in the engineering of the cow hormone, BGH. It was a side effect from using it.

The hormone can cause an udder infection that requires treatment with antibiotics. Those antibiotics then can get into milk and pose unknown health risks to those who drink it.

The concerns: Potential allergic reactions to antibiotics; built-up resistance to antibiotics; undetected use of a cancer-causing antibiotic, now banned but formerly used to treat the udder disease.

The too-hasty marketing of BGH-laced meat and milk should worry both sides of the genetic-engineering debate.

In addition to possibly jeopardizing health, it may raise unwarranted fears about genetically engineered products among people understandably nervous about tinkering with Mother Nature.

In food alone, that could cheat consumers of products ranging from better-tasting tomatoes to low-cholesterol beef.

No one has yet found genetically engineered foods to be a health threat. But government neglect of testing might be.

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Defense—You Get What You Pay For

By EARL C. RAVENAL

In this presidential campaign, one substantive policy issue has been subjected to more than the usual amount of nonsense: defense. Even supposed experts (plausible aspirants for cabinet and sub-cabinet positions in one or another administration in January 1993) either deliberately or unwittingly mis-state the logic of the defense budget. Typically, those who would like to distinguish themselves for bold and fresh thinking suggest that the defense budget could be cut by 40% or 50%, to about \$150 billion a year, without diminishing American influence around the world.

To understand why this sort of "fresh thinking" won't work, we have to understand what drives defense programs. Critics have a tendency to attribute defense spending to the bureaucratic ambitions of the military, or to the sinister machinations of what President Eisenhower's speechwriter in January 1961 called (apparently indelibly) the "military-industrial complex." They have nurtured the myth that the Pentagon wastes appreciable portions of its annual budget, and that virtually all of this waste could be identified and recovered.

There are legitimate areas for differing opinions and for public debate. But the debate should not be skewed by illusions about what it costs to maintain American influence on the conduct of nations in other regions of the world. Typically, defense critics propose budgets that won't buy their forces and forces that won't support their strategies.

The Persian Gulf War took about 45% of the U.S. active world-wide forces, and that was at a time when the U.S. still had 21 ground divisions in its active force structure. The Bush administration's "Base Force Concept" would preserve only 15 active ground divisions, with other general-purpose forces similarly downsized.

How many such "three-quarter-size"

Wars—or even confrontations short of war, requiring the deployment of deterrent forces—can the U.S. simultaneously sustain in the future? The administration's "regional force strategy" would have the U.S. able to sustain two such confrontations simultaneously. Thus, while some marginal congressional trimming of administration requests can be accommodated, it is reasonable to conclude that the U.S. could not project effective influence into other regions of the world with much less than the \$275 billion the Pentagon thinks it needs to spend in 1997.

Oh, yes, say the liberal critics, but you are emphasizing "military instruments" (which cost all the money) and ignoring the supposed efficacy of "non-military instruments" such as diplomacy, economic activity, and perhaps even our country's moral rectitude and attractive society (if we could only persuade other nations of this supposedly obvious fact). Indeed, a leading proponent of the thesis that the U.S. is "rich" in such elements of "soft power" explained recently that we could achieve equivalent influence at negligible cost by establishing American libraries in other countries. If that is what it takes, I say put the first one in Baghdad.

In fact, even the most benign projections of American influence around the world (such as participation in defensive alliances with attractive allies), as well as the most obviously destructive extensions of American power (such as the forcible repulse of regional aggression), depend on the maintenance and deployability of large and technologically potent American forces. Such forces cost more than libraries. To keep one ground division in the force structure costs \$5.25 billion year. A wing of tactical aircraft costs \$2 billion. To keep one aircraft carrier task force forward costs \$12 billion. That is unavoidable military economics, not presumptively avoidable waste, bureaucratic special-

pleading or corporate fraud.

What is really "up for grabs" is the Bush administration's proposition of a "new world order"—collective security that would be underpinned, and dominated, by the U.S.

It is fair to say that the administration's liberal critics prefer this vision but do not want to pay for it. I say that a Bush-type world order requires a Bush-sized defense budget. If we don't want that defense budget, we have to consider adjusting American foreign policy to a rather different kind of world: a much more fragmented international system, with a dozen and a half regional powers playing various autonomous roles, and most of them not particularly subject to American dictates or desires.

This system of "general unalignment" would be a messy and uncontrollable system, occasionally unnerving in some of its manifestations (e.g., local aggression and violence); but it would be far from unlivable for the U.S., and certainly not terminally dangerous.

If we accepted it, we could have that \$150 billion defense budget (or, in my more detailed calculation, \$158 billion, by 1997 and in 1993 dollars). But with such a budget, and with the forces that it would reliably buy, we could not exert much influence (the kind that still counts, and the only kind that makes much of a difference) in the world that is distant from our own borders. We would have a non-interventionist foreign policy and a national strategy of disengagement.

I would accept such a world. Others would not. But it does no good to mis-state the costs of either position. What is at stake is, literally, a choice of worlds.

Mr. Ravenal, a former Pentagon official, teaches at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

A Fruitless Massacre in California

By JAMES BOVARD

Federal agencies have busied themselves in recent years lecturing the public on the need to eat more fresh fruits and vegetables. Nowhere in the pronouncements of the surgeon general and other health officials has there been a warning: Do not eat small-sized fruit. Yet Agriculture Department officials seem to believe that small-sized nectarines and peaches are so dangerous that the entire force of the federal government must be marshaled to ban their sale.

The Agriculture Department has placed a death sentence on as many as 500 million California peaches and nectarines. The San Joaquin Valley is littered with piles of rotting fruit — a feast for the worms. Once again, Agriculture Department marketing orders are seeking to achieve prosperity by mandating waste.

It is a federal crime for California farmers to sell nectarines less than 2 3/8 inches in diameter and peaches less than 2 7/16 inches in diameter. Because the San Joaquin Valley had good growing weather this year, the harvest has yielded a larger than usual number of slightly smaller fruits. The federal size restrictions may be effectively condemning more nectarines and peaches than ever before.

The Agriculture Department issued a decree explaining its long-standing nectarine policy in the June 19 Federal Register: "The minimum size requirements established for California nectarines recognize that larger sized nectarines provide

greater consumer satisfaction than those of smaller sizes." And, since many people prefer larger nectarines, the department made it a federal crime to sell smaller nectarines — and sent in the nectarine police to enforce its dictates. Agriculture Department bureaucrats appear to believe that if consumers see small nectarines in the grocery store, they may become spooked and never buy nectarines again.

Federal and state agricultural bureaucrats can be extremely condescending toward farmers, claiming to need dictatorial power over some of the nation's farmers to protect those farmers against themselves. The only catch is, the bureaucrats usually know as little as or less than the farmers. The California Tree Fruit Agreement administers federal and state farm marketing standards. Its John Field, when asked on July 27 about studies to justify restrictions on small nectarine sales, replied: "We don't have any empirical studies . . . but if you look at price quotes for plums, that would kind of indicate intuitively that there is not a great demand for" small nectarines and peaches. Government officials are effectively imposing tens of thousands of dollars of penalties on growers based on bureaucrats' guesses about consumer preferences on fruit.

Dan Gerawan, California's largest nectarine and peach farmer and the leading opponent of the controls, observes: "Through the years, the CTFA has continuously raised the minimum size regulations. While a certain small size may have

been a quality, edible fruit one year, the following year it would be . . . no longer of edible quality."

On May 15 Mr. Gerawan's lawyer, Clifford Kemper, wrote Dan Haley, administrator of the Agriculture Department's Agricultural Marketing Service, asking for an emergency suspension of the minimum size restrictions on California nectarines and peaches. The Agriculture Department replied that it had requested the California Nectarine Administrative Committee to "undertake market research to determine the effect of fruit size on consumer preferences for fresh California nectarines and peaches," and promised that information would be available by Dec. 31.

But, in the meantime, the U.S. attorney in Fresno, Calif., has filed to get a federal injunction against Mr. Gerawan and a \$100 fine for every box of undersized fruit he sells. (The boxes were fetching less than \$10 each.) Mr. Gerawan had been selling his small peaches and nectarines in South Los Angeles, providing fresh fruit for inner-city buyers. Federal regulators apparently feared that allowing poor blacks to pay lower prices for small fruit would make it more difficult for the Agriculture Department to force the rich to pay higher prices for large fruit.

Administrator Haley insists the marketing orders are democratic because large majorities of farmers vote for the controls in referendums. But this is a perversion of true democracy, effectively giving less efficient farmers the power to

bushwhack more efficient competitors.

The Agriculture Department may have rigged last year's peach and nectarine referendums to perpetuate marketing orders—and jobs for a handful of federal and state bureaucrats. Regulations require that orders be supported by two-thirds of growers; fewer than two-thirds of peach and nectarine growers supported marketing orders, but the Agriculture Department claimed that the growers who did support the orders accounted for just over two-thirds of the volume of peach and nectarine production.

The referendum itself would have made Chicago blush: The Agriculture Department announced after the vote that 6% of the ballots had been "challenged"—but refused to disclose who had challenged them, whose ballots were disqualified or why they were nixed. The process was secret, with partisan electoral judges possibly manipulating the results for their own benefit. Since marketing orders are a Soviet-style command-and-control system, perhaps it is appropriate that the Agriculture Department also allows the farmers only Soviet-style elections.

Rep. George Miller (D., Calif.) recently put a large number of illegal nectarines in the House member's private dining room. The fruits were avidly consumed — with no complaints about their size. Rep. Miller is gathering co-signers for a letter to Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan demanding that the department end its ban on relatively small nectarines and peaches.

George Bush could abolish all of these supply controls with a stroke of his pen. Unfortunately, Mr. Bush is apparently too busy warning voters that Bill Clinton and Al Gore secretly favor Big Government to bother liberating American farmers.

Mr. Bovard, a former peach picker, writes often on public policy.

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The Choice Divide

People who think the differences between George Bush and Bill Clinton aren't significant ought to take a close look at education. The differences are deep and clear.

President Bush supports a G.I. Bill for Kids that would let low and moderate income parents use vouchers to send their children to the school of their choice — *public or private*. Governor Clinton says he favors choice for public schools but *opposes* vouchers for parents who wish to send their children to private schools.

There was a time when education reformers had high hopes that Bill Clinton would break free of his party's knee-jerk alliance with the teachers' unions and steer an independent course. In late 1990, Mr. Clinton wrote to Polly Williams, the spunky Wisconsin Democratic legislator who pushed through a dramatic voucher program that includes private schools.

"I am fascinated by that proposal," Governor Clinton wrote. "I'm concerned that the traditional Democratic Party establishment has not given you more encouragement. The visionary is rarely embraced by the status quo."

That was in 1990. The Bill Clinton who is now running for President spent an afternoon last month pandering to the National Education Association's convention. He came out against the public-private educational choice model backed by Polly Williams and an overwhelming majority of black Americans. When Mr. Clinton stated his opposition to choice for private schools, the NEA's delegates gave him its loudest cheers.

A week later the Clinton-dictated Democratic Party platform declared that private school choice would "bankrupt the public school system." Polly Williams says the platform is reactionary on choice. "Ask black parents and they will tell you the school systems went bankrupt in terms of results years ago," she says. "Let's not throw good money after bad. Let's challenge them to do better."

Let's look at the state of the public-private choice movement that Governor Clinton opposes and President Bush supports.

Educational choice backers in California this year collected more than 900,000 signatures to place a choice initiative on this November's ballot. The education establishment responded by using intimidation and public resources to block the collection of signatures. When it became obvious the initiative would qualify, one teacher told us that his colleagues signed multiple copies of the petition to skew the samples. Sure enough, the validity of samples in some counties was so abnormally low that the initiative failed to qualify in time for the November ballot.

Some Colorado choice activists were so incensed at these tactics that they vowed to qualify their own choice initiative. It would grant students who want to attend a private school a \$2,500 annual state scholarship, about half the cost of a public-school education. In just two months they collected nearly double the necessary number of signatures. This November, Colorado voters will see a true battle over education. The first independent poll shows choice leading 48% to 39%, but the teachers' unions will no doubt spend millions to defeat it.

Bill Clinton and the teachers' unions can't stomp out all the choice brushfires around the U.S. Business leaders, for instance, are going forward with their own programs. Pat Rooney, the CEO of Golden Rule Insurance Co., got the ball rolling in Indianapolis last year by giving out 500 scholarships so that low-income children could attend private schools. Since then the Bradley Foundation in Milwaukee has set up a similar program. So too has a group called Charity for Choice in largely black Prince George's County, Maryland.

Just this week, the Georgia Public Policy Foundation announced that it has raised more than \$1 million to provide scholarships so that low-income parents in the Atlanta area can send their children to private schools. In each case, parents have to come up with 50% of the tuition, though all fees will be waived for some students.

Whether they are concerned about classroom violence or plunging SAT scores, Americans are demanding structural changes in their schools. But the educational establishment is too comfortable with a ponderous status quo to recognize the ferment going on around it.

At their recent convention, the NEA promised to fight not only vouchers but Chris Whittle's Edison Project, which plans to open hundreds of private schools without any vouchers by 1997. Mr. Whittle is also under attack for his Channel One, a 12-minute daily news program he beams into some 40% of U.S. classrooms.

The NEA has written stern letters to 20 of Mr. Whittle's advertisers, demanding that they stop supplying the two minutes of ads that Channel One carries. Among the advertisers targeted by the NEA are Colgate Palmolive, Quaker Oats, Gillette, Procter & Gamble, Pepsi-Cola, M&M-Mars, Nike Inc., Burger King, Nintendo, Kellogg, Sprint and Taco Bell.

Bill Clinton has had interesting education ideas in the past, but when he himself had to choose between real reform and "the traditional Democratic Party establishment" he didn't hesitate. Bill Clinton is now the pet of the teachers' unions.

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China Riot

Just over the border from Hong Kong, the Chinese have the special economic zone of Shenzhen. A riot broke out there Sunday when some half a million people turned up eager to buy new shares about to be issued at a combined face value of just under \$1 billion.

Drawn by the hope of huge profits on the new shares, the horde of would-be buyers waited hours in the southern China summer heat, and finally stormed the barricades set up to control the queue. The fracas had to be broken up by club-wielding police.

This riot is the kind of event that won't go down well with stability-conscious Beijing. The Shenzhen Stock Exchange has been hailed as a symbol of China's renewed lurch toward free markets. What we're seeing in Shenzhen, however, is the chaos that results when a government tries to graft free-market characteristics onto a basically socialist system.

What those would-be stockholders ran into in Shenzhen wasn't a free market. It was a system of share rationing, souped-up with a little lottery action, followed perhaps by a market.

China's rules are that would-be buyers must queue—first-come, first-served—to buy an application to buy shares. (This is what the frustrated crowd was waiting for in Shenzhen Sunday.) A lottery is then held to draw 10% of the applications, and the lucky winners are then allowed to buy up to 1,000 shares. This is the same setup that produced riots at the Shanghai exchange earlier this year, and will predictably produce more riots as long as new share issues are priced far below what they would probably bring in an open market.

Part of the elegant efficiency of a market system's flexible pricing is

that buyers who see an opportunity for big profits will signal this information to the market by bidding up the price. As the price rises, demand drops to match supply. Presto, no queues, more money for the seller, more information about the appropriate value of resources—and no riots. But under socialist rationing, you can't pay more, so instead you must wait longer, and the price becomes useless as a signal of the real value. The same system for years produced bread lines in Moscow and pork queues in China; now it is producing stock mobs in Shenzhen.

With stocks in China, there's the additional problem that even the patient and lucky applicants who finally get to buy shares must still keep a wary eye on the latest Communist Party fad. No property holder can be sure of impartial treatment under the law, because China still lacks a coherent and impartial legal system. There are no institutional checks against periodic purges of liberal thinkers who favor such developments as free markets and stock exchanges.

To clean up all those problems and build what the modern world would recognize as a genuine free market will probably require the demise of the Communist Party in China. But if the Chinese authorities want to at least tackle the trouble one step at a time, they can start in Shenzhen by recalling that in free markets, free prices provide the mechanism for matching supply and demand. Any capitalist salesman can tell you that anytime you have 500,000 people waiting for hours under a hot sun for a chance to apply for a 1 in 10 chance to buy your product, you would probably be better off with a setup that allows you to charge more.

Asides

Politics and Crime

Democrats were incensed yesterday that Attorney General William Barr declined to appoint an independent counsel to investigate the administration's pre-war policies toward

Iraq. The Democrats suspect crimes were committed. That policy was indeed flawed, but these efforts to criminalize policy ensure that policymaking, under *any* administration, will continue to deteriorate.

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A Message for Houston

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp and six Republicans in the House and Senate sent a memo last week to politicians close to President Bush. We reprint excerpts below:

For: Robert Teeter, Fred Malek, Robert Mosbacher

From: Jack Kemp, Vin Weber, Newt Gingrich, Connie Mack, Trent Lott, Bob Kasten, Malcolm Wallop

Re: Convention, Campaign, and Republican Platform

As the president and the Bush-Quayle campaign prepare for the Republican National Convention, the Republican Party, under President Bush's leadership, must define the principles upon which we plan to govern during the second term.

The formula with which our party won in 1980, 1984, and 1988 will win again in 1992. It is the classical formula for economic growth. We recommend that the Republican platform be based on the following principles:

I. Provide a sound environment for strong economic growth and job creation.

We should be aiming to double the size of our economy, to \$10 trillion from the present \$5 trillion, in no more than a dozen years. We must commit to economic growth rates of 3%-6%, rather than accepting anemic 1%-2% growth.

To put these numbers in perspective, consider that if the U.S. economy had grown at 3% instead of 0.7% over the past four years, Americans would have produced an additional \$978 billion in goods and services, created eight million additional jobs, and, as a consequence, paid \$251 billion in additional tax revenues. If the U.S. economy slips further below its long-term potential to grow, the cumulative loss will exceed \$3 trillion.

We can end this growth deficit and achieve our economic goals by committing our party to a flatter, lower, simpler tax system for America. Our goal should not be to pursue a purely flat tax for ideological reasons, but to reduce the 4,000 pages of the tax code to 40, or better yet, to four.

The Achilles heel of the Democrats is the graduated nature of their tax proposals, including a 38% top rate and a confiscatory surtax. While they claim to target "the rich," the consequences of those higher rates will surely be borne by middle-class and poor families.

Gov. Clinton's claim that he will only raise taxes on the rich is a fraud. There are not enough incomes above \$1 million to

fund the Democratic spending machine. If the tax rate on incomes above \$1 million were raised to 38%, the total revenues collected would be less than \$7 billion.

Not that the present system is fair — Americans are already overtaxed. For people making just over \$15,000 a year in 1992, the effective marginal tax rate is 47%, compared to only 23% in the mid-1960s. [The 47% figure reflects a 15% income tax rate, a 15% payroll tax, and the jolt of the phase out of the earned income tax credit.] The 1990 budget deal increased the top federal effective marginal rate to 34% from 28% for a family of four, a 21%

The formula with which the Republican Party won in 1980, 1984, and 1988 will win again in 1992. It is the classical formula for economic growth.

increase. In effect, we have witnessed the incremental repeal of the original Reagan-Bush program.

However, should the president just resort to old Republican exhortations about the balanced budget amendment or the line-item veto, as good and nobly intended as they are, the American people will quickly lose interest. We should adopt the following program:

- Reduce income tax rates on all working families. The personal income tax rate should be cut across the board, dropping the 15% rate to 12%, and capping the top rate at 28%.

- Phase in an increase in the personal exemption, which has failed to keep pace with inflation, to help relieve the tax burden on families. Our ultimate goal should be to restore the exemption to the Truman level, which in current dollars would be over \$6,000. Clearly this would be a major building block for stable families.

- Reduce the capital gains tax to a maximum of 15% and to zero for long term investments. Capital gains must also be exempt from the Alternative Minimum Tax.

- Index the capital gains tax by executive order to end the confiscatory practice of taxing illusory gains caused by inflation. Ordinary Americans are sitting on several hundred billion dollars of mythical gains to investments. A couple who invested in stocks worth \$10,000 20 years ago and then sold them for \$37,000 today would be liable for a tax of more than \$10,000 even though the real value of the investment remains unchanged.

- Enact a neutral cost recovery system that would allow businesses to recover the full present value of their investment in new equipment.

- Ensure that inflation moves toward zero and that interest rates return to the low and stable levels of the 1950s and 1960s. This can be accomplished by requiring the Federal Reserve to follow price level targeting, a practice Federal Reserve Governor Wayne Angell has advocated and Alan Greenspan has tacitly adopted. Republicans must stop lecturing the Fed about printing more dollars simply to expand M1, M2, or M3.

- Require a three-fifths majority of Congress to increase tax rates.

II. Restore the balance between the public and private sectors.

In the past four years, the budget's share of the economy has rebounded from about 22% to nearly 25%. Today the budget deficit stands at roughly \$220 billion, or 5.5% of GDP, up from \$130 billion, or 3.0% of the economy in 1989.

The [resulting] threat of higher tax rates has led people to withhold their risk-capital and curtail their investments. This is why new business start-ups, which contributed three-quarters of the 19 million new jobs created in the 1980s, are languishing. [The U.S. should:]

- Join ranks with Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia, Mexico, Argentina, as well as numerous states and cities, to privatize state-run businesses, sell assets, and contract out services.

- Adopt a domestic spending freeze.
- Implement the president's planned cuts in defense spending.

- Contain the rate of entitlement growth to inflation plus population growth, or other similar proposals. Such a proposal would still allow 5%-6% annual increases in entitlement spending.

Another burden of government is excessive regulation and the lack of competition in government services. Americans must have access to an educational system that faces the rigors of market competition.

- Educational Reform. Guarantee educational choice for all parents, not just wealthy families. Encourage the expan-

sion of magnet school programs throughout the country. Develop a public-private partnership that would provide college loans to low-income students, provided they stay in school, make the grades, remain drug-free, and otherwise qualify.

III. Stop the war on the poor.
Government's well-intentioned but misguided programs entrap the poor in poverty.

On this issue, the Democratic Party has betrayed its principles. For all their talk about concern for the poor, the Democrats in the House of Representatives denied 150 of America's poorest neighborhoods the benefits of Enterprises Zones.

Nothing should unite the American people more than our program for economic growth and revitalization of America's inner cities and poorest rural areas.

- Enterprise Zones. The capital gains tax should be eliminated for anyone who works, saves, or invests in an Enterprise Zone firm. Low-income people working in Enterprise Zones should be given a wage credit. Any impoverished community that qualifies should be entitled to Enterprise Zone status.

- Urban Homesteading. A winnable war on poverty must include giving low-income families access to private property, especially homeownership.

- Radical Welfare Reform. The rules of the welfare system must be changed to eliminate the barriers to marriage, work, saving, and entrepreneurship for welfare recipients. A low-income mother or unemployed father on AFDC who takes a job faces the highest marginal tax rate in America. We should reward people who choose work over welfare.

IV. Support democratic capitalism and extend free trade.

At the end of World War II, the U.S. fostered democratic capitalism in Germany and Japan by tearing down barriers to trade and establishing stable currencies through the Bretton Woods Agreement. With the end of the Cold War, [we must:]

- Complete the Uruguay round at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.
- Complete and pass the North American Free Trade Agreement.

- [Create] a new Bretton Woods Conference to re-establish a stable world monetary system and to reduce and simplify tariff schedules.

This program will expand prosperity for all Americans, from the poorest in our society on up.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

By JAMES M. PERRY
And DAVID SHRIEMAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — Though fully in control of the hearings leading to next week's Republican National Convention, weary and worried Bush operatives found themselves fighting brush fires on both the left and the right.

In an effort to seize the offensive, President Bush's managers here in Houston mounted a diversionary and carefully programmed attack on Gov. Bill Clinton's economic program, seeking to play down the divisions that threaten their own coalition and their prospects in the November election.

But try as they might, they couldn't silence their critics, who are swarming through the halls of the George Brown Convention Center and demanding changes in the party's platform and a new direction for the Bush campaign.

The criticism of Mr. Bush swiftly produced a three-front conflict. The first came from the Republican abortion-rights movement, which is continuing to struggle to soften the tough anti-abortion plank in the draft GOP party platform. The second challenge came from the tax-cutting wing of the GOP, which was working to place the party in opposition to the very tax increases Mr. Bush negotiated as part of his budget agreement in 1990. And the third attack came from Mr. Bush's old primary opponent, conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, whose forces signaled they would continue to work for platform changes on such issues as curbing illegal immigration, phasing out foreign aid and winning term limits for members of Congress.

The Bush forces' control was evident in platform subcommittee deliberations, where the vote in favor of the abortion-restriction language was 17-3. "They always stack the subcommittees," said Tanya Melich, an abortion-rights delegate from New York. "We should get a better chance for a real debate at the full committee level."

And though the language was an implied criticism of Mr. Bush, the president's forces made no fight at the subcommittee level against platform changes that called the taxes in the 1990 budget agreement "a mistake" and advocated their repeal.

The president, meanwhile, was facing calls for him to stop appeasing the right wing of the Republican Party and to reach out to the broader range of voters that he will need to win the election.

"Our work is cut out for us," said Richard Rosenbaum, New York's national committeeman. "These people running this convention still think they're fighting with Pat Buchanan. They've got to show some flexibility and appeal to a broader range of voters."

Not that the Bush forces treated the rebellious factions within the party gingerly. Indeed, they played hardball with their critics, intimidating some of them, preventing them from testifying on platform matters and even making it difficult for them to find public forums to hold news conferences.

"I'm afraid we're being squelched," said Barbara Mosbacher, co-chair of the New York State Republican Family Committee, a group that favors abortion rights, and the older sister of Robert Mosbacher, the titular head of the Bush campaign committee.

The Bush forces even denied abortion-rights activists a chance to set up a table at the convention. That action prompted leaders of the GOP movement, including Mary Dent Crisp, chair of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, and Anne Stone,

chair of Republicans for Choice, to write National Committee Chairman Richard Bond an angry letter that opens: "It is unconscionable for the Republican National Committee to decide to deny pro-choice groups exhibition space at the Republican Convention while allowing the anti-choice Eagle Forum to have an exhibit."

Phyllis Schlafly, head of the Eagle Forum, dismissed the complaints. "These are country-club types — rich Republican women — who are pushing this issue," she said, "and they just don't have the votes here."

The draft language in the party platform, approved at the subcommittee level yesterday, made only slight, and essentially meaningless, alterations in the abortion language that the Republicans adopted in their convention in 1984 and repeated four years later.

The platform still says that the Republican Party believes "the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed," adding: "We therefore reaffirm our support for a human life amendment to the Constitution."

In their platform adapted at their convention in New York last month, the Democrats said they "stood behind the right of every woman to choose, consistent with Roe v. Wade, regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right." Their platform continues: "It is a fundamental constitutional liberty that individual Americans—not government—can best take responsibility for making the most difficult and intensely personal decisions regarding reproduction."

Both the substance of the GOP language and the tactics used to preserve it angered some Republicans.

"What they're doing is wrong, and we're devotees of George Bush," said Babette Hale, a leader of a local Houston group called Republicans for Responsible Decisions, an abortion-rights group. "We're madder than hell at him."

The Bush campaign signaled the tack it will take in contending with Mr. Clinton on economics, arguing that the Arkansas governor was "really trying to put one over on the American people" and asserting that Mr. Clinton "unabashedly proposes the largest tax increase in American history."

The campaign argues, moreover, that Mr. Clinton's plan would cost 2.5 million American jobs, prompt more government spending and produce a budget full of "fraudulent gimmicks." The shorthand that is emerging, in the words of the briefing paper, is: "Higher taxes, fewer jobs."

At the White House, presidential aide Clayton Yeutter belittled Mr. Clinton's economic blueprint as a "reasonably good college term paper on the economy" and said it would trigger a budget deficit by 1996 of \$300 billion. That's more than twice the figure the Clinton camp has projected, assuming moderate economic growth. In response, the Clinton campaign reasserted the integrity of its deficit projections, said its program would create jobs and argued that the Bush camp had distorted its tax proposals.

The Republicans are so eager to forget their own troubles of the past few months that they gave their biggest applause of the day to Rep. Bill McCollum of Florida, who received a standing ovation when he said, simply, "This is the first day of the re-election campaign of George Bush and Dan Quayle."

—Rick Wartzman in Washington contributed to this article.

*GOP Critics Snipe From Left and Right
At Bush Forces, Urge Platform Changes*

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Gentleman Al Gore Shows a Knack for Fisticuffs, Taking Combative Stances in Democrats' Corner

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

STRATFORD, Conn. — Al Gore — he of the privileged upbringing, the exclusive education and the famously wooden campaign style — has surprisingly emerged on the 1992 trail as a sharp-witted, quick-footed attack dog for the Democrats.

A man seemingly raised from birth to be No. 1 in everything, the Tennessee senator has hit his stride as Bill Clinton's No. 2. In appearance after appearance, he pillories Republicans as the party of the wealthy and of broken promises, displaying the aggressiveness and passion that were notably lacking when he himself sought the presidency four years ago.

"How many middle income individuals here have had federal tax increases in the last four years?" Mr. Gore asked a crowd of workers at a Textron Inc. turbine-engine plant here yesterday. "Could I see a show of hands?" As a scattering of workers raised their hands, Mr. Gore continued: "Well, what was that read-my-lips stuff about? Didn't Bush say read my lips about something like that? Well, what he meant was we will have big tax cuts for the wealthy and most powerful people in this country."

"They have run out of ideas," Mr. Gore concluded. "They have run out of energy. They have run out of imagination. They have run out of gas."

'Likes to Mix It Up a Little Bit'

Clinton campaign aides emphasize that Mr. Gore's role is far from limited to criticizing the Bush administration — or "the Bush and Quayle administration," as Mr. Gore calls it, the better to exploit widespread doubts about Vice President Dan Quayle. Moreover, Mr. Gore's barbs frequently come on the heels of attacks by Gov. Clinton, who is determined to answer personally every salvo the Bush campaign sends his way.

But Clinton aides readily agree that Mr.

Gore brings to the ticket an unusually strong ability to parry with the opposition, always a crucial skill for a vice presidential candidate. "He likes to mix it up a little bit," observes senior campaign adviser James Carville. "He's a combative kind of guy."

At times, Mr. Gore is guilty of overreaching. At Textron, which manufactures turbine engines for the M1-A1 tank — whose solid performance during the Persian Gulf War surprised critics — Mr. Gore said of the Republicans: "Why is it that they have always been trying to eliminate the M1-A1, and we've always been trying to save it?" In fact, though the administration has lately proposed stopping production of the tank, Democrats were some of its loudest critics during the early 1980s.

If ever there were a candidate who seemed bound by Marquess of Queensberry rules, it is Albert Gore Jr. Mr. Gore's father, like George Bush's, was a United States senator; Mr. Gore attended Washington's prestigious St. Alban's School before entering Harvard.

Yet his stiff-backed persona, which lent an air of blandness to his failed 1988 presidential campaign, masks an instinct for the jugular honed during his previous incarnations as a newspaper reporter for the Nashville Tennessean and, later, as an investigations-oriented member of the House and then the Senate. Even in the 1988 campaign, he was at his best in the give-and-take of debates.

In a recent joint Atlanta appearance with former President Carter, Mr. Gore declared that the Bush administration is "in a state of extraordinary political panic. . . . It's not a pretty sight." Asked about Mr. Clinton's lack of experience in foreign affairs, he said: "If President Bush and Vice President Quayle are such whizzes in foreign policy, why is it that Saddam Hussein is thumbing his nose at the entire world . . . and proclaiming victory, and is still in power?"

Mr. Gore's preternaturally earnest manner allows him to seem more sorrowful than nasty when he hurls such invective. "Al is basically very deferential," observes Democratic Rep. Thomas Downey of New York, a close friend. Compared with Kansas' GOP Sen. Robert Dole — whose sharp tongue is believed to have hurt him when he campaigned for vice president in 1976 and president in 1988, and who has traded barbs with Mr. Gore during this campaign — Mr. Downey says that Mr. Gore leaves the impression of "a very polite man with whom you differ, as opposed to Dole, who comes across as more of a wise guy." (Mr. Downey adds that his own style more closely resembles that of Mr. Dole.)

Sharpening Political Judgment

Mr. Gore's disciplined repetition of the campaign's themes (such as the need for "change" and "putting people first") — and his skill at connecting those themes to issues ranging from family-leave policy to national health care — stand in stark contrast to his performance during the 1988 campaign. At that time, Mr. Gore confesses in his book, "Earth in the Balance," his campaign message became muddled as "I began to doubt my own political judgment." He goes on to say that as the son of a U.S. senator "I learned at an early age to be very sensitive — too sensitive, perhaps — to what others were thinking. . . . I have become very impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds and proceed cautiously."

Mr. Gore's skills as a street-fighter this



Albert Gore Jr.

year stand in stark contrast to those of Vice President Quayle, who has never lived down his rocky start to the 1988 campaign. Expectations for Mr. Gore are so high in the as-yet-unscheduled debate with Mr. Quayle this year that some Democrats are already worrying that Mr. Quayle could triumph with even the most modest of performances.

Asked whether low expectations might work in the vice president's favor, Quayle spokesman Jeffrey Nesbit chokes back a giggle and answers, "It would be interesting to see if that's the way the conventional wisdom goes."

Mr. Gore has thus far backed away from direct attacks on Mr. Quayle, but on the stump he frequently accuses the White House Competitiveness Council, which the vice president chairs, of tilting heavily in favor of "wealthy and powerful" polluters.

Mr. Quayle, meanwhile, has begun to attack Mr. Gore's urgent call in "Earth in the Balance" for increased taxes and regulation to step up environmental protection. He seeks to portray his foe as an ultra-liberal, sometimes likening his voting record to that of Massachusetts Democratic Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

Intense Relationship With Clinton

Though Democratic operatives glowingly describe the relationship between Sen. Gore and Mr. Clinton as one of intense (if instant) friendship, it isn't without its undercurrents of tension; for awhile this political season, both men were considering a run for the presidency as southern moderates. But the tensions tend to be leavened with humor. During a mock news conference conducted shortly before the Democratic convention, Mr. Clinton complained that a Gore answer to a question on the environment "sounds a little bit like we're Greenpeace warriors." Mr. Gore paused for a moment, then answered: "What do you mean 'we,' Kemo Sabe?"

But for Mr. Gore, the less combative moments in campaigning still seem to be the hardest. According to Mr. Downey, Mr. Gore's first reading of the speech on the afternoon before he delivered it at the

New York convention was so emotionless that he and Mr. Gore's daughter Karenna, 19, were laughing at it. "He's not Mario Cuomo yet," says Mr. Downey, "but then, nobody is."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Attorney General Denies House Request For Special Probe of Pre-War Iraq Policy

By PETER TRUETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Attorney General William Barr refused a congressional request for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate Bush administration policy toward Iraq prior to that country's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

The Bush administration's refusal to appoint an independent counsel provoked a strong protest from the Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee who had petitioned for such an investigation. Rep. Jack Brooks, the committee's chairman, called it "an affront to the American people and a threat to the rightful expectation of impartial, evenhanded justice." Public opinion, the Texas Democrat asserted, "won't be satisfied with the subterfuge concocted" by the attorney general.

Mr. Barr, in a 14-page letter deliv-

ered to members of the committee, said the request "lacks the specificity required under the [independent counsel] statute" and is "wholly inadequate as a basis for invoking the statute." The letter maintained that the statute applies when there is "specific" and "credible" information relating to the commission of a crime by a senior administration official. The letter concluded that "the allegations have been, and are being, properly investigated, and it is clear that the criteria for invoking the statute are not present."

The letter also strongly implied that Mr. Barr believed the House Democrats' request for an independent counsel was politically motivated. A Justice Department spokesman said that an 80-page report accompanying the letter addressed specific congressional allegations made relating to the administration's Iraqi policy. The report made it clear that the Justice Department was already investigating several of the matters that have been raised in congressional hearings.

All but one of the 21 Democrats on the committee had formally asked the attorney general on July 9 to appoint an independent counsel to look into "serious allegations of possible violations of criminal statutes" by high-ranking administration officials in their handling of U.S. policy toward Iraq.

At a news conference, Mr. Brooks charged that Mr. Barr had "misconstrued" the independent counsel statute, effectively asking the petitioners for "a signed and sealed indictment of criminal wrongdoing," rather than asking for what the statute requires. This, Mr. Brooks said, is "plausible evidence of possible criminal wrongdoing that warrants further investigation by an independent counsel," because the Justice Department itself would have a conflict of interest in investigating the matter.

"This is like requiring a victim of a mugging to have the incident on videotape and the perpetrator in handcuffs before reporting the incident to the police," said Rep. Charles Schumer (D., N.Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary's subcommittee on crime and criminal justice.

Mr. Barr's decision provoked a strong reaction from other leading Democrats. In a detailed statement about Iraq's military procurement network, House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez said, "Mr. Barr is playing a dangerous political game in a desperate attempt to protect the Bush administration."

The Texas Democrat, who has led much of the congressional investigation of the Bush administration's ill-fated attempts to aid Iraq between 1988 and 1990, also charged that the attorney general is "attempting to lock any door that might lead to a full exposition of the Bush administration's involvement in the buildup of Iraq." Mr. Gonzalez said Mr. Barr is "a giant boulder" holding "the administration's stone wall together against further revelations about the damaging and mysterious policies in the Persian Gulf."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Senate Drops Consideration Of Defense Bill

Impasse Over Proposed Cut In SDI Program Blocks Plan to Reshape Military

By THOMAS E. RICKS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Senate dropped consideration of the pending \$274.5 billion defense bill after hitting an impasse over the anti-missile Strategic Defense Initiative.

