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Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90706
Folder ID Number: 90706-003

Folder Title:
Wednesday, August 12, 1992 [3]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	08/12/92	(b)(3)	

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
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File Location: Wednesday, August 12, 1992 [3]

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Tue 11-Aug-92 15:19 EDT Sys
By TOM RAUM
Associated Press Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine (AP) — President Bush on Tuesday denied a published report that he and a female aide spent a romantic night together in a Swiss cottage in 1984 while he was vice president.

"It's a lie," he declared.

"I'm outraged," Bush said when asked about the report during a news conference at his oceanside home with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

At issue was an account in the book "The Power House" by Susan B. Trento that alleges a liaison between Bush and longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald, now a State Department official.

An account of the alleged tryst was prominently featured in Tuesday's editions of the New York Post.

Rumors involving Bush and Fitzgerald surfaced during the 1988 presidential campaign. They were denied at the time by Bush's eldest son, George W. Bush. The president's comments on Tuesday were the first time he has addressed the matter directly.

His comments were in response to a question from Cable News Network reporter Mary Tillotson, who asked about the Post report and noted that Bush has "said that family values, character are likely to be important in the presidential campaign."

Bush shot back: "I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN."

"I don't like it and I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie," he added.

Barbara Bush, who stood by grim-faced as her husband answered the question, later told a reporter: "Fortunately, I did not see the New York Post story."

The tabloid featured a front-page headline: "THE BUSH AFFAIR" bracketed by pictures of the president and Fitzgerald.

Fitzgerald, who is now State Department deputy chief of protocol, was an aide to Bush while he was vice president and in a number of earlier posts. She was reported by her office to be out of the country on official business.

The allegation about Bush is contained in a footnote to Chapter 14 of "The Power House," a book about lobbying in Washington. The footnote alludes to an interview of former disarmament negotiator Louis Fields conducted in 1986 by Trento's husband, Joseph, a former investigative reporter for CNN.

Fields was quoted as saying that, while he was ambassador to disarmament talks in Geneva, he arranged for Bush and Fitzgerald to use a guest house.

"It became clear to me that the vice president and Ms. Fitzgerald were romantically involved and this was not a business visit," Fields was quoted as saying. Fields died in 1988.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, who earlier this year denied tabloid allegations that he had a 12-year affair with a former nightclub singer, said he "felt for" Bush when he heard of the published account.

"I didn't like it. I don't think it has a place in this

campaign. I don't approve of it. I didn't like it when it was done to me, and I don't like it when it's done to him," Clinton said.

Mary Matalin, Bush's deputy campaign manager, said in an interview with CBS that the allegation was "beyond a flat out lie. It's total trash."

She accused Democrats of "peddling this trashy book to many reputable newspapers, who have all rejected the opportunity to reprint this trash."

Susan Trento called the Bush allegation "a very insignificant part of the book."

Tue 11-Aug-92 20:30

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Bush's best-laid plans to honor the U.S. Olympic team at a White House picnic went awry Tuesday when a storm blew into the city, but the festivities were moved to the East Room where an overflow crowd of athletes cheered him on.

The storm was so severe it felled a tree on the north lawn of the White House grounds, but nothing appeared to dampen the spirit of the gathering.

In his remarks, Bush recalled that the Cold War had ended since the last Olympics.

"Each Olympics is one for the record books," he said. "This one is for the history books. Our world has been remade since the last Olympics. This was an Olympics without boycott, without terrorism, without politics and it's just what it ought to be."

"It's an honor to have this marvelous Olympic team out there," he said. "Whether you won a gold, silver or bronze medal, I believe you are all winners in the eyes of your countrymen."

The president noted that the American team had won 108 medals, the most ever since 1904 in a non-boycotted Olympics.

"You really paved the way for a knockout punch in Atlanta," Bush said, referring to the 1996 summer Olympics to be held in Georgia.

Bush was cheered and applauded several times, which evoked his comment: "You guys are really fired up."

The Olympic team presented to the president and Mrs. Bush the American flag they carried in the opening ceremonies of the Olympics and a "gold medal" in the form an Olympic commemorative coin. He said he would place the flag in his presidential library after it is built.

Tue 11-Aug-92 16:58
By TOM RAUM
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Bush on Tuesday called a published report that he and a female aide spent a romantic night together in a Swiss cottage in 1984 "a lie." He later refused to answer a broader question on whether he'd ever had an affair.

Bush found himself confronted with questions about his personal life twice during the day.

"I'm outraged," the president said when asked about a New York Post report on the alleged Swiss episode during a news conference at his oceanside home in Kennebunkport, Maine.

A Bush campaign official later accused Democrat Bill Clinton's campaign of planting the story. A Clinton aide denied it.

Later, in an NBC interview in the Oval Office, Bush was asked directly by correspondent Stone Phillips: "Have you ever had an affair?"

"I'm not going to take any sleaze questions," Bush said in an interview taped for the show "Dateline NBC."

"You're perpetuating the sleaze by even asking the question, to say nothing of asking it in the Oval Office. And I don't think you ought to do that and I'm not going to answer the question."

The questions were prompted by an account in the book "The Power House" by Susan B. Trento that alleges a liaison between Bush and longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald, now a State Department official. The account was prominently featured in the New York Post.

Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said, "It came from the Clinton campaign. The New York Post has succumbed to what has been an all-out effort to get someone to print this trash. For several weeks they have been faxing portions of that piece of trash book to news organizations all over the country."

George Stephanopoulos, communications director for the Clinton campaign, disputed Clarke's statement as "simply not true."

Bush was asked about the alleged Swiss episode during a news conference in Maine with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Rumors involving Bush and Fitzgerald surfaced during the 1988 presidential campaign. They were denied at the time by Bush's eldest son, George W. Bush. The president's comments on Tuesday were the first time he has addressed the matter directly.

His comments were in response to a question from Cable News Network reporter Mary Tillotson, who asked about the Post report and noted that Bush has "said that family values, character are likely to be important in the presidential campaign."

Bush shot back: "I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN."

"I don't like it and I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie," he added.

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"I didn't like it. I don't think it has a place in this campaign. I don't approve of it. I didn't like it when it was done to me, and I don't like it when it's done to him," Clinton said.

Tue 11-Aug-92 15:25
By STEVEN HEILBRONNER

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine (UPI) — President Bush Tuesday angrily denounced allegations of adultery in a newly released book, calling the charges by a former U.S. ambassador "a lie."

Rumors of Bush's relationship with former aide Jennifer Fitzgerald before he became president have floated through Washington's gossip mill for years, though never have they been proven. Republicans blamed Democrats for raising the issue again.

The fresh assertions of the alleged 1984 tryst comprised a footnote in a book not directly about Bush and were made by a person who died of cancer in 1988.

"I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN," Bush heatedly said Tuesday during a news conference at his summer home with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin when asked about the charges by a CNN reporter.

Barbara Bush, standing off to the side, slightly grimaced as a reporter sought the president's reaction to the charge, detailed in Tuesday's New York Post. She was joined by her daughter Doro, who remained expressionless.

Bush tensed up over the incident, scolding the reporter for asking the question.

"I'm very disappointed that you would ask such a question of me and I will not respond to it. I haven't responded in the past," he said.

But the president added, "And I think it's — I'm outraged. But, nevertheless, in this kind of screwy climate we're in, why, I expect it.

But I don't like it and I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

GOP officials, who hold their party convention next week in Houston, were angry over the story and said Democrats had peddled the accusations to newspapers for quite some time.

"The Democrats have been peddling this trashy book to many reputable newspapers, who have all rejected the opportunity to reprint this trash," said Bush-Quayle political director Mary Matalin.

Avis Lavelle, national press secretary for Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, responded in Little Rock, Ark.:

"We've had nothing to do with that story nor do we want anything to do with this story. This is a campaign that should be run on the issues and that's where we will concentrate our attacks."

Matalin found herself in trouble last week for peddling "sleaze" in Bush's word, about charges of marital infidelity against Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

Questions of marital infidelity swirled around Clinton during his bumpy but successful path toward the Democratic presidential nomination. The charges were made by Gennifer Flowers, though the allegations were never confirmed and Clinton denied them.

The fresh allegations against Bush were raised by Louis Fields, and contained in a new book by Susan Trento, called "The

Power House,"which details influence peddling in Washington and revolves around lobbyist Robert Keith Gray.

The charges were ostensibly made by Fields, the former U.S. ambassador to nuclear disarmament talks in Geneva, who in 1986 told Trento's husband Joe, a reporter, that he had arranged a chateau in 1984 for Bush and Fitzgerald that had "adjoining rooms."

Author Susan Trento, a former congressional aide, told the New York Post that she had tapes of the Fields conversation, though did not say whether she would release them.

In his conversation with Joe Trento in 1986, Fields reportedly said Fitzgerald and Bush were "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."

He added, "I am not a prude...but I know Barbara (Bush) and I like her; it was just so heavy handed."

Fields added, "It became clear to me that the vice president and Ms. Fitzgerald were romantically involved and this was not a business visit. "

Fitzgerald, who is out of the country and could not be reached for comment by the Post, worked for Bush when he was vice president and has since transferred to the State Department, where she is deputy chief of protocol.

Wed 12-Aug-92 3:39 EDT
By HELEN THOMAS
UPI White House Reporter

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Marilyn Quayle says her husband, "pilloried" by critics and ridiculed by comedians, has shown the "true grit" of the American spirit and predicted the Republican ticket will win in November despite its low popularity polls.

"I don't think polls mean anything any more," the wife of the vice president said in an interview Monday with United Press International.