The unexpected roadblock means that much of the comprehensive attempt to begin reshaping the U.S. military establishment to the post-Cold War world will be in limbo, probably until next year. While some key provisions are expected to be attached to a companion bill later this year, much of the policy guidance the Armed Services Committee sought to give the Pentagon in the 653-page bill will be put on hold. Lacking such guidance, the Pentagon is likely to find it far more difficult to devise its own long-term plans.

The bill effectively was blocked by Sen. Malcolm Wallop, a Wyoming Republican, who emphatically objected to a proposed amendment that would cut \$1 billion from \$4.3 billion set by the Armed Services Committee for the Pentagon's SDI program. After Sen. Wallop indicated that he would seek to indefinitely delay any vote on the anti-SDI amendment, Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) said, "It is my belief... that there is no use in continuing with the bill. 'I think there's almost no likelihood we will get back to this bill this year,' Mr. Nunn continued. He indicated that some major parts of the defense authorization bill, such as its aid for communities hurt by cuts in the defense budget, would be attached this year to a companion measure that provides the actual funds for the Defense Department.

Sen. Wallop's action provoked a blast from one of the sponsors of the anti-SDI amendment, Sen. Dale Bumpers, who said he found it incredible that one senator would block a \$275 billion bill over a proposed \$1 billion cut. "The arguments continue to run out of this body as though Joe Stalin were still running the Soviet Union," the Arkansas Democrat added.

As if girding for a running battle over future defense budgets, Sen. Bumpers vowed not only to repropose his anti-SDI amendment, but also to go after spending by U.S. intelligence agencies, which he said has been reported as roughly \$30 billion a year. The information obtained by half of that spending, he argued, probably could be obtained by watching the Cable News Network.

Speaking to reporters after the floor action, Sen. Nunn sounded unperturbed about how SDI had played a role in side-tracking the defense bill, saying that the

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Senate Drops Study Of U.S. Defense Bill After Impasse on SDI

Continued From Page A3

precise, level of funding for anti-missile systems that aren't scheduled to be deployed for about a decade wasn't the most important part of the bill. He also said he thinks support for SDI is "more likely to deteriorate" with the passage of time than it is to grow.

Mr. Nunn also indicated that support for another part of the defense bill, its proposal to spend more than \$2.6 billion to buy four more of Northrop Corp.'s B-2 Stealth bombers, also is shaky. Before becoming bogged down over SDI, the Senate had planned last night to debate an amendment to reduce funding for the B-2 program. "It was going to be a close vote," he said. "I think we could have prevailed" in the plan to acquire the aircraft.

Bush-Rabin Meeting Clears Way for Loan Guarantees

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — President Bush and new Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin opened friendly talks that cemented a fundamental change in U.S.-Israeli ties and laid the groundwork for the release of billions of dollars in loan guarantees.

In their first discussions since Mr. Rabin succeeded Yitzhak Shamir, Mr. Bush used all the symbolic moves at his disposal to illustrate to Israel, and to interested Jewish voters in the U.S., that a warmer era has dawned.

The U.S. used the occasion to announce that Israel and all its Arab neighbors have agreed to open a new round of peace talks in Washington Aug. 24. U.S. officials have high hopes for that session of negotiations, because Mr. Rabin's government plans to propose a far more flexible plan for Palestinian autonomy.

Just as important for Israel, U.S. and Israeli officials suggested that all is on track for Israel to receive today the billions of dollars in U.S. loan guarantees it has been seeking for months to help it absorb Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union. Mr. Bush and Mr. Rabin have scheduled a news conference here today, and it appears they will announce that the administration is granting Israel's request for \$10 billion in guarantees.

U.S. officials insisted some details of the arrangement, particularly clearer understandings of Mr. Rabin's plans to scale back construction of settlements on occupied land, remained to be worked out before today's announcement.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

MARY McGRORY

Senate Catches Up on Cold War

Something has come over the U.S. Senate. A rainbow of peace is glimmering in the chamber. Often the last to know, the Senate has finally groped its way to the conclusion that the Cold War is over.

On Aug. 3, 68 senators voted for a nuclear test ban. Just as astonishing was the fact that one of the three sponsors of this doves' dream was Sen. J. James Exon (D-Neb.), who used to be considered a good old soul by the Pentagon. The other two were Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) and, it hardly needs to be said, Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, (R-Ore.), a notorious dove, who was co-author of the McGovern-Hatfield resolution that finally ended the Vietnam War, and who was for a nuclear test ban before the bomb was invented.

During the debate, to be sure, there were all sorts of hints that this kind of nonsense would be reversed. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), the maharajah of matters military in the Senate, voted aye in the end, but indicated his displeasure with a warning that he would have more to say at a future date. Sen. William S. Cohen (R-Maine), the Georgian's frequent ally in efforts for "bipartisan consensus," as cave-ins are called in the world's greatest deliberative body, announced that he would introduce his own version of a sensible approach to a question obviously not for amateurs. His tone suggested that the inmates had taken over the asylum and that order would soon be restored by the proper authorities.

Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said he thought the large—and incidentally veto-proof—vote was arrived at because members thought "it would be worked out later." He apparently meant the nine erring Republican senators who voted for the test ban because it's a nifty election-year move in the year of the women, who have this irrational antipathy toward war and its weapons.

Exon, a weather-beaten and unpretentious Nebraskan who keeps models of the B-2 and attack helicopters in his office, gave notice that he was wandering off the reservation last spring when he introduced a heretical bill to cut \$8 billion from the Pentagon budget. It lost by only three votes. But, as chairman of the subcommittee on strategic forces and nuclear deterrence, he got into the habit of thinking for himself, which is

not the way in the Senate, where it is the custom to let Armed Services Committee Chairman Nunn call the shots on war and peace votes. "Sam gets 10 Democrats and all the Republicans," said a rueful Senate dove.

Exon visited the Nevada test site, the first senator (apart from that state's two senators) to do so in 25 years. He made a second trip with three other senators. He talked with Nunn about his conviction that the Cold War had ended and that we could not hope to impose nonproliferation on the rest of the world without showing some restraint of our own. He disapproved of the House-passed yearlong moratorium. He went to Hatfield, who had a bill approved by 53 senators, to be included in the Senate energy bill. Exon, Mitchell and Hatfield worked out a deal: a nine-month moratorium, to be followed by a three-year interval during which the president could—subject to Senate approval—order five tests a year, and in 1996, a complete cutoff.

"Irresponsible" said George Bush, but Exon told Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney with characteristic bluntness, "You have no cards to play."

Nunn's qualms may be marginal, but nobody is quite sure. He and Cohen have been working on a "clarifying" amendment to be attached to the Armed Services bill. The difficulty of undoing a historic vote when bans are in effect in both the former Soviet Union and France, is obvious, even to the timid souls who on their aye votes just went along for the ride, expecting to be rescued by the people who always save the Senate from common sense on weapons of war.

What happened last Friday, when peaceniks again seized the chamber, cannot be reassuring to Nunn and Cohen. A bill sponsored by Budget Committee Chairman Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) and Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), cut \$1 billion out of the Star Wars budget. To the astonishment of all, it passed by a vote of 49 to 43. Virginia's Charles S. Robb was the Exon of the vote. Always one to see the Pentagon's side of things, the Democrat suddenly sent word to Sasser that he wanted to be a co-sponsor.

Sasser thinks that the military spending complex is falling apart because the money is needed for things other than "these exotic Cold War dinosaurs."

Bumpers calls the two votes "an outbreak of sanity in the Senate."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Michael Kinsley

Anatomy of a Smear

How many times did Clinton—and Bush—raise taxes?

■ [Massachusetts Gov. William] Weld repeatedly referred to the 43 tax increases Clinton signed during 11 years as governor.

—USA Today

■ Bill Clinton as governor of Arkansas raised taxes something like 128 different times.

—Dan Quayle

■ Well, take taxes. We're mad at George Bush because he raised taxes once. Bill Clinton has signed 121 tax increases. A hundred and twenty-one!

—Rep. Newt Gingrich

Like Joe McCarthy counting communists in the State Department, Republicans have had a hard time deciding exactly how many tax increases to accuse Bill Clinton of. They have settled on the number 128, and the Bush-Quayle campaign has issued a list.

The exact number of tax increases in Arkansas while Clinton was governor is a meaningless question in any event, but the Republicans obviously think it's a telling point. As McCarthy understood, a number lends phony precision that gives weight to the general indictment—in this case, that Clinton is a "tax raiser." So the accuracy of the number is important, not for what it says about Clinton but for what it says about Bush. Bush has decided to campaign on the theme of "trust." Bear with me while we analyze the "128 tax increases," and see if you can trust George Bush.

The Bush-Quayle list is hilariously shoddy. My favorite items are three (numbers 31, 86 and 91), which aren't items at all. They are just places where the description of an alleged tax increase took more than one line. Similarly, number 78 is a verbatim repetition of number 74 (a 25-cent tax increase per gallon on "light wine"). "Tax increase" number 92 is a \$1 per-conviction court costs fee imposed on criminals. One dollar, and the Bushies are complaining! These people are supposed to be tough on crime?

Item number 46 is a 1987 law lengthening the season for dog racing. This is apparently a "tax increase" on the theory that a longer season increases state gambling tax revenues. Other supposed tax increases either never actually took effect (number 71) or replaced another tax of equal size (number 117). A fuel tax increase is counted as two because it applies to both gasoline and diesel. A general booze tax increase weighs in at five if you count such categories as wine coolers separately—as they do.

Dick Alexander, an Arkansas law professor working for the Clinton campaign, figures a true count would be 55 or 59 increases in various tax-

es and fees while Clinton was governor, depending on how you figure. He even includes 10 the Republicans somehow overlooked.

But in the real world, as opposed to Republican propaganda fantasies, taxes go down, too. Alexander has produced a list of 48 tax cuts during Clinton's governorship. These include such George Bush favorites as tax breaks for enterprise zones and capital gains. They also include a general cut last year that reduced or eliminated income taxes on 374,000 low-income Arkansas citizens. Since seven of Clinton's 55 (or 59) tax increases have expired or been repealed, the actual number of tax "increases" and the number of tax "cuts" are about equal. If you care.

Arkansas is a very low-tax state. It ranks 49th in per capita state and local taxes and 50th in per capita expenditures. Even measuring taxes as a share of personal income, Arkansas ranks 47th.

A "Factsheet" put out by the Bush-Quayle committee augments the "128 tax increases" canard with the assertion that: "Taxes are \$397.1 million higher on an annual basis than when Clinton took office." This figure reflects inflation and growth as well as real tax increases. By the same moronic calculus, federal taxes are \$476.4 billion higher than when Ronald Reagan and George Bush took office.

In fact, the absurdity of this whole count-the-taxes exercise is illustrated by applying it to George Bush's tenure as president. Just one tax

increase? Forget it. The notorious 1990 tax increase was 73 separate increases. And Bush signed tax bills in 1989 and 1991 as well, each one with multiple provisions. Who can forget his decision in 1989 to "limit nonrecognition treatment when securities are received in certain Section 351 transactions"? That one was a \$1.4 billion tax increase over five years.

There have been dozens of federal excise tax increases during Bush's reign. For example, in 1990 he imposed a two-stage tax increase on both small and large cigars—distinct categories in the statute. By the Bush-Quayle rules, that counts as four separate tax increases.

Overall, by my count using his rules, Bush has raised taxes 133 times—more often in just four years than Clinton did in 11. And that doesn't even include increased fees for government services such as National Parks. Nor does it include criminal fines.

Every day the Bush-Quayle machine puts out stuff like this malarkey about "128 tax increases," and every day Republican sound-bite artists fan out to spread the word. The Clinton-Gore machine is no less efficient, but I believe it is less dishonest. If anyone has a counterexample, I would like to hear of it. Meanwhile, when Bush talks of "trust," I am reminded of Reagan's old mantra about negotiating arms control with the Soviets: "Trust, but verify."

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Richard Cohen

A Call for the 'Godfather'

"Just when I thought I was out, they pull me back in." Who uttered this lament? Was it Michael Corleone, the reluctant Godfather of the movies who pines for legitimacy? Or was it James Baker III, evidently reluctant to take over the becalmed Bush reelection campaign and pining to remain the honorable secretary of state? It was Corleone in "Godfather III." Baker III is never that candid on the record.

Of course, I'm not comparing Baker to a Mafia figure—even a fictional one now embedded in American folklore as a result of the three Francis Ford Coppola movies. Nevertheless, it's once again clear that life imitates art, and the man the president calls "Jimmy" finds himself in a fix well-known to movie fans.

The secretary of state is clearly a man of talent and drive—and, almost, stunning achievement. A Nobel Prize, more glorious than Henry Kissinger's, seems within his reach. Baker has brought Israelis and Palestinians—not to mention all sorts of other Arabs—to the peace table. No doubt, there's a prize of some sort lurking there somewhere.

But there shall be no Middle East peace before the Republican National

Convention. That much is sure. And by then, if not sooner, George Bush may well have set some sort of modern record for unpopularity. Just about every poll tells the same sad tale: The president is heading for an awful beating. His negative ratings look like typos, numbers that have wandered over from the weather page. His party would probably prefer another candidate and, while it's at it, another running mate to boot. If George Bush is not depressed, it's because he does not pause long enough to reflect on his plight. This is a man in deep trouble.

And so the call has gone out for Baker. He is the president's pal, the one he listens to (except, apparently, when picking running mates), the one who can get him to concentrate and do what has to be done. It is Jimmy Baker who knows how to run a campaign and will take charge of this one as he did the one in 1988. It is Jimmy Baker who knows how to play tough, throw the spitter, leak the killer story and smile for the cameras, smooth as can be. Four years ago, he gave his attack dog, Lee Atwater, a long leash, and Atwater had Michael Dukakis for breakfast.

But Atwater is dead now, and fur-

thermore he renounced negative campaigning before he died. That avenue—at least in its most blatant form—seems to be closed to Baker. Bush has vowed not to run a negative campaign and has already reined in Mary Matalin, deputy campaign chairman, for her artless and sophomoric press release about Bill Clinton. ("Sniveling Hypocritical Democrats: Stand Up and Be Counted," it was headlined, and went on to mention the B-word: bimbos.)

For the moment, at least, the Bush campaign will follow Marquess of Queensberry rules. Low blows may well yet land, but not with Matalin's lack of finesse and always—for such is the way these things are done—so that no fingerprints are left.

Baker's reluctance to leave the State Department is understandable. He has been identified with the one area in which Bush still gets high marks, foreign policy, and indeed has acquitted himself well, if not brilliantly, as secretary of state. This master of the news leak is now—surprise—being described in news leaks as hesitant to take the campaign job. All things considered, he would rather remain a diplomat. Wonder where these leaks are coming from.

But a fascinating symmetry is at work here. Just as the fictional Michael Corleone cannot escape his past, so Baker cannot—and should not—escape his. He ran a campaign in 1988 built on cheap distractions. Bush campaigned on the American flag, for the Pledge of Allegiance, against Willie Horton and punished the hapless Dukakis with the L-word.

It was a campaign so empty of content, so relentlessly unedifying, so hostile to questions about policy and ideas that it ultimately beat Bush just as surely as it had earlier beat Dukakis: The president won no real mandate. Nothing about him—not his person and not his programs—was endorsed by the American people since both were shrouded by shrill campaign rhetoric. It's one reason Bush is in such trouble now.

It seems that James Baker would like to remain above the grit and tawdriness of campaign politics. But he is where he is because of what was done in 1988. When finally he takes control of the Bush reelection campaign, it will be because he has no choice. Anyone who has seen a "Godfather" movie knows why.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Les Aspin

Saddam Is Winning

When the shooting stopped in the Persian Gulf, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 678 to finish the job of eliminating Iraq's program to build weapons of mass destruction. More than a year has elapsed since then, and Iraq has refused to meet its obligations under the resolution.

Saddam Hussein has consistently practiced obstructionism, deception, destruction of evidence and harassment of inspectors in order to thwart the search for his nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

That's why I was astonished to see Rolf Ekeus make the claim that the United Nations has fulfilled the task of elimination "by the carrying out of a systematic search

Taking Exception

of Iraq to identify and destroy all relevant weapons and the corresponding production and research capacity" [*The U.N. Prevailed: Iraq Had to Stand Down*, op-ed, Aug. 6]. Not so fast.

It is true that, as head of the special commission created to carry out Resolution 678, Ekeus has directed a courageous inspection effort that has met with much success. And Ekeus does at least acknowledge that "a minor part" of Saddam Hussein's weapons program is unaccounted for. I challenge that notion that only a minor part of Saddam's program of mass destruction remains intact. And it is clearly too early to declare the mission accomplished. Let's look at a few facts:

- Despite numerous inspections, Iraq probably still has up to 200 hidden Scud missiles.

- Inspections have failed to uncover Iraq's biological weapons stock or production facilities, although most intelligence analysts still believe that Iraq has such a program.

- Weapons inspectors still cannot verify that Iraq does not possess elements of a uranium enrichment capability, and press reports of possible underground nuclear facilities continue.

In addition, Iraq still refuses to provide a complete accounting of its procurement network for all of its unconventional weapons programs. Germany and other countries have provided lists of dual-use and nuclear-related equipment believed transferred to Iraq. Inspectors, however, still cannot reconcile these lists and locate all of this equipment—and the Iraqis are not helping.

Ekeus also defends the United Nations performance in the recent showdown over access to the Agricultural Ministry, which his inspectors had sought based on an intelligence tip about what they might find there. After all, he negotiated eventual access after U.N. inspectors had been removed out of fear for their lives; so it is natural he would think it a success. But he paid an enormous price. Here is how I view the outcome:

- Saddam successfully prevented the inspection for over two weeks before anyone, including the United States, started to work the issue seriously.

- Saddam successfully made the non-negotiable negotiable. The U.N. resolutions are absolutely clear: The United Nations has the right to investigate anytime and anywhere with inspectors of its own—not Iraq's—choosing.

- Saddam successfully reduced the involvement of American and British inspectors in this inspection and set a damaging precedent for the future.

Let us not confuse Ekeus's understandable desire to show the record in the most favorable light with what's really going on in Iraq. Last Thursday's announcement by Youssef Hammadi, Iraqi cultural and information minister, that U.N. inspectors would not be allowed into government ministry headquarters makes plain enough what is going on. Saddam Hussein is winning a war of attrition against the authority of the U.N. resolutions, and we can permit this to continue only at our peril.

The writer, a Democratic representative from Wisconsin, is chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Jim Hoagland

Definitely Not Dukakis

George Bush was elected president in 1988 largely because he was not Michael Dukakis. Not being Dukakis may help elect Bill Clinton this time.

If it happens, America's political scientists should erect a statue to the ex-governor of Massachusetts as one of the most influential politicians of his time. Historians could even debate whether Bush or Clinton was better at not being Dukakis.

I stretch my point, which is simply this: Clinton is getting enormous credit from the media and from voters for running a sharp, professional campaign—for doing what a political leader should be expected to do after winning the nomination of a major political party. The opening of this year's general election campaign has been an illuminating commentary on the current standards of American politics.

Don't get me wrong. Clinton and his staff deserve credit. They have been running a hard-hitting and effective campaign that has rattled Bush & Co. The American heartland bus tours show imagination and a touch of whimsy, rare commodities in American politics.

But the evident brilliance of the Clinton-Gore campaign owes much to the dismal 1988 Democratic effort. The not-Dukakis factor could be adding five points or more in Clinton's lofty position in the polls, as the media make the image of comparative effectiveness on the campaign trail a central theme of the coverage itself.

The awestruck tones of the broadcast journalists following the campaign provide a good measure of how Dukakis '88 (self-absorbed, astringent on the voters' palate) helpfully lowered the standards and expectations for Clinton '92 (a robust, assertive, balanced-in-structure vintage).

They marvel at a Democratic challenger who can stride to a microphone and effectively return the fire emitted by Bush or his surrogates just minutes before. Gosh. Imagine: a political leader who is good at public speaking and repartee. And who understands electronic media deadlines.

The contrast is useful not only for Clinton. It also helps provide a dramatic structure to this year's campaign coverage, which subliminally reassures voters that they will not have to endure another dispiriting flame-out by a small state Democratic governor. "He's not Dukakis" has become a media mantra as well as an observation. Stay tuned. Please.

"I have been reading and hearing that Dukakis went home after the Democratic convention and did nothing" while his 17-point lead evaporated, says Jim Steinberg, a Dukakis campaign veteran who is now a policy analyst at Rand Corp.

"In fact we went straight from Atlanta to the Rio Grande Valley to visit Lloyd Bentsen's homestead." Speeches in Houston, Modesto, Calif., St. Louis and Erie, Pa., followed immediately. "And yet I've read stories this year by reporters who were on that trip with us saying that unlike Dukakis, Clinton came out of the convention campaigning," Steinberg says.

Longer-term campaign history suggests that the not-Dukakis bounce Clinton enjoys will be a relatively short-lived phenomenon. By Labor Day, the key comparison will begin to be Clinton-Bush, not Clinton-Dukakis.

Events have borne out Clinton's sense of timing on this score as well. Against the expectations, or hopes, of Republican campaign strategists and administration economic policy makers, U.S. exports to the rest of the world are slumping this summer instead of continuing to surge upward. Bush goes into the Republican National Convention with economic growth again sputtering and unemployment painfully high.

Ironically the straw that breaks the foreign policy president's back may be dropped from abroad: A global recession has cut growth rates in Germany, Japan, Britain and elsewhere and reduced demand for American goods at the critical political moment for Bush.

The governments of Japan and Germany would like to see Bush reelected. They like his free trade stance and his experience in foreign affairs. But fearful of the fallout at home, they have been unwilling to heed the appeals from Washington to spend, spend, spend to stimulate their economies and spur demand for U.S. exports.

Japan starts a \$35 billion economic stimulus package in mid-September. But its effects will come too late to do Bush much good. Germany's Bundesbank still shows no signs of taking the one step that could provide the world economy (and Bush) with a quick shot in the arm. That would be to enact an interest rate cut.

Saudi Arabia awarded a welter of contracts to British companies and pumped money into Britain in the weeks before the April election to help keep the Conservatives in power. But the Saudis are reluctant to intervene here to help Bush—although he is favored by Riyadh and other Arab capitals. The Saudis reportedly fear that U.S. reaction, in contrast to Britain's, would be negative.

The big lead Clinton has built deters foreign governments from tossing last-minute life jackets in Bush's direction now. After all, they too must be looking at the polls and telling themselves that Bill Clinton is no Michael Dukakis. Any day now, George Bush may notice that too and start campaigning against the much tougher foe he faces this year.

Nat Hentoff

Campus Quicksand

Finally, an attack on black antisemitism by a nationally prestigious black.

During the past few years, I have met with Jewish student leaders at a number of college campuses around the country. They are in agreement on two things. Whether from state colleges or Ivy League universities, they are disturbed by the antisemitic speakers some black student organizations invite on campus. "I am delighted to be here at Jewniversity," one of them has said.

But they are opposed to any form of prior restraint. They have not asked the administration to bar such speakers. Instead, the Jewish students exercise their own rights of free expression in broadsides: letters and articles in the student papers and, when permitted, questions to the antisemitic visitors. (Some of these dealers in agitprop come with bodyguards who loom intimidatingly in front of hostile questioners.)

The students with whom I have talked are increasingly frustrated. Most feel they are making no headway. The more they try to counter—with facts—the attacks on Jews as the primary source of racism for centuries, the more protective black organizations are of their choice of speakers.

What the Jewish students have long hoped for is an attack on black antisemitism by a nationally prestigious black man or woman—prestigious among blacks. Not some boilerplate about how we should all get along, but an unequivocal rejection of the demonizing of Jews.

I mentioned this to Jesse Jackson four years ago, pointing out that the most virulent antisemitism seemed to be among young blacks, very much including some of those in college. He listened attentively and said, "I hear you." But I heard nothing more from him. Even when he

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

spoke powerfully in condemning historical antisemitism at a conference of the World Jewish Congress on July 7, Jackson made no specific mention of black antisemitism.

Last summer, I wrote about the latter-day black Father Coughlins and Gerald L. K. Smiths on the college circuit and asked for responses. A letter came from Henry Louis (Skip) Gates Jr., chairman of Harvard University's Afro-American Studies Department and director of its W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for Afro American Research.

Gates is a diligent scholar as well as an exceptionally lucid thinker and writer, and he refuses—with force and wit—to follow any party line.

He told me of research he has done for a new edition of "The Souls of Black Folk" (Bantam) by Du Bois. Gates and two of his graduate students had found nine revisions over the

years by Du Bois. "Eight of them involved replacing the word 'Jew'—usually used [by Du Bois] in an invidious context—with 'immigrant' or 'foreigner' or 'peasant.'"

Why the revisions? At first, Du Bois, said Gates, "had participated in the larger antisemitic usages and presumptions of his day." But then came the Holocaust, and—Du Bois wrote in a 1953 memo to Howard Fast—he had been forced to realize that "even unconscious repetition . . . of the concept of Jews as more guilty of exploitation than others . . . had helped the Hitlers of the world."

Later, in a conversation about black antisemitism in the colleges, Gates told me: "Somebody in my position has to stand up against this. You can be mad at an individual, but to write off a whole ethnic group—if that makes me an Uncle Tom, I say what I believe."

On July 20, in a long New York Times op-ed article—"Black Demagogues and Pseudo-Scholars"—Gates did in fact stand up for what he believes. Quoting African American philosopher Cornel West, Gates emphasized that "attention to black antisemitism is crucial, however discomfiting . . . because the moral credibility of our struggle against racism hangs in the balance."

Citing some of the more ubiquitous circuit riders peddling Jewish conspiracy theories,

Gates wrote of a speech at Harvard by Conrad Muhammad, New York representative of the Nation of Islam. Muhammad accused the Jews of destroying the ozone layer. (Another mystery solved.)

This black antisemitism, said Gates, "is a weapon in the raging battle of who will speak for black America—those who have sought common cause with others or those who preach a barricaded withdrawal into racial authenticity." The "apostles of hate . . . know that the more isolated black America becomes, the greater their power."

Or as Cornel West of Princeton puts it, black antisemitism is "the bitter fruit of a profound, self-destructive impulse, nurtured on the vines of hopelessness and concealed by empty gestures of black unity."

I would suggest that, as another semester nears, Jewish and other students make reprints of Gates's article widely available on their campuses. It may have no effect on those black students—with some of whom I have dueled—who are devoted disciples of Louis Farrakhan. But there are many other black students who have not fallen into the quicksand of antisemitism. And those who have taken courses in Afro American studies have surely come across the work of Henry Louis Gates and know that he is no Uncle Tom.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

West Africa's Lonely Peace-Keeper

Houphouet-Boigny, have hammered out agreements with the warring parties that provide a framework for a permanent settlement of the conflict. With great pressure from the West African forces, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front, which launched the bloody civil war, agreed with the interim Liberian government to bring about conditions leading to democratic elections. Chief among those was creation of an interim elections commission, an ad hoc Supreme Court and the all-important encampment and disarmament of warring parties by the West African forces.

Liberia's electoral commission and supreme court are now in place, presidential elections have been set for next Nov. 30, and congressionally authorized U.S. funding to support the electoral process is awaiting certification by President Bush. The holdup at this stage is receipt of verification from the West African peace-keepers that the Taylor forces have fully complied with the encampment and disarmament requirements as he claims. As has been the case since this unprecedented West African undertaking began, the rebel leader who started it all stands between the chaos he helped create and the peace his country deserves.

WHEN IT COMES to the horrors of civil war, widespread human suffering and atrocities against the innocent, war-torn Liberia has seen it all. That there is now a fragile peace following the deaths and displacement of thousands of Liberians is a tribute to international peace-keepers who intervened at the height of the crisis.

But unlike the result hoped for in Bosnia, the ending of the carnage in Liberia has come not as the result of intervention by the United Nations or by expressions of outrage by Western leaders, U.S. presidential candidates or an aroused international opinion. The guns remain silent because a group of West African nations have been willing to pay the price of committing their troops and meager treasures to rescue a region from greater deprivation and a neighbor from self-destruction.

Since the effort to restore peace in Liberia began more than a year ago, the West African peace-keepers have struggled practically alone to create an environment in which Liberians could turn to the process of holding free and fair elections. Besides sending in troops, the government, led by the Ivory Coast's president, Felix

When Parents Flee Child Support

THE STATES do a woeful job of collecting child support on behalf of custodial parents. Uncollected child support amounts to about \$5 billion annually, roughly one-third of the total owed. It gets worse when children live in one state and the obligated parent moves to another. Some 30 percent of all support cases are interstate, but just \$1 out of every \$10 collected nationally comes from such cases.

As part of the federal Family Support Act of 1988, the U.S. Commission on Interstate Child Support was formed to revamp the existing system. Its report offers several potentially useful suggestions. The commission, for example, recommended that state child support assurance programs be set up in pilot programs around the nation as a part of state-based enforcement programs. That is the system in which the government provides support at a set level for every child and then seeks reimbursement from the parent ordered to pay support.

Currently the states do little sharing of information. The commission therefore proposes linking the states through a national computer network to improve access to information on the location and assets of parents. Because so many of the parents who owe support switch jobs once a child support agency has tracked them down, the commission would require disclosure of child support obligations, including where and how much is owed on W-4 employment forms for all new hires. The information would then be sent to state child support agencies with support payments sent on to the custodial parents. State registries of support orders would be created; states would have access through the national computer network. Using that information, employers would be obligated to immediately withhold support payments from a delinquent parent's paycheck.

Under the recommended system, employers from one state would have to honor orders issued by other states. The commission would also like Congress to require that the states reach uniform guidelines on the ways support orders are established and enforced. The idea is to reduce the incentive for parents to move to states with weaker systems. These suggestions reach some of the larger flaws in the current system of child support collections, and they are worthy of consideration.

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Election-Year Confirmations

administration decided to withhold from the Senate all FBI reports on nominees. The Judiciary Committee refused to proceed without these reports from October 1991 until February 1992, and by the time the policy was changed, dozens of nominations had been added to the backlog. The administration has also been slow to fill vacancies. There are still 46 slots open on average for more than a year; many are in jurisdictions where judges are badly needed. In addition, because of administration pressure to get a Senate vote on the controversial nomination of Alabama's Edward Carnes, Republicans have actually blocked a vote on eight of their own nominations—most of them the very women and minorities Sen. Biden would confirm. That issue was resolved only last Friday when the Carnes vote was set for September and the way cleared for a vote on the others.

It is regrettable that so many vacancies remain unfilled, but we see no real villains. According to the Judiciary Committee, 61 judges will have been confirmed by the time Congress adjourns this year—the highest total for a presidential election year in which different parties controlled the White House and the Senate. Unfortunately, that is of little consolation to sitting judges awaiting colleagues to share the workload and to individuals, most of them eminently qualified, whose nominations will expire when Congress goes home.

JUST BEFORE the Supreme Court adjourned in June, Chairman Joseph Biden of the Senate Judiciary Committee announced that if a retirement were announced on the court at the end of the term, he would oppose any action to confirm a replacement. It is unusual to send such a signal, but the senator's position is not surprising. A lifetime appointment to the Supreme Court is so important, particularly at a time when the court is often closely divided on questions of great national interest, that it is understandable Senate Democrats would want to postpone any action until after the presidential election.

Sen. Biden's declaration did not apply to nominations for other federal courts, however. Presumably, these would continue to be considered at least until the political campaign begins in earnest after Labor Day. But the senator did say that the committee would act first on nominations of women and minorities and would get to unfilled, but we see no real villains. According to the Judiciary Committee, 61 judges will have been confirmed by the time Congress adjourns this year—the highest total for a presidential election year in which different parties controlled the White House and the Senate. Unfortunately, that is of little consolation to sitting judges awaiting colleagues to share the workload and to individuals, most of them eminently qualified, whose nominations will expire when Congress goes home.

Progress on Energy

AS THIS year's big energy bill grinds toward the final stage of enactment, it reflects an uneasy acknowledgment that the country is still vulnerable to disruptions of its oil supply. But since the first great oil crisis in 1973, there have been substantial changes in the ways Americans use energy—and most of those changes have been for the better.

The country is currently using less oil than it did in 1973, although the output of its economy has increased by half. How did it accomplish that feat? Increased reliance on coal and nuclear power helped. But by far the largest factor was conservation. That's been the first and most important lesson of the past 19 years' struggles with the energy equation: Conservation works.

In 1973 that proposition was fiercely disputed. There were a lot of people who argued vehemently that the link between energy and economic growth was absolutely rigid, and any attempt to hold down oil consumption would necessarily mean a lower standard of living. But it hasn't, and the reasons in retrospect seem obvious. A well-insulated house is hardly a less comfortable place to live than one with the wind rattling through the windows and the furnace roaring in the basement.

To encourage conservation, the most effective of all inducements is a rising price of energy. The world's supply of oil is no more secure today than it has ever been.

That raises a question. Since the country has greatly improved its energy efficiency at low cost and with large benefits, why not raise it farther? This year's energy bill will make modest incremental improvements. But the gains need to be speeded up to anticipate crises ahead. The electric power generation.

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20 percent—and the federal fuel efficiency laws, although much hated by the auto manufacturers, surely share the credit for that good performance. The increase in highway fuel consumption has been more than offset by reductions in reliance on oil in industry, households and electric power generation.

That's particularly visible on the highway. The number of vehicles has increased hugely since 1973, and total mileage has nearly doubled. But consumption of gasoline and diesel fuel is up only 20 percent—and the federal fuel efficiency laws, although much hated by the auto manufacturers, surely share the credit for that good performance. The increase in highway fuel consumption has been more than offset by reductions in reliance on oil in industry, households and electric power generation.

discouraged backsliding.

ed a steady pressure in the right direction and has done nothing revolutionary, but it has exerted like the one now being completed in Congress, true. When oil prices collapsed in 1986, efficiency didn't drop. Public policy, embodied in laws es conservation, the reverse doesn't seem to be true. While a rising price always increases conservation, in 1973-74 and 1980-81. But while a rising price always increases conservation, the reverse doesn't seem to be true. While a rising price always increases conservation, the reverse doesn't seem to be true.

biggest gains in efficiency came in the aftermath of the two huge leaps in oil prices, in 1973-74 and 1980-81. But while a rising price always increases conservation, the reverse doesn't seem to be true. While a rising price always increases conservation, the reverse doesn't seem to be true.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Bush Agrees to Support Israeli Loan Guarantees

He and Rabin Press for Resolution of Details

RABIN, From A1

The new government has also made a distinction between settlements for security purposes, which it says remain necessary, and those for political purposes, which it says will be halted.

But in a number of ways, Rabin has sought during his first month in office to create an atmosphere in Israeli-Arab relations more conducive to negotiation and compromise. He has, for instance, made the first visit by an Israeli prime minister to Egypt in six years and has pledged to accelerate talks on self-rule for the 1.7 million Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The loan guarantees would allow Israel to borrow money at lower

rates since the United States would be guaranteeing repayment. Congressional approval is required for the guarantees, and would likely be forthcoming with Bush's support.

Administration officials said a number of details remained to be worked out tonight, including how certain housing units would be defined and what amount would be deducted from the loan guarantees if settlement activity continued.

One U.S. official said the president wants specific understandings on these issues so that any loan guarantee legislation would not have to address each detail and so "misunderstandings" could be avoided.

White House officials hope that Bush's support for the guarantees

will assuage Jewish voters who have regarded the president's Middle East policies as tilting away from Israel. Bush got about 30 percent of the Jewish vote in the 1988 election.

In contrast to the strains that marked relations between Bush and Shamir, today's talks were described as warm, cordial and cooperative.

"The welcome mat is out," Bush said as Rabin arrived. Bush described himself as one of the prime minister's "many friends" in the United States.

"We would like to make sure that there is a better and more intimate relationship between our two countries, our two peoples, our two governments," Rabin said.

An Israeli official who briefed reporters said the talks on loan guarantees took place "in a very good atmosphere . . . [and] both sides showed a willingness to come to a positive conclusion."

Rabin's status as an overnight guest at the president's seaside estate was meant to signal a new cordiality replacing the acrimonious years with Shamir. Bush gave Rabin the full Kennebunkport treatment, escorting him through the grounds, introducing him to his mother and grandchildren and taking him for walks on the grounds and the rocky shore.

At one point, Bush and Rabin were chatting on a patio that faces the Gulf of Maine when a sailboat, sporting shouting Israeli protesters,

appeared. The boat, rented by anti-Rabin militants, featured a banner that said "Kahane Chai"—Hebrew for Kahane lives, a reference to Meir Kahane, the militant right-wing Israeli murdered in New York in 1990.

A startled Bush rushed into his house to point out the boat to aides. "I thought this guy was kinda' dead," Bush said, according to the Israeli briefer, who told reporters about the incident.

Rabin, on his arrival, emphasized that he was determined to give the Middle East peace process a real chance "without endangering Israeli security."

The United States announced today it had received positive responses from all parties to begin a

new round of peace talks in Washington on Aug. 24. It will be the first round of talks since Rabin took power last month.

Signaling a change from the Shamir government, Rabin said his Labor Party would "like to change the order of our national priorities." The real problems in his country, he said, are in the domestic field.

The Israeli leader arrived by motorcade from Pease Air Force Base in nearby Portsmouth, N.H., after fog kept him from traveling to the presidential estate by helicopter.

An area-wide electric power outage created some minor problems at first for the meeting. But power was restored about an hour after Rabin reached the presidential compound.

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine, Aug. 10—President Bush agreed in principle today to support Israel's request for \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees, and he and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin instructed aides to work out details in time for a Tuesday announcement, according to U.S. officials.

The loan guarantee issue was the major piece of business awaiting action by the two leaders as they held the first of two days of meetings at Bush's vacation retreat here, complete today with sailboat protesters, power outages and walks along the rocky coast.

A senior U.S. official said Bush heard in some detail from Rabin about his plans to curtail settlement activity in occupied territories and was "satisfied" with how Rabin intends to proceed.

The United States has opposed expanded settlement activity as an impediment to Middle East peace talks now underway. Israel's request for loan guarantees, made last year to help resettle about 400,000 Jewish emigrants from the former Soviet Union, reached an impasse over the refusal of the government of former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir to halt settlement activity.

Bush has now decided he "wants the loan guarantees to go forward," said the senior official.

Rabin has canceled contracts for 6,800 units of housing planned for the settlements and has made it more difficult for settlers to move to the occupied territories by ending lucrative mortgage terms and tax benefits.

The Rabin government has not ended all new settlement activity, saying it will allow about 10,000 units already begun to be finished.

See RABIN, A18, Col. 1

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Clinton Trades Road for Rails; Gore Encounters a Tough Crowd

By Edward Walsh and Laurie Goodstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

Bill Clinton noticed the difference right away. "Well, it's not the bus," he said as he prepared to board Amtrak's Metroliner No. 113 in New York's Pennsylvania Station yesterday for the trip to Philadelphia.

But, the Democratic presidential nominee quickly added, "I like trains. I've always loved trains. It's a good way to go to Philadelphia. I hope I take more trains in the campaign."

For Clinton, who has made the bus caravan the centerpiece of his campaign since last month's Democratic National Convention, the one-hour train trip represented a brief change in style. But speaking to several thousand people gathered in the square in front of Philadelphia's historic Independence Hall, Clinton did not change his central theme as he accused President Bush of evading responsibility for the nation's economic woes and of preaching a message of fear about the Democrats.

"President Bush says that the buck stops somewhere else and you ought to be afraid of my opponents, they might be worse," the Arkansas governor told the cheering crowd. "Let's ask the president, before he spends all of the next two weeks jumping on Al Gore and Bill Clinton, where do you stand on your own leadership? What are you going to do for America if you win?"

Since winning the nomination, Clinton repeatedly has warned that the Bush campaign would attempt to instill fear in the electorate over the changes that a Democratic president would bring about. He said the Republicans were planning their convention, beginning next Monday in Houston, to "tell you how bad we are. We're against family values, we're against work, we're going to tax and spend to death."

"In the days ahead," Clinton added, "when the Republicans raise their old flag of fear, you tell them no, thanks, this time we're going to vote on our hopes."

Clinton's running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr., also tried to make their case before Republicans could define the Democratic ticket. Campaigning yesterday in Connecticut, a state devastated by widespread layoffs in the defense industry and full of voters furious about

paying a state income tax imposed last year, Gore predicted that the Republicans will accuse the Democrats of being "soft on defense."

"You want a strong national defense? We stand for a strong national defense," the Tennessee senator declared.

Speaking to workers at the Textron Lycoming plant in Stratford, makers of the turbine engines that powered the M1-A1 tanks and Cobra helicopters used in the Persian Gulf War, Gore stressed converting defense manufacturing to civilian production. The plant has lost 700 jobs since January 1991.

"Bill Clinton and I are strongly in favor of a sensible, well-thought-out conversion program to take advantages of the experiences, the talent, the fantastic capability of the men and women who are trying to make the transition which is absolutely essential to our nation's future," said Gore, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. "The other side has not come forward with any kind of proposal or plan that makes sense. In fact, there is none."

But in this tough-sell crowd, some of Gore's best applause lines were met with the sound of two hands clapping—those of an enthusiastic aide.

"I think the majority of the people are pro-Republican here," said Rich Brink, whose job is to drum up new business for Textron. "But honestly, I think they will vote for anybody who can save their jobs."

Trotting across the factory floor in shirtsleeves and protective goggles, Gore signed a company newsletter eagerly pushed under his nose by Ted Koziol, a welder at the factory.

Koziol is just the kind of voter about whom Clinton and Gore are worried.

"I'd like to vote for him," Koziol, 30, said of Gore moments later, "but from what I understand from what Bush says, with the Democrats' tax-and-spend policies, I'm afraid to vote for them. In Connecticut with our income taxes, it's killing the state."

But Koziol said he was attracted to Gore's strong environmental stance and new-generation appeal. Asked why he wanted Gore's autograph, Koziol confided: "I may eventually vote for him. Plus, he's a major personality."

*Walsh reported from Philadelphia,
Goodstein from Stratford.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Clifford's, Altman's Assets Frozen N.Y. Court Acts In BCCI Case

By Sharon Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

Clark M. Clifford, the 85-year-old Washington lawyer facing state and federal charges in the BCCI case, cannot pay his lawyers, doctors or even his chauffeur and lawn man because of an order by a New York state court freezing his personal accounts, sources said yesterday.

The personal bank accounts, credit card accounts and law firm accounts of Clifford and his law partner, Robert A. Altman, were frozen by Judge John A.K. Bradley in an order signed in New York on July 27, the day that criminal indictments were announced against the two. The court papers were sealed until recently because they were submitted to the judge prior to the announcement of the indictments.

The freeze is part of a civil action by New York prosecutors that seeks to recover more than \$40 million plus interest from Clifford and Altman, based on the profits they allegedly received illegally from the Bank of Credit and Commerce International. The two men are charged with lying to regulators about BCCI's secret ownership of First American Bankshares Inc.

On Friday, \$90,000 in frozen funds was released from an account of Clifford and Altman's law firm so that the man's law firm so that the

See CLIFFORD, A10, Col. 1

CLIFFORD, From A1

firm's employees could be paid, according to sources close to the case. However, that money cannot be used to pay personal expenses, sources said.

The freeze is "extraordinarily broad," said Robert S. Bennett, an attorney for the two men. "This is a draconian tactic on the part of the district attorney's office," he said, adding that it has been "financially devastating" to both Clifford and Altman.

Bennett said that attorneys' fees paid and that a personal check made out by Clifford to a young man who cut his grass has bounced.

Clifford's wife, Margery, whose personal accounts were not frozen, recently lent money to a secretary at the law firm because the secretary had not been paid, according to Bennett. Altman used a credit card to pay a driver to take him to the airport in New York after appearing at a hearing not long ago. Because of the freeze, the credit card was rejected, Bennett said.

New York prosecutors said the two lawyers were not being singled out. Bennett "keeps asking for his clients to be treated differently and better" than others similarly charged, said John Moscow, assistant district attorney in New York. "This is a criminal case. If our office stands for anything, it's that everyone is treated the same under the law."

Clifford and Altman are not the first to have their assets frozen in a criminal case. At the request of regulators, courts froze the assets of David L. Paul, ousted chairman of Centrust Bank of Miami, and those of Charles H. Keating Jr., head of Lincoln Savings and Loan. In a local case, Melvin J. Ford, head of International Loan Network of Lanham, had his personal assets frozen in a 1991 securities case.

The New York statute allows the court to freeze assets in a criminal case, legal sources said, and has been used in a number of high-profile white-collar criminal prosecutions. Under the New York law, defendants can draw on frozen funds to pay reasonable living expenses and lawyer's fees if they first submit affidavits showing that no other assets are available.

New York prosecutors have indicated that before any funds are released for personal use, Clifford and

Altman must submit statements disclosing their assets, according to sources. They have not done so because their attorneys contend the information could be used against them. At a hearing in New York on Friday, Clifford and Altman's New York attorneys argued that the freeze goes much too far and that the two men received nowhere near \$40 million from their relationship with BCCI, sources said. Judge Stephen Crane is scheduled to rule on the freeze on Aug. 18.

Altman's lawyers had requested at the end of July that the court let him have \$2,000 to cover weekend expenses for himself and his wife, actress Lynda Carter, sources said. But New York prosecutors wanted assurances that this wouldn't set a precedents that this wouldn't set a precedent for future requests and when Altman's lawyers would not agree, the request was denied, sources said.

The primary purpose of a freeze order, according to court papers, is to prevent defendants from transferring their assets to others or moving them out of the country.

"There is absolutely no evidence that [Clifford and Altman] are fleeing the country or secreting their assets," Bennett said. "The district attorney does not simply want to prosecute Clifford and Altman, they want to destroy them."

"Clifford is unable to talk about it, it's so painful," said one source close to Clifford. "It's truly astonishing." He added that if the freeze was being used as a method to encourage Clifford to plea bargain, it will not work.

"Clifford will never plea bargain because in his own mind he is certain of his innocence," the source said.

On the same day that the issue of the freeze is to be resolved, U.S. District Judge Joyce Hens Green has scheduled a hearing to deal with a dispute over whether Clifford and Altman should be tried first in New York on state charges or in Washington on the federal case.

Bennett successfully maneuvered to have the first trial in Washington. But New York prosecutors then leapfrogged ahead of their federal counterparts, scheduling their trial four days earlier. Sources said Judge Green, who is returning from vacation for the Aug. 18 hearing, does not want to surrender the initiative to state courts in New York.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO—In a shopping center just east of Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, directly behind the loading entrance to a Jewel Food Store, is a lonely outpost in Bill Clinton's presidential campaign that could play a key role in deciding the November election outcome in this and several other major battleground states.

A sign in the window of the modest storefront office identifies it as the headquarters of the "2nd Ward Regular Democratic Party" and its proprietor as "Bobby Rush, Committeeman." That is one of Rush's many titles. He is also a Chicago alderman, an almost certain freshman Democratic member of the 103rd Congress that will take office in January and, between now and November, the director of what the Clinton campaign calls its "voter outreach" operation.

In a campaign organization whose senior command is notable for its lack of blacks and whose candidate is aiming his message most directly at the largely white, suburban "forgotten middle class," Rush, a one-time leader in the militant Black Panther Party, is working the other side of the street. His task is to spearhead the effort to register and mobilize black, Hispanic and other "Democratic base voters" in the cities of the industrial Midwest and Northeast and selected areas of the South.

At the moment, with Clinton holding a commanding lead over President Bush in public opinion polls, the Democratic base would appear to be one of the least concerns of the party's presidential nominee. But few expect that lead to hold until November, and if the election becomes close it could be decided in states like Illinois and Pennsylvania, both of which Bush narrowly carried in 1988 against Democrat Michael S. Dukakis and both of which are high on Rush's target list.

"Illinois and Pennsylvania were very close, and in some ways maybe the working analysis of the outcome—that Reagan Democrats continue to leave the party—is wrong," said Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm. "It may just have been due to reduced voting in the Democratic base."

Rush said his goal is to register 500,000 new voters in such target states, and to boost black voter turnout. In a close election, both efforts could be critical. According to Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, while voting among all Americans has been in steady decline for

years, 1988 marked the first time since the 1960s that the black turnout rate fell more sharply than the turnout of other voters.

Like Walter F. Mondale in 1984, Dukakis piled up majorities of 95 percent or more in Chicago's black inner-city wards. But turnout in these Democratic base neighborhoods was down from 1984 and so was the Democratic margin needed to offset Republican majorities elsewhere in the city and the state.

Mondale carried a 17,354-vote margin out of Rush's 2nd Ward in 1984. Four years later, the Democratic turnout in the ward was 2,776 votes less and the Dukakis margin had shrunk almost as much, to 14,688 votes. To a large extent, the gains Dukakis made among Reagan Democrats were nullified in the black wards. Bush carried Illinois by 94,999 votes.

It was the same story in other states that are traditional presidential election battlegrounds. In Detroit, the base of Democratic hopes in Michigan, Mondale's

246,103-vote margin tumbled to a 217,197-vote advantage for Dukakis. In Philadelphia's overwhelmingly black 3rd and 4th Wards, Dukakis won slightly higher majorities than Mondale, but his raw vote margin was almost 2,000 votes less. Dukakis carried Los Angeles County, but this had nothing to do with his performance in the most heavily black areas, where the Democratic turnout and margin of victory were less than in 1984, when Reagan easily carried the county over Mondale.

The man to whom Clinton has turned for help in restoring the Democrats' urban base is a soft-spoken, 45-year-old whose bookish appearance seems more like that of a college professor than a former "defense minister" of a radical political organization.

Biographies of Rush always prominently mention his Black Panther past, in part to highlight his successful transition into traditional politics that has included three terms on the Chicago City Council, a vice chairmanship of the Illinois Democratic Party and, in March, an upset primary victory over Rep. Charles A. Hayes (D-Ill.) that virtually assured him election to the House over token opposition in November. The experience has left him a hard-eyed pragmatist who sees the first task of politics as winning elections.

"As a responsible political leader, you cannot always be on the outside complaining about what's going on inside," he said in an interview in his ward headquarters here. "Your first job is to get on the inside and then fight to deliver. I want to be a successful politician. I'm not interested

in a politics of making people feel good. I want to make people live good."

In trying to reverse declining turnouts, Rush and Clinton enjoy certain advantages that were not available to Dukakis. In 1988, noted David A. Bositis, a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies in Washington, there were few races around the country that engaged and energized black voters. That is not the case this year, most notably here in Illinois where the prospect that Democrat Carol Moseley Braun could be the first black woman elected to the Senate is certain to boost the black voter turnout.

In 1986, a nonpresidential year, a large black turnout in the South helped to propel several Democrats such as John B. Breaux (La.), Wyche Fowler Jr. (Ga.) and Terry Sanford (N.C.) into the Senate, Bositis said. Now these Democrats are seeking reelection in a presidential year, and their self-interested efforts to boost black voter turnout should also help Clinton, he said.

But Bositis warned that Clinton cannot take for granted that he will be the beneficiary of a huge black voter turnout this year. "It's going to take some work," he said, for

Clinton to overcome lingering doubts stemming from such factors as the Democratic nominee's sometimes strained relationship with Jesse L. Jackson and his public rebuke of black rap artist Sister Souljah.

Rush discounts these factors. He said Dukakis was "a total disaster with the black community," in part because "he made the fatal mistake of not asking the black voter to vote for Mike Dukakis." He does not expect the same mistake from Clinton and credits the Arkansas governor with "an uncanny understanding of the black community and its problems."

Moreover, added Rush the pragmatist, after 12 years of Republican rule in Washington, black voters see the 1992 contest in stark economic terms. Other issues such as Clinton's relationship with Jackson—whose role in the voter outreach program remains vague and unsettled—will be pushed into the background in the interest of a Democratic victory.

"You gotta get to the table," Rush said. "If you're not elected, you can't help nobody."

Special correspondents Lauren Ina in Chicago and Leef Smith in Los Angeles contributed to this report.

Ex-Radical Seeks Power
To the People—as Insider
Chicagoan Heads Clinton's 'Voter Outreach'

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

WASHINGTON AT WORK



HAND SIGNALS:

Clockwise from top:
Marilyn Quayle, Rep.
Sidney R. Yates
(D-Ill.), House Ways
and Means
Committee Chairman
Dan Rostenkowski
(D-Ill.) and Rep.
Sam Gibbons
(D-Fla.), Treasury
Secretary Nicholas
F. Brady.



PHOTOS BY RAY LUSTIG-THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Closing a Career of 'Making a Difference' for Colleges

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

He's the guy in the bow tie, the gentleman crusader on Capitol Hill. Charles B. Saunders Jr., the dean of higher education lobbyists, next week concludes a career that is a story of the anonymous power-houses in Washington who change American life.

"He has had a great influence on education opportunity and education equality," said Thomas Wola-

PLAYERS

nin, staff director of the House Education and Labor subcommittee on postsecondary education.

For the past three decades, Saunders has been at or near the negotiating table for virtually every major piece of legislation concerning college students. He retires a month after President Bush signed the 1992 Higher Education Amendments, which authorize more than \$100 billion over the next five years for student aid and college programs.

Saunders, 63, can recite that book-size bill item by item. As each line was haggled over, he was in the hallways of the Hill. Sometimes he wore white shoes and a straw hat. Always, it seemed, he had the air of an English patrician out for an afternoon stroll.

"It's been rewarding," he said, sitting in his office of the last 18 years, the Dupont Circle headquarters of the American Council on Education (ACE). "I felt I was making a difference, helping higher education make its case to Congress."

As chief lobbyist for a group that represents 1,800 colleges and universities, much of Saunders's time has been spent persuading contentious factions—the private and public colleges, the Jesuit and Methodist, the historically black and brand new—to march in lock step.

A descendant of Pocahontas, the Indian princess who made peace between the English settlers and Native Americans, Saunders is said to have inherited her knack for consensus. (He even named one of his five children after Pocahontas's husband, English settler John Rolfe.)

"The ACE is sort of the United Nations of higher education and Charlie is the Dag Hammarskjöld."

said William A. "Buddy" Blakey, partner in the education law firm of Clohan & Dean. "He gets them organized to express a unified position before Congress and the executive branch."

"We fall apart quite easily into special interest groups," acknowledged Robert Atwell, ACE president. Saunders, he said, is a master at uniting the education community to magnify its voice.

"There are very few people in Washington who do what Charlie does and who have the moral compass, absolute integrity, that he does," said Atwell. "Here's a guy who doesn't even gossip."

"He's a Princetonian, reserved, right out of the '50s," Atwell added—though sometimes, he said, Saunders dresses as they did in the '40s.

When Saunders first arrived in Washington, he was not long out of Princeton, and had spent a few years covering education for two small New England newspapers. In 1957, he landed his first job in the capital; as an aide to then-Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-N.J.).

Immediately, he dived into the

area that would be his mission for the next 35 years. Sputnik had just been launched, and he and others were corralled into drafting the legislation that was America's response: the National Defense Education Act of 1958. That bill, for the first time, made the federal government—not just state governments—responsible for funding education. Basically, Saunders has been arguing ever since that the federal government owes even more when it comes to education.

"I think one of the biggest problems [in higher education] is still the funding of student aid," he said, surrounded in his office by volumes of congressional bills and budget books, some dating back decades.

"I was lucky," Saunders explained. "I went to college because I got a scholarship and I always thought everybody should have the same opportunity."

One of the endangered Washington species known as liberal Republicans, Saunders held a variety of education jobs before assuming his post at ACE, including acting assistant secretary of health, education and welfare under President Rich-

ard M. Nixon. In the tumultuous 1960s, he was elected to the Montgomery County School Board, arguing against dress codes and for underground newspapers.

Bob Hochstein, assistant to the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, said part of the reason Saunders is so well-respected on both sides of the political aisle is he has never been an extremist. "Charlie is the top-flight professional who was always above politics," he said.

Elliot L. Richardson, who was secretary of health, education and welfare in 1971 when Saunders worked there, agreed: "Charlie came across as straight, direct. He wouldn't try to con you."

Blakey said he argued often with Saunders because he did not believe ACE was "pushing hard enough" in behalf of historically black colleges or minorities. "We have had some god-awful dogfights," Blakey said. "But he's always been straight, always been honest."

The son of a poorly paid New England preparatory school teacher, Saunders was accepted to Harvard, Yale and Princeton after grad-

uating from St. Mark's school in Southboro, Mass. He chose Princeton because it wasn't in a big city or too near his Boston home.

At 17, the red-hot high school pitcher won a tryout with the Boston Red Sox, but an injury cast aside his dreams of the major leagues.

He thought about teaching, as his father and uncle had done, but said he never had the patience. Instead, he chose a different path in education. Looking back now, he recalls the bigger moments: working for the passage of Pell grants, which give college money to low-income students; writing the Emergency School Aid bill under Nixon to give millions to southern schools that were desegregating; and flying around the country after Congress passed the Title IX amendment in 1972 that prohibited discrimination against women, even in sports. "Some high school administrators were very upset," he recalled of the trip to inform officials of the law. "Of course, it turned out to be a great thing."

"Charlie is synonymous with education," said Blakey. "He's to education what Tom Landry was to the Cowboys."

In all his time in Washington, Saunders said, the biggest disappointment was the Reagan years.

"The Nixon administration had a very strong education program. It was the Reagan administration that derailed a long bipartisan history of support for federal aid in education," he said. It also decimated federal funding for schools and led to an exodus of good people from government, he said.

Saunders said that Bush dashed early hopes that he would follow through on his promise to be the "education president." Saunders said all he's seen is "rhetoric, lip service."

He said he wants more details of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton's plans, but believes that the governor already "demonstrated his commitment to education" in Arkansas.

Now at the end of 35 years of work in Washington, Saunders is retiring from negotiating and numbers crunching to tennis and travel.

"It wasn't as if I was intending to devote my life to education," he said. "It's just the way it worked out."

TALKING POINTS

Sugar Negotiator Takes Kraft Post

David Marsh, a United States negotiator for sugar provisions at the North American trade talks, has resigned to accept a job at Kraft General Foods Inc., one of the country's biggest sugar buyers, raising eyebrows among some legislators.

"He is going to work for a company that will be a direct beneficiary of the sugar deal he just negotiated," said Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), a proponent of tougher rules for U.S. trade negotiators. "If this is an acceptable practice, then I say we must change the laws and close down this damaging revolving door."

Roger D. Runnigen, a U.S. Department of Agriculture spokesman disagreed, saying that Marsh, a USDA sugar specialist, was not involved in formulating trade positions: "He was a numbers cruncher and policy decisions were being made by officials eight levels above him. Therefore we do not regard this as a conflict of interest."

Marsh has recused himself of participation in the trade talks. He plans to leave USDA on Aug. 19 and join Kraft on Sept. 1.

Trade Official to Ex-Im

Timothy A. O'Leary has left the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to become vice president for public affairs at the Export-Import Bank of the United States. O'Leary, a former foreign correspondent, editor and reporter with the Washington Times, had been deputy assistant U.S. trade representative for public affairs since 1990. From 1987 to 1990 he served as a public affairs officer with the Agency for International Development.

—Gary Lee
and Stuart Auerbach

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992



As part of increasing Western pressure on Baghdad, U.S. Marines conduct a military exercise in Kuwait 30 miles from the Iraqi border. REUTER

U.N. Meeting on Iraqi Rights Abuses Requested

Session Likely to Focus on Baghdad's Treatment of Shiites in the South

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

KUWAIT CITY, Aug. 10—Aiming to increase pressure on Iraq to comply fully with the United Nations' Persian Gulf War cease-fire demands, Britain, France and the United States today requested an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council to discuss Baghdad's repression of its civilian population.

The council meeting Tuesday is likely to focus on the Iraqi government's treatment of its Shiite population in the south, particularly in the marshes where anti-government rebels are battling government forces. To quell that insurgency, the Iraqi military has taken a broad range of actions against civilians, including forced relocations and bombings of villages.

The three council members have asked that the meeting be attended by Max van der Stoep, the United Nations' special investigator of human rights abuses in Iraq. Last

week, he issued a report on the government's campaign against the Shiite population in the marshes and repeated his earlier call for urgent U.N. action to stop it.

While the Security Council has given high priority to ensuring that Iraq complies with U.N. cease-fire requirements to destroy its weapons of mass destruction, less attention has been paid to enforcing U.N. demands that Iraq halt human rights abuses.

It is not known what specific demands the council might make of Iraq during the upcoming discussion. One possibility might be an order for Iraq to stop flying airplanes and helicopters, which it has been using to bomb villages and attack rebels in southern Iraq.

Such a ban would deprive Saddam of a major weapon not only in battling the rebels but also in maintaining his own defenses against military coups. If he complied, this would be seen as another humiliating breach in his claim to sovereignty over southern Iraq. As of today, however, it was unclear whether the council will take any action. When asked

if a resolution could be expected, British Ambassador to the United Nations Sir David Hannay said, "I don't think anybody has prejudged that yet."

"At the moment, there's going to be a discussion and a debate in an open session of the council. I hope that that in itself will help to bring home to the government of Iraq the seriousness the world community feels about this continued evidence of really appalling repression," Hannay said.

Van der Stoep last March catalogued a list of longtime abuses against both the Shiites and Kurds of Iraq, describing them as one of the worst cases of violations of rights since World War II. The Iraqi government reacted sharply to the report on the Shiites, calling it false, and seeking to portray Baghdad's military offensive in the marshes as a legitimate counterinsurgency campaign.

*Washington Post special correspondent
Trevor Rowe at the United Nations
contributed to this story.*

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Away From Guards, Inmates Whisper of Abuse

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

OMARSKA, Bosnia—When the camp guards looked in another direction, the prisoners at the Serb-run detention camp here broke into nervous whispers.

"There's no doctor here," one of them breathed. "As soon as you get sick you are shot."

A handwritten note was slipped to a journalist. "About 500 people have been killed here with sticks, hammers and knives," the note said. "Until August 6, there were 2,500 people. We were sleep-

ing on the concrete floor, eating only once a day, in a rush, and we were beaten while we were eating. We have been here for 75 days. Please help us. . . . Once there is no media attention focused on us, it is not known what will happen to us."

Even more than recounting the abuses they say are taking place, the Slavic Muslims imprisoned here emphasized that they believe local Serb authorities are turning Omarska into a Potemkin village.

In the past week, they said, all but 175 of several thousand inmates once held here were transferred to other facilities, and the ones left behind apparently are for show.

One prisoner said hurriedly that the meat in his lunch of bean soup was added to impress the half-dozen foreign journalists allowed to visit the camp. Mattresses and blankets also are new items, added another, who spoke as the sound of machine-gun fire rattled in the distance.

Since Thursday, Serb militia and security forces who have taken control of two-thirds of Bosnia in four months of factional fighting have permitted a handful of foreign journalists to visit several of the dozens of detention camps in which Muslim prisoners say they have been abused and

See OMARSKA, A13, Col. 1

OMARSKA, From A1

tortured. Some former inmates have told of executions and of brutal interrogations. No outside visitor has actually witnessed such abuses, but television pictures of emaciated prisoners and testimony by former inmates have shocked the world. In addition, relief officials have received reports that almost every Serb-controlled village and city in Bosnia has a detention center for non-Serbs—whether just a jail cell or two or an entire sports stadium.

According to Serb authorities here, most of Omarska's inmates were transferred to two better facilities over the past week—a military prison in Manjaca and a "refugee camp" in Trnopolje. But many Muslims in this swath of Serb-controlled territory in northwest Bosnia near the Croatian border say they fear that some Omarska inmates have been shipped to still-secret camps elsewhere, or simply executed.

Residents of the nearby city of Banja Luka said they watched in horror as heavily guarded bus convoys carrying prisoners with shaved heads from Omarska passed by on their way to Manjaca, to the south. Several of the witnesses said they saw prisoners holding up three fingers—the Serb nationalist symbol—apparently as an act of humiliation forced on them by their Serb guards.

The Muslim-led government of Bosnia has accused Serb militia forces of running nearly 100 "concentration camps" that hold about 70,000 prisoners. The Serbs accuse Bosnia's Muslim and Croat militia forces of imprisoning about 40,000 Serbs in camps of their own. Relief officials treat those accusations as credible but believe the problem is far more severe in Serb-controlled regions of Bosnia.

Trnopolje, situated only a few miles from Omarska, also was opened to journalists on Sunday, and, surprisingly, it was possible to talk relatively freely with some prisoners who had just arrived from Omarska. With guards watching but out of earshot, tales of horror tumbled out.

At least six prisoners said in interviews that they were severely beaten at Omarska and saw executions and piles of bodies. One prisoner said that almost every day he saw about 10 to 15 fresh corpses lying in a field where a truck would eventually pick them up.

The prisoners said many Omarska inmates were held in an open mining pit that had no toilet or protection from the daytime sun and evening chill. One Muslim—frail and with a shaved head—said he was held in the pit for 72 days and able to wash just once.

"It was horrible," said an 18-year-old youth, running his hands along his torso, where the skin was stretched like a transparent scarf over his ribs and shoulder bones.

The youth said the Serbs beat him often, the first time on the evening he arrived at Omarska.

In an interrogation room, he said, he was forced to kneel on the ground and place his hands on the wall, then was pummeled with kicks to his kidneys and rifle-butt blows to the rest of his body.

"For beatings, they used hands, bars, whips, belts, anything," he said. "A normal person cannot imagine the methods they used. It was very difficult to survive psychologically."

The prisoners said they were fed meager portions of thin soup once a day at Omarska and that sometimes the water they drank came from a polluted river. They added that beatings took place irregularly but that the guards seemed to have a preference for midnight.

Still, certain moments did provide a respite from their ordeal, some inmates said. "I am sorry to say that it was good when new people came," the youth said with a sigh. "The guards beat them instead of us."

When Trnopolje guards were not looking, several inmates took me into the room in a filthy

"For beatings, they used hands, bars, whips, belts, anything. A normal person cannot imagine the methods they used. It was very difficult to survive psychologically."

— Inmate in Serb detention camp

school building where they sleep, crammed next to each other like sardines. Lying on the floor were two men, both with wounds allegedly suffered during beatings at Omarska.

The fetid tissue-paper bandage on one man's limb was peeled off to reveal a softball-size hole. There was no skin—just crushed bone and infected tissue. The inmates said the Trnopolje guards have given them no antibiotics or disinfectants for the man's festering wound.

The second man lay motionless on the ground. His lips, nose and eyes were severely bruised and swollen, and there were numerous gashes on his face. He could not speak, and he could barely blink. He looked like a battered corpse.

The Muslim prisoners who spoke out would not give their names. Some voluntarily approached the journalists, but their worried expressions sent a message that they feared punishment for their actions.

A Serb security official filmed the interviews from a distance while guards looked on and, from time to time, approached the inmates, ending the

interviews. A Serb photographer in military fatigues took pictures.

At one point, a prisoner pulled off his shirt to show me about a dozen small, fresh scars on his chest. The scars were thin and straight, as though the skin had been slashed with a sharp blade. Suddenly, before the prisoner had time to explain the scars, a look of horror came over his face. A guard was standing behind me; the interview ended.

Trnopolje is described by the Serbs who run it as a refugee camp from which anybody, including the former Omarska prisoners, can leave if they wish. There is no barbed wire around the camp, which consists of a few school buildings, a large yard with open latrines and several thousand unwashed and haggard people, mostly men.

But the detainees do not feel free. They say they cannot leave—that walking away is academic because the surrounding region is heavily militarized.

Omarska is different. It lies within a sprawling mining center and consists of a two-story building in which the remaining 175 prisoners sleep, eat and are interrogated. It is heavily patrolled by well-armed guards in military, police and civilian clothes.

The journalists' visit there seemed to terrify some prisoners. With guards listening, the inmates appeared unable to speak freely, except in a few stolen moments. When asked questions, they looked fearful and hung their heads low.

One Muslim inmate, lying on a mattress and burning up with fever, almost broke into tears when a television reporter asked if there had been beatings. Guards were standing behind the cameraman two feet away. The prisoner managed to say no and breathed a visible sigh of relief when the camera was turned off.

Manjaca, the new home for about half of those inmates transferred from Omarska, also was visited by journalists Saturday on a tightly escorted tour. They were shown animal stables crammed with several thousand men whom the Manjaca commandant said were Muslim and Croat combatants captured while fighting against Serbs.

The tour of Omarska and Trnopolje was conducted by a Serb security official named Simo Drljaca, who controls the camps and is the police chief of Prijedor, the nearest town. Drljaca flatly denied the charges of mistreatment, torture and executions.

"Interrogation is being done the same way as it is done in America and England," he said. Asked about the skeletal state of many at Omarska, he said that they were not underfed and do not even look underfed. "They are not skeletons," he boasted.

A burly Omarska guard, who had a pistol and a large hunting knife strapped to his belt and an AK-47 assault rifle slung over his shoulder, smiled when asked about the alleged torture. "Why would we want to beat them?" he said.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Bosnian Serbs Say They're Fighting Against Islamic Fundamentalism

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia, Aug. 10—The Serbs of Bosnia say they are fighting a war against their Muslim neighbors here because, among other reasons, Bosnia's Muslims want to set up a radical Islamic state.

The Serb-run press and broadcast media here—and in neighboring Serbia—routinely refer to Bosnian Muslims as fundamentalists who, if given their way, would turn this war-torn former Yugoslav republic into an Iranian-style theocracy. All women, including Serb Orthodox Christians, would be forced to wear chadors, the head-to-toe black dress of Islamic fundamentalism.

Radio flashes warn that Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, has organized a jihad, or holy war, against the Serbs. A film that Serb militia commanders like to show foreign journalists refers to Muslim combatants as Izetbegovic's "holy followers."

The idea that Bosnia's Muslims want to create a fundamentalist state in the heart of Europe may seem dubious to many outsiders, but militant Serb nationalists have seized on it as an effective tool to rally civilian support and provide a justification for partitioning Bosnia among its Muslims, Croats and Serbs—with the Serbs, who accounted for 31 percent of Bosnia's prewar population, getting the lion's share. Muslims made up 44 percent, Croats 16 percent.

Serb officials have protested Western charges that the war amounts to an attempt to grab land from Bosnia's Muslims and Croats and create a "Greater Serbia" incorporating huge swaths of Bosnia and Serb-held Croatia. They profess surprise at the failure of Western Europe to "appreciate" their effort to stop Muslim fundamentalism from gaining a foothold in Europe.

Serb leaders seem to have succeeded in persuading their own people of the Islamic threat, but there are few believers outside the Balkans. Western diplomats and

political analysts here agree that Izetbegovic bears no similarity to Ayatollah Khomeini, and over the past year they applauded his ultimately unsuccessful efforts to avoid war by preaching toleration.

Unlike Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, whose strident nationalism gave Serbs there cause for fear, Izetbegovic eschewed stridency. As Bosnia declared its independence from the old six-republic Yugoslav federation, he championed a cantonal plan that would have given significant local powers to each of the three major communal groups and guaranteed minority rights to all.

Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities had been models of toleration until militant local Serb leaders stirred up fears of an Islamic power grab that would deprive Serbs of their ancient rights and lands. For centuries before, Muslims, Serbs and Croats had lived side by side in the same villages and apartment buildings and paid respects to each other on their respective religious holidays.

Diplomats also say that they have a hard time imagining how an Islamic state could be set up in a country where Muslims, though the largest communal group here, are not in the majority. Muslims are outnumbered by Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs, who also have well-armed protectors in neighboring Serbia and Croatia.

The Muslims of Bosnia are Slavs—ethnically identical to Serbs and Croats—who converted to Islam during the region's occupation by the Ottoman Turks from the 15th century to the late 19th. The Turks were relatively tolerant of Orthodox Serbs who did not convert, but nonetheless it was not the best of times for non-Muslims.

"We are blond Muslims," said Izet Aganovic, a top official of the local Muslim relief organization Merhamet. "We are part of European culture and European civilization. About 70 percent of Bosnian Muslims don't know anything about Islam. They drink alcohol, they eat pork."

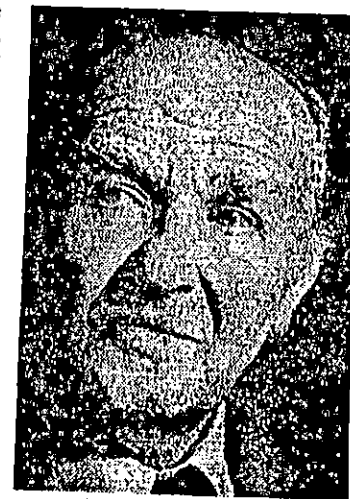
Perhaps because of that, Serb ire is largely directed at President Izet-

begovic, who is portrayed as the mastermind of a drive to create an Islamic state in Bosnia. People like Simo Drljaca, police chief of the northeast Bosnian city of Prijedor, have a quick response to queries about when Serbs will be ready to live peacefully with Muslims again: "When Alija dies."

Paradoxically, one of the few things that nationalist Serbs and Croats in Bosnia seem to have in common is an antipathy to Izetbegovic. Local Croat leaders who are bolstering their control of large areas of southern and western Bosnia—most of the country is now in the hands of Serb and Croat militia forces—also claim that Izetbegovic has Muslim fundamentalist designs.

Izetbegovic serves as a useful target for polemic, diplomats say, because without a clear and menacing enemy, partition-minded politicians would have a hard time persuading local Serbs and Croats that they need to wage a war to defend themselves and their patrimony.

Justified or not, ordinary Bosnian Serbs like Zoran Arnaut are convinced



ALIJA IZETBEGOVIC

... Bosnian president reviled by Serbs

that it's time to get rid of the Muslims. He says he was chased from his hometown by radical Croats but that he still hates Muslims more. Asked to explain why, he used one word—jihad.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Lawyers at ABA Convention Vote to Take Stand for Abortion Rights

By Sandra Torrey
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 10— Lawyers meeting here for the American Bar Association convention voted by a wide margin today in favor of abortion rights and rescinding a "neutrality" position adopted two years ago.

The 659 to 340 vote by the general membership, which sends the issue to the ABA's House of Delegates, angered some members who felt it and other recent actions by association officials have politicized the group and antagonized the Bush administration.

On Sunday, Hillary Clinton, wife of the Democratic presidential nominee, appeared with Oklahoma University law professor Anita Hill before a sellout luncheon crowd of more than 1,200 lawyers. As the convention opened, ABA President

Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte sharply criticized the Bush administration for focusing on "get-tough" edicts to deal with violent crime while ignoring gun controls and drug treatment.

Meanwhile, the ABA failed to find an agreeable time slot for an appearance by Vice President Quayle, who had asked to address the convention this morning.

Taken together, the actions "confirm my opinion that unfortunately the ABA has become increasingly politicized and simply an adjunct to the left wing of the Democratic party," said William Kristol, Quayle's chief of staff.

D'Alemberte said such charges are "silly and unfounded."

President Bush had been invited to speak, but declined, and other top administration officials are on the program, D'Alemberte said. He said he didn't want "to quibble with the

vice president's office" over logistics of Quayle's appearance, adding, "We would have liked to hear what the vice president had to say."