"I don't think people tell the truth to pollsters any more."

"I think we can pull it off," she said of the re-election effort.

"I'm not writing this thing off yet. People are beginning to get excited. People are starting to get mad. They don't like what they are seeing."

As for the rival presidential candidate, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, Mrs. Quayle said "I don't know him. He seems from all accounts to be a likeable fellow. There are some judgment calls he's made in his life I think would give someone pause. He seems likeable enough but he's certainly glib."

She said that she did not know Hillary Clinton, who like herself is a lawyer, "and I don't know her so I don't know if she's been unfairly criticized" about her political style.

Mrs. Quayle replied "absolutely" when asked if scrutiny of "character" was fair game in an election campaign, "because there is so much you don't know beyond the rhetoric."

She explained it was important too if the candidate has "trustworthiness, integrity, has lived up to his responsibilities and has an ingrained response to things, a philosophy, that will hold them in good stead in an emergency. And how you behaved in your adult life is very important."

Mrs. Quayle, 42, a vivacious contrast to her more subdued husband, will speak to the Republican National Convention next week in Houston as one of the party's leading women being headlined along with first lady Barbara Bush.

During the interview in the library of her spacious home, Mrs. Quayle displayed her compassion for people, her conservative political philosophy and her confidence.

She claimed the "drumbeat" to drop the vice president from the ticket was media-powered and rejected any suggestion that he could make the difference between victory and defeat.

"There's nothing to it," she said. "The president said he's not going to do it. People started talking about it because it's been written about. It kind of fed on itself, no matter what the president said it didn't seem to matter."

She said that people were "coming out in droves" during their campaign trips. "People really admire Dan because nobody can get us down. I think the American spirit is to admire anyone who can do that with dignity and still keep doing the job. True grit is what he has shown."

Mrs. Quayle acknowledged that there has been a lot of "grief" and her husband has been "pilloried" as he is coming down the

home stretch of his first term. She said she was "just amazed at the attention the media pays to comedians who do not make national policy, domestic policy or foreign policy."

She scoffed at reports of differences with her husband on abortion and parental support of children who make decisions as adults contrary to their own.

Mrs. Quayle said that reports of differences were prompted by different questions they were asked by interviewers.

She said that her husband was asked on Larry King's program on CNN what he would do if his daughter disagreed with him "and does something you wouldn't want her to do and his answer was basically "you love 'em."

In another interview the following day, she was asked if her daughter became pregnant what she would do and said her daughter would bring the child to term.

"It's too bad, his answer was skewed, and it does show a rather laziness on the part of the media, and they did jump on it. It's not fair," she said. Noting that she often defied her own parents advice and often regretted it, she said they never would have "kicked me out for all the things I did after they counseled me otherwise."

"I would never say to my daughter she can't come home, or close the door on my children just because they don't agree with our decisions."

As for her daughter Corinne, 13, the focal point of the controversy, Mrs. Quayle said "she thought the whole brouhaha was silly," and added, "fortunately, she had a chance to go to the beach" at the time with no television.

Responding to a question, Mrs. Quayle said she "had problems" with the American Bar Association and Hillary Clinton honoring Oklahoma University law professor Anita Hill, whose accusations of sexual harassment caused a sensation during the Senate confirmation hearings on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. At the ABA meeting in San Francisco Sunday, Hillary Clinton praised Hill for "changing history."

Mrs. Quayle said that she thought that Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., who was a tough questioner of Hill, "was right in trying to go to the crux of her argument and find a reason where her testimony didn't jibe."

"I have some problems with her testimony and what she was doing to a very fine man, and I have problems with the ABA honoring her."

The Senate's prosecutorial approach to Hill caused an outcry among women in many quarters and is credited with causing more females to run for public office this year.

Running through her remarks is a strong belief that the "negative media reporting" has caused most of the president's political problems for several months.

Furthermore, she said that the major media outlets, "through their presidents and CEOs, give to Clinton's campaign."

Studies show the "majority of the media are not Republicans and do not share the same philosophy as the president has," she said. But she added "there are some wonderful members of the press who try very hard not to be biased."

NATION

MORE NATIONAL NEWS ON PAGE B6

'I'd stand by her'

Bush gets what-if abortion question

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

President Bush said yesterday he'd try to dissuade a grandchild who was considering an abortion but would "stand by my child" no matter what her decision. He also said he would not turn away from a child who was a homosexual.

Mr. Bush said that in the end, the decision to have an abortion would be the girl's "and I'd stand by my child."

While saying he would still love a child who was a homosexual, Mr. Bush said he hoped the child would not try to convince others "that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be."

Mr. Bush's comments, in a television interview for the program "Dateline NBC," came as Republican platform writers stood firm on the GOP's call for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. The politically explosive issue promises to be a major topic in the fall presidential race.

Mr. Bush has said he opposes abortion except in cases where the mother's life is at stake or in cases of rape or incest. He favors the constitutional amendment to ban abortion and opposes the use of federal funds to pay for abortions.

"I think his answer is absolutely wrong," said Angela Bay Buchanan, chairman of her brother Pat Buchanan's unsuccessful primary challenge to Mr. Bush. "He started talking honestly (and) it just interfered with his clear thinking prior to this."

Pro-life Republicans have thwarted the efforts of pro-choice Republicans to amend the party's platform plank calling for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. They have outmaneuvered the pro-choice forces and defended the president's support of the platform plank every step of the way.

"It does undermine the efforts of these good people here," Miss Buchanan said of the president's more tolerant abortion stance. "It does muddy the waters."

"That's the George Bush everybody knows," said Ann Stone, president of Republicans for Choice. "He has not produced any legislation [to outlaw abortion]. He's personally opposed to abortion. So am I."

In the interview, Mr. Bush also said he was sure that Vice President Dan Quayle would step aside if he felt it would help. But the president added, "I'm not even considering that." Asked if Mr. Quayle had offered to step aside, Mr. Bush said, "We had discussions but it never got to that, because I told him, 'You have my confidence.'"

The question on abortion was similar to one posed last month to Mr. Quayle when asked what he would do if his daughter told him she chose to have an abortion. Mr. Quayle created a political controversy by saying, "I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

Mr. Bush, whose only daughter is a grown woman, was asked by NBC correspondent Stone Phillips what he would do if one of his young granddaughters told him some day that she was pregnant and wanted to have an abortion.

"I would talk her out of it, try to," Mr. Bush replied. Offering a hypothetical case, Mr. Bush said, "If my granddaughter said I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her. I think that's what the vice president was saying, didn't mean he condoned the act but he said he'd stand by his child."

"Of course I'd do that," Mr. Bush said. "Would I support my child?" Mr. Bush said, "I'd put my arm around her, encourage her to not do that, but of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game."

Asked if the ultimate decision would be hers, Mr. Bush said, "Who else's could it be. . . . If she went ahead and did it, what would I do? . . . I'd love her or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Asked what he would do if a boy or girl in his family were a homosexual, Mr. Bush said, "I'd love that child. I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to convince people that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be."

Mr. Bush said that the Bible "teaches compassion and love. But I would say I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a lifestyle that is not normal."

The president said that "there's a difference between approving every step of the way and loving and treating with compassion."

★ Staff writer Major Garrett contributed to this report in Houston.

8-12-92

Bush Responds To Hypothetical Abortion Question

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

HOUSTON — As George Bush's allies were prevailing in struggles to keep strong anti-abortion language in the Republican platform here, Mr. Bush suggested in a television interview that he would try to dissuade a granddaughter from having an abortion but would support her if she did.

Asked if the ultimate decision to have an abortion would be the granddaughter's, the president told NBC in an interview for broadcast last night: "Who else's could it be? . . . If she went ahead and did it, what would I do? . . . I'd love her or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Last month, Vice President Dan Quayle was criticized by some anti-abortion leaders in the party for giving a similar answer to the same hypothetical question about his daughter.

When the president was asked the question about one of his granddaughters, he said he'd try to talk her out of such a decision. Then he added: "If my granddaughter said, I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her."

He said he thought that that was what Mr. Quayle meant when he was interviewed on Larry King Live on CNN.

The president's responses triggered quick reaction from those in the midst of the abortion debate at the party's platform hearings here.

"Sounds to me he's pro-choice when it comes to his own family," said Mary Dent Crisp, one of the leaders of the abortion-rights movement within the GOP. "When the issue becomes personal, it's very difficult to deny that young woman a choice."

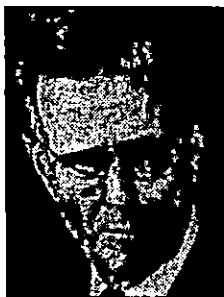
But Phyllis Schlafly, a leading anti-abortion voice in the party, played down the president's remarks. "It's a phony issue," she said. "You still love your children and grandchildren no matter how many sins they commit."

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush: I'd 'stand by my child' on abortion

President Bush, echoing the words of his vice president, says he'd try to talk a grandchild out of having an abortion, but would "stand by my child" no matter what her choice. He also would not turn away from a child who was a homosexual, he said in an interview Tuesday on *Dateline NBC*.



USA TODAY
BUSH: Criticized on abortion stand

Bush, asked how he'd deal with a child considering an abortion, said, "I would talk her out of it, try to. ... If my granddaughter said 'I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something,' I'd stand by her. I think that's what the vice president was saying, didn't mean he condoned the act but he said he'd stand by his child."