While much of the convention has been a celebration of the ABA's activism, some members fear the ABA is becoming too partisan.

Former ABA president Eugene Thomas of Boise, Idaho, said, "We should stay above partisan activism or we'll lose our credibility" in areas such as evaluating nominees to the Supreme Court and federal bench.

The abortion issue has caused deep and emotional division in the ABA since February 1990, when activists won an abortion-rights vote from the House of Delegates, the group's policy-making body. In August 1990, after an unprecedented lobbying blitz, the House of Delegates reversed itself and decided to remain "neutral" on the issue.

But abortion-rights activists

pushed the issue once more and today won the first round, a vote in the ABA Assembly, which is open to any member who attends the convention. While the vote is not binding when the House of Delegates considers the issue at its meeting Tuesday, it signaled the will of the majority at the meeting.

The majority today voted for a resolution that supports the right of a woman "to choose to terminate a pregnancy" before fetal viability or to protect the life or health of the mother. It opposes any laws that would restrict that right.

Both sides worked to pack the Assembly for today's vote. Supporters of ABA neutrality hired a professional public relations agent and spent nearly \$50,000 on direct mail to bring their supporters to San Francisco. The antiabortion Americans United for Life joined the battle.

The abortion-rights activists re-

lied on a vast network of women lawyers, rallied to the cause by phone calls and fliers. California Women Lawyers, which coordinated some of the effort, spent about \$10,000, according to officials.

Texas lawyer Darrell Jordan, who led the fight for neutrality, said abortion-rights backers "had pretty fertile ground in San Francisco. . . . It was a disadvantage to us."

During the debate, supporters of neutrality argued that abortion is a "moral" or "religious" issue for many, and taking a position would only polarize the ABA.

"The resolution will not help to heal, but will add to the shouting," said former ABA president John J. Curtin Jr. of Boston.

But D.C. lawyer Elaine Jones argued that the ABA cannot "duck its head and claim neutrality when the rule of law is being used to restrict a woman's right."

Israeli Role Recalled in Secret U.S.-Iran Arms Deal

CIA Operative's Testimony Puts George at 1986 Sessions Involving Talk of Hostage Initiative

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

The Reagan administration's secret arms-for-hostages mission in May 1986 arrived in Tehran aboard a disguised Israeli jet usually used by that nation's prime minister, according to a CIA operative aboard the plane.

George Cave, a veteran of 36 years in undercover roles, told the jury in the trial of former CIA spy-master Clair E. George that the blue-and-white 707 transport, painted with Irish registration numbers, was "the one that the [Israeli] prime minister uses when he flies around the world."

In his first public appearance since his role in the Iran-contra scandal was disclosed five years ago, Cave provided new details on the ill-fated initiative that led to the worst scandal in the Reagan administration.

Cave, one of the agency's top Iranian specialists and a major player in 1986 transactions, placed George at several key CIA meetings at which the covert operation was discussed and described George as the most skeptical agency official at those sessions.

George, like former defense sec-

retary Caspar W. Weinberger, another critic of the Iran initiative, has been charged by Iran-contra prosecutors with covering up the operation months later when it began unraveling in public.

A contract employee of the CIA since his retirement in early 1980, Cave took the witness stand with special precautions to protect his undercover status.

U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth banned sketches of him on the witness stand, and security guards escorted him in and out of the courtroom.

The Reagan administration envisioned the May 1986 trip to Tehran as a dramatic step that would free the four American hostages then held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian militants. It followed delivery of 1,000 TOW anti-tank missiles in February that failed to gain their release.

Cave, enlisted in March 1986 because he was an expert on Iran and fluent in the language, said he considered the initiative "worth pursuing" but had "no great hopes for success." He recounted how he and George, as well as others in the CIA's operations directorate, were strenuously opposed to the Iranian middleman, Manucher Ghorbanifar, who

had been working with then-White House aide Oliver L. North on arms-for-hostage deals since fall 1985.

Ghorbanifar, Cave said, was an arms merchant and "world-class con artist" who thoroughly flunked a CIA polygraph test in early 1986. "He got his name right, and that was probably it," Cave said.

Cave described for the first time three meetings in the office of the late CIA director William J. Casey before the May trip, led by then White House national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane. Cave said George attended at least two of the discussions and questioned the Israeli role in the mission and what would happen if the Iranians failed to deliver the hostages as promised.

Cave disclosed that he and George discussed the need to get Amiran Nir, counterterrorism adviser to Israel's then-prime minister Shimon Peres, out of the group going to Tehran.

U.S. intelligence had just discovered that Iran's radical Revolutionary Guards had supplanted the Iranian military in procurement matters and would be "very much opposed to any Jewish footprints in this operation," Cave said.

"We were trying to get the director to see if we could . . . get a

standdown on the Israeli role," Cave said. He said he felt Nir's presence on the trip "prejudiced the whole mission" because Ghorbanifar "would certainly tell the Iranians Mr. Nir was Israeli. I knew the Iranians were very, very chary of dealing with an Israeli."

But, Cave recalled, North said the only way to get him off the plane would be to have President Ronald Reagan call Peres, a step that McFarlane did not want to take.

Cave said the Americans went home from Tehran without hostages and without having met the high-ranking Iranian officials they were to see. Cave said he believed that Nir was the reason.

Cave provided support for prosecution charges that George lied when he told congressional committees in late 1986 that he had never met retired Air Force major general Richard V. Secord, North's chief middleman, and did not know what his role in the Iranian initiative was.

Cave said he believed that Secord's key supporting role in the Tehran trip was mentioned at the May 1986 meetings that George attended. "I can recall several times during the initiative where Mr. George expressed concern about Secord's involvement," Cave said.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992



JOHN MAJOR
... had warned against military action

By Eugene Robinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, Aug. 10—British concerns about a U.N. resolution authorizing military force to bring humanitarian aid to Bosnian civilians were serious enough to provoke a rare weekend impasse with the United States and stirred new criticism that Britain has failed to provide bold leadership in its current role as president of the European Community.

Britain's main worries were the possible large-scale loss of life such action might mean for British troops, while France, which also took part in drafting the resolution, had concerns of its own. These, sources here said, were chiefly that a Balkan intervention effort might be coordinated not through the United Nations but through NATO—from whose mili-

tary councils France remains aloof—and thus leave the French without a full voice in the operation.

British Prime Minister John Major and members of his cabinet have consistently warned against military action to try to end the conflict in Bosnia, as he did last year when the factional fighting was concentrated in neighboring Croatia. Both areas are former Yugoslav republics.

"It is the nature of the Yugoslav tragedy that solutions cannot be imposed from outside," Major said last week in a letter to a critic of his go-slow policy.

The government has been quick to paint the conflict as intractable and the Serbs as tenacious fighters who would be impossible to defeat quickly and who might respond to allied intervention with acts of terrorism—much as the Iraqis had been de-

scribed before the Persian Gulf War. Some officials also have pointed to the British experience in Northern Ireland as evidence of how easily a great power can become bogged down in a bitter and costly guerrilla war.

Nevertheless, public opinion began shifting here over the past several weeks, as newspapers, radio and television provided unrelenting coverage of the Balkan fighting. Political opponents began hammering at Major's inaction. Former prime minister Margaret Thatcher, from Major's own Conservative Party, joined the fray with a newspaper article arguing for military involvement. Major and his ministers were clearly on the defensive.

Then, last Thursday, the lid blew off. Britain's Independent Television News broadcast horrifying pictures

of Slavic Muslim detainees in Serb-run detention camps in Bosnia. They were searing images that seemed to prove allegations of mistreatment and starvation and that, on a visceral level, evoked the Holocaust of World War II.

Newspapers were filled with survivors' accounts of beatings, eye-gougings and gang-rapes carried out by the Serb militiamen. Editorials demanded to know why nothing was being done. It was in that highly charged context that the British government looked at the U.S.-proposed Security Council resolution and saw the potential for long-term, open-ended involvement. The British argued that any U.N. resolution should focus as narrowly as possible on the issue of delivering humanitarian aid and not provide any kind of mandate for intervening in the war itself.

The government has been reluctant to talk specifically about what kind of force might be used to make sure that aid gets where it is needed, but analysts have focused on the possible use of warplanes to provide air cover. Officials both here and in Washington have consistently shown a reluctance to consider using ground forces.

Government spokesmen said today that the compromise agreed to over the weekend retains some of the stronger language that the United States wanted, but puts it in the context of more specific and limited action. To ease French concerns, the resolution specifies U.N. authorization of military force and includes the Western European Union—of which France is a full member—as coordinating the effort along with NATO.

U.N. Resolution Represents Compromise Among Western Allies

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

AT ISSUE IN '92: THE ECONOMY

Republicans Paint Clinton Program as Anti-Growth

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a coordinated effort to shift the terms of the presidential debate, the Republicans opened an assault on the economic program of Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, hoping to paint the Arkansas governor as an opponent of economic growth whose policies would mean the loss of more than 2 million jobs over four years.

But Clinton's campaign advisers swiftly counterattacked, charging the Republicans with distorting their estimates of the Democratic plan to cover up their lack of a plan of their own "to get the economy moving."

Sensing that Clinton's plan, which lacks specifics in some key areas, is vulnerable to attack, the Republicans produced a blizzard of reports, rhetoric and statistics to undermine the Democrats' claim that they, not the Republicans, would be the party of economic growth.

The Republicans said Clinton's claims of deficit reduction, growth and new jobs were "spurious" and that his plan would have a destructive effect on the economy. "We simply believe that this plan doesn't hold water in any facet of the projections," said Clayton Yeutter, Bush's top White House domestic adviser.

Campaigning in New York and Pennsylvania yesterday, Clinton taunted the president to explain what he stands for. "What are you going to do for America if you win?" Clinton said.

The Republicans have criticized Clinton's economic plan for several weeks. But yes-

terday's orchestrated attack represented a dramatic increase in intensity that reflected GOP anxiety over the large lead Clinton has opened up against Bush in the polls.

The reports, one by the Republican staff of the Joint Economic Committee prepared for Rep. Richard K. Arney (R-Tex.) and the other issued by the Bush-Quayle Committee, were far more detailed than anything the Republicans have produced to date. Their critiques covered a wide variety of issues, but the main points fall under several broad categories.

The Republicans say Clinton's call for \$150 billion in new taxes over four years on wealthy individuals and corporations represents the largest tax increase in history. But the Clinton camp says the Republicans do not take into account that his economic plan includes individual tax cuts of about \$60 billion over the same period, offsetting some of the tax increases.

In any event, Clinton aides say, the largest tax increase in U.S. history was signed into law by then-President Ronald Reagan in 1982. That law produced tax increases of \$214 billion over five years. But the 1982 tax increase followed a massive tax cut bill signed by Reagan the previous year which reduced taxes by more than \$700 billion over the same span.

Clinton aides counter that the massive deficits that hamstringing the economy today are the result of that 1981 tax cut.

The two campaigns disagree significantly on the number of jobs Clinton's proposed \$200 billion in spending on public works and infrastructure would produce.

The Clinton camp, citing estimates by the

firm of DRI/McGraw-Hill Inc., said each \$1 billion in such spending will produce 50,000 jobs. The Republicans said Clinton's plan would produce only about 12,000 jobs for each \$1 billion in public investment. But Lowell Gallaway, a visiting scholar at the Joint Economic Committee, acknowledged that the committee had underestimated the amount of yearly investment spending Clinton has proposed.

The Republicans argue that Clinton's deficit-reduction plan is a phony, based on vague promises and weak assumptions, a charge made by some outside economists in the past. Clinton's camp defended its budget cuts, in part by charging Bush with letting the national debt balloon by 41 percent.

The Joint Economic Committee document said the first-year impact of Clinton's proposals would mean the loss of 1.8 million jobs. The Bush campaign said over four years, Clinton's policies would result in 2.6 million fewer jobs. The Clinton camp said those estimates are flawed, that they ignore some of the job-creation measures Clinton has proposed and in some cases are based on faulty assumptions. If the most commonly repeated word in the Republican documents was "tax," the most commonly used word in the Clinton response was "lie."

The biggest single impact on jobs, the Republicans say, comes from Clinton's health-care proposals. Clinton advocates cost-control measures and a phased expansion of coverage so that eventually all Americans would have health-care protection. He has argued that the money saved from cost-containment will be enough to finance universal coverage.

But Clinton's proposal lacks specifics, so the Republicans picked one of the Democratic legislative proposals in Congress, called "pay or play," which would require business to provide health insurance for workers or pay a tax to fund government coverage, and estimated the impact of that on the economy. They said the proposal would require a 7 percent payroll tax on businesses and would mean the loss of more than 700,000 jobs.

"The Republican document reaches its illogical conclusions because it hypothesizes that full coverage will be imposed immediately and without cost control," the Clinton campaign analysis said. It said its plan would have no measurable impact on unemployment.

But Ed Gillespie, an aide to Arney, challenged the Clinton campaign to provide more details of its health-care plan. "If he [Clinton] can come up with the least harmful way of doing it, he ought to answer it. We take specifics where he gives them. Where he talks policies or principles, we take the leading proposal floating around the Democratic Congress."

The Republicans say new environmental regulations advocated by Clinton would cost 271,000 jobs the first year and about 300,000 over four years. The Clinton camp said the Republican analysis is based on a false assumption and a misreading of Clinton's program. The Republicans agreed they had misread Clinton's proposal for higher fuel economy standards but said using a new carbon tax as the basis for calculating jobs lost was an attempt to figure out how Clinton would fulfill his environmental objectives. Clinton has not proposed a carbon tax.



REP. RICHARD K. ARNEY
... report challenges Clinton health-care plan

The two camps also disputed the impact of Clinton's proposal that all companies devote 1.5 percent of their payroll costs to worker training programs. The Republicans said it represented a "regressive payroll tax" that would cost 265,000 jobs the first year. "The Republicans don't understand that worker training and investment have tremendously high returns because they create high-wage jobs," Clinton campaign officials argued.

Clinton advisers also complained that the Republicans account only for jobs lost from new tax increases, but give the Democratic nominee no credit for cutting taxes on business. The Republicans said they had accounted for both.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Foley, Pummeled Last Spring, Again Paramount in the House

Deft Politicking, Absence of Alternative Erase Threat

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), whose speakership tottered in the spring during the House Bank scandal, has restored his standing with most Democratic members and appears headed for reelection to his leadership post without a serious challenge, House sources say.

In response to methodical politicking by Foley in recent months, a majority of Democratic Caucus members have agreed to vote for him as speaker in the next Congress, these sources said. They also said Foley enjoys a cushion of additional pledges from more than a dozen party nominees who are likely to win House seats in heavily Democratic districts.

The assumption that Foley's reelection is virtually assured—which some of those still critical of him share—contrasts with doubts about his future expressed during the public outcry about members' overdrafts at the now-closed House Bank. One Democrat, Rep. John Bryant (Tex.), went on the House floor in April and called on Foley to step down because he "refuses to be a political leader."

Besides being bolstered by his own campaign for support, Foley has benefited from the uneven impact of the House Bank as a political issue, the absence of a plausible alternative as speaker and the emergence of Democrat Bill Clinton as a strong contender for the White House, several House Democrats observed.

The public sniping at Foley has dropped to whispers as Democratic members have focused on their own reelection, the Clinton campaign and legislation.

"From my knowledge of the House, he's enormously strong right now," said Rep. Bill Richardson (D-N.M.), who is working on Foley's behalf. "He could beat any member one-on-one, decisively."

Foley, who succeeded Jim Wright of Texas after he resigned in June 1989, said only that his political overtures have received "a very positive response."

The speaker said he expects to have consulted, in individual sessions or small dinner groups, virtually every Democratic member by the time the House begins its August recess Wednesday.

"The mood is much more optimistic, much more confident. . . . If not night and day, then a dusk and dawn difference" from the spring, Foley said.

House sources said more than 140 Democrats—excluding 53 who have lost primaries or announced their retirements—have pledged to back Foley for speaker in December. That is when the Democratic Caucus is to meet and nominate its leaders and committee chairmen—assuming the party, which now has 272 House members including delegates, retains the House majority it has held since 1955.

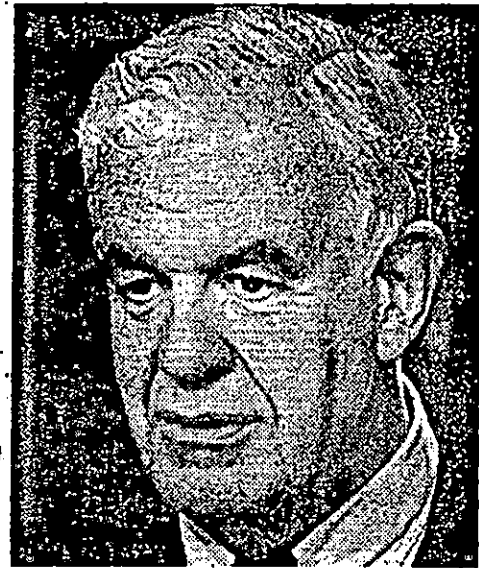
"He is in good shape," said Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.), a liberal who is Foley's chief vote-counter. "The speaker has support in every faction of the party."

Rep. Mike Parker (D-Miss.) said most of the 70 members in the Conservative Democratic Forum are with Foley. Rep. Chet Edwards (D-Tex.) said a majority of 30 freshmen and more than a dozen party nominees who are likely to win their elections are in Foley's camp too.

"The incoming class is going to be made up of a lot of state legislators and local officials," Edwards said. "They want to be players in the House, and to do that they know it helps to be a friend of the speaker."

Senior committee chairmen like Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) of Ways and Means and Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) of Energy and Commerce have endorsed Foley's reelection bid, according to their aides.

Foley has won over some critics, such as



SPEAKER THOMAS S. FOLEY
... no serious leadership challenge seen

Rep. Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.). He had criticized Foley for having no plan to handle the House Bank issue and for lacking political aggressiveness. "I wanted to see him fight, and he fought" for his speakership, said Torricelli, now a Foley supporter.

But Bryant said his criticism of Foley still stands. "It's a question of whether a person is an instinctive leader, and he is not," Bryant said.

Two members rumored to be likely competitors of Foley, Rep. Charlie Rose (D-N.C.) and Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), said they would not challenge him.

Rose, chairman of the House Administration Committee, once called the House Bank "the never-ending story" and blamed Foley for the heavy news media coverage. "Things have calmed down," Rose conceded last week.

"I doubt that there will be a challenger, and I'm not a challenger," said McCurdy, who has criticized Foley's leadership.

Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), a leading House conservative, cited "a very remote chance" that he would challenge Foley and press for changes in the House's management and agenda.

Stenholm expressed dismay at the large number of colleagues committing themselves "without any material changes in direction. . . . They're already pledged, and it's business as usual. It's not comforting."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Serb Rebuffs Torture Allegations, Limits Visit by Foreign Journalists



PRIJEDOR, Bosnia—Are Serb leaders in Bosnia trying to cover up evidence of brutal prison camps?

In an effort to prove otherwise, Prijedor Police Chief Simo Drljaca escorted a group of foreign journalists to the Keratern ceramics factory, which Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government alleges was used as a detention and torture facility for several thousand Muslim prisoners.

Drljaca showed the journalists a workshop building that he said was used only on July 24 and 25 to house 500 captured Muslim militiamen. He laughed off allegations that thousands of Muslims had been held in factory buildings for several months and repeatedly mistreated.

But this particular building showed no signs of recent habitation. No human grime or refuse, no lingering smells of sweat or waste. Drljaca said the warehouse had been cleaned up after the prisoners were transferred, but the floor was coated with a layer of dust that seemed far too thick to have accumulated in two

weeks. It seemed, in fact, that the building had been vacant for a very long time.

Later in the day, the journalists were taken to a detention camp at Trnopolje, about 15 miles away, where several Muslim prisoners said in interviews that they had been held for two months at the ceramics factory and regularly beaten before being abruptly transferred on Aug. 6. They said about 2,000 Muslims had been interned there, and that some had died. The inmates said they were held in three storage warehouses at the Keratern factory and had never been near the workshop building that was shown to journalists.

Drljaca had refused to permit an inspection of several warehouses about 200 yards away from the workshop building. He said the warehouses were sensitive "military sites" that, for security reasons, could not be viewed or photographed by outsiders. During the journalists' visit, no military activity was visible at the warehouses.

— Peter Maass

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9:15 a.m.

Committees:

Armed Services—10 a.m. Bosnia, U.S. & Western responses. 106 Dirksen Office Bldg.
Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Consolidation of professional liability section of Resolution Trust Corp. Legal Division. 538 DOB.
Commerce, Science & Transportation—10 a.m. Mark up Aviation Noise Improvement & Capacity Act; Aviation Insurance Act; Land Remote Sensing Policy Act; Federal Trade Commission Act; Bicycle Helmet Promotion Act; Clean Vessel Act of '91; Marine Mammal Health & Stranding Response Act; nomination of Jose Antonio Villamil for Commerce undersec. for economic affairs; Mary Jo Jacobi for Commerce asst. sec. for congressional & intergovernmental affairs. 253 Russell Office Bldg.
Energy & Natural Resources—9:30 a.m. Outer Continental Shelf Deep Water Production Incentives Act. 366 DOB.
Energy & Natural Resources—2:30 p.m. Public lands, national parks & forests subc. Establish America the Beautiful Passport; auth. approps. for further dev. of Pennsylvania Ave. between Capitol & White House; Cameron Parish, La., land conveyance; limit approps. for projects not specifically auth. by law. 366 DOB.
Foreign Relations—2 p.m. Amb. nominations of John Bookout to Saudi Arabia, David Dunford to Oman, John Monjo to Pakistan & William Rugh to United Arab Emirates. 419 DOB.
Foreign Relations—3 p.m. Amb. nominations of Harriet Isom to Cameroon, Ruth Davis to Benin & Mack Mattingly to Seychelles. 562 DOB.
Foreign Relations—2:30 p.m. Amb. nominations of Marilyn McAfee to Guatemala, William Pryce to Honduras & Alexander Watson to Brazil. S-116 Capitol.
Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Perm. subc. on investigations. Corruption in professional boxing. 216 Hart Office Bldg.
Governmental Affairs—2 p.m. Oversight of government management subc. Reauth. of independent counsel law. 342 DOB.
Judiciary—10 a.m. Reauth. of Justice Dept. programs. 226 DOB.
Judiciary—2:30 p.m. Pending nominations. 226 DOB.
Select on POW-MIA Affairs—9:30 a.m. Will close. Postwar efforts to account for military personnel missing in Southeast Asia. Texas businessman Ross Perot. 325 ROB.

HOUSE

Meets at noon.

Committees:

Agriculture—10 a.m. Forests, family farms & energy subc. Chelan County, Wash., land exchange; Custer National Forest acquisition & boundary adjustment. 1302 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Armed Services—10 a.m. Defense policy panel. Nonmilitary options for dealing with Iraq. 2118 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Armed Services—2 p.m. Military personnel & compensation subc. Standardize law on appointment, promotion & separation of commissioned military reserve officers. 2212 RHOB.
Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Financial institutions supervision, regulation & insurance subc. Financial Institution Restitution Collection Improvement Act of '92. 2128 RHOB.

District Of Columbia—10 a.m. Mark up to establish Supreme Court for D.C.; D.C. small claims cases & prosecution of juvenile defendants; expand penalties for violent & drug crimes near D.C. schools & revise bail & pretrial detention standards; require death penalty for certain crimes in D.C.; require death penalty or life imprisonment without parole for first degree murder in D.C.; discuss legis. drafts on victims' rights & witness prot.; D.C. Council proposals on criminal & juv. just. report. 1310A LHOB.

Energy & Commerce—10 a.m. Health & the environment subc. Mark up Radon Awareness & Disclosure Act. 2322 RHOB.

Energy & Commerce—10:30 a.m. Energy & power subc. Mark up Petroleum Marketing Competition Enhancement Act. 2123 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—10 a.m. Europe & the Middle East subc. Promoting pluralism & democracy in Middle East. 2200 RHOB.

Government Operations—11:30 a.m. Human resources & intergovernmental relations subc. Mark up Local Partnership Act of '92. 2247 RHOB.

Government Operations—2 p.m. Mark up Local Partnership Act of '92. 2154 RHOB.

Interior & Insular Affairs—10 a.m. National parks & public lands subc. Taos, N.M., land conveyance; auth. construction of Cumberland Mountain Trail in Kentucky & Virginia & study on establishment of Cumberland National Recreation Area. 1324 LHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Vote to provide for increased preinspection at foreign airports, make visa waiver pilot program permanent, & to provide for expedited airport immigration processing; amend Chapter 171 of Title 28, U.S. Code; allow claims against United States under that chapter for damages arising from certain negligent medical care provided by members of armed forces; granting consent of Congress to New Hampshire-Maine Interstate School Compact; granting consent of Congress to supplemental compact or agreement between Commonwealth of Pennsylvania & State of New Jersey concerning Delaware River Port Authority. Mark up Civil Liberties Act Amendments of '92; amend Civil Liberties Act '88; Audio Home Recording Act of '91. Consider investigative report, "The Inslaw Affair." 2141 RHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—10 a.m. Fisheries & wildlife conservation & the environment subc. & oceanography, Great Lakes, & outer continental shelf subc. Proposed National Clean Water Investment Corp. & options for clean water funding. 1334 LHOB.

Rules—1:30 p.m. Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act & Water Resources Development Act. H-313 Cap.

Science, Space & Technology—9:30 a.m. Science subc. Economic consequences of catastrophic earthquake & role of hazard mitigation & insurance. 2318 RHOB.

Science, Space & Technology—2 p.m. Mark up National Competitiveness Act. 2318 RHOB.

Ways & Means—9 a.m. Oversight subc. Financial cond. of Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. 1100 LHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Health subc. Establish demonstration project to assess participation of providers of Dept. of Veterans Affairs in Medicare program. 2203 RHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Human resources subc. Report of Interstate Commission on Child Support. B-318 RHOB.

Select on Children, Youth & Families—10 a.m. Fire safety issues. 2237 RHOB.

Conferees—3 p.m. Waste Isolation Pilot Plant Land Withdrawal Act. 2123 RHOB.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Barr Refuses to Seek Special Counsel on Iraq

Democrats' Probe Request Called 'Unsupported'

By Sharon LaFraniere
Washington Post Staff Writer

Attorney General William P. Barr yesterday denied a congressional request for an independent investigation of whether Bush administration officials broke any laws in trying to contain political embarrassment over its Iraq policies, a decision that Democrats vehemently protested.

In a pointed, 14-page letter, Barr told the House Judiciary Committee that the Justice Department was perfectly capable of determining on its own whether anyone committed a crime—either in managing an agricultural program that assisted Saddam Hussein's regime before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait two years ago or in trying to limit political fallout stemming from that assistance. He said the committee's July request that he seek an independent counsel amounted to "no more than an unsupported assertion that some unnamed person may have violated a number of listed statutes."



WILLIAM P. BARR

... retains control of investigation

Barr's response marked the first time an attorney general has denied a congressional request for an independent counsel since the passage of the independent counsel statute in 1978. It left House Democrats

See BARR, A4, Col. 1

BARR, From A1

Democrats, who have spent months trying to unearth criminal activity, sputtering in anger but with no avenue for appeal.

Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), who heads the Judiciary Committee, said Barr was "stonewalling, plain and simple"—acting as if Congress had to "present a signed and sealed indictment of criminal wrongdoing for the U.S. prosecutor to simply execute the next day."

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who chairs the Banking Committee, said Barr "is misusing his office and damaging the integrity of the Justice Department." Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, campaigning in Philadelphia, also expressed disappointment, saying "it appears there is a lot of evidence there . . . to go on."

Especially with President Bush in a heated battle for reelection, House Democrats said, Barr should not be trusted to look into such potentially embarrassing allegations. Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) said Barr should have at least agreed to open a 60-day preliminary inquiry—the next step in determining whether to seek appointment of an independent counsel by a special division of the U.S. Court of Appeals here. "That's how bald-faced this was," Schumer said.

Barr defended a number of actions taken by the Bush administration regarding Iraq, vouching for them in his letter with comments such as "not a crime," "simply not criminal in any way," "nothing illegal" and "far from being a crime." He said the only questions worthy of criminal investigation are whether

administration officials deliberately altered Commerce Department documents to conceal military sales to Iraq and purposely misled Congress about Iraq policy.

In both cases, he said, there is no reason why the department can't conduct its own investigation. "These are the kinds of allegations that are routinely investigated by the Public Integrity Section and there is no conflict of interest that precluded their handling these matters in the normal course," his letter said.

Barr specifically addressed charges that higher-ups in the administration ordered Dennis Kloske, then a Commerce Department undersecretary, to alter Commerce Department documents showing 771

exports to Iraq of technology and equipment that would be put to military use. Democrats like Schumer cite 68 changes to the documents,

including the removal of some references to military applications, as the strongest single argument for an independent counsel.

Kloske said in an affidavit to the Judiciary Committee that an interagency panel approved changes in references to interagency deliberations. But Barr said "the evidence to date indicates that no official above Kloske had any involvement in the decision to make the changes in question."

He added that the evidence shows that Kloske made the changes because he believed the records were inaccurate and that

the documents still conveyed the essential information.

Barr said the department has cleared former agriculture secretary Clayton Yeutter of allegations he made false statements to Congress. In February 1990, Yeutter told Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) that foreign policy considerations did not contribute to a decision to approve \$1 billion in new agricultural credits to Iraq, although a State Department memo shows Secretary of State James A. Baker III had called Yeutter to urge the credits be approved "on foreign policy grounds."

The attorney general said a 94-page Justice Department report delivered to the committee yesterday but not released, explains why Yeutter's statements "simply are

not false." He said the department is still investigating other allegations of false statements by lower-level administration officials.

Barr dismissed suggestions that U.S. officials allowed Iraq to use the proceeds of the agricultural credit program to arm itself militarily. He said no evidence has yet emerged that such a diversion occurred, much less any evidence that U.S. officials "knowingly participated in or facilitated such diversion."

He repeated his own department's defense against allegations that it restricted federal prosecutors in Atlanta in their investigation of \$5 billion in unauthorized loans to Iraq from the Atlanta branch of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, an Italian-owned bank. Barr insisted that

higher-ups at the department strove to strengthen, not undermine, a federal indictment that ultimately included several Iraqis. He said the federal judge who ultimately heard the case relied on "incorrect" information when he called for an independent counsel.

Brooks predicted that Barr's action would boost congressional support for renewal of the independent counsel statute, due to expire on Dec. 15. Key House Democrats indicated earlier this summer that a vote would be put off until next year, but a new Senate proposal on revising the statute appears to have increased support for renewal.

Staff writer R. Jeffrey Smith contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Nunn Warns of Defense Bill Impasse

Pentagon May Have to Go on Stopgap Funding; SDI at Issue

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) warned yesterday that Congress will not be able to pass a defense authorization bill for next year unless the Senate can break a bitter deadlock over spending for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

If the impasse continues, the Pentagon might have to be put on stopgap funding for the fiscal year starting Oct. 1, without cost savings, military conversion initiatives and other programs that the defense bill proposes for the year, Nunn said.

Nunn told the Senate he could see "no use" continuing work on the \$275 billion defense bill after Republican conservatives led by Sen.

Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.) balked at a final vote on proposed funding for the "Star Wars" anti-missile defense system.

In a surprise vote Friday night that reversed years of support for the SDI program, the Senate refused, 49 to 43, to derail a proposal to trim \$1 billion from the Armed Services Committee's SDI allocation of \$4.3 billion. The committee figure already represented a \$1.1 billion reduction from President Bush's \$5.4 billion proposal for the anti-missile program. Conservatives blocked further action on the bill.

When the Senate returned to the bill yesterday, Sens. Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) and Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) insisted on a final vote on the proposed cut before moving on to other issues, and Wallop objected when Senate leaders at-

tempted to schedule that vote for today.

This left the bill pinned down between the two opposing SDI forces.

While he had opposed the \$1 billion SDI cut, Nunn appeared to fault Wallop more than Sasser and Bumpers for the defense authorization impasse, saying that "at some point" the will of the majority had to prevail.

Attempts to revive the bill before the Senate leaves Wednesday for a month-long recess are at least theoretically possible, although Nunn did not appear to hold out much hope.

Nunn said the bill also could be brought up again in September, but warned that it would take "extraordinary cooperation" to rescue it at that point before the fiscal year begins.

POLITICS

Colorado Senate Primary Produces Deep Divisions

It wouldn't surprise anyone if the three Democrats who face off in today's Senate primary in Colorado never speak to each other again. It has been that kind of campaign.

Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who is ahead in the polls, has informed his rivals, former governor Richard D. Lamm and unsuccessful 1990 Senate nominee Josie Heath, that he might withhold his endorsement if he loses the primary because they engaged in negative advertising.

The three announced for the nomination in April, hours after Sen. Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.) said he would not run.

Lamm has been on the defensive during much of the campaign because of his controversial three terms as governor, ending in 1986. The elderly are still angry about comments he made in 1984—which helped earn him the nickname "Governor Gloom"—that the terminally ill had a "duty to die." Hispanics have attacked him for supporting immigration quotas.

"I'll tell you what the issue is, Dick," Campbell said to Lamm during a televised debate last Wednesday. "I'm going to have to look inside myself very, very carefully after all the insults you have

made to minorities, to the handicapped, to the elderly, to everybody else in the state of Colorado."

Lamm turned on Campbell, the only Native American in Congress, saying he sold out to political action committees, including the National Rifle Association. Lamm and Heath refuse PAC donations.

Campbell and Lamm have attacked Heath, who is married to a millionaire, after she said during the debate that she never would vote for pay raises for state or federal officials as Campbell and Lamm have done.

"You don't have to, Josie," Campbell replied. "You're a millionaire already." "Yeah," Lamm added.

Noting that there are only two women in the Senate, Heath went after her rivals on the basis of gender. Referring to the Senate debate on the Persian Gulf War, she said, "I looked over the floor at that sea of suits, I thought, 'Where are the mothers to join the fathers to decide whether or not our sons or our daughters go to war?'"

The winner will face former state senator Terry Considine, a Republican who has no primary opponent.

Texas Polls Gloomy for Bush

■ The political news in President Bush's

sometime home state is hardly reassuring one week before he goes there to accept his party's nomination: Bill Clinton has jumped to a substantial lead over him in Texas, according to two statewide polls.

The Texas Poll released yesterday showed that if the election were held today, Clinton would get 49 percent of the votes cast and Bush 35 percent. Six percent of 715 likely voters surveyed said they would vote for neither of the candidates and 10 percent were undecided.

In a poll published Sunday in the Houston Chronicle, Clinton was favored by 43 percent of 835 voters questioned, and Bush by 29 percent. Twenty-four percent said were undecided, and 4 percent backed Texas billionaire Ross Perot.

Clinton appeared to gain the most from Perot's decision last month not to run for president. Of former Perot backers, 37 percent said they plan to vote for the Arkansas governor; 25 percent backed Bush.

Perot has until Aug. 31 to decide whether to take his name off the Texas ballot.

The Chronicle poll, conducted by the University of Houston Center for Public Policy, found that Bush trailed throughout Texas, including the Houston area that Bush represented when he was in the House in the late 1960s and where he claims a hotel room as his home.

—Maralee Schwartz

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

U.N. Resolution Also Seeks Access to Detention Sites

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 10—The United States, Britain and France have reached agreement on a U.N. Security Council resolution that would authorize use of military force in Bosnia in the event Serb militia forces oppose international deliveries of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital, and other civilian centers in the war-torn Balkan republic.

The resolution, which diplomats here said was deliberately vague in defining the military means to be used, calls on the international community to "take all measures necessary . . . in coordination with the United Nations" to facilitate the delivery by humanitarian agencies of relief "to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"Basically this gives authorization to the Western European Union and NATO to coordinate procedures and to provide assistance," said a Western diplomat, referring to the two organizations grouping the United States, Canada and Western Europe. Left unclear was the structure and potential cost of such an ambitious operation and the number of troops that might be needed to enforce it.

"The numbers, the game plan, we're not aware of such a thing," said a senior Western official, who added that military planning details were outside the scope of the diplomatic effort here. One military specialist here estimated, however, that more than 100,000 troops might be needed to ensure the success of the mission. Diplomats said the decision on where the aid will go—other than Sarajevo, where the relief effort is expected to continue by airlift and truck convoy—will be determined by world relief agencies.

Much of the new international determination to play a greater role in resolving the Balkan crisis stems from recent revelations of human rights abuses at Serb-run detention camps in Bosnia, and the draft resolution also demands that immediate "unimpeded and continuous access to all camps, prisons and detention centers . . .

See NATIONS, A14, Col. 1

NATIONS, From A1

[be granted] to the [Red Cross] and other relevant humanitarian organizations and that all detainees therein receive humane treatment, including adequate food, shelter and medical care."

In a parallel effort, the United States, Britain and France agreed on a separate draft resolution that would punish all combatants guilty of war crimes in the continuing Balkan fighting. This document calls upon all nations and humanitarian organizations "to collate substantiated information in their possession . . . relating to violations of international law, including grave breaches of the Geneva Convention" and to make this information available to the Security Council.

Some diplomats here said both resolutions were a direct result of political pressure generated around the world by television and newspaper images of starving Bosnian Muslims in Serb detention camps. "There's a tremendous head of steam out there," said one Western official.

A vote on the resolutions is scheduled for Wednesday, and some diplomats here said they hope it will provide such a firm demonstration of U.N. resolve on the issue that the ac-

tual deployment of troops may not be necessary.

Agreement on the use-of-force resolution followed what diplomatic and political sources described as difficult weekend negotiations among the three allies before the U.S. view ultimately prevailed. Diplomats here said France and Britain had favored language calling for a build-up of the U.N. peace-keeping force in Croatia, where a 14,000-member contingent is enforcing a truce in a bloody Serb-Croat war that left more than 10,000 dead last year and about a quarter of Croatia in the hands of Serb insurgents.

That force, which is under direct U.N. command, also provides the support personnel for the five-week-old international airlift to 300,000 hungry civilians in Sarajevo who have been besieged there for four months by encircling Serb forces.

U.S. negotiators supported a scaled-down Persian Gulf War-style operation in which the U.N. sanctioned use of force but left control of the troops to the member nations most directly involved in the military effort.

Some Bush administration officials had complained that the disagreement had less to do with specific language in the resolution than with a general British "effort to stall" because of London's "very extreme re-

luctance" to commit ground forces of their own and expose them as targets of retaliatory attacks by Serb militiamen or provocateurs among Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led defense forces.

For the moment, U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has not indicated whether he intends to retain U.N. troops in Sarajevo, but Western diplomats here said the United States, Britain and France "attach great importance to their staying in place at the airport."

An indication of Boutros-Ghali's reluctance to expose U.N. troops to attacks by the warring sides in Bosnia was reflected in his opposition last week to a French proposal that the U.N. Balkan mission be strengthened. According to one official, Boutros-Ghali initially favored a U.S. proposal that "enabled him to wash his hands of Bosnia" and to pull out all U.N. forces in favor of a multilateral international coalition.

The force resolution was presented Monday afternoon to Russia and China—the other two permanent members of the Security Council—in hopes of eliciting their support, diplomats said. Russia was said to back the document, while China appeared likely to abstain.

Bosnia's ambassador here, Muhamed Sacirbey, criticized the resolution, saying it only addresses the

"symptoms" and not the "illness" of the factional warfare in his homeland, which he said was the Serb forces' campaign of expelling all non-Serbs from lands they control—the notorious "ethnic cleansing."

He predicted that the campaign to bring humanitarian relief would only "exacerbate" the situation and embolden Serb militiamen to greater abuses. "Cynically, I think one could say the civilian population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, under the present anticipated resolution, is being fattened up before the slaughter," Sacirbey said.

In Sarajevo, meanwhile, local officials warned that the city is running out of bread, its main food during the Serb siege, and called on Western leaders to speed their efforts to establish a protected land supply route to the city from neighboring Croatia.

The Reuter news agency reported that the sole operating bakery in the Bosnian capital has only enough flour for two more weeks of bread. "This is a matter of life and death," Sarajevo Mayor Muhamed Kresevljakovic said. "Our main food for the past four months has been bread, but the flour is ended. We don't have any more."

Staff writer Ann Devroy in Kennebunkport, Maine, and correspondent Eugene Robinson in London contributed to this story.

Camp Revelations Spur Allied Action on Bosnian Relief

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

U.S. Tolerated Iraqi Fronts, Gonzalez Says

The U.S. government knew an Iraqi network of front companies was buying equipment for weapons of mass destruction before the Persian Gulf War but "decided to tolerate its activity," House Banking Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) charged yesterday.

Gonzalez, who delivered the latest in a series of weekly speeches about U.S. policy toward Iraq, said Iraqi ownership or control of some companies was detected by U.S. intelligence agencies more than a year before the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control moved to halt their U.S. operations.

He said his statement was based on CIA reports reviewed by his staff during a year-long investigation.

Dozens of firms were named as Iraqi front companies by the Treasury Department in April 1991, a month after the Persian Gulf War ended. But Gonzalez also said some U.S. and foreign companies depicted in corporate files he has obtained as Iraqi-owned or Iraqi-operated have still not been officially named as Iraqi fronts.

"Limited funds enable them to assign only a handful of investigators to the task of identifying Iraqi assets" in these firms, Gonzalez said of Treasury's effort.

Treasury Department spokeswoman Claire Buchan responded that "we do regard our Office of Foreign Assets Control as a high priority," and added that the office staff was "beefed up" to investigate Iraqi front companies after August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Buchan said the department's work is continuing and more firms will eventually be added to the list of front companies.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Republicans Repudiate Tax Increase

Platform Panel Keeps Antiabortion Plank; Mixed Result for Bush

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 10—A Republican Party buffeted by low poll ratings began the task of writing its platform today by repudiating the 1990 tax increase signed by President Bush and, after a passionate debate, voting to stay on record as being firmly opposed to abortion.

Meeting a week before party delegates gather here for a convention that will be critical to Bush's attempt to revive his declining political fortunes, today's platform sessions produced at best a mixed result for the president. The abortion and tax discussions nearly drowned out the opening shots of the Republicans' effort to use the convention to cast the Democratic ticket of Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) as advocates of big government and higher taxes.

By a 17 to 3 vote, a subcommittee adopted an antiabortion platform plank nearly identical to the one four years ago, declaring that "the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed."

Speaking for the abortion rights forces here—which were better represented in the hallways than on the subcommittee—Bobbi Breske, a delegate from Delaware, asked her colleagues: "Are we to put lives in jeopardy in back alleys because a girl has been raped? . . . We're not willing to face hard and nasty facts."

But the subcommittee, under the direction of the Bush campaign, was dominated by abortion opponents, including one member, Virginia C. Phillips of Alaska, who described her experience having an abortion. One speaker after another argued that the party should stick to its principles.

"There's no difference between a law prohibiting abortion and a law prohibiting murder," said Carole C. Vells of South Carolina, who chaired the subcommittee that dealt

See REPUBLICANS, A6, Col. 1

REPUBLICANS, From A1

with the issue. "The Republican Party was built on the principle that no person is the property of another."

Another subcommittee signaled how much damage Republicans think Bush did himself in breaking his "no new taxes" pledge when it unanimously approved an amendment that declared the 1990 tax increases "a mistake." It blamed them on Democrats in Congress and called for their repeal.

The tax amendment was sponsored by Rep. Vin Weber (Minn.), who called the tax increase, part of the 1990 budget deal, "a bone in the throat of the Republican Party." Weber, part of a group of Republicans pushing Bush toward a more aggressive economic policy, said it was time to "get this issue behind us."

Although the Bush campaign was plainly in control of today's proceedings, some longtime Republicans conceded that the mood here was one of worry and doubt—a far cry from the optimistic Republican Party that began its domination of presidential politics with Ronald Reagan's triumph in 1980.

"It's defensive," said Donald J. Devine, a former Reagan administration official who chairs the Committee for a Conservative Platform. "But it's more kind of a smell of panic. They don't know whether Bush is going to be able to pull it out or not."

At the opening platform session this morning, Sen. Don Nickles (Okla.) summarized the Republican message this way: "Clinton and Gore—They've got what it takes to take what you've got."

Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.) offered a preview of the keynote address he will give on the convention's opening night next Monday with an occasionally humorous and biting tour through Clinton's economic program.

Gramm charged that Clinton favored more than \$80 billion annually in new taxes and new spending. "Only in Cuba and North Korea and the Democratic Party in Washington, D.C., do we still have political groups who believe that the answer to problems is more government," he said. "They

are the party of government, and we are the party of opportunity."

But the subcommittee's repudiation of the budget deal Bush agreed to two years ago underscored the belief of many Republicans—notably supply-side conservatives like Weber and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.)—that Bush's record on taxes could undermine the critique of Clinton.

Anxious to avoid any fights, the Bush

campaign gave its blessing to Weber's amendment after Weber conferred with Charles Black, who is overseeing the platform-writing process for Bush.

Black rationalized the move by saying that the platform was already committed—in the long run—to tax cuts. Weber's amendment, he said, simply moved the 1990 taxes near the top of the list of those that should be cut. Weber noted that Bush himself has admitted that the budget deal was a mistake.

Several members of the subcommittee said it was important for Republicans to admit error. "I think we have to eat a little humble pie," said Mary Kohler, a delegate from Wisconsin.

The wording of the amendment, and Bush's apparent acquiescence to it, suggested that the Republicans plan to do all they can to shift blame for the tax increases to Democrats in Congress.

The abortion issue is expected to be debated again on Tuesday, though the result is virtually certain to be the same. However, Black held open the possibility that some way might be found—perhaps through a resolution by the Republican National Committee—to emphasize the party's openness to people of a variety of viewpoints.

Members of the platform committee rejected or substantially altered the language of the Bush-backed draft in a number of areas, notably the sections on education and AIDS.

The AIDS section was amended to emphasize socially conservative themes, notably that AIDS education "should stress marital fidelity, abstinence and a drug-free lifestyle." The amended version continued to call for "compassion" for people with AIDS, but added that AIDS "should be treated as any other communicable or sexually transmitted disease."

Today's debates were based around a 71-page draft platform that summarized Bush's achievements—at particular length in the foreign policy section—and his proposals. It also included a long series of attacks on liberals on issues from crime and taxes to "family values" and education.

Recalling the party's days of good fortune during the 1988 campaign, the draft reiterated the Republicans' advocacy of the "recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in schools as a reminder of the principles that sustain us as one nation under God."

ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ NBC (Ch. 4), 10-11 p.m.

"Dateline NBC"

White House interview
with Stone Phillips
to be taped
this afternoon.



The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

COLMAN MCCARTHY

Land Mines Extend War's Deadly Reach

In a village in southeastern Turkey recently, a tractor carrying men and women to work struck a land mine. Five people were killed and 10 wounded. A few weeks before, in the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, a bus hit a land mine and 14 people died. Before that, in Croatia, two nurses suffered broken legs and concussions when, while evacuating casualties from a battle, their truck rolled over a land mine.

International statistics aren't kept on land mine deaths. Only estimates are available. Sixty Cambodians a month are said to be dying or losing limbs. In the 14-year Afghanistan war, 200,000 people, largely civilians, died from mines, with another 400,000 wounded. Vietnamese and Laotians are still being blown up by devices laid 25 years ago by U.S. soldiers. In the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi soldiers spread several million pounds of mines in the back yards, beaches and deserts of Kuwait.

This killing and maiming is part of a silent war. It is waged mostly against civilians and mostly in impoverished nonindustrial countries.

On July 30, the U.S. connection to this global gore came before the Senate. Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) offered an amendment to the pending military authorization bill that would put a year's ban on selling or exporting land mines.

Compared with the expensive and complex technologies of death the United States peddles to Third World governments, mines that merely blow up people one at a time are just trinkets in the arsenal of slaughter. For the Pentagon, pocket change is involved: Sales of antipersonnel land mines for the past five years totaled \$841,145.

The State Department has granted 10 licenses in the last decade to U.S. firms for commercially exporting devices worth \$980,000.

Thirty-five countries are in the business. Spain, Italy and Greece manufacture the SB-33 antipersonnel mine, a five-ounce explosive that can be strewn by helicopter or buried by hand. The former Soviet Union marketed a 6½-pound mine that when activated by a foot, or some other pressure, jumps five to eight feet in the air and sends shrapnel into people's bodies. In the trade, these mines are called "Bouncing Bettys."

In 1982, the United States signed a U.N. protocol that prohibited or restricted the use of certain conventional weapons, including land mines. There was one problem. The Senate had to ratify

the protocol. In 10 years neither the Reagan nor Bush administration has stirred itself to ask the Senate to act. How many children in how many countries are now living without arms, legs, feet or hands because they happened to walk over a U.S.-made land mine?

A one-year sales and export ban is the overdue and minimum response. The United States is only one nation out of 35 in this heinous business but for a change it can act unilaterally and offer an example. When Leahy introduced his amendment, he made a case for the obvious: "These sales are

A one-year sales and export ban on land mines is the overdue and minimum response. The United States is only one nation out of 35 in this heinous business but it can offer an example.

neither significant in terms of American jobs nor necessary for U.S. security. But they have terrible significance for the victims who are crippled for life, and for their families."

Leahy knows about some of the victims. He tells of visiting Central America during the contra war. In a makeshift hospital on the Honduras-Nicaragua border, he "met a young boy who had one of his legs blown off by a land mine. He had not been a soldier himself—he was only 9 or 10 years old, just the son of a farmer. He had stepped on a land mine walking on a path from his house to a river. . . . He was able to hobble around with a homemade crutch, but in a country where farming was his only future, he could only beg for handouts."

How many land mines being assembled today in 35 countries will be exploding onto bodies next month or next year, or in the next decade? No one in the Senate or House can answer that question. All that's known is that Congress can stop the assembling and selling in one country. Ours.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

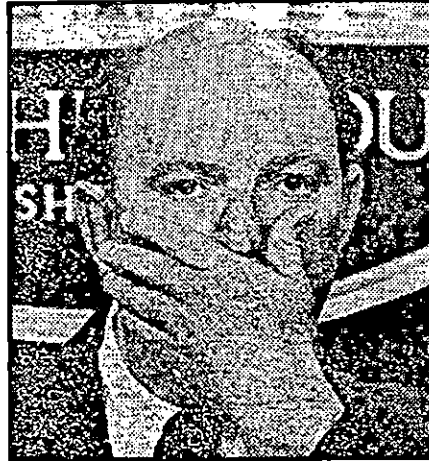
WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ The newsmagazines were startled when White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater all but nixed their customary pre-convention interview requests with the president—seemingly without consulting the powers that be. Bush campaign sources confirmed that the folks from Newsweek, Time and U.S. News then appealed to senior White House and campaign officials and were able to get the unilateral decision reversed. U.S. News runs its version this week; look for the other two to weigh in on Monday.

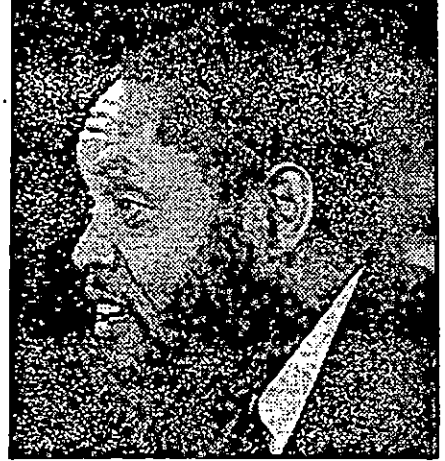
■ When Rep. Joe Kennedy ran into Marlene Cooke, wife of the Redskins owner, in New York recently, he jokingly asked if the new stadium could remain named after his father. "No—he's going to name it after me," she shot back. But as we all know by now, Jack Kent Cooke is naming it after himself.



Joe Kennedy: Sorry I asked!



Marlin Fitzwater: Sorry guys!



John Doggett: A page turner?

■ The 53,000 Guns N'Roses and Metallica fans who packed Montreal's Olympic Stadium for a suddenly canceled concert that degenerated into a riot won't get their money back. But promoters told the Associated Press that they'll ask the groups to satisfy the disgruntled fans at a future date.

■ Those right-leaning Repubs who crafted a memo urging the president to cut taxes and "reassert bold leadership on the economy" apparently forgot to send him a copy. As of yesterday morning, the White House couldn't locate the proposal, whipped up by Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich, Vin Weber, Bob Kasten, Malcolm Wallop, Connie Mack and Trent Lott—and made available to the media. Noted one senior campaign aide wryly, "I got a call from a reporter before I even knew I had it."

■ House Minority Whip Gingrich is on the mend after suffering leg and external ear injuries in a car accident near the Dulles Toll Road Sunday. The Georgia Republican and wife Marianne were passengers in a car that was hit by a pickup truck.

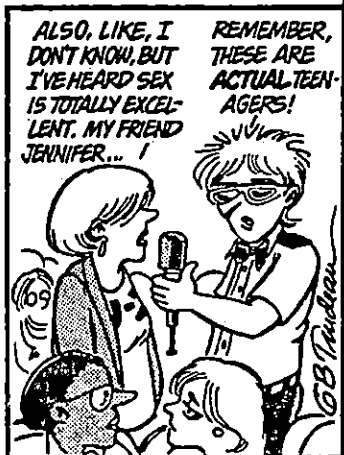
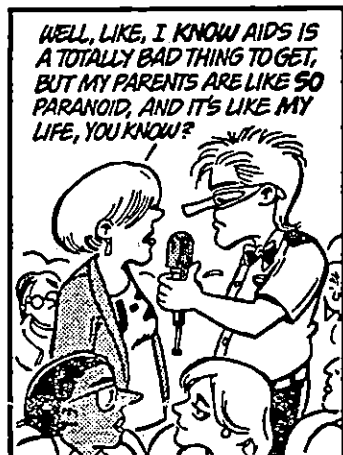
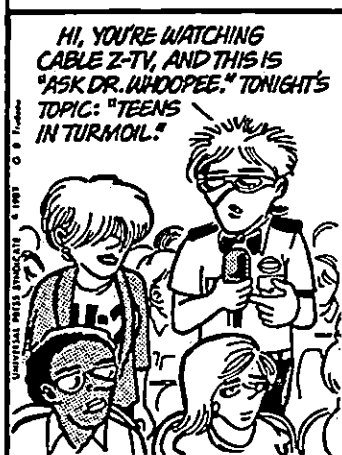
■ The ubiquitous Melanie Griffith, in town with husband Don Johnson and kids for filming of the "Born Yesterday" remake, celebrated her 35th birthday Sunday at a Willard Hotel party thrown by the family.

■ Neighbors of Deborah Gore Dean in Georgetown are not fond of passing that unsettling statue of Munch's "The Scream" staring out at them from her front window.

■ John Doggett, that wild and crazy guy who for some inexplicable reason was asked to defend Clarence Thomas during the infamous hearings last fall, must have more to say. The Yale Law School graduate has been shopping a book around.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Noonan's Silence

■ While many may be sticking their two cents into George Bush's high-stakes acceptance speech, to be delivered a week from Thursday in Houston, onetime GOP golden wordsmith Peggy Noonan won't be among them.

Noonan, who wrote Bush's highly acclaimed "Points of Light" speech in '88, was not approached to help with the '92 version. According to sources, when she changed her mind about joining the campaign last spring, Noonan made it



Peggy Noonan:
Speechless?

quite clear she'd be out for the entire election. She reportedly wrote the president a few weeks ago, explaining her decision to stick with freelance journalism for now. "I had to jump in fully—or take myself away," she said

from New York yesterday. "This is the kind of year where the only kind of immersion is total immersion."

Noonan wrote a column for Newsweek from the Democratic convention, and will be doing a piece from Houston for The Post's Outlook section. She has, however, turned down all requests to do TV commentary.

"Oh, hell—I'm a writer," she says. "I don't have to put on makeup when I write."



Bush and Clinton: Great pals?

Nice Guys for President

Maybe this *won't* be the nastiest presidential campaign in recent memory. Despite what their handlers have been spewing out, the few personal remarks the candidates have made about each other have been surprisingly complimentary.

Here was George Bush on Bill Clinton last week in a USA Today interview: "He's done some good things. . . . In terms of personal kind of guy, nice fellow. . . . And I give him a little credit on some of the things that we worked on. . . ."

So we dug up Clinton on Bush during a May chat with David Frost: "I've spent more time over the last decade with the president [than with Ross Perot] and I've always liked him and Mrs. Bush personally. . . . It's not a problem of being a bad person."

On the other hand, as Vito Corleone said in "The Godfather," it's not personal, it's business.

WACKY NEWS WIRE OF THE WEEK

Associated Press

■ DAYTON, Ohio—Elvis Presley fan Gayle Bellomy left the dentist's office with the King on her crown.

After her dentist was finished, Bellomy said, "I could see these bold letters printed on the cap, and by golly, it spelled out 'ELVIS.'"

Bellomy hadn't even asked for an Elvis tooth, but it wasn't hard for the dentist to figure out her leanings. She has a large collection of Elvis music, clippings and posters. And every year she makes a pilgrimage to Graceland,



You can still cut your teeth on the King.

Presley's Memphis estate, where he died in 1977.

"I have 'ELVIS 4' on my license plate. And I talk about him all the time," says the 49-year-old Bellomy. "I think I send off the Elvis vibes right and left."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

ART BUCHWALD

Politics In the Sunshine

MARTHA'S VINEYARD

They never get their names in the newspapers. They never appear on television. They don't even get polled.

And yet in the summertime they are the swing voters who could affect a presidential election.

Who are these people? They are the ones you find stretched out on American beaches, bathed in suntan oil, lying on their stomachs or on their backs, saying little, but constantly thinking about the mess in Washington. One day last week I joined them at the Black Doberman Beach.

"A penny for your thoughts?" I asked a gentleman lying on his side reading Computer Digest.

He looked up and said, "I'm mad as hell and I'm not going to take it any more."

"Are you mad at the economy?"

"No, I'm mad at what they did to the ozone. Years ago Americans were protected from the sun. Now sunbathing has been deregulated and it's everyone for himself—and sunscreen manufacturers are laughing all the way to the bank."

"Which of the two presidential candidates do you think would do more to save the ozone?"

"Neither. They'll tell you that the ozone is their first priority, but they have already taken money from the refrigerator lobbyists to do nothing."

I found an extremely attractive woman lying face down with her bathing suit straps untied.

"What do you want from your government?" I asked her.

"A man," she said.

"Someone I can call my own."

"I take it then that you are not married."

"If I was married, I wouldn't have put all my money into this bathing suit."

"Why should the government pay for your bathing suit?"

"Because there don't seem to be many good men around, and if they don't find guys for the women in this country we'll wind up having babies without getting married, and that would make Dan Quayle sick to his stomach."

The next person I talked to was sitting in a beach chair. She was staring out to sea.

I said, "I'm a pundit trying to grasp the mood of this country, and I would like to ask you what you consider the biggest problem the country faces today."

"Sexual harassment."

"What kind?"

"People coming up to you on the beach and asking you a bunch of dumb questions about politics."

It was time to move on. I wandered over to two bathers who were jumping up and down as the waves roared in.

A young man of college age was splashing his girl with water. "Are you two going to vote?" I asked.

"I am," the boy replied, diving under the water.

"Me too," the girl squealed.

"Do you mind telling me for whom?"

"Ross Perot," the boy said.

"He's out of the race. He quit in disgrace a month ago," I told them.

"Oh no," the girl cried. "If I didn't need a ride back to town, I think I'd walk straight into the ocean and never return."

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The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Washington Redskins-New York Jets preseason game on Channel 5 Saturday night averaged a 15.2 Nielsen rating and a 28 percent audience share...

Maybe a little low for a Skins game but the summertime audience nevertheless challenged the Olympics, which were averaging a 15.7/29 on Channel 4 that evening. The Skins game lasted from 8 to 11:15 p.m....

"This Week With David Brinkley" will broadcast from Houston Sunday morning (Channel 7, 11:30 a.m.), on the eve of the Republican convention. The program will include an interview with President Bush, who will talk to Brinkley at the White House "later this week," according to a network spokesman...

Brinkley and Peter Jennings will anchor the network's coverage, such as it is, from Houston next week. Current plans call for ABC to broadcast from the convention for 90 minutes on Monday night (starting at 9:30), an hour on Tuesday and Wednesday (10 p.m.) and two hours on Thursday (9 p.m.)...

H. Ross Perot, the almost-candidate for president, will be on C-SPAN this morning. The cable network is offering live testimony from a hearing of the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs, chaired by Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), starting at 9:30 a.m....

The Texas billionaire is expected to discuss his trips to Southeast Asia on behalf of the missing Americans and his recommendations for U.S. policy...

Fox Broadcasting said yesterday that the fourth season of "The Simpsons" will start Thursday, Sept. 24, at 8 p.m. That's a week later than originally scheduled...

NBC's "Today" show is going to give local stations five more minutes every morning for local news breaks starting Monday, Sept. 21...

And yes, the five minutes will come out of programming time. (Don't be alarmed: Those muffled sobs in the background are only book publishers and movie studio flacks)...

Local stations currently get 9½ minutes for local news during a two-hour "Today" broadcast—two newscasts of 4 minutes 15 seconds each at 7:25 and 8:25 plus four 15-second weather segments...

In September that will change to four news breaks—at 7:26, 7:56, 8:26 and 8:56 a.m.—of 3 minutes 15 seconds, plus four 30-second breaks...

Virtuosos of the Pocket Calculator have undoubtedly already discovered that that adds up to 15 minutes, which would be 5½ minutes more than currently allocated, but there's a catch—the local stations are giving back two 15-second station breaks at the end of each half-hour (7:30 and 8:30) when the changes are made in September. But please, don't ask me why NBC gives away minutes with one hand while taking back half a minute with the other...

Jeff Zucker, executive producer of "Today," said, "In recognizing that our viewers are thirsting for a combination of national and international news, as well as local information, we're proud to have struck this agreement with our affiliates and to be the first national program in the morning to respond to this need." (Translation: The affiliates wanted more time for local ads in a lousy economy—or else!)

Michael Gartner, president of NBC News, said, "Our relationship with the stations has always been of utmost importance to NBC News, and this is a significant step in strengthening that partnership." (Translation: They're getting a little angry out there)...

Jim Waterbury, chairman of the NBC affiliate board (he runs KWWL in Waterloo, Iowa) said, "The addition of more time for local news and weather reflects viewer appetites and keeps 'Today' as the morning show that best covers the world as well as the local market." (Translation: It's about time NBC loosened up)...

In contrast, both ABC's "Good Morning America" and "CBS This Morning" give affil-

ates 11½ minutes per show and have no immediate plans to increase the dosage, although both confirm that changes are under consideration...

GMA, which is finally in a horse race with "Today" after months of easy pickings following the departure of Jane Pauley, gives the stations five minutes at 7:25 and 8:25, 30-second "weather windows" at 7 and 8, plus 15 seconds for weather reports on the half-hour...

"CBS This Morning" allots stations five-minute breaks at 7:25 and 8:25, plus six 15-second weather cutaways during the two hours...

A spokesman for the network said yesterday that while there are no immediate plans for a change, "we are always considering different options." (Translation: Those guys over at Black Rock better figure out something pretty soon)...

The CBS program, as usual running a distant third in the morning network race, is reportedly having affiliate problems, anyway. Gillett-owned CBS stations in Detroit, Atlanta, Cleveland and Milwaukee are considering dropping the show in favor of local news and entertainment shows, according to a recent report by the N.Y. Daily News...

Yesterday, Anthony Malara, president, CBS Affiliate Relations Division, said, "All that we've done so far is meet with the president of the Gillett broadcast division; I'm not aware of anything more than that they're asking a lot of questions"...

Stay tuned, "CBS This Morning" fans...

Moving Right Along

To the NBC Olympics Ratingzzzz. The Games concluded Sunday with a 12.3/20 from 7 to 11 in the Nielsen overnights. The network estimates an average of 17.5/34 for the 15 nights of primetime competition, well over the 15.3 guaranteed to advertisers (well, you knew that)...

The network also says the Games produced a 5.1/25 average for 10 early morning shows, vs. a 4.4 ratingzzzz guarantee; a 5.2/26 in 14 late-night broadcasts (vs. 5.0); and a 10.6/31 in five weekend afternoons (vs. an 8.9 guarantee)...

All this made the sponsors *may* happy but the network still took a \$100 million bath...

And while we've got you trapped in the Ratingzzzz Repository, you should also know that the Friday night rerun of the "Mary Tyler Moore" 20th-anniversary show did a 6.1/13 on CBS, while the "Very Best of Ed Sullivan" two hours did a 9.4/18 in the national Nielsen...

ABC Entertainment yesterday announced that its upcoming 9:30 Friday entry, previously called "Camp Bicknell," has been retitled "Camp Wilder." No date has been set for the fall debut. And yes, it's a leecetle slow in the TV-business right now, TV Column fans...

The Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton and Al Gore fielded 45 questions during their two-hour appearance yesterday on "CBS This Morning." If you're keeping track—and we doubt it—30 questions came from the audiences around the country, 15 from Paula and Harry. The network said more than 2,000 letters with questions for the candidates had been received before the broadcast (a few of which figured in the questions from Zahn and Smith)...

Things are so slow in Television Land these lazy summer days that yesterday ABC put out a story reminding us that GMA co-anchor Charlie Gibson was handcuffed by a San Francisco police officer while he was covering a demonstration at police headquarters during the 1984 Democratic convention!!...

And things are so slow in TV Column Land this morning we're going to tell you how it all came out! Charlie was let go after an hour (he never did get booked) and a radio seized by police when they first grabbed him was returned with an apology (we're mulling over an apology ourselves this morning after peddling an eight-year-old item, which may or may not set a record for the TV Column—the archivists are checking)...

HIGHLIGHTS

- President Bush is interviewed on "Dateline NBC," and "Quantum Leap" is at a new time on WRC.
- The premiere of "Freshman Dorm" on WUSA.
- Plus the Orioles and Blue Jays on WDCB.

Sports

Major League Baseball. Baltimore Orioles at Toronto Blue Jays (Channel 20, 7:30 p.m.).

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. With Rep. Gus Savage (D-Ill.) (Channel 32 at 7).

Nova: Submarine (CC) (R). A look at the USS Michigan, the newest of the United States' underwater arsenals (Channel 26 at 8).

National Audubon Society Special: Great Lakes, Bitter Legacy (CC) (R). An examination of toxic chemicals buried in the mud of the Great Lakes (Channel 26 at 9).

Listening to America (CC). The conclusion reports on how the Los Angeles riots hurt the dream of a multicultural urban city (Channel 26 at 10).

Series Premiere

Freshman Dorm (CC) (Channel 9 at 9) is previewed by Tom Shales on Page B1.

Primetime Movies

Uncommon Valor (1983). A retired Army officer gathers a group of Vietnam veterans to search for his son, listed as missing in action. Two hours (Channel 5 at 8).

Lord of the Flies (1963). Based on the novel about the degeneration of a group of British boys stranded on a remote island. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

Quantum Leap (CC) (R). Sam is an investigative TV reporter covering a serial-killer story in San Francisco (Channel 4 at 8).

Full House (CC) (R). Jesse and Rebecca lose the only means of telling their newborn twins apart (Channel 7 at 8).

Rescue 911 (CC) (R). Six white-water rafters capsize, an Illinois boy is set on fire

and a drunk driver lands in a canal (Channel 9 at 8).

Home Improvement (CC) (R). Tim must battle a mysterious creature in the basement (Channel 7, 8:30).

Reasonable Doubts (CC) (R). At a new time; a murderer wants to make a deal to spare his life (Channel 4 at 9).

Roseanne (CC) (R). Darlene rebels against parental expectations, while Becky lobbies for a motor scooter (Channel 7 at 9).

Coach (CC) (R). A food fight erupts between Dauber and Luther (Channel 7, 9:30).

Dateline NBC (CC). Stone Phillips interviews President Bush in the Oval Office (Channel 4 at 10).

Civil Wars (CC) (R). A couple have their divorce proceedings taped for a public TV documentary, while Charlie and Sydney go on their first date (Channel 7 at 10).

Northern Exposure (CC) (R). At a special time; Holling's longtime nemesis dies, while Maurice is not happy with the Japanese visitors' choice of lodging (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Jason Bateman, Michael Richards of "Seinfeld" and Soul II Soul (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With James Woods, Marlon Wayans, and the Cages (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With Lily Tomlin, Helen Shaver and comedian Jake Johannsen (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Wednesday Morning

Today (CC). With author Brian Kelly on how Washington wastes money, and comedian Jerry Seinfeld (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). With Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin; and interviews with Elton John and author Andrew Greeley (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With a report on a summer camp where kids learn about money, and a visit to an "ecologically correct" Boston hotel (Channel 9 at 7).

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Those Wonderful Folks

A tribute to Olympic athletes:

This is being composed on a Compaq Personal Computer using DOS version 3.31. The software is WordPerfect 5.1. Transmission from the point of composition to the publication site is accomplished through a Hayes Smartmodem 1200 using Smart Communications software to operate through the A.T.&T. long-distance telephone system.

Background light is provided by two 75-watt bulbs by Phillips and overhead light by four 75-watt floods by General Electric. The room's air-conditioning is by Gibson.

The desk being used is a Scan two-piece unit. The small desk calendar with which it is provided comes from Armfield, Harrison & Thomas, Inc., Insurance — Bonds. The stapler is a Swingline. The paper clips are Jumbo Gems. The pens are by Paper Mate, Cross, Faber-Castell, Bic, Sheaffer, Pentel and Expresso. The permanent marker is a Paper Mate.

Other desk furnishings include a Uhu Stic, which is a glue applicator by Faber-Castell; a letter opener by Tiffany; a snapshot taken with a Minolta camera on Kodak film and mounted in a frame from Intercraft; two stiff paper bookmarks, one from Crest Books of Sterling, Va., the other from Olsson's of Washington; an address book by Leathersmith; a Hewlett Packard Laserjet printer; a Keith Clark Month-At-A-Glance appointment book, and a handmade basket by Kasia Baker of Nantucket.

Slow to grasp the commercial opportunities lurking in American sports, the maker of the chair being used during this composition neglected to place his name either on or under it. Without this chair, however, this tribute would not have been such a pleasure to compose.

The mantel clock used in the writing area is a Seth Thomas, as is the barometer which keeps the composer alert to impending changes of weather.

The trash can is a Witt.

The rocking chair is from L. L. Bean. The stereo equipment with the broken turntable is a Kenwood. The portable radio-cassette player is a Sony. The portable electric typewriter is a Smith-Corona.

The file cabinets are from Hon.

Clear Light, The Cedar Company, provided the three small bags containing natural essence of cedar, cedar with lavender buds and cedar with herbs and flowers, which hang from, respectively, a cabinet knob,

the chandelier and a mantel, thus insuring that the writer's mood will never be soured for lack of cedar's calm civilizing odor.

B. Altman of New York provided the large Indian rug underfoot. The stationary bicycle is a Vitamaster. The vacuum cleaner is a Kenmore 3.2 with Power-Mate. Windows were washed with Windex. Murphy Oil Soap is used to keep wooden surfaces shining in the writing area.

Postage scales are from the Pelouze Scale Company. Both Sphinx and Universal Office Products provide the computer paper which serves as stationery for weighing on the Pelouze scales. The United States Postal Service provides the stamps.

A tribute to Olympic athletes.

The composer of this tribute wears a quartz wristwatch by Caravelle. His shirts are from Brooks Brothers. His socks are from Macy's. His trousers are from J. Peterman. His shoes are Wallabees. His eyeglasses are by Loudoun Optical. The frames of his bifocals are by Rodenstock. For his computer-glasses he wears Frame Malta.

While composing this tribute, the author's weight is increased by a packet of Stim-U-Dent toothpicks in his shirt pocket, and in his trousers pockets a handkerchief from Lord & Taylor; a billfold from Brooks Brothers containing Federal Reserve Notes by The United States of America and plastic cards by Visa, MasterCard, American Express, West Coast Video, Video Dens of America and New York Telephone; an assortment of coins from the United States Mint; and a key ring from True Value Hardware holding keys by Baldwin, Schlage, Parker, Taylor and Chrysler.

Shortly before entering the writing area to compose this tribute, the writer showered with water passing through a Speakman Anystream shower head. Yardley was the soap used. Afterward, using an American Standard pedestal sink, he applied Noxzema Brushless to his face and shaved with a Gillette razor. The blade was an Atra. Then, taking a towel by Cannon ... □

Punish Serbia's Rulers, Not Its People

By Alexander
Karageorgevitch

It is a sobering experience to travel through my country, the "reduced" Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as I did for three weeks this summer. All over the former Yugoslavia, graveyards are filling with victims of a senseless war. The number of refugees is increasing. Hospitals are running out of supplies. And while the United Nations sanctions are biting in Serbia and Montenegro, they aren't hurting those in power.

It is paradoxical that Serbians are being punished for the misdeeds of their leaders. After my visit there, the Government imposed severe restrictions on civil liberties. The people have given ample proof that they are victims of the regime.

In the past two months the Serbian Orthodox Church has raised its voice against the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. It has been joined by most members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, students and faculty of the University of Belgrade and trade unions.

The real Serbia made a tremendous display of its strength and determination at a rally in Belgrade on June 28, a day after I arrived. The real Serbia was also visible in the faces of thousands of striking students I met in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Nis and Kragujevac.

The Serbian news media are also struggling valiantly, despite the Government's stranglehold. The independent Television Station Studio B cannot be seen far outside the capital. The newspaper Borba remains free and objective, and a heavy-handed

Alexander Karageorgevitch is Crown Prince of Yugoslavia.

attempt by the Government to take over Politika, a newspaper and publishing company, has faltered because of brave editors, reporters and print workers. These people need encouragement and support.

The best way to help the people attain peace, democracy and stability would be to send an unambiguous signal that the democratic community of nations is at odds with Mr. Milosevic's regime and not with the Serbian people.

Douglas Hurd, the British Foreign Secretary, made a step in that direction when he met with opposition representatives in Belgrade on July 17. The leaders of the Movement for Democracy should be invited to the European Community peace conference on Yugoslavia that is to take place in London later this month.

By accepting the democratic opposition as a partner in the debate, the European Community and the U.S. would undermine Mr. Milosevic's claim that his regime is Serbia's only legitimate representative. Such a move would also strengthen the opposition's credibility at home and help the West build relationships with the people who are certain to play an important role in Serbia's future.

It is increasingly obvious that Serbia's democratic transformation is a necessary precondition for general peace in the Balkans. But for such a transformation to take place, it is vital that Serbians be given a clear signal that their legitimate rights are as understood and appreciated as those of other ethnic groups in what used to be Yugoslavia.

With a freely elected government in Belgrade, a lasting peace in the Balkans would be closer. Those chances would be enhanced if Croatia shook off the mantle of ultra-nationalist authoritarianism. As someone who has tried to be fair to all ethnic and religious groups, I would like to see Croatia, as well as Serbia, make a

real effort to carry out democratic reform. Croatian state television, like its Serbian counterpart, pumps out hatred, fabrications and reminders of religious and ethnic differences. The key to ending bloodshed in Bosnia and elsewhere is not in apportioning blame, but in diagnosing and curing the causes.