Bush, whose only daughter, Dorothy, is grown, said the ultimate decision would be the child's. "Who else's could it be?" he said. "If she went ahead and did it, what would I do? ... I'd love her or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Quayle took political heat last month when asked a similar question about his daughter. He said he "would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made." Abortion opponents said Quayle had been speaking, in human terms, as a father, but Democrats said Quayle's remark was an abortion rights position.

Bush's remark drew a similar reaction: Kate Michelman, head of the National Abortion Rights Action League, said "President Bush has compassion for his daughter but not for the women of America."

While saying he would love a child who was a homosexual, Bush said the child should not try to convince others "that this was an appropriate lifestyle."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush, Asked in Personal Context, Takes a Softer Stand on Abortion

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — As the Republican Party drafts a platform that demands a constitutional ban on abortion, President Bush today struck a less absolute tone on the issue when he was asked how he would deal with an abortion in his own family.

During an interview in the Oval Office taped for broadcast on the NBC News program "Dateline" tonight, Mr. Bush said that if one of his granddaughters came to him as an adult and said she wanted an abortion, he would argue against it but ultimately support her.

"Of course, I'd stand by my child," Mr. Bush said, responding to a question like one that was put to Vice President Dan Quayle last month about his own daughter. "I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game," Mr. Bush said.

Although Mr. Bush is on the record supporting a ban on abortions except in cases of rape, incest or when a woman's life is threatened, he said that in the end the decision would be the wom-

an's. "Well, whose else's — who else's — could it be?" he said. [Excerpts of the President's remarks appear on page A15.]

Differences Are Suggested

In the same interview, Mr. Bush was also asked what he would do if one of his grandchildren was homosexual, and he gave the same pledge of personal support for the child.

His answer on abortion seemed to suggest that Mr. Bush would personally leave the final decision on abortion up to the person expecting the child, even though his Administration and party have the official view that this choice, as a matter of constitutional and statutory law, should not belong to an individual.

Mr. Bush's aides moved quickly to say that his response did not mean he was advocating abortion rights. And Mr. Bush himself repeated his recent vows to maintain a strong public stand against abortion even if it costs him votes. "I wasn't elected to this office to run it by the polls," Mr. Bush said.

Advisers to Mr. Bush also said he was not trying to consciously modulate his position on abortion for campaign purposes. They said he had attempted, perhaps clumsily, to answer a question on which he finds it difficult to express himself.

But Mr. Bush's response, just as Mr. Quayle's own tortuous reply on the same issue and his subsequent attempts to clarify himself, only served to underscore the trouble the Republi-

Continued on Page A15, Column 5

cont.

8-12-92

Bush: Choice on Abortion Would Be Granddaughter's

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush said yesterday that if one of his granddaughters came to him and said she wanted to have an abortion, he would try to talk her out of it but would still "stand by my child" if she chose to terminate the pregnancy.

Bush, in an interview with "Dateline NBC," responded in a way similar to recent statements by Vice President Quayle, who, in an interview with talk show host Larry King, said he would support his daughter whatever her decision in that circumstance.

"Would I support my child?" Bush asked. "I'd put my arm around her and say, if she were trying to make that decision, encourage her not to do that, but of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away, and we'd get back in the game."

When interviewer Stone Phillips asked, "So in the end, the decision would be hers?" Bush responded: "Well, who else's could it be?" He said he was "offended" by the number of abortions performed yearly and that "lack of respect for life," but that if his granddaughter were to go ahead anyway, "I'd hold

out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Bush said Quayle's similar comments on the King show had been misunderstood. "If my granddaughter said I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her," Bush said. "I think that's what the vice president was saying, didn't mean he condoned the act. But he said he'd stand by his child. Of course I'd do that. My granddaughter, my son, my daughter, whoever it is."

On another contentious social issue that Republican operatives have said could be a line of attack in the campaign, Bush was asked what he would do if one of his grandchildren announced that he or she was gay.

Bush said that although he does not believe homosexuality is a "normal lifestyle," he would still "love that person."

"I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to convince people that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be," Bush said. "But I would say I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a lifestyle that in my view is not normal, and propose marriages, same-sex marriages [as] a normal way of life."

8-12-92

2082

Bush, Asked in Personal Context, Takes a Softer Stand on Abortion

Continued From Page A1

can Party is having on the abortion issue.

The party platform now being drafted in Houston for the convention next week calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion, but some Republican strategists have been trying for years to accommodate the growing number of members of the party who do not take that stand. "One has to somehow hold open the door," a senior Republican strategist said tonight. "It's just never done very artfully."

In Houston today, the committee drafting the platform soundly rejected several attempts to modify the position against abortion and calling for the appointment of judges who would overturn abortion rights.

By a vote of 84 to 16, the platform committee rejected an attempt to drop all abortion language from the platform. By overwhelming voice votes, it also rejected one effort to relax the prohibition against abortion in cases of rape and another move to permit women to choose whether to have abortions.

Delicate Problem

The problem is ticklish for Mr. Bush, who was an early supporter of legalized abortions and became staunchly anti-abortionist only after joining Ronald Reagan's conservative Republican ticket in 1980. His response in the NBC interview suggested a more moderate view that many people who advocate abortion rights believe Mr. Bush still harbors privately.

But Mr. Bush's response, like Mr. Quayle's, left the Republicans vulnerable to charges from abortion rights advocates that they are ready to ban abortions, except when it comes to members of their own families.

"It sounds like Bush in a previous life," said Jane Danowitz, president of the women's campaign fund. "It reminds us of the George Bush that at one point in his life was pro-choice. At best, it also shows the discomfort that the people who carry the anti-choice message have with their position. At worst, it's hypocrisy to continually veto legislation that allows a woman's right to choose but to be in favor of it in your own personal life, your child's right to choose."

Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, called Mr. Bush's remarks "totally disingenuous."

During the interview, Mr. Bush was asked about a remark by Barry Goldwater, the former Senator from Arizona, who said the abortion fight could cost Mr. Bush the election.

"When you sit in this office, whether it's a matter of this kind of matter of conscience or whether it's on making a tough decision, you can't look at the polls," he said. "You've got to do what you think is right."

Asked what he would do if a granddaughter wanted an abortion, Mr. Bush said: "I would talk her out of it, try to. But I'd do it — let me rephrase it for you. If my granddaughter said, 'I've done something terrible. I've robbed. I've stolen something,' I'd stand by her."

He said he was "offended" by the number of abortions performed in the United States and said that he would try to influence a grandchild to comply with his own beliefs. Then he concluded: "I'd try to say these values, but your question was what if she went ahead and did it, what, what would I do, I think, and I'd say, I'd, I'd love her. Or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

8-12-92

Prez: I'd love my gay child, but . . .

By DON BRODERICK

President Bush yesterday said he would raise a homosexual child with love and compassion — but hope the child would not advocate a lifestyle that is "not normal."

Bush's politically explosive comments, in a television interview for the program "Dateline NBC," came as Republican platform writers prepare for the GOP's national convention.

"I'd love that child," said Bush when asked what he would do if a son or daughter in his family were homosexual.

"I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to . . . convince people that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be."

Bush said that the Bible "teaches compassion and love. But I would say I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a lifestyle that is not normal, and propose marriages, same-sex marriages, is a normal way of life."

The president said that "there's a difference between approving every step of the way and loving and treating with compassion."

Bush also said he'd try to dissuade a granddaughter from having an abortion — but would

"I would hope he wouldn't try to convince people that this was the normal lifestyle."

PRESIDENT BUSH

support any decision she made. Ultimately, he said, the decision would be the girl's.

Bush was asked by NBC correspondent Stone Phillips what he would do if one of his young granddaughters told him that she was pregnant and wanted to have an abortion.

"I would talk her out of it — try to," Bush replied.

"If my granddaughter said, 'I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her. . . ."

"Of course I'd do that," Bush said.

"Would I support my child? I'd put my arm around her . . . encourage her to not do that, but of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game."

Asked if the ultimate decision

See GAY on Page 15

Prez says he would love his gay child, but . . .

GAY from Page 4

would be hers, Bush said, "Who else's could it be? . . . If she went ahead and did it, what would I do? . . . I'd love her or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Bush's answer was similar to one given last month by Vice President Quayle to a similar question.

Asked what he would do if his daughter told him she was having an abortion, Quayle created a political controversy by saying: "I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

Democrats seized on Quayle's remark as being a pro-abortion rights position. Bush disagreed.

"I think [that] what the vice

president was saying didn't mean he condoned the act, but he said he'd stand by his child."

The Bush family has denied a report in Newsweek magazine that its members are deeply divided on the abortion issue.

The article describes a First Family gathering in which the abortion controversy was raised and the family "split down the middle; all the women were pro-choice, all the men anti-abortion."

Bush also said in the interview he will continue to stand by Quayle as his running mate.

He said he's "not even considering" asking him to step out of the race. "I told him, 'You have my confidence,' " he said. "He's out there doing a good job."

C6 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 ...

THE WASHINGTON POST

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sam Donaldson flew to Yugoslavia for ABC's "PrimeTime Live" Monday and will be there all week . . .

Vice President Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, will be interviewed live in their Washington residence Friday by Harry Smith for "CBS This Morning" during the 7 a.m. half-hour . . .

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MANHATTAN NEIGHBORHOODS

NY-M
★

Math Can Be Fun

Workshops show parents, teachers how

By Michael J. Heyliger and Lisa Chan

STAFF WRITERS

The sign in the front of the classroom said, "Chancellor Joseph A. Fernandez Welcomes You to the City Wide Mathematics and Family Resource Center." Inside, the room resounded with noise, laughter and chatter.