The cause of the tragic endgame in Yugoslavia is the hasty and ill-conceived decision by the international community to recognize the former

A constitutional monarchy is the answer.

federation's republics as independent states. With this move, the principle of territorial integrity clashed with the principle of self-determination. In extending recognition to the new republics, the international community supported the right of national self-determination of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, but denied it to the Serbs in these regions. The nationalities of Bosnia, for example, include Muslims, Serbs, Croats and Jews who all have the equal right to be called Bosnians.

The country's internal boundaries, arbitrarily drawn by Tito in 1945, punished the Serbs by leaving a third of them outside Serbia. Such borders are incompatible with democratic principle because they were never negotiated, let alone ratified by freely elected assemblies.

A solution that would satisfy the aspirations of virtually all ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia, except the largest — the almost 10 million Serbs — is bound to fail. It

would cause disequilibrium and strife for years. As a first step, the West should keep hammering home the message to the Belgrade authorities that unless the Serbian media are entirely free, the Government will not be seen as truly democratic. Only when such conditions are established can free and fair elections take place.

Such freedom would be an absolute basic tenet of a constitutional monarchy. I have experienced popular acclamation over the last few years, and the Parliament should urgently address the re-establishment of constitutional monarchy, which was illegally abolished by Tito in 1945. After five decades of war and dictatorship, the crown would be an optimal solution not only for the Serbs, but also for the religious and ethnic minorities, which must have equal rights even in the "reduced" Yugoslavia. Only a Serbia at peace with itself, existing as a genuine democracy, upholding religious and ethnic rights, can bring stability to the Balkans.

No less than half the members of the European Community are constitutional monarchies with impeccable democratic credentials. Does anyone doubt the contribution made by King Juan Carlos to Spain's successful transition from dictatorship to democracy? For all of the former Yugoslavia and the world to breathe a sigh of relief, Serbia's democrats and advocates of constitutional monarchy should finally be given a chance. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Bush Blows It on Health Care

By Barbara Roberts

FOR the last three and a half years, President Bush has been encouraging states to experiment with health care reform. But last week, the Administration put its courage in the closet when it rejected Oregon's proposal to expand health care to more than 400,000 Oregonians, 120,000 of whom are poor.

Claiming that the plan was biased against people with disabilities, the Government refused to grant the state a waiver from Medicaid laws. This assessment is misguided. And without Federal approval, we cannot alter Medicaid and offer thousands of Oregonians health care.

Our plan is an honest answer to the nation's health care problem. It recognizes that no state can afford to provide every possible medical service and that choices must be made. Where other states are able to make medical coverage available to only a fraction of those in poverty, the Oregon plan would make the most effective care available to everyone.

The plan would have expanded Medicaid to cover all Oregonians below the poverty level. To do this, Oregon would have eliminated coverage of certain services medical practice shows to be less effective than others.

No element of the plan has received more scrutiny than this ranking of treatments. A list of all medical treatments was drawn up by the Oregon Health Services Commission, an 11-member group of doctors, nurses, social workers, consumers and industry professionals. The list emphasized preventive and primary care and maternal and child services.

In 1991, Republicans and Democrats in the state Legislature agreed to finance a package that included 587 medical procedures and treatments out of Medicaid's list of 709. For Oregonians living in poverty, it included virtually all of what Medicaid offers

plus services not currently required by Medicaid: dental services, mammograms and pap smears, hospice care, prescription drugs and most transplants. In addition, the plan formed the basis for a package to cover Oregon workers who don't have health insurance. The plan would not have covered 122 treatments, including liver transplants to treat cirrhosis, ineffective care for extreme low-birthweight babies and people in the final stages of AIDS.

The Department of Health and Human Services has had our waiver application for almost a year. We

If not the Oregon plan, then what?

worked with Federal officials at every step to resolve all their concerns. But the only time we got direct word that they believed our plan conflicted with the Americans With Disabilities Act was in the letter of denial. Where were those concerns for the last year? Why wasn't Oregon given a chance to respond?

My husband is a paraplegic and one of my sons is autistic. I have spent my life working as an advocate for people with disabilities. As Governor, I would not have supported a plan that compromised their rights and needs. Oregon's plan chooses effective treatments over ineffective ones. The Administration claims that such choices discriminate against people with disabilities. Here is why they are wrong:

- The plan does not apply to the aged, blind and disabled until 1993, when the priority list would be reviewed to insure it meets the needs of those groups. Until then, disabled people who are eligible would continue to receive Medicaid.

- The Association for Retarded Citizens and other disabilities groups in Oregon worked closely with us in

setting priorities. These groups support the Medicaid waiver.

- Oregon's plan would offer high-quality health care to many poor, disabled people who now have no health care at all because they aren't eligible for Medicaid.

- Neither the Federal Office of Technology Assessment nor the General Accounting Office raised concerns about possible violations of the disabilities law in their rigorous reports on the Oregon plan. In fact the technology office said that if the plan showed a preference, it was for the prevention and treatment of disabilities.

- The Justice Department has not released an opinion on precisely how the plan violates the act.

In addition to its complaints over the act, the Bush Administration has expressed concern that the plan violates the "Baby Doe" laws that protect extremely premature babies. That's plain wrong. The food, water and medication prescribed by Medicaid laws are all covered under the plan.

Any one of the Administration's misperceptions could have been corrected with a simple phone call to Oregon. But no call ever came.

Oregon has a bold, innovative plan that offers high-quality health care to Oregonians. And the state still has more than 400,000 citizens without any health care at all. And we're just one of 50 states. How long do we and the rest of the nation have to wait for a fair, rational system of health care? □

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it unless it is accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks.

Barbara Roberts, a Democrat, is Governor of Oregon.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Bright Ideas for Dull Schools

Why do so many New York City students fall into an academic wasteland? Two big reasons are the overwhelming size of some high schools and the fact that inexperienced teachers are often concentrated in troubled schools. Chancellor Joseph Fernandez now advances two reasonable suggestions.

Most students attend neighborhood high schools with comprehensive programs. A few offer enriched or magnet programs in specialized areas. There are also alternative schools for dropouts. Often the schools that cater to large, diverse populations lose students to anonymity and apathy.

Mr. Fernandez would create about 30 small high schools centered on themes like the environment and world trade. That would ease overcrowding in existing schools and offer different learning experiences.

Moving away from big schools that push all students into the same mold is desirable. But why rely entirely on brand new schools? It may be more practical to break up some larger schools into smaller units to produce the specialized institutions Chancellor Fernandez has in mind.

Seasoned teachers often transfer out of troubled schools as soon as they attain the required five years of experience. That leaves some underachieving schools with a high percentage of new teachers who may not have even completed all the necessary requirements for certification.

Mr. Fernandez sensibly proposes incentives to keep experienced teachers in six troubled districts. For example, he's worked with the Department of Transportation to designate more parking at 33 schools. He would also use such schools as sites for courses that allow teachers to upgrade certification and earn more.

Carefully executed, these two initiatives could make a difference. But each faces practical obstacles. Teacher transfers will require broad consent. Contract negotiations involving the teachers' union, City Hall and the Board of Education have already been going on for nearly a year. Meanwhile, restructuring high schools could further squeeze already tight resources at the board and City Hall.

Mr. Fernandez's ideas are sound. His challenge is to persuade several constituencies at once.

Topics of The Times

The Faces of AIDS

It's a pretty face: long dark hair, big dark eyes, a wide smile. In the photograph that ran with her obituary, Alison Gertz looks like a good-luck girl. That luck ran out, however, when she was only 16. She had sex, just once, with a young man. Ten years later, last Saturday, Alison Gertz died of AIDS.

Alison's is one face of AIDS. That of the young man who infected her, dead years ago, is another. Ryan White is a third, Michael Bennett a fourth. There are countless other faces — some famous, some known only to their families, and a few known to no one at all.

Together they constitute a mosaic that increasingly resembles something called the Great American Public. So far 152,153 members of that public have died since the epidemic began, and at least a million more, among them Magic Johnson, have tested H.I.V. positive.

Alison Gertz's way to rage against the dying of the light — and the way many of her companions in AIDS chose to rage — was to keep on shedding light until the day she died. She talked so that others might learn from her innocence and experience.

As of now, talk remains the best defense we have against the AIDS virus. If the disease isn't as yet curable,

it is preventable — provided that the talk is loud enough.

Alison Gertz had a short life. So had most of the 152,153 others who shared her illness. Many memorials call for a moment of silence. An apt memorial for them is talk — tough, clear, honest, informative talk.

Brisk, Bracing and Brrr!

The ocean waters around New York City have been, like the air, cooler than normal. This has affected bluefish, Common and Roseate Terns and ocean bathers — who in summer also tend to be common and roseate.

The terns have been the victims of one of nature's Rube Goldberg procedures. It starts with the bluefish, which come north and raid schools of small fish called silversides, which flee for safety to the surface where terns catch them to feed their young. But bluefish haven't liked the cooler waters, leaving the silversides in peace and the terns without food for their young.

Dedicated ocean bathers also don't care for the colder water but that does not keep them out of it. Ocean bathers are driven by their moral imperatives: What they lose in comfort they gain in self-esteem. This is what separates the bathers from the bluefish, who don't seem to have any moral imperatives.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Margaret Thatcher as Churchill

How many more echoes of horror do Western societies need to hear? *Sealed train cars ... ethnic cleansing ... concentration camps.* Genocidal aggression and callous indifference did not end with the Nazis. The plague has risen with Serbia's devastation of defenseless Bosnia. Unless the world acts forcefully, and fast, many more will die — and the contagion will spread.

As Margaret Thatcher rightly reminds Americans, first on the Op-Ed page and now in interviews, inaction is immoral. When many risk sounding like Neville Chamberlain in 1938, Lady Thatcher's words sound positively Churchillian.

Yet the most that the United Nations Security Council can bring itself to do even now is authorize the use of force to feed the victims — and nothing to protect them from Serbian aggressors. Indeed, the U.S., Britain and others are using fine-sounding U.N. resolutions as an excuse to temporize. They have called for an arms embargo, a cease-fire and negotiations. But those estimable goals would have the effect of selling out Bosnia.

An embargo would block the flow of arms only to encircled Bosnia, leaving it defenseless. A cease-fire in place would leave Serbs and Croats in control of most of Bosnia. Negotiations under these conditions would force the hapless Bosnians to capitulate to the strong.

With so many other lands newly seething with ethnic passions, Bosnia's fate rings with wider relevance. Boris Yeltsin, for instance, is bravely standing up to a restive Russian Army that wants to exploit ethnic divisions in Moldova, much as the

Serb-dominated Yugoslav Army has done in Bosnia.

For the U.N. to assure humanitarian relief to besieged Sarajevo is the least of what's needed. An array of further actions, well short of some potential quagmire, are available.

For instance, the U.N. could begin resolutely by suspending its embargo on arms to Bosnia. Serbia and Croatia are geographically positioned to run that embargo, but not defenseless Bosnia. Arming its Government would at least help it to stave off the aggressors and break the siege.

A cease-fire now would only reward Serbia's land grab and ethnic cleansing. So would cantonment. Both would leave the Serbs, a third of Bosnia's people, in possession of two-thirds of its territory. Muslims, 44 percent, would be left with just 5 percent of the land.

The U.N. could instead insist on a settlement that preserves Bosnia's territorial integrity and provides security for its minorities to return home and live side by side as they have for centuries, before Serbia's aggression. That might require a new form of temporary trusteeship.

In any case, those responsible for ethnic cleansing and concentration camps can be punished for violating the Fourth Geneva Convention. "You can get yourself hung for running a concentration camp," says Senator Pat Moynihan.

The humane, honorable — moral — course for the U.S. and its allies is to stop hiding behind disaster relief and work for real relief, by arming the lawfully elected Government of Bosnia and helping to disarm those who would destroy it.

Why Stop at a Flatter Tax?

Seven leading Republican conservatives, led by Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, are pushing President Bush to adopt a plan to cut taxes. In a memo they warn: "We can't keep promising the American people that patience will lead to prosperity. We must show them that we have a set of principles and a plan to dramatically expand economic growth, job creation and entrepreneurial capitalism."

To that end, the group proposes a "flatter, lower, simpler" tax code. Exciting rhetoric. But shopworn specifics. The seven would have been better off going all the way to Jerry Brown's flat tax proposal. The California Democrat's plan, though flawed, was at least bold.

The Republicans would lower marginal tax rates by 3 percentage points. That's hardly revolutionary, coming only a few years after Congress, prodded by Mr. Kemp, cut the top tax rate by more than 20 points. The memo signers also propose raising the personal exemption to \$6,000, which alone wouldn't spur entrepreneurs or anyone else.

The memo becomes slightly more venturesome when it proposes to eliminate capital gains taxes on long-term investments and to insulate capital gains

taxes, and some corporate deductions, against inflation. But the plan, illogically, stops short of applying the same correction to inflated deductions that investors are allowed for borrowing costs. Nor does the memo analyze costs. Under this Alice-in-Wonderland scenario, Congress would declare tax holidays without raising anyone else's tax or gutting Federal spending.

The plan's piecemeal tactics don't measure up to its lofty objectives. Imagine, for example, a tax code that would reward saving and investment, penalize consumption and protect the poor. A tax code that would integrate corporate and personal taxes to eliminate double taxation of investment income. A tax code that would wipe out nearly every deduction and exemption except those targeted for the poor. A tax code that would apply a single rate across the board.

Sound familiar? If the Republicans wanted boldness, all they had to do was adapt Mr. Brown's plan, correcting its glaring but remediable errors. That could produce a plan that's truly pro-growth. This Republican memo is, by comparison, mere tinkering.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

To Republicans' Relief, Bush Hones Campaign

By ROBIN TONER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10 — His speeches are getting sharper, more partisan, more laden with red-meat lines and tough-guy attitude. His surrogates are taking on Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, with more gusto and fewer stumbles. President Bush finally seems to be entering what he calls the campaign mode.

For his fellow Republicans, it is not a moment too soon. Mr. Bush's campaign has been a series of missed opportunities to make the case for a second term, but he cannot afford to fumble the next two weeks. The Republican National Convention begins Monday, and the most recent spate of polls shows Mr. Clinton still holding on to a formidable lead of about 20 points. By contrast, four years ago the Bush campaign had cut Michael S. Dukakis's lead from 17 percentage points to 7 in the three weeks between the conventions.

Republicans know that 1992 is a year of great swings in the polls, but they are ready for the next swing now, please.

After a month of anxiety and outbursts of outright despair, they do see a few reasons for hope. Some believe that Mr. Bush is finally beginning to energize the Republican base with his portrait of Mr. Clinton as a man just itching to cut the military, raise taxes, and turn the health-care system into some Kafkaesque Department of Motor Vehicles and Medical Procedures.

On the organizational front, some senior Republicans expect an official announcement by the end of this week that Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d is finally returning to the White House to oversee the campaign. "You can't go through the convention with this kind of uncertainty, and it will give a lift to insiders at least," said one Republican strategist close to the Administration.

Moreover, the buildup to the convention this week will highlight Mr. Bush in the role he likes best, Commander in Chief and world leader. He was meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel today, after holding forth on Bosnia and Herzegovina over the weekend. These are far better images from Kennebunkport than the cigarette-boat-and-golf-cart pictures that some Republicans have come to dread in these angry, recessionary times.

There are risks, of course, to all these world issues, most notably Bosnia, where Mr. Bush has come under criticism for not responding forcefully enough. Still, foreign policy expertise is a hard card for the Governor of Arkansas to match; when quizzed about his preparation to be Commander in Chief today on "CBS This Morning," Mr. Clinton found himself discussing his experience deploying the Arkansas National Guard, which is not quite the same thing.

So much for the good news for Mr. Bush.

Barring some unexpected catastrophe, this election will revolve around

domestic, not foreign policy. Mr. Bush's difficulty in articulating a powerful, persuasive domestic agenda for a second term has haunted him throughout this campaign. Ironically, that vulnerability was highlighted in his recent television commercials; one was devoted to Mr. Bush talking about the balanced-budget amendment and the other to a general expression of commitment to the principles of strong families, fiscal responsibility and the fight against crime.

At a time when polls show close to 80 percent of the American people believe that the nation has gotten off on the wrong track, when unemployment and the nation's fundamental economic competitiveness are painfully sensitive issues at the grass roots, the commercials seemed a tad unfocused. A few Republicans, speaking on condition that they not be identified, spoke yearningly of the heyday four years ago of Roger Ailes, the former Bush media consultant who has never been accused of lacking focus or edge.

Another danger for Mr. Bush: While energizing the Republican base is essential, it is also not enough, as Mr. Dukakis learned in 1988 when he

After stumbling for weeks, the President enters what he calls the campaign mode.

rallied Democrats in the final two weeks of his campaign but still lost in a landslide. Presidential elections, by and large, are won or lost in the political center. Mr. Bush appears to be taking a gamble at he can shore up his conservative support without paying a price for it among the voters in the center.

To wit, the draft of the Republican platform released today, which is an unmistakably conservative document. It reasserts, for example, the party's support for a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion.

Mr. Clinton, of course, has challenges and problems of his own. The Democrats have had the political winds at their back for the last four weeks, aided enormously by the withdrawal of Ross Perot, the success of the Democratic convention, the stumbles of the Bush campaign and a wave of bleak economic statistics. Now, however, Mr. Clinton will have to raise his game to a new level.

It is not simply the return of Mr. Baker, or the expected reorganization of the campaign, or the spotlight of the Republican convention and the almost inevitable bounce in the polls it will give Mr. Bush. It is simply this: For all Mr. Bush's difficulties, he is now entering "campaign mode," the time when he is ready, mentally, to fight, and becomes very, very dangerous.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

G.O.P. Drafting Stand for Total Ban on Abortion

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 10 — Republicans began writing a party platform today that advocates a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion and embraces a variety of other conservative doctrines, including a repeal of the tax increases President Bush signed two years ago.

In contrast to the Democrats, who sought in the platform they adopted last month to round the edges on their sharpest liberal stances of the past, the Republicans seem determined to stress conservative principle over pragmatic drift toward the center.

While the platform will not be com-

pleted until later this week, the drafters indicated they would stick with the abortion language of the last two Republican platforms.

It declares that "the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed." It does not provide for even the exceptions President Bush accepts: allowing abortions to end pregnancies that result from rape or incest.

The plank also supports appointment of judges who would overturn the constitutional right to abortion.

The Republicans who gathered here today in the downtown convention center, across town from the Astrodome where the Republican National Convention will be held next week, tried in their speeches to change the electoral tide that has been running against President Bush for the last month.

Richard N. Bond, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, kicked off the party's two weeks here this morning with a rousing speech about "what a horror show a Clinton

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Republican Platform

G.O.P. Drafting Stand for Total Ban on Abortion

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Presidency might be."

He suggested that Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado would become Secretary of Defense, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California would be Secretary of Interior and Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York would get the first nomination to the Supreme Court.

Ms. Schroeder's first recommendation, Mr. Bond asserted, would be "to stop referring to naval vessels as 'she.'"

Representative Bill McCollum of Florida, a co-chairman of the platform committee, declared, "Today is the first day of the re-election campaign of George Bush and Dan Quayle."

The chairman of the platform committee, Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma, said the goal of the platform was to draw distinctions between Republicans and Democrats, and the document that was being drafted today did that on issues across the board: the economy, welfare, gun control, military spending and the environment, among others.

The sharpest case, not surprisingly, involved abortion. The Democratic platform endorses a woman's right to choose abortion without exception and calls for government financing of abortions for poor women who cannot afford them otherwise.

Opponents In Control

The Republicans' subcommittee on "individual rights, good homes and safe streets," which had jurisdiction over the abortion question, was stacked with abortion opponents, and they created a parliamentary situation that prevented the few delegates here in

Candidates On Television

The Presidential campaigners have scheduled these television appearances in coming days:

President Bush

TODAY: 10 P.M., NBC, "NBC Dateline," interview.
(Channel 4 in New York)

favor of abortion rights from amending the platform.

Two of those delegates, Bobbi Breske from Delaware and Mary Wiese from South Dakota, said in the subcommittee debate that Republicans from their states had expressed dissatisfaction with the hard line against abortion, especially in the cases of rape and incest, and that some were threatening to vote against the ticket over the issue.

"Are we just to put lives in jeopardy because a woman has been raped and she does not want to carry it?" asked Mrs. Breske, who works with Mary Kay Cosmetics and has long been active in Republican affairs in her state. "The realities of life are sometimes very ugly," she added.

'A Party of Principles'

But Mrs. Breske and the handful of other supporters of abortion rights who attended the session were routed by the overwhelming majority of Republican platform writers who want to make abortion illegal.

The subcommittee chairman, Mary Potter Summa, an assistant district

attorney from North Carolina who is four and a half months pregnant, declared, "What's in me is a human life that's kicking me and sitting on my bladder."

Texas newspapers are reporting that a large majority of Republicans, even in this conservative state, favor abortions' being legal in at least some circumstances, but Mrs. Summa said, "We are a party of principles and not a party of the whims of polls."

Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois made the case against allowing women who have been raped to have abortions. "The value of human life is transcendent," he asserted.

The subcommittee adopted the rigid language by a vote of 13 to 3.

Today, six subcommittees worked on various facets of the platform. Their work will go before the 107-member platform committee on Tuesday, and the abortion question will probably be raised again. But no one expects the outcome to be any different.

What Kind of Change?

Before the drafting work began, the delegates gathered for what amounted to a pep rally and heard stem-winding speeches from Mr. Bond and other party leaders that did not praise President Bush so much as they hammered Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

In what sounded like a preview of the keynote address he will deliver at the convention next week, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas accused the Democratic Presidential candidate of supporting the largest tax and spending increases in the nation's history, steps that the Senator said would drive the country and countless businesses into bankruptcy.

"In a country that comes out for change, is this the change America

wants?" Senator Gramm asked. "I think it is not."

One change the platform is pushing for is a repeal of the tax increases Mr. Bush signed as part of the 1990 budget deal. Among those were an increase in the tax rate on the wealthiest Americans to 31 percent from 28 percent and a higher annual Medicare tax on workers with incomes between about \$55,000 and \$125,000.

The whole budget agreement was a

mistake, the subcommittee dealing with the economy declared. That conclusion goes somewhat beyond what Mr. Bush has said. He has maintained only that the agreement was a political mistake, not necessarily a substantive one.

A small group of backers of Patrick J. Buchanan, who ran against Mr. Bush in the early primaries this year, advocated such causes today as a wall across Southern California and the Rio

Grande Valley to keep illegal Mexican immigrants out and the abolition of foreign aid. But such proposals are clearly going nowhere.

Mr. Buchanan is scheduled to address the convention next week, and his sister and campaign manager, Angela Buchanan, said her brother would put differences aside, support the President's re-election and "do nothing to harm the Republican Party between now and the election."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

LOAN DEAL STRUCK BY BUSH AND RABIN

Maine Meeting Demonstrates
New U.S.-Israeli Warmth

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

KENNEBUNKPORT, Me., Aug. 10 — After a day of Israeli-American talks, American officials said today that President Bush and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had reached agreement in principle on \$10 billion in loan guarantees and had ordered their aides to resolve final details so they could announce the accord on Tuesday.

In talks at Mr. Bush's seaside family compound, Walker's Point, that were intended to demonstrate a revived warmth in American-Israeli relations, Mr. Bush asked Mr. Rabin for a personal explanation of his policy on settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and was largely satisfied with it, officials said.

A Major Issue Defused

Among the remaining issues, they said, was what settlements would be permitted under the accord and how the United States would deduct the costs of any additional construction from the loan guarantees. The two leaders' aides were instructed to work out a private agreement on the issue tonight, the officials said.

Mr. Bush had been blocking the loan guarantees, which Israel wants to help resettle immigrants from the former Soviet Union, for more than a year to punish Mr. Rabin's predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir, for his refusal to freeze construction of settlements on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The issue had become a major point of conflict be-

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Bush and Rabin Agree On Guarantee for Loans

Continued From Page A1

tween the President and American Jewish organizations.

As the two leaders concluded an afternoon of talks and prepared for a cocktail party and dinner at Walker's Point, the White House also announced that it had received final confirmation from all of the parties in the Middle East peace talks that they would attend the sixth round of the negotiations, beginning in Washington on Aug. 24.

Anxious to allay election-year criticism of his handling of relations with Israel, Mr. Bush and his aides went out of their way to color the seaside meeting between the President and Mr. Rabin with the personal warmth that had been so notably lacking in the dealings between Mr. Bush and Mr. Shamir.

Mr. Bush, who sets great store by personal relations with foreign leaders, uses his home here as a place to establish that bond or spend a few sunny days with close friends like Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, and the invitation to Mr. Rabin was intended to strike a deliberate contrast with the relationship between Mr. Bush and Mr. Shamir.

'The Welcome Mat Is Out'

"The welcome mat is out for Prime Minister Rabin," Mr. Bush said as the Israeli leader arrived at Walker's Point. "He has many friends in the United States, including the man he's standing next to."

Mr. Rabin said, "We would like to make sure that there is a better and more intimate relationship between our two countries."

Officials said Mr. Bush had spent much of the day talking privately with the Israeli leader on his patio, which looks across jagged black rocks to the waves of the Gulf of Maine. He introduced Mr. Rabin to his mother, Dorothy Walker Bush, and to his grandchildren and gave him a personal tour of the compound.

From accounts provided by American and Israeli officials, Mr. Bush was in an exuberant mood as he dealt with a once-thorny relationship that is now one of the easiest foreign policy challenges on Mr. Bush's agenda.

At one point, the President was out on the patio with Mr. Rabin, their aides inside conferring on details of the loan

agreement, when a sailboat hired by followers of the late Meir Kahane, a leader of the Israeli far right, tried to breach the Coast Guard cordon that protects Mr. Bush's shorefront.

An Israeli official, who briefed reporters on condition of anonymity, said Mr. Bush had caught sight of the boat, which carried a sign reading "Kahane Chai," or "Kahane Lives" in Hebrew, and rushed inside to bring Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and some of the others out to see the boat.

"I thought this guy was kind of dead," he exclaimed, according to the Israeli briefer.

American and Israeli officials, who called the talks "very good," "productive" and "constructive," said Mr. Bush and Mr. Rabin had discussed the Middle East peace talks, the situation in Iraq and other issues, including a return to expanding the strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel.

That process had been largely frozen while Mr. Shamir was in office, but officials said that Mr. Rabin would meet with Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney in Washington on Wednesday and that the two countries might discuss the possibility of "pre-positioning" additional American military equipment in Israel.

Providing No Actual Money

But much of the public attention was focused on the loan guarantees. Under the agreement, the United States would not actually provide any money to Israel, but would instead back the Israeli Government when it seeks the funds from private lenders. It was expected to last for five years, for a total of \$10 billion in loans.

Mr. Bush had refused to send the guarantees to Congress for approval last year after he and Mr. Shamir clashed over the Israeli leader's refusal to freeze construction of new settlements in the occupied territories.

The United States considered the settlements an obstacle to its efforts to arrange peace talks between Israel and the Arab nations, and the stalemate became a symbol of the strained relations between Mr. Shamir and Mr. Bush, who did little to mask his distrust or his dislike of the Israeli leader.

The two nations have moved quickly since Mr. Rabin's party won elections in June to conclude an agreement on the loan guarantees.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

Limits of U.S. Role

White House Is Seeking to Minimize Any Use of Military in Balkan Conflict

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 10 — As the Bush Administration considers possible military intervention in the Balkan war, it seems determined to minimize the American role, convinced that the conflict represents neither the time nor the place to use military power in a world no longer dominated by the cold war.

By defining American and Western aims as guaranteeing the delivery of relief aid, the Administration appears to be ruling out the use of American force to quell the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and force the warring parties to negotiate a cease-fire. Officials have remained largely silent on whether outside forces should be used to insure access to Serbian detention camps in Bosnia, taking a cautious stance that is generally echoed by Washington's European allies.

What the Western powers appear prepared to do is use force to insure that food and medicine are delivered to the Bosnians, though it is still not clear exactly how this would be done.

Supplies could be delivered overland using armed convoys, a strategy that could minimize the presence of foreign troops, who have sometimes been a magnet for attacks. Some military specialists at NATO headquarters, howev-

These options include punitive air strikes, raids to seize the detention camps and the lifting of the arms embargo so that the poorly equipped Bosnians could better acquit themselves against the well-armed Serbs. Virtually nobody is talking about injecting a huge ground force to pacify the region.

From the Pentagon's vantage point, the Balkan war is not an inviting conflict. In Panama and again in the Persian Gulf, the Pentagon demonstrated that its vision of warfare is a short violent conflict in which the United States brings overwhelming force to bear and then quickly withdraws, leaving the local inhabitants to sort things out for themselves. Anything short of that tends to be seen as a quagmire in which each small step deepens the military's involvement and raises the prospects of defeat.

It is a dichotomy born out of the military's bitter experience in Vietnam and Lebanon. And over the last weeks Pentagon officials have made clear that they see Balkan conflict as a potential Lebanon, where American 241 servicemen were killed in the truck bombing at the Marine headquarters in 1983. The plans that Western powers are developing for possible military intervention are shaped more by the desire to avoid becoming entangled in the region's blood feuds than to put an end to the fighting.

Moreover, it is not clear which countries would contribute such forces, and it is doubtful whether any of the Western powers are willing to contribute large number of ground troops. An American Army division can comprise 10,000 to 20,000 troops.

At the same time, Western military action against the Serbs could broaden the conflict without producing a decisive result, top Administration officials say. Air strikes against Serbian artil-

lery might produce some temporary relief to the Bosnians but would be unlikely to end the fighting.

Some critics complain that the Administration and its Western allies have allowed themselves to become paralyzed by the all-or-nothing school of military thinking and the possibility that limited measures may not succeed. Limited military objectives, they say, can be precisely defined. And while such steps might not bring about a quick end to the fighting, they say, it would be better than inaction.

Western powers, for example, could insist that the warring parties turn their heavy weapons over to United Nations monitors and give Western observers access to their detention camps. If the demands are not heeded, demonstration punitive air strikes could be conducted.

Serbian Air Threat

Beyond that, air strikes could be used to blunt the artillery and mortar attacks on Sarajevo and other Muslim strongholds. The Air Force and the Navy might not eliminate all of the artillery, but they would get some, helping to equalize the military balance, now skewed heavily in favor of the Serbs.

Some possible actions are well within the capacities of Western air forces. According to classified intelligence reports, for example, Serbian aircraft based in Banja Luka, a Serbian-controlled airfield in Bosnia, used cluster bombs against the Bosnians last week. Western air forces, which quickly dispatched the Iraqi Air Force, could easily neutralize the Serbian air threat, military experts say.

Critics also say that if the Administration is determined not to intervene in the fighting, it should at least rethink its commitment to an arms embargo so that the Bosnians could better defend themselves. Last week, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee called for reconsidering the arms embargo.

In its first detailed planning for the post-cold-war era, the Pentagon envisioned seven potential military conflicts, ranging from a coup in the Philippines to a war with North Korea. None of them envisioned the use of military force in a situation like the Balkans, where the breakup of Yugoslavia has unleashed ethnic warfare.

With end of the cold war, the glue that has held the Soviet Union and Eastern European nations together has given way, ethnic groups are reasserting themselves and nations have begun to atomize.

The question is whether the fragmentation can be carried out without violence, and whether there is a role for using Western military force to keep the peace if fighting erupts. In that sense, the Balkan conflict may be a truer test of whether military force can be used to preserve a "new world order" than the Persian Gulf war.

Wanting to avoid a potential Lebanon.

er, say the better military course would be use several divisions to secure the winding, mountainous land corridor from the Adriatic to Sarajevo and prevent ambushes.

Short-Term Options

From a military standpoint, as former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Gov. Bill Clinton and others have suggested, there may be options the West could exercise that would help dampen the conflict, or at least help the Bosnians defend themselves if the fighting continues, while avoiding the kind of long-term involvement that is feared by the Administration and the Pentagon in particular.

Text of the U.N.'s Draft Resolution on the Balkan Crisis

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 10 — Following is a draft of the Security Council resolution being considered to authorize the use of force to insure that aid is delivered to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

UNDERLINING once again the imperative need for an urgent negotiated political solution to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina,

RECOGNIZING that the provision of humanitarian assistance in Bosnia-Herzegovina is an important element in the Council's effort to restore international peace and security in the area,

COMMENDING the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for its continuing action in support of the relief operation in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina,

DEEPLY DISTURBED by the situation that now prevails in Sarajevo, which has severely complicated UNPROFOR's efforts to fulfill its mandate to insure the security and functioning of Sarajevo Airport and the delivery of humanitarian assistance in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina pursuant to resolutions

743, 749, 761, and 764, and the reports of the Secretary General cited therein,

DISMAYED by the continuation of conditions that impede the delivery of humanitarian supplies to destinations within Bosnia-Herzegovina and the consequent suffering of the people of that country,

DEEPLY CONCERNED by reports of abuses against civilians imprisoned in camps, prisons, and detention centers,

DETERMINED to establish as soon as possible the necessary conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in conformity with the mandate given by resolution 764 of 13 July 1992,

ACTING under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. REAFFIRMS its demands that all parties to the conflict immediately cease all military activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina;

2. CALLS UPON all states to take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements all measures necessary to facilitate in coordination with the United Nations the delivery by relevant United Nations' humanitarian organi-

zations and others of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina;

3. DEMANDS that unimpeded and continuous access to all camps, prisons and detention centers be granted immediately to the ICRC and other relevant humanitarian organizations and that all detainees therein receive humane treatment, including adequate food, shelter and medical care;

4. CALLS UPON all states to report to the Secretary General on measures they are taking in coordination with the United Nations to carry out this resolution, and invites the Secretary General to keep under continuous review any further measures that may be necessary to insure unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies;

5. REQUESTS all states to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken in pursuance of this resolution;

6. REQUESTS the Secretary General to report to the Security Council on a periodic basis on implementation of this resolution;

7. DECIDES to remain actively seized of the matter.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992

U.S. AND 2 ALLIES BACK A U.N. THREAT ON AID FOR BOSNIA

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION

Accord Would Authorize Force to Insure Relief Delivery — What Force Isn't Clear

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 10 — Overcoming earlier differences, the United States, Britain and France agreed today to press for a Security Council resolution threatening the use of force to insure the supply of food and medicine to beleaguered parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina but not specifying what military steps would be taken.

The proposed resolution, which United Nations diplomats said would probably win approval later this week, left unclear which countries would participate in any military action. It also confined the use of force to the delivery of relief supplies, ruling out force to stop the fighting in the area or rescue people from detention camps in the former Yugoslav republic.

China Expected to Abstain

The resolution, which employs language similar to that used when the Security Council authorized the Persian Gulf war, received a positive response from Russia, the Council's fourth permanent member with a veto on decisions, because it strictly limits the use of force to relief objectives. [Text of draft resolution, page A6.]

Western diplomats expect China, the Council's fifth permanent member, to abstain along with Zimbabwe when the resolution is put to a vote later this week because of its traditional opposition to military action. But with other members likely to vote in favor, the resolution appears assured of a substantial majority of the 15-member Council.

Call for Action

The three Western permanent members also agreed on a second resolution today, again invoking Chapter Seven of the United Nations Charter, which permits the Council to enforce its orders. The second resolution warns all parties to the conflict that they will be held responsible for war crimes, tells those with evidence of such crimes to present it to the Council and demands immediate Red Cross access to prison camps and detention centers.

The new resolution on force seeks to bridge earlier divisions between the European and American view points by saying that any armed intervention

U.S. and Allies Agree on Threat On Bosnia Aid

Continued From Page A1

must be "in coordination" with the United Nations.

This phrase is intended to insure that the existing United Nations peacekeeping force and relief agencies remain in place and continue their present operations, even though they may face outright attack by Serbian forces after the new resolution is adopted, probably on Wednesday.

The central passage in the resolution "calls upon all states to take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements, all measures necessary to facilitate in coordination with the United Nations, the delivery by relevant United Nations humanitarian organizations and others of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed to other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina."

It also demands "unimpeded and continuous access" to all camps and detention centers for relief organizations and says inmates must receive "humane treatment, including adequate food, shelter and medical care."

The resolution does not address such fundamental questions as which countries would provide armed ground forces or air power to insure the convoys get through if the warring factions continue obstructing them.

The United States and its European allies have made clear in recent days that they are deeply reluctant to expose their forces to the risk of becoming bogged down in what President Bush has termed a "quagmire."

Hope for More Supplies

And diplomats here say their hope is that adoption of the new resolution authorizing force will intimidate Serbian and Bosnian Muslim forces into greater cooperation with the United Nations relief efforts, encouraging them to allow a substantial increase in the present slow trickle of supplies getting through to needy people.

They hope that the London peace conference, opening Aug. 27 under the joint chairmanship of the European Community and the United Nations, will also serve to nudge the parties toward closer cooperation with the international aid agencies and increase their respect for human rights.

In the short run, this meeting may not be much more successful than previous peace initiatives in promoting a lasting cease-fire between these factions, diplomats here say. But they say it should at least provide an evenhanded forum for peace making, equally acceptable to Serbs, Croats and Muslims, when they decide they are tired of fighting.

'Keep People Living'

"The most important thing is to keep people living, to make sure that there is a generation coming, that babies can be fed. And that's what this is all about. It's not about creating a Vietnam. It's not about fighting a war," the American chief delegate at the United Nations, Edward J. Perkins, said after the three presented their draft to other Council members this afternoon.