CLOSEUP

But these were no typical students. They were teachers teaching other teachers and having fun at the same time, playing games with beans, toothpicks, origami paper and calculators to enhance the development of the children they teach.

"You got it!" one teacher said to another who finally mastered an activity.

At the recent Family Math Workshop in Brooklyn, teachers volunteered two days of their summer to learn how to make mathematics more fun to children and how to assist parents in helping their children with math.

"The program is helping parents to help their children do math," said Jean Calandra, coordinator of the resource center.

"When it comes to math, parents are at a loss," said Stuart Smith, coordinator of the workshop. "Family Math tries to break down those barriers."

The Family Math Center program originated 10 years ago at the University of California at Berkeley. It came to New York City four years ago and is funded by donations from the private sector. Family Math Workshops are set up in all 32 school districts in New York City. The workshops also are run in many different states and in foreign countries such as Sweden and Greece.

Trained leaders headed up the workshops, designed for students from kindergarten to the eighth grade and their parents. The teachers themselves indulged in the activities and games that are set up for the kids and got feedback from each other as to how the activities might help children understand math and which activities would be appropriate for which grade level.

In one exercise, the teachers were given a simple hand-held calculator and told to get a certain number using only the numbers 1, 0 and the

CANT.

1 of 2

N.Y. Newsday
8-10-92

2 of 2

plus and equal keys.

Gwendolyn Graham, a fifth-grade teacher at PS 21 who attended the workshop, said the methods she picked up at the workshop will work well in the classroom.

"The workshops give you a combination of all teaching styles so you can be able to touch all learning styles," she said.

"Many teachers teach in the cookbook style," sticking to a strict lesson plan or a textbook, said Graham, who also is a GED supervisor. "They don't try to expand." She said she believes children learn more when lessons are presented in a new and exciting manner.

Joshua Sky, a sixth-grade teacher at PS 230

in Brooklyn, said, "The program makes the math concepts more real, and it teaches the elementary and junior high school students concepts that they will be using later on in high school."

Understanding those concepts also is important for parents, he said. "When a parent checks their kid's math homework, they don't know what the child is doing, and the workshops give the entire family a better understanding of math concepts," Sky said.

After graduating from the program, the teachers themselves take it into their school districts and run their own afterschool or weekend workshops, which last from three to six weeks.



CALCULATOR PATH Division

Two players take turns.
 * Choose any two numbers from the large circle.
 * Divide the smaller number into the larger number.
 * If the quotient is on the game board and not already covered, cover it with one of your markers.
 * To win, make any path from star side to star side or dot side to dot side.

Broken Keys

Make a bet: that most of the keys on your calculator are broken and don't work anymore. In fact, what if the only keys that still worked were the 1, 0, + and =?

Could you somehow get the number 17 on your calculator's display anyway?

Keep careful count of every keystroke you need to press to arrive at the number. Try it again and see if you can do it in a smaller number of keystrokes.

The **CE** key on many calculators does something special if you press it more than once. Can you use this idea to get the number in even fewer keystrokes? Try to get the numbers in the chart below. Work together with other students to get the answer with the fewest number of keystrokes for each of the numbers.

Number	First Try	Second Try	Best Try!	Number of Keystrokes
17				
23				
99				
1990				
Now make up some!				

© University of California, 1988

These are just two activities provided by workshops to help put fun into learning and teaching math.

8-12-92

Using Art as Creative Teaching Force

By WILLIAM CELIS 3d

The art lesson in a recent workshop was no ordinary one: the students were teachers. They were asked to empty their purses and pockets and, on a white sheet of paper, create a face using as few of the items as possible.

One face was simply a pair of sunglasses. Another was single earring representing a mouth. A third was a profile created by a necklace forming a forehead, a nose and a chin.

"This shows you that art can be anything," said Donald Olsen, a band and orchestra teacher at Eastchester High School in Eastchester, N.Y., and one of 30 teachers participating in the workshop at the Lincoln Center Institute for the Arts in Education. "It gives you a different way of looking at things."

It was also an example of a teaching concept known as esthetic education,

which aims not only to promote a broader understanding of the arts but to encourage teachers to think differently and more creatively in everything they do. Another aim is to foster the recognition that the arts are a positive experience to which all people should be exposed.

Promoting Art for 17 Years

The institute, the education arm of the Lincoln Center for Performing Arts, has been promoting esthetic education since it was founded 17 years ago. The program includes the workshop for teachers, and it takes plays, concerts and dance performances to students during the academic year or brings the students to Lincoln Center to see the performances.

The teacher education component is something virtually no other program has. Schools from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut pay \$2,500 to \$5,000 to participate.

Practitioners say esthetic education, championed early in this century by the educator and philosopher John Dewey, produces ripple effects far beyond expanding understanding of the arts.

Teachers say esthetic education training can accomplish three other goals: it helps them integrate the arts into courses like history, literature and even mathematics and science; it helps insure that even in times of recession the arts are not entirely eliminated through budget cuts, and it helps a child's self-esteem, because in the arts there is no single "correct" approach.

Beyond 'Assembly Lines'

"Most of our schools are G.M. assembly lines," said Michael Moore, the director of Arts Unlimited in Bowling Green, Ohio, a program modeled after the one at the Lincoln Center Institute. "They do the same thing over and over. This is one of the reasons our schools are in trouble."

"Esthetic education is a lot messier. Esthetic education keeps asking, 'What if?' and 'Why not?' Esthetic education says there isn't one right answer."

For these reasons, the concept is also sometimes difficult for many teachers to grasp, accustomed as they are to the structured atmosphere of a public school. But teachers exposed to esthetic education at the Lincoln Center Institute workshops say the experience helped break down traditional thought processes and encouraged them to think more expansively.

One participant, Eddie Maldonado, for instance, a special education

teacher at Salk Middle School in Old Bridge, N.J., said that when she now teaches history, she introduces the music of the era, and in her literature class the paintings of the period are discussed.

For science and math teachers, the application of the arts is more of a stretch. But several teachers said that art, in fact, could help them make the hard-core disciplines more accessible to students.

In another workshop exercise, teachers carved four potatoes into various shapes and sizes. From the exercise, Francine Kaalund, who teaches science to students in grades 6 through 9 at Middle School 158 in Bayside, Queens, had an idea to let her students supplement textbook lessons in the development of the frog by carving potatoes to show its growth from tadpole to adult.

Some educators say there is little

Lincoln Center workshops expand classroom traditions.

research data to support the notion that the arts can help in the instruction of subjects like math and science. "The evidence that a good arts program can improve performance in non-arts areas is thin," said Howard Gardner, a Harvard University psychologist.

Educators and some policy makers lament that the arts are still regarded as an enrichment rather than a staple. Others argue that at a time when many schools are having trouble paying for and maintaining the basics, the arts should be viewed as enrichment.

"I don't see it as a budget trade off," said Ernest L. Boyer, the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in Princeton, N.J., who was recently named chairman of the Lincoln Center Institute's Board of Directors.

Mr. Boyer said incorporating the arts into literature and history, for example, requires only a teacher who can do so. "The arts have been pushed to the edges, as a frill, and considered something we can come back to when everything else is covered," he said. "It's been one of the real tragedies in the American education philosophy."

8-11-92

Commentary

Fault a Too-Cozy System for Trade-School Scams

■ **Education:** Students are sold on loans for worthless classes; defaults are growing for lack of independent oversight.

By MICHAEL FEUER
and DEANNE LOONIN

Like most of her former classmates, Lillian is a young immigrant. As with so many others, her ambition was to come to Southern California to earn a decent wage. Recruited on a street corner by a hawker speaking in her native Spanish, she enrolled in a trade school that promised she would learn computer skills and earn a good salary.

But now, after completing her so-called course work, she has no marketable skills. In part this is because she spoke almost no English when she was signed up, but nonetheless was enrolled in a computer class taught simultaneously with an "English as a second language" course.

As one might imagine, she found her computer text and instruction nearly inscrutable. So she is unemployed. Unable to repay her student loan, she is being pursued by debt collectors. Her credit is ruined. Because of the default, she is barred from receiving future student loans. She must begin the dream again, this time further behind than when she arrived here.

Vocational schools offering training in fields from computers to personal grooming have become popular attempted points of entry into the work force. Newly arrived immigrants, in particular, turn to trade schools as they seek the skills necessary to realize the American dream. As *The Times* has reported, however, a vision of effective education culminating in a good job often proves elusive for these students. The result: The reported student loan default rate at Lillian's alma mater is more than 50%; nationwide, the default rate on federally insured student loans at trade schools is more than 40%.

A dramatic escalation in the rate of student-loan defaults closely tracks burgeoning participation in loan programs by vocational schools. Vocational schools first became eligible to offer these loans, which are guaranteed by federal and state taxpayers, in 1979. Responding to this government-created incentive, in the past decade the number of trade schools tripled—while the number of student-loan defaults increased tenfold.

To protect thousands of prospective students annually from learning the hard way that many of these programs aren't all they're cracked up to be—and to prevent the needless expenditure of millions of tax

dollars in federal guarantees—key elements of the systems by which trade schools are regulated must be reformed.

The challenge for federal and state authorities is how to confront the soaring default rates without eliminating opportunities for low-income individuals to become productive workers through legitimate trade schools.

California lawmakers have enacted sweeping consumer-protection measures designed to prevent schools from deceiving students. The more fundamental issue, though, is that while only "accredited" trade schools receive federal and state loan aid, the accreditors themselves are private agencies with a monumental conflict of interest—they derive their income from the very schools they accredit. Accredited trade schools pay membership fees to these agencies. Small wonder, then, that schools where two or more of every five graduates default remain accredited. Yet the federal Department of Education, responsible for approving agencies that accredit trade schools, does little to assure that accreditors competently assess trade-school performance on a regular basis.

The situation at the state level is no better. As with so much of California government these days, the agency charged with enforcing the well-conceived regulations—the Council for Private Post-Secondary and Vocational Education—has painfully limited resources. Until recently, statewide it had only one investigator.

Fundamental restructuring is needed at federal and state levels. Federally, we should consider a new loan accreditation system. Either private accreditation should be jettisoned or the financial incentive for easy accreditation should be eliminated by outlawing the practice of schools paying fees to accreditors. Assuming that private accreditation continues, the Department of Education should not permit that industry to be essentially self-regulating. In California, it is shortsighted to pass comprehensive laws to protect students, only to ignore effective enforcement.

Lax enforcement and a deficient accreditation system enable some trade schools to make substantial profits at public expense, despite the fact that half their graduates do not repay student loans. Particularly here in Southern California, it is time we recognize that trade schools are an increasingly important gateway into the economic mainstream and take their effective regulation seriously.

Michael Feuer is the executive director of Bet Tzedek, the House of Justice, which provides free legal services to the poor in Los Angeles County. Deanne Loonin is a Bet Tzedek public-interest law fellow.

Paul Conrad is on vacation.

OK, OK. Our schools are not the greatest.

Our best students are equal only to the average Japanese, Chinese and Taiwanese students. But maybe our schools do no harm. And if you think that, so the song goes, I've got some ocean-front property in Arizona you may be interested in.

When U.S. students are tested on what they learn in the classroom, the gap between our students and Asian students widens. When our youngsters are tested on things they don't study in school, they come up even with the Asians.

That sounds like schools being harmful to little intellects.

American school children are just as smart at very young ages in "common knowledge" of such things as "why blankets keep us

Our schoolkids are ahead — in profanity



**SUZANNE
FIELDS**

COMMENTARY

nors Association. "There are enormous gaps that increase with age. Our top 3 percent who study calculus are the equal of average students in other countries."

Are smaller classes the answer? Class size doesn't seem to make much difference. A teacher who is well-prepared and organized can teach as many as 50 students, which is the number most Asian teachers have in their classes.

Marginal teachers are a major problem. Such teachers contribute to the dropout rate, reduce student motivation and parental interest. Yet the law makes it difficult

for administrators and school boards to dismiss a teacher, even for good cause.

Average teachers must be re-educated and retrained, bad teachers must be shown to the schoolhouse door. Teachers unions must stop setting up obstacles to excellence. Union opposition to merit pay, rigorous teacher testing and insistence on tenure for the inept and inefficient inevitably dooms our children.

But if teachers are part of the solution, parents are part of the problem. When discipline is absent from the home, it's absent from the classroom, too.

An inability to maintain order and discipline is frequently cited as a teacher weakness. It's not always the teacher's fault.

Teachers in classrooms all over the country, for example, worry that the use of profanity is on the increase, even in kindergarten, according to the Wall Street Journal. Using dirty words may sound like small potatoes when compared with children carrying weapons to school or the high rates of teen-age pregnancies. But obscenities are a symptom we should treat seriously.

A director of a child-care center in Lynchburg, Va., reports hearing a 2-year-old call a teacher a "g---m---f---." Imagine what that

child will say (or do) when he gets to kindergarten.

While kids learn some of these words from the streets and movies (even with PG and PG-13 ratings), a child's language development starts at home.

Profanity not only exhibits a disrespect for authority, a lapse in moral development and a contempt for the feelings of others, it also inhibits a child from finding a better way to articulate thoughts and feelings. Even though young children who use obscenities may not know what they mean, they know such words are spoken in anger and frustration. A child who uses gutter words instead of finding fresh words to express his thoughts suffers from an emotional and intellectual deficit.

We may have more serious problems than competing with the Asians in calculus.

8-12-92

Our kids poorer this decade

By **SONYA ROSS**

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — America's children are poorer now than they were a decade ago, despite the prosperity of the 1980s, the Children's Defense Fund said yesterday.

More than one in four children — 26.2% — living in cities with populations of 100,000 or more were impoverished in 1989, the advocacy group said. It laid the blame on social service cuts and the rise in single-parent families.

Four Northeastern cities — Hartford, Buffalo, Rochester and Newark — ranked among the 20 cities with the highest rates of poverty among children.

"Extraordinarily high levels of child poverty have become pervasive," said fund President Marian Wright Edelman. "Such widespread child poverty also threatens children's health. And it is an affront to the moral decency of the nation."

The study said poverty rates can be cut by increasing wages, tightening enforcement of child-support payments and giving tax credits to lower-income families.

The fund said the study is the first city-by-city count of poor children since the 1980 census. A similar state-by-state count it released last month showed 11.2 million U.S. children — about 18% — lived in families earning less than the 1989 poverty-level income of \$13,000 for a family of four.

In the city ranking, Detroit topped the list, with 46.6% of its 296,543 children under 18 living in poverty. Overland Park, Kan., and Livonia, Mich., had the lowest rates: 3%.

Minority children were most affected, with at least half the black children in 31 cities, half the Indian children in 19 cities, half the Hispanic children in 10 cities and half the Asian children in eight cities living in poverty.

8-12-92

Children's Poverty Rose in '80s

*Suburbs, Rural Areas
Also Show Increase*

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

Child poverty, which historically has been concentrated in the nation's largest urban areas, climbed rapidly during the 1980s, not only in big cities but in small cities, suburbs and rural areas, a child advocacy group reported yesterday.

The Children's Defense Fund reported that the list of cities with the highest child poverty rates included not only places like Detroit, New Orleans and Miami, but smaller cities with less obvious economic problems, such as Laredo, Tex.; Rochester, N.Y.; Fresno, Calif., and Shreveport, La.

Among the 100 largest cities in the country, the percentage of children living in poverty went up from 24.8 percent in 1979 to 28 percent a decade later, according to the group, which based its findings on 1990 Census figures. The figures were much higher among minority children, with as many as two-thirds in poverty in some cities.

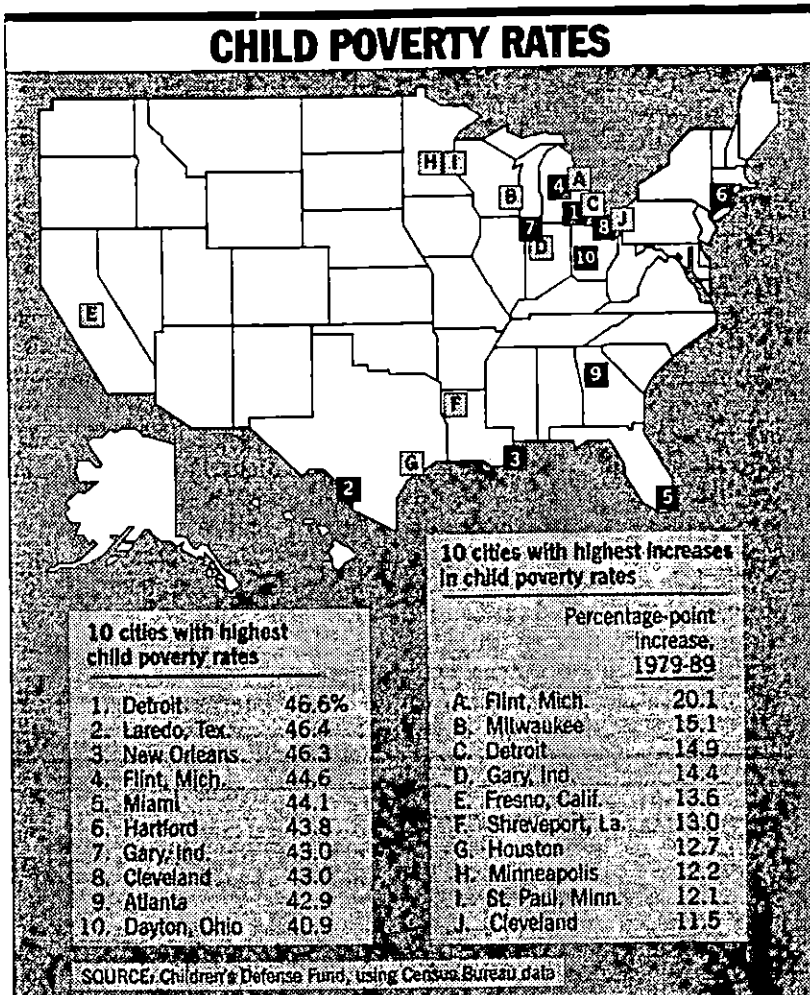
Just more than a quarter of the children living in Washington were poor in 1989, placing the city 123rd among the 200 cities with populations over 100,000.

"Urban child poverty is high, it is rising and it is pervasive," said James D. Weill, general counsel for the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group. "The lesson is . . . all American children are at risk."

The current recession is pushing more children below the poverty line, which was \$9,885 for a family of three in 1989, Weill said.

Census Bureau surveys show that between 1989 and 1990, another 841,000 children fell into poverty, nearly as many as were added during the previous decade. New poverty figures scheduled for release next month are likely to show another leap, according to Weill.

Olivia Golden, director of programs and policy for the group, blamed the increase on several fac-



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

tors, including the loss of manufacturing jobs.