But if any of the warring factions decides the resolution is really a bluff that it should call, then diplomats here argue that the Western powers will be compelled to overcome their hesitations and devise a viable military plan of action if they want the Security Council to retain any shred of credibility.

Initial reactions from the various parties involved in the war was not encouraging.

Bosnia's United Nations representative, Muhamed Sacirbey, said the text did not present the Serbs with a convincing deterrent to continuing their policy of "ethnic cleansing." The Council should have lifted its arms embargo against Bosnia so the Muslims could arm themselves and resist Serbian aggression, he said.

'Not the Proper Emphasis'

Radmila Milentijvic, a Minister in the Serbian Government in Belgrade, said "the emphasis on military force is not the proper emphasis. The emphasis should be on peace" and aimed at forcing Serbs, Muslims and Croats to the negotiating table.

As with the Council resolution authorizing the Gulf war, the new draft text leaves it up to interested countries to decide how any military intervention will be organized.

And the language has been crafted to allow either the formation of a coalition of like-minded countries or the formal involvement of regional military organizations, such as NATO and Western European Union.

Originally the United States had suggested a resolution authorizing the use of all necessary measures to bring in relief supplies by governments cooperating with Bosnia, a formula very similar to that used to authorize the war against Iraq.

Serbian Retaliation Feared

Britain and France balked, however, saying this would look too much like a declaration of war against the Serbs, which might provoke an attack on the existing lightly armed United Nations peacekeeping force in Bosnia that is trying to escort relief convoys through the war zone.

The Europeans feared that the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has accused the Council of preoccupation with the Balkans to the detriment of Third World trouble spots like Somalia, would then try to withdraw the Bosnian peacekeepers for their own safety, forcing relief agencies to pull out, too.

The 60 United Nations military officers deployed in the hills around Sarajevo monitoring heavy weapons are felt to be particularly at risk of being taken hostage or killed, as are the Ukrainian peacekeepers serving in the area.

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Strategy: Avoiding a Quagmire

Because of the risks of extended internal strife in Bosnia, the Pentagon sees it as the wrong place and time for military intervention. News Analysis, page A6.

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

Illustrating woes ahead for Rabin

Yesterday's visit by Yitzhak Rabin, the new prime minister of Israel, to the Kennebunkport White House was like the return of the Prodigal Son. On the face of it, that would appear peculiar. After all, Mr. Rabin is a certified Israeli "hawk," one who has vowed never to accept a Palestinian state in the disputed territories. More striking still, he is as committed as was President Bush's nemesis, Yitzhak Shamir, to retaining all of Jerusalem and continuing settlement activity for "security" reasons. In fact, the Rabin government has announced that some 10,000 housing units will continue to be constructed in the "occupied" areas.

How is it that such a man gets the red carpet treatment, and billions in U.S. loan guarantees to boot, from George Bush? Was this not the same president who cited Israeli policies concerning East Jerusalem and expansion of the settlements to justify employing American leverage to punish the Jewish State economically and to topple Mr. Rabin's democratically elected predecessor?

It is seductive to believe that the explanation lies in several of Mr. Rabin's highly publicized gestures aimed at addressing a number of Mr. Bush's concerns. For example, his moves to cancel some planned construction activities in the disputed territories, his summit meeting with Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and his announced intention to decriminalize contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization afforded the U.S. president needed political cover at a moment when domestic politics necessitated reduced tensions with Israel.

It would appear, however, that something more abstract — yet potentially much more portentous for

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for The Washington Times.

Israel's security and for America's long-term interests in the region — is really at work here: The Bush administration's expectation that it can exploit Mr. Rabin's embrace of the "peace process" to advance an agenda the Israeli premier personally opposes.

An important insight into this phenomenon can be found in a seemingly unlikely place — Richard Perle's fascinating new novel, "Hard Line." Mr. Perle's book, of course, is set against the backdrop of the Cold War, its plot transparently built upon the real-life rivalry between two senior U.S. government officials locked in mortal combat over the direction of American policy toward the former Soviet Union.

And yet, "Hard Line" is really a book about power and how it is wielded in a modern democratic state. It details the serious risks that inevitably arise for vital national interests when policy-makers become consumed with a "process" — all too often losing sight of the purposes it is supposed to serve.

In fact, there are unsettling similarities between the arms control debates inside the Reagan administration and the Shamir-Rabin battles over the Middle East "peace" process. Like the two Richards — Assistant Defense Secretary Perle and Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt (and, naturally, their fictional counterparts, Michael Watterman and Dan Bennet) — the two Yitzhaks are at the "hard-line" end of their political spectrum.

Messrs. Perle and Burt both feel approximately the same contempt for died-in-the-wool arms controllers as Mr. Shamir and Mr. Rabin feel for Israeli doves like Shimon Peres. There is no doubt that it was Mr. Rabin's displacement of Mr. Peres as leader of the Labor Party for the June election and his hard-line credentials that returned the party to power.

Mr. Perle and Mr. Shamir, how-

ever, exemplify those who are reluctant to engage in a negotiating process that they believe is unlikely to produce the desired results. They cite historical experience as evidence that negotiations with fundamentally unreconstructed authoritarian regimes tend to expose democratic governments to asymmetric pressures for strategically unwise concessions.

Ironically, the Burts and Rabins tend to be scarcely more optimistic about the ultimate utility of such negotiations: Still, they calculate that — by appearing to participate enthusiastically in arms control or "peace" processes — public expectations can be managed, short-term benefits obtained and long-term dangers contained. Typically, these "play-the-game" hawks are supremely confident of their ability to control the process, to exploit it for their own purposes without falling victim to pressures for dangerous concessions inexorably unleashed along the way.

In "Hard Line," Mr. Perle employs his formidable writing skills and intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the U.S. government to reveal just how the game is played. By the book's end, the reader has been treated to a first-class primer on the way security policy often is made in democracies, great and small: by the intense, mostly behind-the-scenes competition between factions riven by conflicting ideologies, different strategies or simply different tactics and — as often as not — by intensely personal quests for power.

What is more, Mr. Perle's novel illustrates the problem now facing Prime Minister Rabin in the wake of his visit to Kennebunkport: Feeding the tiger does not curb his appetite; it simply tells him where to come for more food.

The Soviets proved far more adept at exploiting the arms control process than people like Rick Burt/Dan Bennet were at controlling it.

U.S. negotiating concessions did not produce lessened demands for new concessions. Rather, they created expectations of further American flexibility that was generally met by renewed intransigence on the Soviet side and redoubled State Department efforts to arrange a new breakthrough to keep the process going, no matter what the cost.

In a similar fashion, Mr. Rabin will find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to contain Bush administration-Arab pressures for far-reaching territorial concessions in the face of his government's enthusiastic embrace of the "peace" process. While the imminent U.S. election may postpone momentarily the sort of American coercion to which his predecessor was exposed, the new Israeli prime minister should be under no illusion: His announced determination to reach an agreement with the Palestinians within nine months, to conduct nonstop negotiations toward that end and to cede back much of the West Bank to effective Arab sovereignty will ultimately greatly intensify — not slacken — the pressure on Israel to accept a virulent Palestinian state in its midst.

In the aftermath of his meeting with President Bush, Yitzhak Rabin would be well advised to take counsel from fellow "hard-liners" with a well-founded mistrust of negotiating processes undertaken in the absence of agreement between the parties on certain fundamentals. Such fundamentals include, for example, in the U.S.-Soviet context a mutual commitment to comply with agreed provisions or, in the Arab-Israeli setting, an explicit acceptance of Israel's right to exist.

At the very least, Mr. Rabin might usefully put "Hard Line" on his required reading list. For that matter, so should anybody else concerned with the potential perils of yet another "process" now gaining momentum amidst inflated expectations.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

STEPHEN CHAPMAN

In "The Odyssey," fearful that the bewitching songs of sea nymphs will cause his men to steer the ship onto treacherous rocks, Odysseus plugs their ears with wax and has himself tied to the mast to avoid disaster. It's a shame Western leaders can't put themselves under similar constraints to resist demands that they use military force to end the crisis in the Balkans.

The rationale for intervention is clear and simple: Mass ethnic slaughter is going on in what used to be Yugoslavia, and failing to stop it will be a moral dereliction akin to ignoring Hitler's Final Solution. The West must act or someday remember with shame how we let another holocaust happen in Europe.

It's a painful spectacle to contemplate, but the world — and, more pertinently, the United States — stood by while a holocaust took place in Cambodia in the late 1970s. Pol Pot's communist regime carried out the systematic extermination of 2 million people, a scale of butchery far beyond anything imaginable in the Balkans.

Yet who feels shame today at our refusal to intervene in Cambodia? In that case, the rest of the world recognized that trying to stop the slaughter would exact a large price

Stephen Chapman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Airstrikes questioned

in lives and money, that it might not work, and that an internal conflict in Cambodia, however ghastly, was beyond our responsibility. A realism learned in the jungles of Vietnam kept us out of Cambodia.

That realism, however, is evaporating in the heat of the Yugoslavian civil war. Intense media coverage, trumpeting sensational allegations of "death camps" and "genocide," has turned Bosnia-Herzegovina into the crisis of the day, fueling anger, panic and incessant demands for immediate action. Pressed by outrage on Capitol Hill and attacks from Bill Clinton, George Bush gives every sign of preparing to use U.S. air power against Serbia.

Can it work? Canadian Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, who until recently commanded the U.N. peace-keeping forces in Sarajevo, doubts it. Airstrikes on Serbian guns, he told USA Today, won't suffice because "you can't find the stuff. It's fairly easy in that type of terrain to hide it." The most intensive air bombardment in history couldn't dislodge Iraq from Kuwait. It took tanks and infantry to do that.

No one thinks B-52s can tranquilize the Balkans. "Senior officials of all the major Western nations be-

lieve that nothing of lasting significance can be accomplished without the commitment of ground troops," reports the New York Times. Bill Clinton says he would "begin with air power."

Forcing a settlement on the ground, says Maj. MacKenzie, may require a million troops. Once peace is restored and the troops have left, he asks, "What's to keep it from starting again?"

The pragmatic issue of whether intervention could succeed is not the only one to be considered. More important is a question the Cold War enabled Americans to evade for 40 years: Should we base our foreign policy on protecting the safety and well-being of the American people or on promoting democracy and human rights abroad? Are we the guardian of our own house or the savior of the world?

In our long struggle with the Soviet Union, it often appeared that whatever fostered democracy or impeded communism also advanced U.S. interests. That belief made it possible for Americans to imagine that to preserve their own liberty, they had to combat communism in

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Vietnam and Nicaragua and Grenada.

President Bush portrayed the Gulf war as both a fight for our vital interests and a stand against aggression anywhere, blurring the issue again. In reality, the end of the Cold War removed the only substantial threat to the United States, leaving us free to ignore most of the upheavals beyond our shores. We are no more endangered by what happens in Sarajevo than by storms on Saturn.

Liberals used to warn against the folly of taking sides in civil wars whose causes we knew little about, preferring to devote our scarce resources to problems at home. Conservatives used to understand that

open-ended foreign commitments promote a more powerful and expensive federal government. But both sides are discarding their caution and their convictions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, assuming that when shooting starts anywhere on the globe, America has a duty to assure a just and decent outcome.

The right policy for the United States in this conflict is the same one pursued by President Jefferson in the war between Britain and France: "Determined as we are to avoid, if possible, wasting the energies of our people in war and destruction, we shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe, even in support of principles which we mean to pursue." Our best dreams have not been realized so perfectly in America that we should turn ourselves to the task of imposing them abroad.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

MORTON KONDRACKE

President Bush is legitimately leery of sending ground troops into a Balkan quagmire, but, ironically, the next step administration officials are considering is sending armed land convoys to bring humanitarian relief supplies into besieged Bosnian cities.

Mr. Bush's failure to act decisively against Serbian aggression over the past year has opened him up to criticism from Bill Clinton, the media and Congress for tolerating atrocities. Forced to act, he seems headed for the kind of gradualist response that has gotten previous presidents into trouble.

Last Thursday morning, top White House and Bush campaign aides discussed leveling new charges that Mr. Clinton has been "irresponsible" or "reckless" for recommending the use of force, but the idea was dropped as it became clear that Mr. Bush is increasingly doing just what Mr. Clinton has been calling for — only later.

Mr. Bush could leapfrog Mr. Clinton and his other critics — and begin reasserting American leadership of the New World Order — by ordering bombing raids against Serbian targets and by offering arms aid to Bos-

Tactical options

nia, but he seems enmeshed in the idea that the United States must do no more than provide humanitarian relief.

British and U.S. officials say their governments are discussing sending truck convoys into Bosnia from Croatia and the Adriatic Coast to supplement the meager supplies getting through Sarajevo's airport.

Under current conditions — which include repeated shelling of U.N. forces in Sarajevo — the likelihood is that the convoys would be attacked by Serbian irregulars as they made their way along Bosnia's winding, mountainous roads.

So, according to officials of both governments, the United States and Britain are conducting quiet discussions about the possibility of protecting the convoys with tanks, troops and planes, or even by trying to secure corridors alongside the road routes.

This would involve a heavy input of ground troops, which Mr. Bush has pledged to avoid. One means of doing so would be for British troops

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill.

KONDRACKE

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to do the groundwork while U.S. planes flew overhead, but presumably the British will not welcome this lopsided assignment of responsibility. They have been unwilling up to now even to support a U.S. move in the U.N. Security Council authorizing use of "all means necessary," i.e. force, to deliver relief supplies.

British officials and White House aides are so opposed to using force that both claim repeatedly that the only effective way to stop the war in Bosnia is to occupy the country, which might take 500,000 troops — a number no one is going to provide.

But there are alternatives between current U.S. policy — which is one of anguished and now angry rhetoric, diplomacy, economic sanctions and provision of humanitarian relief — and a ground invasion.

The object of allied policy ought to be not simply to comfort Serbia's victims, but to get Serbia out of Bosnia and make sure it does not attack any other republics.

Tactical options suggested by Margaret Thatcher (in a New York Times op-ed piece last week), by Indiana GOP Sen. Richard Lugar (in any number of interviews), and by some advisers to Mr. Clinton (in not-for-attribution conversations) fall into three categories:

(1) Allied air and light ground action to counter Serbian attacks on Bosnian civilians and on U.N. relief forces.

As opponents of using force rightly argue, planes can't stop Serbian snipers or mortars; but taking out heavy artillery surely would send a message to the Serbians that they cannot butcher Bosnian civilians at will.

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(2) Lifting of the arms embargo against weapons-poor Bosnia to allow it to buy what it needs to defend itself against Serbian forces, or even the furnishing of military aid to the Bosnians.

Slovenia is now a free country because it was able to inflict heavy casualties on Serbian aggressors. Mr. Bush belatedly has extended full diplomatic relations to the new nation of Bosnia. If it asks for help in resisting aggression, how can the United States possibly refuse?

(3) Bombing of military and/or infrastructure targets in Serbia to penalize the regime of Slobodan Milosevic for its aggression. The Serbian air force could be grounded, and major fuel, armor and artillery depots could be destroyed as a means of bringing home to the Serbian population the world's outrage at their dictator's behavior.

Some administration officials protest that such actions "wouldn't do any good" because they could not entirely stop intercommunal violence in Yugoslavia. However, air attacks — and, now, assistance to dissidents — is precisely what the United States is contemplating in Iraq, even though they may not topple Saddam Hussein or entirely stop him from killing his adversaries.

"The critical factor," says Mr. Lugar, "is that the Serbians be very clear that the world is prepared to use force to stop them from their policy of ethnic cleansing. Right now, they have the impression that they can get away with it."

Even though George Bush originated the idea of a "New World Order" in which aggression is punished by civilized nations, it seems that Richard Lugar, Bill Clinton and Margaret Thatcher understand it better than he does.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

The appropriate words for this last week ought to be: So much for "never again!"

For once again, God save us, we see in the increasingly horrific war in Bosnia a re-enactment of the patterns of Adolf Hitler in his Third Reich so exact that it makes the skin crawl.

But that is not the only analogy here, particularly since the frightful news of "the camps" has come out of Bosnia. Another, more important one explains why American policy is so shortsighted about what is going on there. It is eerily similar to what doomed American policy in Vietnam.

Why, more and more people are asking, isn't the West, and particularly America, doing anything, as Muslims are murdered by Serb militias? How can it be that we all sit back, wringing our hands, while these depredations take place?

There are answers: Bosnia is not within the sphere of our vital interests. What we need to do, rather than get involved in a potential quagmire with thousands of American lives at risk, is increase the cost to the Serbs, to gradually make them see it is not worth it and thus to seek an accommodation.

Other arguments, which are more military in conception, say it would be exceedingly costly to try to take out the artillery in the hills around Sarajevo, which is bombing that once-graceful old city and its peoples to bits. Smaller arms would still be there, this argument goes, and, anyway, taking such a military step commits your prestige and guides you down the slippery slope to total involvement.

Suddenly I realized this week that I was hearing the old Vietnam argument: the idea of gradualism and the conviction that slowly increasing pain will make the enemy give up. This could not be more wrong, particularly against a people such as the Serb fanatics fighting this war.

For any fanatic army, whether North Vietnamese or Serb, can simply absorb gradual escalations. Even more important, to Serbs whose entire worldview is one of their "nation" being persecuted by the outside world, gradually inflicted "pain" is what violence and oppression is to masochists. It only strengthens them by confirming their paranoia and xenophobia.

There is no way, then, that the policy now being followed is going to work. We will get some food delivered, and we will feel better ourselves, so far away, that "something is being done." But we ought not to believe that the policies being gingerly followed are actually going to save lives or punish the aggressors enough to change their sure agenda.

What, then, could realistically get something done? Well, once again we

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find that Margaret Thatcher has more macho than all of the male leaders involved put together. She has put forth a comprehensive proposal that is practical, tough and precise.

First, she says crisply, walking all over the naysayers: "It is argued by some that nothing can be done by the West unless we are prepared to risk

permanent involvement in a Vietnam- or Lebanon-style conflict and potentially high Western casualties. This is partly alarmism, partly an excuse for inertia."

She notes that the explicit statements of the West that force would not be used have only encouraged the Serbs, and she argues that "a clear threat of military action would force Serbia into contemplating an end to its aggression." That, and an ultimatum!

She would have the Western lead-

ers demand cessation of Serbia's economic support for the war, recognition of Bosnia's independence and territorial integrity by Belgrade, guarantees of access for humanitarian teams, a Bosnia demilitarized, and a promise of cooperation with the return of refugees to Bosnia.

And if those demands are not met by a deadline, the Serbs could expect aerial bombardment of crucial bridges on the Drina River linking Bosnia with Serbia, of military con-

voy, of gun positions around Sarajevo and Gorazde, and of military targets, including appropriate installations within Serbia itself.

Something snapped in world opinion this last week — and it is high time. The sight of emaciated, terrified human beings does not summon us to suicidal involvement that would in the long run serve no one. But it does call us to a clear, tough warning and to a clear, tough, measured military response.

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Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

BRUCE FEIN

Gore's litany

Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore is a frightening intellectual ingenue, and the manifold defects in his mental equipment are vastly more worrisome than misspelling potato.

As highlighted in his recently published scribbles, "Earth in the Balance," Mr. Gore devoutly believes that virtually all evils that bedevil contemporary life, including environmental pollution, are attributable to dysfunctional psyches and spiritual voids.

According to Mr. Gore, an asserted global ecological crisis has been caused by an increasingly elaborate "edifice of civilization" that has distanced man from "roots in the earth" and has caused a loss of a "feeling to connectedness to the rest of nature." Mr. Gore forcefully argues that mankind dares to pollute because it possess the hubris to wonder: "Are we [humans] so unique and powerful as to be essentially separate from the Earth?"

Mr. Gore disbelieves that pollution is caused by economic incentives and the innate desire of mankind for material acquisition. He further ignores that pollution was prevalent in ancient civilizations, for example, the Roman Empire, that

Bruce Fein is a lawyer and freelance writer specializing in legal issues.

were firmly rooted in the earth and thickly connected with nature. "Slash-and-burn" horticulture earmarked North and South American Indian Tribes, such as the Iroquoians, Algonquians and the Jivaro, in 1492.

Mr. Gore boldly preaches that modernity has precipitated dysfunctional civilizations and mental disorders by embracing a "Cartesian model of the disembodied intellect." That model, Mr. Gore maintains, defines "human beings as disembodied intellects separate from the physical world." The pernicious consequence, Mr. Gore frets, has been the creation of "an elaborate set of cultural rules designed to encourage

Mr. Gore disbelieves that pollution is caused by economic incentives and the innate desire of mankind for material acquisition.

the fullest expression of thought while simultaneously stifling the expression of feelings and emotions." That fretting seems misplaced. Modernity suffers from plummeting levels of intellectual achievement, as witnessed by SAT scores, and the triumph of passion over reason, as witnessed by the incidence of crime, sexual promiscuity and racial epithets as a form of free speech. Mr. Gore's contrary assertion suggests he might profit by a dose of "disembodied intellect."

Mr. Gore indicts the neocortex of the brain for causing profound psychological and other disorders — including recreational shopping, drug and alcohol addiction, and the accumulation of material goods. The following lengthy quotation from Mr. Gore should be pondered with sobriety in contemplating his fitness for the vice presidency: "Between the most basic and primitive part of our brain, responsible for bodily functions and instinct, and the last major structure within the brain to evolve,

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the part responsible for abstract thought and known as the neocortex, is the huge portion of our brain that governs emotion, called the limbic system. In a very real sense, the idea that human beings can function as disembodied intellects translates into the absurd notion that the functions of the neocortex are the only workings of our brains that matter.

"Yet abstract thought is but one dimension of awareness. Our feelings and emotions, our sensations, our awareness of our own bodies and of nature — all these are indispensable to the way we experience life, mentally and physically. To define the essence of who we are in terms that correspond with the analytical activity of the neocortex is to create an intolerable dilemma: How can we concentrate purely on abstract thinking when the rest of our brain floods our awareness with feelings, emotions and instincts?"

"Insisting on the supremacy of the neocortex exacts a high price, because the unnatural task of a disembodied mind is to somehow ignore the intense psychic pain that comes from the constant nagging awareness of what is missing: the experience of living in one's body as a fully integrated physical and mental being. Life confronts everyone with personal or circumstantial

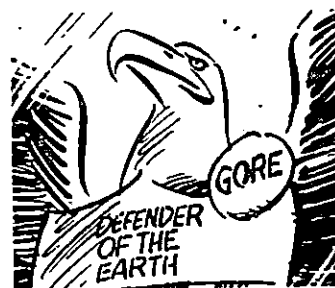
such as Alcibiades, were lionized one day and anathematized the next, depending on popular whims driven by an obsession with the moment. Similarly, Athenians revered Socrates soon after imposing a death sentence for failing to worship the gods and teaching youth to pursue truth. During the Roman Empire, barbarism was exalted in gladiatorial combat. Greed, ambition and religious fanaticism fostered the decline and fall of the empire, as brilliantly chronicled by Edward Gibbon. The Ottoman Empire, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and the Mongol Emperors under Genghis Khan and his disciples were comparably depraved. Chinese civilization celebrated the odious foot-binding of women.

The statesmen searches in vain for any era of human existence un-plagued by the seven deadly sins and worse. That elementary knowledge is the foundation of political wisdom. It forestalls delusionary panaceas for alleviating evil on the false premise that human nature is either perfectible or has been corrupted by modernity. It instructs the politician to coax human nature in positive directions, and to shun the fanaticism of Robespierre who would cram virtue down the throats of Frenchmen if they persisted in vice.

Al Gore should not be entrusted with political power because he knows virtually nothing of the species he yearns to rule.

problems, of course, and there are many varieties of psychic pain at the very root of the modern mind, making it harder for anyone who is suffering from other psychological wounds to be healed."

I will not vex the reader with additional imbecilities so copious in Mr. Gore's writings. They all corroborate his intellectual disqualifi-



cation for any office by his ignorance of human nature and the teachings of history. What Mr. Gore asserts as novel ailments have beset mankind since the beginning of civilization 6,000 years ago.

Egyptian pharaohs were infatuated with trumpery and wealth. Slavery and human sacrifices to pagan deities were cornerstones of ancient Egypt. Warfare for commercial or baser motives and political treachery was chronic.

In ancient Greece at its zenith, politicians and military chieftains,

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

PATRICK MICHAELS

As a scientist, I'm concerned about democratic vice presidential candidate Albert Gore. According to prospective president Bill Clinton, Mr. Gore will provide leadership on environmental matters, which, in fact, are the senator's passion.

A lot of folks are scared by Mr. Gore because he is bright, telegenic and articulate. They shouldn't be, because that's what we expect of anyone who would be president, and he is as "presidential" in these attributes as anyone since John Kennedy, and as canonized by the media. Anyone who watched the Democratic Party convention and saw him up on the platform with Mr. Clinton knows he's the better of the two.

Rather, what raises my worry threshold is when a person that effective creates a new combination of science, religion and the state, and then stages show trials of eminent scientists to prove his point.

Read his book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," or review his vice presidential acceptance speech. Both are magnificent prose, written and spoken from the heart. Both define a required "new relationship" between man and the planet. "The task of saving the environment will be the central organizing principal of the post-Cold War period," say both. The book is more specific: Saving the Earth includes very expensive and regressive energy taxes and a central planning agency to determine the appropriateness of new technology.

Never mind that the book states

Patrick J. Michaels is associate professor of environmental sciences at the University of Virginia and is also a senior fellow in environmental science at the Cato Institute. He is the author of "Sound and Fury: The Science and Politics of Global Warming," to be released on Oct. 15 by National Book Network.

that when Cain slew Abel and his blood spilled on the ground, Cain gave us the first example of pollution. "Dust thou art" would suggest it was more likely recycling. Never mind the facts, we're saving the Earth here.

If saving something is required, then the object of salvation must be in danger. But there is a plethora of evidence in the scientific literature that says while there are ecological problems, the Earth is by no means "threatened" in any serious sense by whatever man might do. In fact, in his powerful positions of oversight of the National Science Foundation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Mr. Gore has been accused by some of distorting science for the purposes of his cam-

paign to save a world that may not need it. Richard Lindzen, a member of the National Academy of Sciences, and a distinguished climatologist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said these show trials of scientists are assaults against free expression and inquiry that are analogous to the Army-McCarthy hearings.

Mr. Lindzen recently told one of Mr. Gore's hearings that the data didn't support one of his many proposed ideas to explain the already obvious failure of the forecasts of climate gloom and doom. "Lindzen has recanted," one of Mr. Gore's staffers crowed, using a verb more reserved for the Inquisition than for science.

But here's a better example: Last

spring, Mr. Gore called to town one Sherwood Idso, a scientist with the Agriculture Department's Water Conservation Laboratory in Phoenix. Mr. Idso is stereotypical of the public's image of a scientist: shy, some would say "nerdy," and a person thoroughly engrossed in his ideas and experiments. His sophistication in politics is probably less than my 4-year-old daughter's.

An examination of the peer-reviewed scientific journal publication record of science and engineering PhDs reveals that their most common trait is to author between one and three papers in that literature during their careers. There's a good reason: Scientific peers are a

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MICHAELS

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notoriously cranky lot, and new and good ideas are hard to come by. Mr. Idso has about 300 publications in that literature.

A number of those papers describe experiments about the so-called "carbon dioxide fertilization effect," which simply translates into the idea that, with adequate nutrition, raising the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere makes plants grow better.

As you can imagine, this isn't the kind of thing that will help someone who's been banging the tocsin of environmental apocalypse, and who obviously wants to be president. Those who believe that the enhanced greenhouse effect from CO₂ is the central issue requiring us to save the planet must also believe that any scientist who stands in the way is therefore destroying the planet. As Mr. Gore wrote about the environment in the New Republic in 1989, "Evil and good are terms not used frequently by politicians [on what planet is he anyway?], but I do not see how this problem can be solved without reference to spiritual values."

Mr. Gore consequently developed the scientific show trial as a means of destroying the reputations of those evil folks who don't believe

with him. It's a very easy thing to do; the rules of evidence and fairness are built along the model of the Clarence Thomas hearings, and the majority Democrats can call as many witnesses as they chose, while the minority Republicans can only use as many as they are permitted, usually one or zero.

At the Idso hearing, Mr. Gore lined up 10 scientists who were specifically selected to answer questions in a predictable fashion, while Mr. Idso was left to defend what everyone knows: Plants grow better if the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere goes up, but they have to have adequate other nutrients, too. Because Mr. Idso's experiments implicitly included such nutrition, they were therefore deemed unrealistic, inasmuch as only man or God (as opposed to nature) can assure that an individual plant is adequately fed.

After softening him up on that one, Mr. Gore bore in with the haymaker: Wasn't it true that Mr. Idso's wife owned a corporation that had accepted money from the coal industry as a consultant on a film about the growth enhancement caused by carbon dioxide? ("Has your wife ever associated with known communists?"). After having Mr. Idso admit that critical experiments on plant growth had yet to be performed, Mr. Gore's tack was then to show that whatever Mr. Idso did was no good because his wife hung out with known capitalists.

If science were a black and white affair, such persecution would be difficult. But especially when trying to explain the real world, large numbers of variables often interact in ways that require considerable experimentation and are subject to multiple interpretation. As a result, if Albert Einstein were standing in his way, Mr. Gore could have put together a panel to discredit him. "Imagine," he might say, "this man actually believes that time isn't constant and depends upon how fast you are going. Everyone, from our eminent panel of testifying scientists to the man on the street knows that my watch doesn't change depending upon how fast I drive... and isn't it true, Mr. Einstein, that you took money from the enemy in World War I?"

What are the limits to Mr. Gore? I don't know, but I am really worried. Other worriers should be anyone who, however innocently, does work indicating that global warming in fact might not be the end of the world. Those who work in industries that contribute to the putative apocalypse (agriculture, coal, natural gas and automobiles, to name a few) should be climbing the walls.

Judging from Mr. Gore's scientific show trials, you're standing in his way, and this is a battle between good and evil, according to a man who would be president. In his mind, which of the two do you think you are?

Television viewers recently were treated to a lot of extraordinary gymnastics by women. The athletic gymnastics were on display at the Olympics in Barcelona, and the mental-psychological gymnastics were shown to the nation when C-Span aired the hearing held by Wisconsin Democratic Rep. Les Aspin on women in the military.

This hearing gave us a preview of how the feminists would henpeck the military in a Clinton administration. Democratic Reps. Pat Schroeder of Colorado and Beverly Byron of Maryland used their committee positions to scold the four Joint Chiefs like little boys.

The hearing spelled out how the feminists are using the "Tailhook" incident to argue that women should be admitted to military combat. This outrageous non sequitur involves two leaps of logic that spring from skewed feminist ideology.

Feminists argue that:

● Because some drunken aviators mauled some women in a Las Vegas hotel, the entire U.S. Navy is proved guilty of sexual harassment, sexism, discrimination against women and all the other sins that feminists regularly complain about. That is the favorite feminist theory of group guilt; i.e., all men are slobes and should be punished, so the feminists have been gleefully pillorying the entire Navy by media humiliation and holding up congressional approval of all promotions.

● The reason servicemen are guilty of all these sins is that women are excluded from military combat, which makes women "second-class" citizens, and that's why men don't respect them. But it is ridiculous on its face to argue that not exposing

Phyllis Schlafly is a nationally syndicated columnist.

ALL I SAID WAS THAT WOMEN SHOULDN'T BE ALLOWED INTO COMBAT BECAUSE THEY LACK A KILLER INSTINCT.

SGT (WITTE)

WITTE

women to the sadism of vicious enemies proves that American men don't respect women.

Tailhook should be a good argument against assigning women to combat duty. If women can't protect themselves against some "friendly" drunks in a U.S. hotel, how are they going to defend themselves on the battlefield?

At Mr. Aspin's House Armed Services Committee hearing, the four Joint Chiefs were forced to make long mea culpa statements detailing all their tough new procedures designed to eliminate sexual harassment. Funny thing, nobody ever defined sexual harassment. They made clear, however, that it includes

not just overt acts but also attitudes, and that "equal opportunity" commissars will henceforth have the power to terminate a serviceman's career if he has the politically incorrect attitude.

The big tough soldiers who were bullied on television by the feminist congresswomen must have been asking themselves, what do these complaining feminists want from the U.S. Armed Services? Do they want to be treated like men or treated like ladies?

One of the most emotional complaints made by the female interrogators, for example, was that no officer came to the defense of the

women who were harassed at the Tailhook incident.

But isn't the idea of "protecting" women from the bad guys an out-of-date Victorian stereotype that the feminists want eliminated in their gender-neutral new world order? Didn't Army Maj. Rhonda Cornum testify that, when she was physically violated while a POW in Iraq, it was no big deal but just an "occupational hazard" of her job?

Let me explain what the feminists really want. They want each woman to enjoy the option to make a different decision in every situation about whether a man should treat her like a man or like a lady, and furthermore the feminists want the option to make each decision *ex post*

facto. I doubt if the military — or any man — can cope with that kind of rule, because it isn't a rule at all; it puts every man at the total mercy of every woman.

The one who made the most sense at the Aspin hearing was Rep. Herbert Bateman, Virginia Republican. He said we simply cannot eliminate the inequality of exempting women from military combat and replace it with a rule that gives women the option to go into combat or not (after they look at the risks) while telling the men "By golly, you go where you are assigned, or else!"

Mr. Bateman also pointed out the unjust consequences of what the Joint Chiefs called "zero tolerance" of sexual harassment. A reasonable inference from their statements would be that an accusation of "sexual harassment" would be enough to terminate a serviceman's career without due process and irrespective of guilt.

Indeed, that is exactly what the feminists want, as clearly manifested by their persistent harangues to make the American people believe that Clarence Thomas should have been denied confirmation because of Anita Hill's accusations, even though there was never a shred of evidence to corroborate her story.

For 20 years, the gender-equality feminists have pushed for the repeal of state laws against statutory rape because they are based on the stereotype that young women need special protection. Now, the macho-feminists who are yapping about sexual harassment in order to repeal the combat-exclusion rules are demanding what is, in effect, a statutory rape rule to protect women of every age; i.e., men are always at their peril when they make a pass at any woman of any age because she can decide afterward whether she consented.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

SAMUEL FRANCIS

Justice falling prey this time around?

Perhaps never before in American history have defendants in a criminal trial played against such a stacked deck as the four Los Angeles police officers indicted by a federal grand jury last week. In almost none of the famous courtroom dramas of our past — Charles Manson, the Lindberg kidnapping, the Rosenberg spy case — have the defendants stood at the bar with such overwhelming prejudice against them.

No sooner were the defendants acquitted in April on state charges of using excessive force against ex-convict Rodney King than President Bush took himself before the TV cameras to vow they would be tried again. The verdict, he pronounced, left him "with a deep sense of personal frustration and anguish," and he promised "the federal government will continue to pursue its legal responsibility in this case."

For the nation's chief law enforcement official to promise further action in a continuing legal proceeding even as he registers his view that the first verdict was not to his liking is by itself enough to jeopardize the possibility of a fair trial for the defendants.

But a fair trial is not on the docket in Los Angeles. The defendants have already had one trial, and it yielded the wrong verdict. No can doubt that the only reason they're being tried again is to make sure they are convicted. What will happen if they're not? Will there be more explosions

in the nation's cities? Will they be tried yet again, until the "right" verdict is returned?

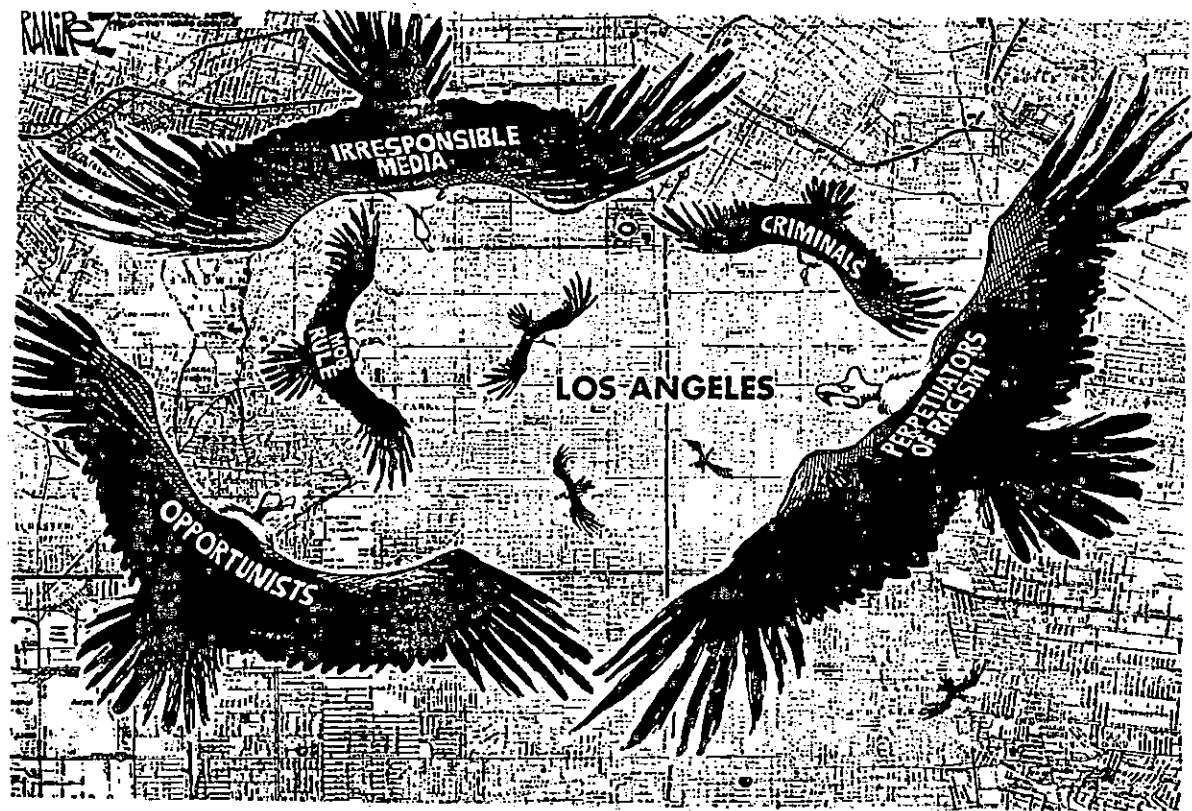
Most Americans probably shared Mr. Bush's reaction to the first verdict, but most Americans have few grounds for their belief. Most people didn't follow the original trial closely, and all most people know about it is what they've seen of the edited videotape showing the cops pounding Mr. King into the pavement. That — along with the unexamined presupposition that since the cops were white and their victim black, "racism" must be involved — is enough to convince most laymen that the cops were guilty.