Golden also said the government safety net had become less effective over the decade, with welfare benefits for families falling relative to

The current recession is pushing more children below the poverty line, a Children's Defense Fund official said.

inflation and a smaller fraction of unemployed families receiving unemployment benefits.

She also said the increasing number of single-parent households had driven up child poverty rates.

The group urged adoption of legislation—introduced by Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.) and passed last week by the House—to provide increases in food stamp assistance and other programs aimed at children.

Its officials also called for a higher minimum wage, expanded job training and youth employment pro-

grams and an increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit, which benefits low-income families.

Child poverty rates were particularly high among minorities. Half or more of black children were poor in 31 cities, with the highest rates for black children in Erie, Pa., at 62 percent.

The same was true for Hispanic children in 10 cities, for Native American children in 19 cities and for Asian American children in eight cities.

Erie also had the highest rate for Hispanic children, at 69 percent. Minneapolis had the highest rate—66 percent—for Native American children. And the highest figure for Asian-American children was 69 percent, in St. Paul, Minn.

Many rural counties also had high child poverty. The rates in more than 80 rural counties, for example, were higher than that in Detroit.

The Children's Defense Fund reported a month ago that child poverty rates rose in 33 states during the 1980s, at the same time many states were experiencing a period of economic growth.

Weill argued yesterday that, because of long-term changes in the economy, an economic recovery is unlikely to lift enough children out of poverty to bring rates down to their previous levels.

8-12-92

'I ♥ my pet' may hold a cardiac clue

By Cassandra Jardine
LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH

LONDON — Having a pet, any pet, may reduce your risk of heart disease.

In a study of 5,741 adults, Dr. Warwick Anderson of the Baker Medical Research Institute in Australia has found that those who don't exercise more than others and who drink more alcohol and eat more meat and junk food to boot are in less danger of heart disease than their non-pet-owning peers.

All of the men in his study, and women in the 40-59 age group prone to heart disease, showed lower levels of cholesterol and fat in the blood and stronger heartbeats than the norm if they had a pet.

A dog or a cat, Dr. Anderson found, has a more beneficial effect on health than a vegetarian diet or strenuous exercise. Nor is it related to loneliness, since he was looking at pet owners of all ages and not just the elderly, who might find in their cat or dog a reason for living.

Dr. James Serpell of Cambridge University is planning to take the research further.

In a study published earlier this year, he found that new pet owners "were less likely to report minor diseases," which could be explained by their being too busy mopping up the puddles to go to the doctor to complain about their indigestion.

For his second project, he will be prescribing pets to part of a controlled group and observing their effects on human health over a long period, looking at the real, as op-

posed to the perceived, health benefits.

If the research keeps coming up with the same results, we might see mutts prescribed alongside pills and Dobermans as well as diets recommended for those with tricky hearts.

It is not clear from the study whether it is the ownership of a pet that is good for the health or if the kind of people who own pets are less likely to suffer from heart disease.

Bruce Fogle, a vet, suspects that it may not be pets that reduce risk, but that calmer people own pets.

The most powerful indicator of that is the small number who were sufficiently worried about their health to wish to avail themselves of the free services of Dr. Anderson's walk-in clinic.

Only 15 percent of those who came to be tested were pet owners, though 50 percent of Australian homes have pets — the highest ownership level in the world.

If there does turn out to be something in it, he is wondering whether it may be because "social grooming, part of primate behavior, may fill a void in our culture — certainly among men for whom public physical contact is taboo."

Professor Desmond Julian of the British Heart Foundation found other loopholes for further investigation.

"Maybe it is the alcohol they consume that is good for pet owners, or it could be that pet owners, like the French, are heavy vegetable eaters as well as heavy meat eaters, and vegetables are known to be good for the health," he said.

Washington Times
Wednesday, August 12, 1992
p.A9

How suite it is!

'KID CONCIERGES' TAKE CARE OF THEIR OWN

ASSOCIATED PRESS

When children arrive at the Omni Shoreham Hotel, they're required to check in, like their parents. But their front desk is loaded with crayons and candy, and the hotel staff that serves them is just their size.

This summer, the hotel hired "kid concierges," a batch of local 12-year-olds who know Washington inside and out. Their job is to serve the special needs of the hotel's youngest clientele.

"I've been stuck sometimes when my parents want to take me to someplace boring," says kid concierge Karla Montenegro. "I want to do something special but they want to do something else."

So Karla knew what to say when 10-year-old Haywood Titchener came to her for advice on Friday.

Haywood had just arrived from Dunn, N.C., and after the long car trip, she was sick of her 8-year-old sister, Margaret, and her 5-year-old brother, Walt. She was barely even speaking to her parents.

After all, they wanted to drag her to museum after museum, and she just wanted to swim in the hotel pool.

"We went sightseeing yesterday," she whined to her mother, Sara Titchener. "We've already seen that Abraham thing and that big, tall, pointy building."



Junior concierge Kenneth Owens, 12, answers questions from Haywood, Margaret and Walt Titchner of Dunn, S.C.

AP

cont.

1 of 2

Karla sympathized immediately. "Some of the museums are really boring. Only adults like to go to them," she said. "I don't like art very much so I get bored. But how about the zoo?"

Fellow concierge Hannah Nielsen-Jones said the National Air and Space Museum wasn't like some of the others.

"It's a great place," Hannah said. "There's a thing about the sound barrier and the first satellite. And they have moon rock there."

She even explained to Haywood what moon rock was.

"Have you ever been to Georgie

■ "We get to swim in the hotel pool for free. And we get discounts all over the place," says kid concierge Kenneth Owens.

Bush's house?" asked Haywood's little sister, Margaret.

In addition to the free advice, all of the hotel's younger guests get a VIP hotel tour. A member of the housekeeping staff takes them to the hotel laundry and shows them the big machines that fold the sheets. They meet the hotel's florists and security guards, and they even get a peek at a hotel suite that costs \$1,200

a night.

When the Titcheners visited the suite, Walt immediately jumped up and down on the bed. Margaret ran to the kitchen to see if there was ice cream in the fridge. Haywood just said, "Wow!"

But the best part was probably getting away from mom and dad, admitted Mrs. Titchener.

"Haywood wasn't too thrilled

about going on a trip with her family. I think she's at the age where she's too cool for that," she said. "This is the first time I've seen her smiling for awhile."

Kid concierges don't get paid, but most say it's worth it.

"We get to swim in the hotel pool for free. And we get discounts all over the place," says kid concierge Kenneth Owens. "And they took us on a cool limousine ride all over town when we got trained."

Omni Shoreham spokesman Arnold Fine says he hopes the new program will pay off for the hotel one day.

"These kids, when they grow up, maybe they'll register themselves here," he says.

8-12-92

LIFE

CHILDREN TODAY / Dr. Charles Schwarzbeck

Family role in plight of the homeless

Tom, 19, checked into a St. Louis public shelter for the homeless late on a recent evening, chilled and hungry. His hand shook as he accepted a cup of soup. Dark circles under his eyes exposed his unspoken sadness and hopeless outlook.

The public shelter record shows that this is Tom's seventh "check-in." Over the last two years he has been found living on the street four times. Twice he has surfaced at a walk-in mental health clinic.

This young man, who is really more like an older child, "typically comes out of his shell after a week or so and seems like his life is going to straighten out," says a social worker who knows Tom. "Then he slips away, resuming his downhill slide."

Tom is a tall, lanky, handsome boy, who first ran away from home a few weeks before his 16th birthday. An overactive child, he was a chronic underachiever at school.

Tom was a disappointment to his parents. His father, an ambitious professional, couldn't relate to his son's chronic disorganization, his absence of intellectual curiosity and his unwillingness to read. By the time Tom was 13, father and son were barely talking.

The second time Tom ran away, he, his brother and parents sought family counseling. After that, Tom moved back to the family home, returned to school and made some academic gains.

But he and his father battled about late-night parties. Marijuana was found and Tom was accused of taking money from his mother's desk.

Tom disappeared. He reappeared in Florida, telephoning his parents to report he was safe and that he missed his family. They sent him money and he returned home.

Within weeks, however, the pattern resumed.

By age 17, Tom gave up. After failing three of his six courses he ran away for three months, checking in weekly by telephone. After a brief return home that was welcoming and without argument, he left again.

He hasn't lived at home in two years.

Suspected of alcohol and "light drug" abuse, he has no recorded legal trouble. A record at another homeless shelter described him last year, as "disoriented and depressed." This condition cleared up within three days.

Until recently, clinical research has focused on psychiatric disorders as causes of homelessness. Risk factors were said to be primarily precursors of chronic and severe mental illness. Most of the homeless older children were boys. Nearly half had histories of alcohol or drug abuse or both, in addition to mood disorder and schizophrenia.

Data reported in the last year show that children placed in a foster family or a group home or who ran away from home for a week or longer are likely to become homeless.

Adults who had psychiatric disorders and received clinical care were three times as likely to be homeless if they had run away (and stayed away for longer than a week), or if they had been placed in foster care or group-home care.

Considering these three factors as preceding homelessness, the risk factor caused by drug abuse is almost canceled out.

Like recent clinical investigations in other areas, these studies of homeless teen-agers and adults point to the complicated and far-reaching impact of the family.

When children grow up without the consistency and security of having their family to turn to, especially at times of turmoil, there is a high probability of continuing adult problems.

Families "hold" children in many ways. By containing disorganization, tensions, anger and disappointment, families help young members weather bad feelings. Tensions can trigger increased efforts to reconsider one another and to take fresh looks at relationships.

The experience of all family members, including parents, changing personally in the face of family tensions, impacts forcefully on children.

When a child loses family, for whatever reasons, the probability of an adult life of homelessness is significantly more probable.

Homelessness may be an adult interpretation of a childhood without strong family ties.

Dr. Schwarzbeck is a member of the clinical teaching faculty at the University of Washington's School of Medicine in Seattle.

SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

The new realities of family life

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 schools, conservatives gained power in the early 1980s by promising to lead a return to the "traditional" family of the 1950s.

Fantastic as it now seems, they believed "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 as a society we need to come to grips with the new realities of family life, was branded antifamily. One Republican senatorial candidate — Rich Williamson of Illinois — has even denounced McDonald's and microwave cooking as antifamily.

Conservative rhetoric wouldn't be so bad if it were 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*. 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.

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 it was unthinkable that their daughter could become pregnant before marriage.

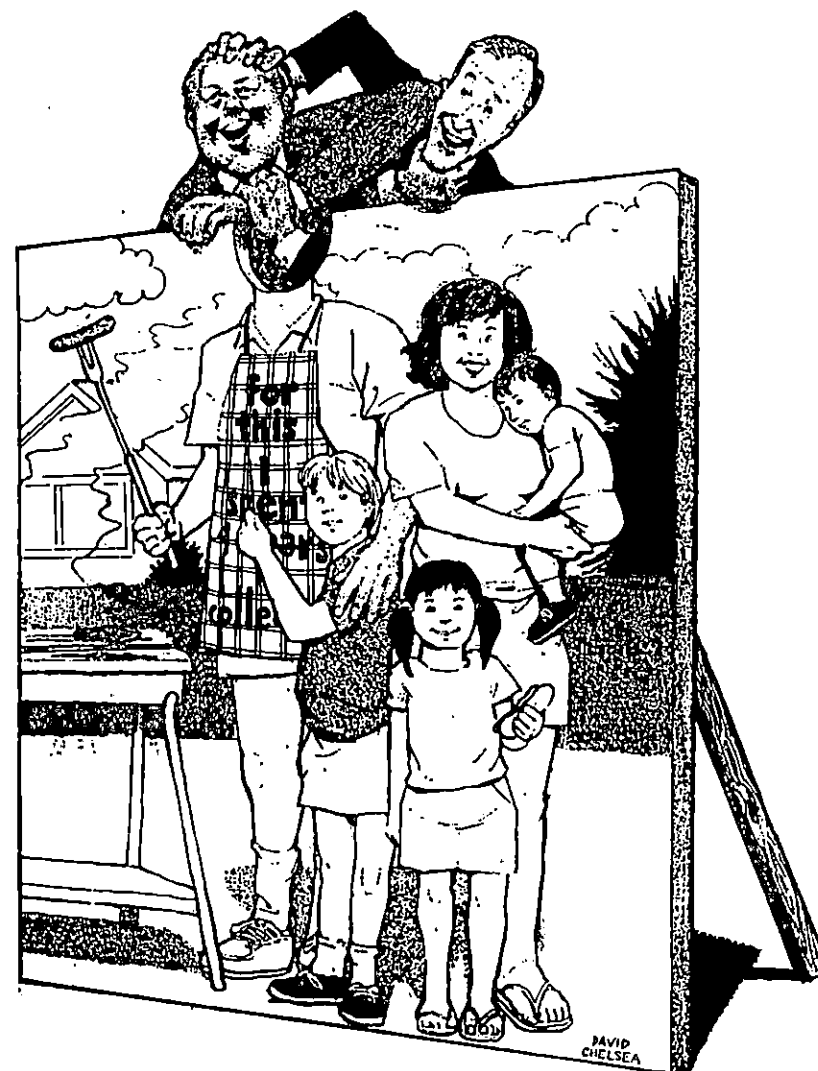
Yet the Quayles, like many other Americans who want to bring us back to a time when chastity was the professed norm, are realists despite themselves. They perceive — correctly, as it turns out — two things, even if they won't admit it. They understand that parents and educators can't always control kids. 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 do not.

Faced with some of the troubling fallout of the sexual revolution — sexually transmitted disease and teenage 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 postindustrial 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 dinnertime 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 defini-



DAVID CHELSEA ILLUSTRATION © INK

tion 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 a research psychologist at the Institute of Human Development of the University of California, Berkeley.

BOSTON GLOBE
8-11-92

WEDNESDAY
AUGUST 12, 1992

The Philadelphia Inquirer

DAILY MAGAZINE

PEOPLE • HOME • MOVIES • THE ARTS • TV • STYLE

Women Marines to get combat training

ASSOCIATED PRESS

WASHINGTON — All female Marine lieutenants will get full combat training, including live firings of M-16s and grenades, in classes with men starting next week, the Marine Corps said yesterday.

Maj. Barry Moore, public affairs officer for the Marine Corps Combat Development Command at the Quantico, Va., Marine Corps base, said the change was the culmination of a process under way for three years.

He said women enrolled in a class starting Monday at the base "will be fully integrated" into combat training on the same basis as men. Quantico trains all Marine lieutenants.

The women will participate in hand-to-hand combat training with sticks and will practice live firing of M-16 rifles and will use hand grenades in offensive operations, patrols and ambushes. They will take part in mock wars as part of the 23-week course.

Previously, women have been in all-female platoons that learned to fire rifles and have conducted defensive patrols but had little offensive training, Moore said.

Moore said the Marines had been broadening the training of female officers since 1989. He said the ban on offensive combat training for them was lifted by Lt. Gen. Walter E. Boomer, commander of the base, on the recommendation of Col. R.J. Fawcett, commanding officer of the Basic School at Quantico.

Although women are prohibited from taking part in combat, Fawcett said it was essential that they understand the requirement of troops in combat and be able to deal with emergencies.

"All of our officers must be fully capable of leading a temporary rifle platoon in a rear-area battle; to include defense, security patrols and even ambushes and local counterattacks," Fawcett said.

"Every officer, regardless of military occupational specialty, must fully understand combat as it occurs in the rifle platoons up front so that they can be prepared to provide the best possible support," he said.

Boomer, who led the First Marine Expeditionary Force in the Persian Gulf war, said in a recent magazine interview that he was impressed by the role women played in the war.

Marine Corps spokesmen said that most of the training platoons would be coed, with separate living quarters for men and women. A woman, Capt. Kyle Walton, will command one of the platoons.

Moore said the sexes would continue to be separated in training of enlisted Marines at bases at Parris Island, S.C., and San Diego.

*Officers
to be in
classes
with
men for
first
time.*



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 128UJ92 SB P034418 -10A

The New York Times

FREE TRADE ACCORD FOR NORTH AMERICA IS EXPECTED TODAY

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

SOME DETAILS NOT SET YET

U.S., Mexico and Canada Would
Gradually Eliminate Duties
and Restrictions

By KEITH BRADSHAW
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — The United States, Canada and Mexico tentatively agreed today to create a free-trade area covering all of North America, eliminating customs duties and other restrictions.

The agreement will allow companies to do business the length of the continent with few barriers. People involved in the negotiations and Administration officials said that President Bush was virtually certain to announce the accord on Wednesday morning.

But the three trade ministers issued a statement tonight saying that they had not concluded a deal. "Contrary to press reports, negotiations on a North American Free Trade Agreement continue this evening with all three ministers meeting," the two-sentence statement said. "An announcement will be made when the negotiations are complete and a deal has been reached."

Sorting Out Details

When a deal is concluded is not a cut-and-dried issue, however, because lawyers will be sorting out final details for weeks to come, as they do on all international agreements. What matters is whether enough of the issues have been resolved to announce an agreement.

The White House notified key Congressional committees this evening that it believed a formal and final deal would be struck tonight, while warning them that some details of the pact were still being worked out. The agreement is subject to Congressional approval, which is expected, but not until next year and not until after a bitter battle.

The November Presidential elections add further uncertainty to the situation. If Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the Democratic nominee, is elected, he could call for substantial changes in the pact. [News Analysis, page D5].

Opening of Borders

The key elements of the free-trade agreement are these:

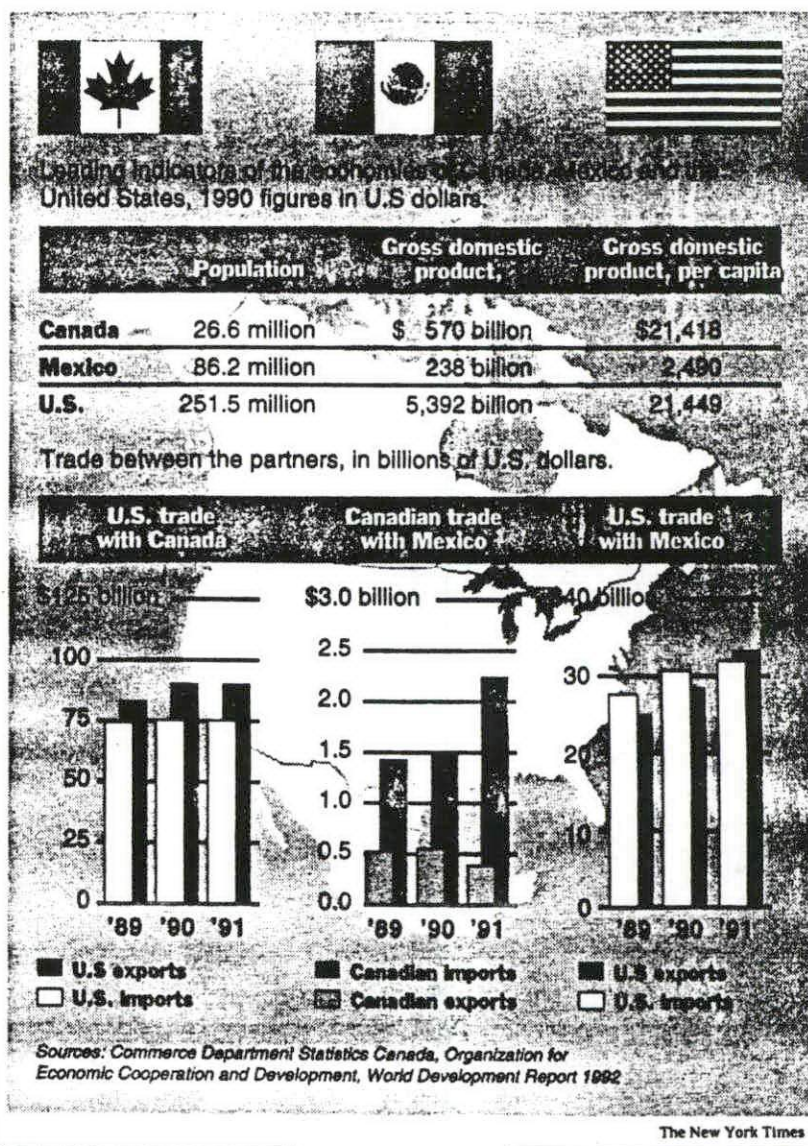
¶Eliminating customs duties over time on tens of thousands of products traded among the three countries, from car windshields to tomatoes.