Few Americans at the time of the first verdict were aware of certain facts that emerged in the course of the trial but were seldom fully reported. The facts are these:

After leading the police on a 15-minute car chase during which he reached an estimated 115 miles an hour, the drunken Mr. King refused to comply with orders to lie down and let himself to be searched. Two companions in his car did comply with these orders. They were not beaten and were soon released. Both also were black, and if the white cops were racially motivated, why didn't they also beat the other two?

Mr. King's blood alcohol level was twice that of California's legal limit, and the cops thought he might be on drugs or carrying a weapon. Since Mr. King is more than 6 feet in height and weighs 230 pounds, they had every reason to subdue him and make sure he was not in a condition to resist with force.

After Mr. King had danced and



otherwise cavorted outside his car, the cops warned him they would shoot him with a non-lethal taser dart. He still resisted, and they did shoot him — twice. Even then, Mr. King lurched at one of the cops and seemed to attack him, a point the prosecution conceded during the trial. The cop at whom he lunged then struck Mr. King to the ground, and the prosecution also conceded that his blow was justified.

Once he was on the ground, the notorious beating began, and only at that point does the videotape start. None of Mr. King's resistance and behavior is recorded on the film, slow motion viewing of which shows that he was struck when he tried to

rise or when his hands moved toward his waistband. The police had not yet searched him and didn't know if he was armed.

What else does the national peanut gallery suggest that the police were supposed to do with Mr. King to get him to cooperate? There is indeed one other option they might have used. They could simply have pulled their guns and killed him. Had they done so, there would have been no videotape, no trials, no riots, no presidential statement and no federal indictment. Maybe the next time cops encounter a similar situation, that's what they'll do.

There also are important procedural questions about the new trial.

Can it possibly be fair, given the publicity, Mr. Bush's remarks, the aftermath of the riots and the harassment of the jurors in the first trial? Is it double jeopardy to try the defendants again for the same offense under a different jurisdiction? Harvard's Alan Dershowitz, not noted for his sympathies for cops, says it is.

But, as noted, the Los Angeles trial is not about fairness, constitutionality, justice or truth. It is as much a political trial as ever occupied a Soviet courtroom, and Americans need to watch it a little more closely this time. The next time, it may be they who find themselves in the prisoners' dock with virtually the whole nation their judges.

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

WILLIAM MURCHISON

Whether the Freedom of Choice Act, guaranteeing a national right to abortion on whim or demand, passes Congress prior to the Aug. 13 break is in some sense irrelevant.

The bill will certainly pass the House and likely, depending on the success of a pro-life filibuster, the Senate. Yet President Bush has promised a veto, and there aren't enough votes to override. Even if there were, the U.S. Supreme Court likely would strike the bill deservedly dead. The court that in July narrowly upheld *Roe vs. Wade*, with restrictions, didn't seem bent on universalizing the right to an abortion.

None of this means the debate on FOCA, as it is known, is inconsequential. It is consequential in the extreme. We should view it with ears cupped and contact lenses in place.

The Freedom of Choice Act is the abortion lobby's attempt to write into statutory law the terms of *Roe vs. Wade*. The *Roe* terms, and then some.

Roe, also known as the Blackmun Abortion-for-Everybody Law after its author, Justice Harry Blackmun, does not create a blanket federal right to abortion. In the first trimester of pregnancy, says Justice Blackmun, the mother can do just as she likes. In the second trimester, the state may regulate the doctor's qualifications. The third trimester is a little different. The unborn becomes "potential life." The state may, if it chooses, "go so far as to proscribe abortion during that period, except when it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the mother," or "where [abortion] is necessary in appropriate medical judgment."

Roe vs. Wade gives America the least restrictive abortion law in the

Under FOCA there could be no waiting periods, no requirements that the mother receive information about alternatives to abortion.

world, but FOCA would take off the remaining lids and pot covers. FOCA forbids the state to restrict a woman's right to abortion until "viability," as defined by the doctor. An abortion that would enhance the mother's "health," even if the fetus is viable, is likewise OK under the bill. "Health" is so vague a term as to mean everything and nothing. Under FOCA there could be no waiting periods, no requirements that the mother receive information about alternatives to abortion. The rush to execution would be on.

This is pushing pro-choice logic as far as it will go, and I suppose one, if so disposed, could applaud the courage FOCA's authors display in so pushing. I prefer shaking my head as they come out of the closet, revealing to one and all the full measure of their deadly game.

Nothing in abortion's way — this is what the sponsors crave. Abortion *uber alles!* Choice to the utmost!

They fancy this good politics. At least FOCA's congressional friends, Democrats chiefly, seem to think so. I wonder. Do they really want to announce to the American people what this abortion thing is all about? They might be in for some surprises.

Sentiment on abortion is clearly muddled — as is most moral thinking in the late 20th century. The polls say Americans favor abortion in some, but far from all, circumstances.

A Gallup Poll last year found two-thirds of the people polled were hostile to first trimester abortions undertaken on account of (1) family finances, (2) the woman's abandonment by her partner, or (3) the prospect of Mom quitting school. Eighty-eight percent were against abortion "as a repeated means of birth control," 91 percent against it when Mom or Dad or both merely want a baby of a different sex. The Texas Abortion Rights Action League reported only a few weeks ago that, among likely presidential voters in this key state, 74 percent say a pregnant teen-ager should have her parents' consent to abortion and 61 percent favor even more serious restrictions.

So Congress, overriding these and like objections, is to floor the abortion accelerator? That's what FOCA is all about.

One can't believe the American people — as distinguished from their elected "representatives" — are ready to go nearly this far. Our representatives appear again to be misreading the folk who pay their salaries. Go ahead, let them blivate. Let them pass, if they like, this noxious, not to say wicked, piece of legislation. And let them take the consequences, soon or late. That's election-year politics, and aren't we glad not every year brings an election?

William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

CLARENCE PAGE

With as much visible nobility as he could muster, Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey sat in stony silence at the Democratic National Convention while one speaker after another spoke about the right of women to do what they want to do with their own bodies.

Mr. Casey could have babbled just as passionately about limits he thinks the state should put on what women do with their own bodies. He wanted to, but he never got a chance. His views were politically incorrect at that political convention. Bill Clinton, chief conductor of the tightly orchestrated convention, has been criticized for it, but what do his detractors expect? If anyone can be politically correct without embarrassment, it is a political party.

The party's platform passionately defends abortion rights, and neither Mr. Casey nor his fellow abortion rights opponents could muster enough votes in the platform committee to force a debate.

If Mr. Casey doesn't like it, he can bolt the party, but he says he won't. Although the Republicans express a lot of concern for the "unborn," says Mr. Casey, they don't show enough similar concern for the born. So Mr.

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Abortion in the campaign and in legislation

Casey nobly stepped aside. He's not alone. There is a lot of stepping aside going on in this year's Democratic Party.

Organized labor stepped aside to support a candidate from a right-to-work state. African-Americans stepped aside to support a candidate who publicly embarrassed Jesse Jackson for his association with fiery rapper Sister Souljah.

They had their day. Labor's last big day came and went in 1984 when most major union leaders supported Walter Mondale and most of their rank-and-file members supported Ronald Reagan. African-Americans, the Democratic Party's most loyal major ethnic bloc, had their day in 1988 when Jesse Jackson's candidacy boosted the black delegate count at the party's Atlanta convention to a record 962.

This convention had almost 200 fewer black delegates than the Atlanta convention four years earlier. Not surprisingly, this year's convention included much less talk about black-oriented, urban-agenda issues. It also included much less prominence for Mr. Jackson.

Remarkably, with the exception of the never-say-die campaign of for-

mer California Gov. Jerry Brown, most of the delegates played along. In the interest of victory, they stepped aside. Even Mr. Brown eventually shut up. If anyone walked out angry, you didn't see it on camera.

This year's Democrats certainly want to win and, with victory against a battered President Bush appearing to be a real possibility, they're ready to win with another important constituent group: women.

This is "the year of the woman" and, if you think that sounds patronizing, you don't know the party's history. Geraldine Ferraro's 1984 vice presidential candidacy was tokenism compared to the clout women wielded this year. In a party that gives all constituencies a chance sooner or later, it was their turn. It was also about time.

The feminized Democratic Party has gained strength from the mother's milk of politics — money and votes, both of which have come flowing in, particularly to female candidates, in the wake of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings and the court decision bearing Gov. Casey's name that allows states to put new restrictions on abortion.

One of the biggest energizers is

the 7-year-old EMILY's List (whose name comes from the wisdom "Early Money Is Like Yeast" — it makes the dough rise) which this year is funding 42 Democratic women candidates, including seven in Senate races.

Boosted by the publicity of a "60 Minutes" profile earlier this year, EMILY's List has raised \$3 million so far this year and hopes to raise \$6 million by November, which could make it the year's biggest funder of political campaigns. Presence equals power in a democracy, and with new power comes new respect.

As a result, Mr. Casey won at the Supreme Court but lost at the Democratic Convention.

"The boys [who traditionally control party politics] respect two things: money and power," said Grace Kaminkowitz, a political consultant who writes a column for Today's Chicago Woman. "Winning elections gives you power, and we're raising money."

Ironically, no issue has been more important as a mobilizing and fundraising tool than abortion, the same hot-button issue that fueled the New Right and the rise of Ronald Reagan.

So, it's hilarious to hear that GOP

leaders plan to tweak the Dems by giving "prominent" (I can't wait to see how prominent) speaking roles at their Houston convention to pro-choicers Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, Govs. William Weld of Massachusetts and Pete Wilson of California and Rep. Nancy Johnson of Connecticut.

Big deal. Republican-style free speech sounds like an agreement to give a suspect a fair trial before hanging her. GOP leaders have no plans to budge on demands from its own pro-choice delegates that the party drop opposition to legal abortion from its platform.

But effective as abortion has been as an organizing tool, it has taken attention away from other issues like pay equity, family leave, day care and infant mortality that are important to the women's movement but don't cut across class lines in the same way as the party tries to reach suburban swing voters.

But the refighting of old battles certainly is something other groups, like blacks and organized labor, know well. Like them, the women's movement finds itself putting other issues aside, ironically for the sake of victory in the year of the women.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

Mr. Assad's Lebanon

The problem of Syria's dominance over its neighbor Lebanon is, or should be, recognized as a dicey but important issue in any serious discussion of Middle East peacemaking. It is abundantly clear that Hafez Assad, the Syrian ruler, considers that dominant position useful and would like to extend it. One of the things he has going for him is the 1991 "Treaty of Brotherhood, Cooperation and Coordination" between his country and Lebanon, which essentially holds that the government in Beirut will cooperate and coordinate with the government in Damascus in brotherly fashion or else. Another point in Mr. Assad's favor is that he has 40,000 troops of his own deployed in Lebanon.

From the point of view of the United States, a Lebanon out from under the thumb of Mr. Assad — or at least a Lebanon with as much independent wiggle room under that thumb as possible — is preferable. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Assad seems to be proving himself highly adept at finding ways to keep the pressure on. And the United States is not objecting as loudly as it should.

The reconstituting document for the post-civil-war Lebanon is the so-called Taif accord, which was adopted by the Lebanese parliament in September 1990. The document leaves much to be desired, but it has at least been commonly understood, including by Syria, to call for a withdrawal of the 40,000 Syrian troops deployed in Lebanon to the mouth of the Bekaa Valley. The redeployment was to have taken place within two years of the ratification of the Taif accords — in other words, by September 1992.

Mr. Assad would probably like to keep his troops in place, but for whatever reason, he is still willing to go ahead with the redeployment. He is not, however, willing to lose his influence. And he has come up with a rather clever ploy to preserve it.

Mr. Assad, who has not previously been known as a staunch supporter of democracy, has nonetheless decided that now would be a good time for elections in Lebanon. Together with his allies in the government there, he has engineered a schedule that will allow the

Lebanese people to go to the polls in late August and early September. (For the purpose of voting, Lebanon is divided into three regions, each of which votes on a different day.) In other words, Lebanese will go to the polls before the scheduled withdrawal. That means they will get to elect their representatives under the watchful eyes of 40,000 of Mr. Assad's finest.

This is bad enough, but there is more. Lebanon has also been redistricted in the past couple of months, and the size of its parliament expanded by 20 percent, once again to the benefit of — guess who? Christian leaders opposed to Mr. Assad have complained bitterly over the gerrymandering and the election schedule. This prompted some dark mutterings from Syrian Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam that Syrian troops might just find it necessary to remain in Lebanon after September if the elections do not take place.

This is where the United States ought to come in. The view of the U.S. government has been that a Syrian troop withdrawal should come before elections. That is correct. Yet the State Department has been rather quiet over Mr. Assad's accelerated schedule. Time for protest is running out.

The timing of the announcement of the elections was also interesting. Secretary of State James Baker visited Lebanon on July 23, zipping in unannounced under heavy armed guard, including a dummy motorcade, for security reasons. Yet despite the U.S. position that elections under Syrian occupation are unacceptable, Lebanon's government made the announcement about the schedule practically before the dust from Mr. Baker's motorcade had cleared, less than 24 hours after his departure.

That has a certain in-your-face quality that Mr. Baker sometimes seems not to appreciate. When, for example, Israel under the Likud government announced new settlements on the West Bank on the occasion of Mr. Baker's arrivals there for peace talks, he seemed genuinely cross. It is time for him to work up some indignation over Mr. Assad's latest effort to ensure that his grip on Lebanon is a permanent part of the equation in the Middle East.

Gutting SDI in the Senate

A year ago, the U.S. Senate took the lead in approving a retooled strategic defense plan to defend against ballistic missile proliferation in the Third World and the threat of limited missile attacks or unauthorized launches from the republics of the former Soviet Union. Certainly those threats have not receded in the past 10 months. Apparently, however, last year's Senate plan will have turned out to be a high water mark for Senate leadership on this important defense issue.

On Friday, the Senate tentatively voted — for the first time in the 10-year history of the SDI program — to gut its funding. In the 49-43 vote, the Senate refused to kill an amendment offered annually by SDI foes to reduce SDI from a promising means of defending the nation against ballistic missiles to an ineffectual pork-barrel research project. The amendment to reduce SDI funding to \$3.3 billion could now become part of the defense authorization bill, which the Senate will further consider this week.

The \$3.3 billion figure is \$1 billion less than the \$4.3 billion in spending recommended by the Senate Armed Services Committee. That figure, in turn, was \$1.1 billion less than the robust program requested by the Bush administration. If it is given final approval, the Senate amendment would, for the first time, mean that the Senate has come up with a number that is less than the one approved by the House of Representatives, which is traditionally more hostile to SDI. This year, the House set its SDI budget at \$4.1 billion. Observers of the SDI debate, such as it is, will recognize the outcome already. In conference, the strategic geniuses

in the Senate and the House will split the difference and come out with a figure of \$3.8 billion — woefully short of what is required if the United States is to mount an effective strategic defense by the end of the decade.

"Senators realize they can't continue to fund these exotic, big-ticket Cold War weapons systems for which now there is little need ... systems that compete for badly needed dollars for domestic needs," said Sen. Jim Sasser, the Tennessee Democrat who, with Sen. Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, co-sponsored the amendment. Mr. Bumpers added that by supporting the SDI program, the U.S. "continues to act as though we're living in the same old world." If this is any indication of the defense-policy thinking among Democrats in Arkansas and Tennessee, the United States could be headed for real trouble.

Of course, Congress has been living in this same old world for years now, robbing the SDI budget and putting the money toward "domestic needs" and pet defense projects, among other things. This was long before the Cold War ended.

When the Senate takes up the amendment on the merits, SDI supporters will need several senators to change their votes. Given that the future of the Senate plan for strategic defense — the brainchild of the influential armed services chairman Sam Nunn — hangs in the balance, this may not be as difficult as it seems. But if this cannot be achieved, the president must veto the entire defense authorization bill to block this irresponsible action. He should then take the issue on the campaign trail and run with it.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

Congress' muscle in the District

Oh. So maybe it is true. Congress really *does* want to be the D.C. Council as well as its own cumbersome self — that is, if its gradual forays into local real estate are any hint. Let's examine the clues.

Last week, the Senate signed a bill appropriating \$2 million to purchase and renovate two row houses in the 200 block of Constitution Avenue NE. The official story is that the buildings will be used as dormitories for Senate pages, who House members say are crowding their pages out of digs at C Street and New Jersey Avenue SE. So they need a place of their own.

Two years ago Congress appropriated some more millions to transform a former Catholic school in the 600 block of East Capitol Street into a day care center for children of employees of the Library of Congress. Now, that may just be a case of Congress, in its magnanimity, setting an example for the nation by providing housing and child care benefits for employees the way only gold-plated employers such as itself can afford to do. But popular musing is that the purchases are the first step toward greater congressional encroachment in local affairs.

The first hint of a takeover is disrespect. Of late, some members of Congress have been obvious in their disregard for the District's legislative actions. Some of them, admittedly, are pretty preposterous; for example, the foolish gun law holding manufacturers responsible for crimes committed with weapons they make or sell. More serious is the absence of a death penalty provision in a city that for three years running has led the nation in murders. Alabama Sen. Richard Shelby thinks the District needs a capital punishment law, so he wrote one to force on the locals.

Editorials in this space have been second to none in holding that the D.C. Council is capable of folly. However, there is a process. Local legislative conclusions (or inconclusions) may be flawed, but if there is home rule, as the District does have, then home should usu-

ally be allowed — for better or worse — to rule.

Mr. Shelby thinks differently. Less than two weeks ago, the senator declared the city morally and politically indifferent. He condemned not only local leadership and police but extended his animus to residents. He said the whole kit and caboodle "have become immune to the violence" and "have lost sight of what it is to murder someone." It was an insulting, unfair, cutting and very wrong observation.

Perhaps the remark can be excused as the raw emotions of someone still grieving over the murder of a friend. Mr. Shelby's aide Tom Barnes was killed in a street robbery last spring near his Capitol Hill home. But the senator has yet to apologize.

Of course, two building purchases do not a real estate power broker make. But this is Congress we are talking about, and musings about possible hidden congressional agendas do not evolve solely out of thin air. Most people know well the Hill's aggressive use — some would say abuse — of its power when it comes to getting what it wants.

If, for example, 92-year-old Meta Grace Keebler decides she doesn't want to sell her properties to Congress after all — and she has said she is uncertain — Congress can activate that trump of trump cards known as eminent domain, condemn the properties and take them from her for a song.

Whether it is a purchase or a taking, the transfer of ownership to the federal government means a further erosion of the local tax base. The feds do not pay property taxes to the District for their sundry monuments and office buildings, but rather make a payment in lieu of taxes — the amount of which the city has to haggle over every year.

Theoretically, the federal government could buy up every home and office building in the city, offer a paltry federal payment in lieu of taxes and the local government would effectively be out of business. Now, that's how rumors get started.

Agee's little secret

Philip Agee, a former CIA agent whose revelations are blamed by many U.S. officials for bringing about the murder of Athens CIA Station Chief Richard S. Welch, was paid as much as \$1 million by the KGB, according to a report in the Los Angeles Times. The paper quotes a high-ranking Cuban defector as saying Mr. Agee received his pay through the Cuban intelligence service.

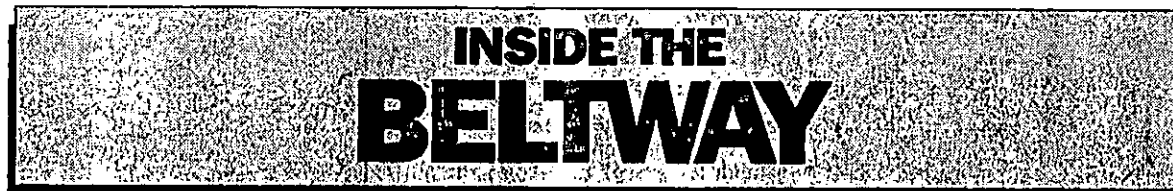
"Agee got big money," said Florintino Aspillaga Lombard, who served as a major in Cuba's Direccion General de Inteligencia, "big money. When he was in Cuba... he lived like the shah of Iran. And I'm sure he is still getting money from Cuba."

Mr. Agee, now living in Germany, denied taking any money from Cuba. "My relationship with Cuba has been solidarity with the revolution, not espionage," he said.

A second Cuban defector told the CIA that Mr. Agee received money from Fidel Castro's government in return for his criticism of the CIA, the Times reported.

Hill & Hillary

With her fans decked out in hot pink "I Believe Anita" buttons, Anita Hill heard Hillary Clinton anoint her as one who "transformed consciousness and changed history" when the two political celebrities appeared at the American Bar Association's annual get-together Sunday in San Francisco. Miss Hill got an award for her work in trying to derail the nomination of Justice Clarence Thomas. Another award winner, Rep. Patsy Takemoto Mink, Hawaii Democrat, said thousands of women were stirred to action by "the moment of



Hillary Clinton begins her ABA address Sunday, applauded by Anita Hill (second from right) among award winners.

agony and anguish and despair that Professor Hill endured in the U.S. Senate."

Yesterday, the Wall Street Journal examined Mrs. Clinton's lavish praise for Miss Hill and asked if "the potential first lady is accusing a Supreme Court justice of perjury."

One year later

Jack Anderson and his associates have been looking into the death of writer Danny Casolaro, who died Aug. 10 of last year in a hotel room in Martinsburg, W.Va., while investigating what he called "the Octopus." Mr. Casolaro felt he

had uncovered a vast banking, political and business network whose activities would have explained many major mysteries — BCCI, the Inslaw case, the Iran-Contra episode and others.

While the evidence indicates that Mr. Casolaro committed suicide, there are reasons to question the evidence.

Mr. Anderson says he has "exclusive new details," including the just-released autopsy report that raises more questions about foul play, or at least an inept investigation. Mr. Anderson also offers other puzzles including a list of names found rolled up and tucked in Mr.

Casolaro's boot in the hotel room.

Among those appearing on the show, scheduled to air tonight at 8 p.m. on CNBC, will be producers of a forthcoming HBO film on Mr. Casolaro's life, and John Connolly, an investigative reporter hired by the producers to continue probing the case.

Personal note: For the past year I have kept my peace about the Casolaro case because of bias resulting from 25 years of close friendship with Danny. I do have to say, in the hope it will influence further investigation, that Danny was a vigorous, relentless reporter who was deep into a dangerous

story. His life had been threatened many times. He had promised to meet me on the Saturday following his trip to West Virginia so that we could review his notes. Of course, he never showed up. And those notes are still missing.

Jones converted

Kentucky Gov. Brereton Jones says prayer helped him survive a helicopter crash. Mr. Jones, who suffered a back injury in the crash last Friday, said the incident took his mind off some lesser matters and focused his thinking on health care.

The governor said his first impulse when it appeared the helicopter was going down was to join hands with the person next to him and pray. "I'm firmly convinced that's how we lived through this," he said.

"This, quite frankly, will probably serve as a blessing because it will allow me to take the focus off the things that may be not be as important as health care, and put all our focus on health care," he concluded.

No elites here

On CBS' "This Morning" yesterday, a caller asked Bill Clinton and Al Gore to name the "cultural experience you have had that really has made an impact on you."

Mr. Clinton took the first shot and rattled on about how he thinks the National Endowment for the Arts has been too politicized and how he got into culture via his saxophone.

Then Mr. Gore offered this: "I love 'Les Miserables.' I think if everybody in this country saw 'Les Miserables,' we'd win this election."

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

Clinton economic plan compared to term paper

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

The White House charged yesterday that Democrat Bill Clinton's economic plan was on the level of a "college term paper" and that if implemented it would cost 2.5 million Americans their jobs.

The criticism by domestic policy adviser Clayton Yeutter at a White House news conference was part of a full-fledged Republican assault on Mr. Clinton's plan, although the attackers' figures did not agree.

"I just consider it a reasonably good college term paper on the economy," Mr. Yeutter said. "I don't even believe it constitutes a plan. We look for a job impact of 2.5 million or so job loss rather than net job creation under the Clinton economic plan."

On Capitol Hill an hour later, Republicans on the congressional Joint Economic Committee put out their own report, concluding that the Democrat's proposal would cost more than 1.8 million jobs the first year and "could easily exceed 3 million" jobs lost over four years. Their figures differed from the Bush-Quayle campaign's because they relied on different economic assumptions.

The biggest killer of jobs, the Republicans said, would be Mr. Clinton's plan to charge employers for a new national health care plan, which by itself would cost 712,000 jobs.

"Clinton's campaign slogan should be 'Tired of your job? Vote for Bill Clinton,'" said Texas Rep. Dick Armey, ranking Republican member of the Joint Economic Committee.

Congressional Democrats immediately counterattacked, asserting that their nominee's plan would create more jobs than it would end by shoring up job-creating programs such as road building. They called the report by their Republican colleagues inaccurate and biased.

"I think you noted the baloney meter running on overtime, because you have panic running on overtime in the Republican Party," said Rep. David Obey, Wisconsin Democrat.

In Houston, where the Republicans are to hold their nominating convention next week, a Bush-Quayle campaign statement said the "job destruction" by Clinton would amount to 2.6 million.

"The Clinton-Gore plan is a job-eradication tax plan," Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft told the GOP platform committee in Houston.

Mr. Clinton consistently denies that his plan would hurt the economy and did so again during a question-and-answer appearance on "CBS

Mr. Clinton said voters should brace themselves for two weeks of attacks from President Bush.

This Morning" yesterday.

"The same people that got us into the fix we're in now, all those Republicans that quadrupled the debt over the last 12 years, they quadrupled the debt, reduced investment and nearly bankrupted the economy, so they don't like my plan," the Democratic nominee said.

His plan would raise income taxes

on the top 2 percent of American taxpayers and for elderly beneficiaries of the Medicare health insurance program who have incomes over \$125,000.

It would also impose a 10 percent surtax on incomes of more than \$1 million a year and would end corporate tax deductions for executive salaries over \$1 million.

Mr. Clinton, campaigning in Philadelphia, said voters should brace themselves for two weeks of attacks from President Bush and his convention team, including the contention that "we're going to tax and spend to death."

Mr. Bush will discuss his own economic goals for a second term during his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Houston next week, Mr. Yeutter said.

Bush, Rabin spend somber day together

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — President Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin were thwarted on land and sea as they searched yesterday for symbols to dramatize what the visitor called their "more intimate relationship."

Mr. Rabin ducked a tennis match. Fog canceled his ceremonial helicopter arrival. They talked in candlelight because the power failed, and their planned speedboat ride was scrubbed without explanation despite a delightful afternoon. The president demonstrated horseshoes but couldn't drum up a game with Mr. Rabin, who is not described as a lighthearted man.

At one point, Mr. Bush and Mr. Rabin were together on the ocean-front patio when a sailboat rented by followers of the murdered Meir Kahane cruised toward Walker's Point carrying a sign that said, "Rabin is a traitor."

A high Israeli official who was there said Mr. Bush rushed into a

meeting of aides, waved binoculars and called out: "Everybody out. Look, there's a Kahane protest. I thought this guy was kind of dead."

Other officials said that, as expected, Mr. Bush agreed in principle that the United States will guarantee all or most of an estimated \$10 billion in Israeli loans to resettle up to 1 million Russian Jews.

But negotiators had so much trouble with loan conditions that officials on both sides decided not to say whether anything was decided until the leaders hold a news conference here today before flying to Washington on Air Force One.

Officials said privately that the men also discussed:

- Israel's clemency campaign for American Jonathan Pollard, 37, who pleaded guilty six years ago to spying for Israel and is serving a life sentence at a U.S. federal penitentiary. The matter is an irritant to U.S.-Israeli relations, and the Jerusalem government says Pollard worked for an unauthorized rogue operation in its Washington embassy.

- Arab-Israeli peace talks that resume in Washington Aug. 24. Mr. Bush made the formal announcement that all parties had agreed to attend.

If the loan agreement is announced today, as expected, news coverage would appear just as Mr. Rabin meets tomorrow with Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton.

"The prime minister is sensitive that he's come to the United States at a time of elections. He is doing everything possible, all he can, not to get involved in the political game," the senior Israeli official said.

Over soup and salad at a working lunch, officials discussed Israel's concerns about treatment of Muslim prisoners in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Israel's willingness to send medical teams to detention camps in former Yugoslavia.

A White House spokesman said kosher dietary restrictions were followed but didn't say how the food was arranged. Mr. Clinton has promised to put a kosher kitchen in the White House.

The two leaders saw reporters for just three minutes as Mr. Rabin arrived. "The welcome mat is out. . . . He has many friends in the United States, including the man he's standing next to," said Mr. Bush, who stood next to his guest.

Mr. Rabin, tieless like Mr. Bush but appearing very tense, said his government wants to make domestic problems the top national priority — a suggestion often made to Mr. Bush by political opponents.

"We would like to make sure that there is a better and more intimate relationship between our two countries, our two peoples and our two governments," Mr. Rabin said.

The sailboat incident lightened a somewhat somber day.

None of the "Kahane Chai" (Kahane Lives) members was arrested, although Coast Guard personnel boarded the 37-foot boat.

Mr. Kahane founded the radical Jewish Defense League in New York, became a right-wing member of the Israeli Knesset, which later banned his re-election, and was shot to death in New York on Nov. 6, 1990.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

U.S. supports force in Bosnia

Britain, France join U.N. push

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States, Britain and France agreed yesterday on a sweeping U.N. resolution that authorizes the use of "all means necessary" to provide humanitarian assistance in Bosnia.

But it does not authorize the use of force to open detention camps, diplomatic sources said.

Russia has agreed to co-sponsor the resolution, State Department sources said.

A vote at a formal meeting of the U.N. Security Council is expected tomorrow after closed-door consultations today among all 15 members.

The three leading Western powers presented the proposed resolution to

the council, including its two other permanent members, Russia and China.

Bosnia's U.N. ambassador, Muhamed Sacirbey, welcomed the resolution but complained that it failed to say anything about halting aggression and "ethnic cleansing," the Associated Press reported.

But Milan Panic, an American businessman who last month became Yugoslavia's premier, warned "intervention could lead to disaster."

Mr. Panic, in an interview with AP on his jetliner during a trip to Greece and Albania, said Western intervention "could trigger a full-scale guerrilla war in Bosnia and a second Vietnam in the Balkans."

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FORCE

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But any force authorized by the resolution, which the Security Council is expected to adopt this week, would be restricted to assuring delivery of humanitarian relief, State Department sources told AP.

State Department sources said they were "not aware of" any serious opposition to the resolution in the Security Council.

Washington is also stepping up its broad diplomatic offensive on the Bosnian crisis in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the U.N. Human Rights Commission and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"At the United Nations, the United States and European Community members of the Security Council have reached agreement on the proposed text of a resolution authorizing all necessary means to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher.

But any force authorized by the resolution, which the Security Council is expected to adopt this week, would be restricted to assuring delivery of humanitarian relief, State Department sources told the Associated Press.

The issue of prison camps is dealt with in a separate part of the resolution and the threat to use force does not apply to them, said the officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Security Council sources told AP that a separate, more detailed resolution dealing with the camps was being drafted.

The proposed resolution was the subject of intense negotiations in Western capitals over the weekend.

It was discussed yesterday among the U.N. representatives of the United States, Britain and France, joined by the Belgian envoy. Belgium holds a nonpermanent council seat and, like Britain and France, is a member of the European Community.

Mr. Boucher, at a regular State Department briefing, refused to say what the resolution would mean by authorizing "all necessary means" to deliver humanitarian assistance to the former Yugoslav republics.

He said a separate paragraph in the resolution endorses international demands for access to detention centers, where non-Serbian civilians have said starvation, murder and torture are common.

But Mr. Boucher later said the proposed resolution did not specifically authorize the use of force to get

humanitarian aid into prison camps.

"The resolution also refers to the need for international access to camps," Mr. Boucher said. But it did not "answer the question of whether force is authorized to open the camps," he added. "It is not specifically authorized in the resolution."

A State Department official later said that questions on whether U.N.-sponsored troops would "liberate" detention camps was "hypothetical."

But he said that the United States, Britain and France are already "doing the planning to see the best way" of implementing the resolution.

The U.N. Protection Force has 14,800 troops in the former Yugoslav republics. Most are in Croatia, which Serbia attacked last year. Some 1,500 U.N. troops are stationed around the besieged Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

Washington has won the support of 35 of the 53 member states of the U.N. Human Rights Commission to call a special session of the commission, the first in its history, in Geneva on Thursday and Friday, Mr. Boucher said.

Although Russia has agreed to co-sponsor the new U.N. resolution, it

was not among the nations calling for special session of the Human Rights Commission. Nor was China.

"The United States intends to press the commission to take early concrete action to deal with the rapidly deteriorating human rights situation in that region," Mr. Boucher said.

The high-powered U.S. delegation to the special session will be headed by John Bolton, assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs.

Washington is also backing efforts by the International Committee of the Red Cross to inspect all the detention camps in Bosnia and Serbia, run by Serbian irregular forces and other groups.

NATO sources told Reuters news agency in Brussels, where NATO has its headquarters, that the organization had cleared the way for military contingency plans that could involve sending thousands of Western troops to protect relief convoys in Bosnia.

"The military are now able to start the planning officially and ask national capitals what forces they would be prepared to contribute," one source told Reuters.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1992 *

Bush loyalists repel foes of abortion-ban plank

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — A Republican platform committee dominated by delegates loyal to President Bush yesterday repelled attempts to soften party support for a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

Pro-choice Republicans said the debate helped them focus attention on the issue, but they lamented that they lacked the clout to push their agenda onto the convention floor.

"We're going to do everything we can to bring this fight to the convention," said Mary Dent Crisp, president of the National Republican Coalition for Choice.

But she conceded her forces have no chance of staging a floor fight. Challengers to any platform plank

need the written backing of a majority of six state delegations to move to discuss a new plank and a vote of two-thirds of the delegates to debate the matter.

Pro-choice Republicans do not even have the 27 votes needed to insert a minority abortion plank into the party platform. They will try to amend the platform before the full committee today or tomorrow, but are expected to fail.

Pro-life delegates used a parliamentary maneuver to head off a pro-choice amendment during yesterday's proceedings before the party's Subcommittee on Individual Rights, Good Homes and Safe Streets.

The amendment would have given the party's blessing to abortion in instances of rape or incest.

"Are we to just neglect them and

put their lives in jeopardy in back alleys," Delaware delegate Bobbi Breske asked the subcommittee, referring to victims of rape or incest. "Can we not show them compassion and concern?"

Subcommittee Chairman Mary Sue Potter, who is 4½ months pregnant, gave the debate a dose of realism by alluding to her own unborn child.

"It's not a rock, it's not a coke bottle," Mrs. Potter said of the fetus she was carrying. "It's a human life and it's kicking me right now. It's standing on my bladder."

She said abortion was similar to murder and that Republicans must protect the lives of the unborn regardless of political "whims."

The subcommittee voted 17-3 to retain the party's abortion language,

first drafted in 1984, that says "the unborn child has a fundamental right to life which cannot be infringed."

Throughout the day, pro-choice Republicans lobbied delegates to allow abortion language that at least acknowledged differences of opinion exist. The 1976 and 1980 platforms openly recognized that Republicans were both pro-life and pro-choice.

President Reagan eliminated those references in 1984.

"When you are pro-life you cannot waffle," said Angela "Bay" Buchanan, chairman of the presidential campaign of her brother, conservative columnist Pat Buchanan. "We will not back off."

Meanwhile, Buchanan forces released a list of alterations to the GOP

platform they said were necessary to bring the party closer to its conservative roots.

Mr. Buchanan did not endorse the proposals personally. He left that chore to his sister and campaign staff. While attractive to some conservatives, the campaign themes did not win him a single primary.

The Buchanan campaign called for an end to most-favored-nation trade status for China, tougher policies against illegal immigration and a drastic reduction in foreign aid.

"You just can't take the 1988 platform and rerun it," she said. "This is a legitimate fight."

Miss Buchanan said the campaign would not withhold its endorsement if the changes were not adopted. Of the 107 delegates on the platform committee, only one belongs to Mr.

Buchanan.

"Pat will do nothing to harm the Republican Party," she said.

Miss Buchanan did, however, criticize White House complicity with Congress in steadily increasing government spending.

She took pains to attack as "irresponsible" conservatives such as Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia and retiring Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber for proposing numerous tax cuts but few spending cuts.

"That's easy to do," Miss Buchanan said of proposing tax cuts. "You have to cut spending to cut taxes. You've got to address both sides."



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