¶Setting up obstacles to prevent Asian and European companies from bypassing American tariffs by shipping goods through Mexico.

¶Opening Mexico's closed banking, insurance and securities industries to American and Canadian competition and investments.

¶Creating trilateral panels to resolve commercial disputes involving environmental standards.

Most economists say the pact will bring greater prosperity to all three countries, with each specializing in the



Agreement by Nations of North America on Free Trade Is Expected Today

Continued From Page A1

industries in which it is relatively efficient. But American and Canadian labor unions contend that companies will move factories and jobs to Mexico, where wages are lower.

White House and Republican campaign officials, many from Western states expected to gain from the accord, see the agreement as a vote-winner for President Bush and plan to emphasize it at the Republican National Convention in Houston next week.

These officials expect the pact to win support from Mexican-Americans and voters in border states, which stand to benefit the most from increased sales of goods and services to Mexico. They also see the agreement as a chance for Mr. Bush to stress that his foreign policy experience produces jobs and prosperity in the United States.

But the agreement has badly split the Republican Party, with lawmakers and activists from Northeastern states deeply worried that it will antagonize voters worried about the

possible loss of jobs. Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, who faces a tough re-election fight in a region that stands to benefit less than the border states from the pact, has been leery. And even some polls in the Southwest have shown strong public doubts about the agreement.

Criticism From Democrats

Democrats are also becoming more critical of the agreement. Governor Clinton supported the opening of negotiations with Mexico last year. But he applauded recently when the House majority leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, criticized the Administration for not doing a good enough job negotiating. Mr. Gephardt said more should be done to protect American workers from losing jobs and to protect the environment along the nation's southern border and in Mexico.

The White House, however, views the agreement as a political plus, and has tentatively scheduled a news conference for President Bush to announce the deal on Wednesday.

People involved in the negotiations said that the trade ministers from all three countries struck the deal at 1

A.M. today after 14 months of negotiations. Although technical details and the legal language of the deal are still being reviewed, these people said the details were not large enough to postpone the final announcement. Lawyers and translators for all three countries will work on the text of the agreement for the next several weeks.

Mexican and Canadian officials will also describe the agreement to reporters here on Wednesday morning before flying home to their capitals for more news conferences. American officials said that any of the countries could, in theory, still back down but that not one had given any indication that it would do so.

Last Issue Resolved

The last issue resolved early this morning concerned the extent to which Mexico would open to American and Canadian competition its contracts from Government agencies and state-owned enterprises. Some issues, like apparel imports from Canada and local-content rules for automobiles, were resolved in substance late Monday night but were the subject of detailed discussions today.

In the United States, the biggest winners will be American industries that need low-wage labor. Many are high-technology businesses, like computer manufacturers, which employ white-collar workers in design and development work in the United States and blue-collar workers abroad to assemble the products.

Until now, much of the assembly work had been done in East Asia, in part because of the risks of dealing with Mexico's legal system. Under the agreement, factories in Mexico, closer to home and more reliant on United States technical expertise than those in East Asia, will be protected from legal caprice.

Competition for Labor

The losers, of course, include American blue-collar workers, who will face more competition from Mexicans. The agreement will make it possible for a Mexican trucker earning \$7 a day to climb into an 18-wheeler in Monterrey and drive a load of auto parts all the way to Detroit.

Today, that driver would have to climb out of his truck at the Rio Grande and the goods would be load-

ed onto an American truck.

For just such reasons, labor unions have campaigned hard against the pact, saying that hundreds of thousands of American jobs could be lost because the accord would certify Mexico as a safe place to do business with easy access to the American and Canadian markets.

But proponents of the pact counter that jobs are moving anyway, citing examples like the Smith Corona Corporation, which announced last month that it would move its typewriter manufacturing operations to Mexico from Cortland, N.Y.

In many ways, the agreement is a stark reminder of how far relations with Mexico have come in six years. In the summer of 1986, senior Administration officials warned Congress that corruption and drug trafficking were weakening the Mexican Government. The Central Intelligence Agency raised the prospect of chaos along the United States's southern border and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff circulated a report suggesting that Mexico was the nation's gravest foreign policy problem.

The rhetoric has cooled since then, and trade has tripled as companies

set up operations on each side of the border to take advantage of each country's competitive advantages. Overall relations are now the warmest in decades.

And over all, the terms of the trade agreement lopsidedly favor the United States. The pact brings Mexico into the international club of industrialized nations, and the many Mexican trade concessions in it are the intuition fee.

The biggest Mexican concessions involve banking, insurance and securities, which will now be open to American and Canadian competition and investment. Mexico has also pledged to lower its barriers to politically touchy corn imports, allow in American and Canadian advertising companies and continue supplying the United States with oil during international crises.

President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico has already dismantled many trade barriers in a successful attempt to attract foreign investment and use foreign competition to force Mexican businesses to invest in modernization. As much as \$20 billion in foreign investment has poured into Mexico in the last 18 months.

On the face of it, American concessions have been more modest, in part because the United States already has the fewest trade barriers of any large industrialized country. This is not to say that the United States made no concessions — indeed, some Democrats have charged that concessions hitting their traditional constituencies were made merely to hasten a deal in time for President Bush to trumpet it at the Republican convention.

Some cite the American negotiators' agreement to exempt Mexico quickly from the current 25 percent tariff on imported pickup trucks. Mexico currently produces few trucks, but reducing the tariff would make truck production there more attractive. Mexico's agreement to eliminate its Byzantine controls on car imports is not a fair trade, they contend.

American consumers will most easily see the agreement's effects in lower prices for Mexican goods like drinking glasses, beer and oranges as the accord gradually eliminates customs duties within North America. American officials believe that wiping out all duties will help United States exports to Mexico more than Mexican exports to the United States because of Mexico's higher tariffs.

The Bush campaign, dominated by Republicans from the West and the border states, says it plans to make the agreement a centerpiece of the President's re-election effort.

"Trade is one of the central issues on which President Bush is going to run for re-election," Victoria Clarke, the chief spokeswoman for Mr. Bush's campaign, has said.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

U.S., Britain and France Warn Baghdad on Shiites

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 11 — The United States, Britain and France warned President Saddam Hussein today that they might come to the aid of the Shiite Muslims of Iraq's vast southern marshlands if he continued to oppress them, just as they aided Kurdish refugees fleeing his armies in the north last year.

The warnings came at a special Security Council meeting called to hear a report on human rights violations in Iraq by the former Dutch Foreign Minister, Max van der Stoep, who is investigating Iraq's human rights record on behalf of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

The three countries that sent their armed forces to carve out safe havens for Kurdish refugees last year accused President Hussein of continuing to oppress both the northern Kurds and the southern Shiites in violation of Security Council Resolution 688, which demands an end to all internal repression in the country.

America's United Nations representative, Edward J. Perkins, recalled that after the Council decided Baghdad's attacks on the Kurds were a threat to international peace last year, the United States agreed to "additional measures" to help prevent further Iraqi repression. "Now not only in the north but also in the south that situation still exists," he said.

Recalls 1991 Kurdish Exodus

Britain's representative, Sir David Hannay, also recalled that his Government had felt that "last year's massive exodus of Kurds into Turkey and Iran" was so serious that "measures had to be taken" to prevent the population being further repressed.

"That situation now appears to exist in the south of Iraq as well as it did last year in the north," he added.

France's Deputy Representative, Jean-Marc Rochereau de La Sablière, gave a similar veiled warning, recalling that his Government had helped set up the Kurdish safe havens last year and now feels that "today a situation just as serious exists in the south."

"The international community cannot remain indifferent to the situation of the population in the south," he added.

All three countries accused Presi-

dent Hussein of conducting a systematic military campaign against Shiite Muslims living in the southern marshlands around the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

They said they were being subjected to regular artillery barrages, armed attacks and bombing and strafing by fixed wing aircraft and helicopter gun ships.

"One of the most serious new developments is the use of fixed-wing aircraft, including jet fighters, for the first time in bombing Shiite villages in the south," Mr. Perkins said.

Back on the Defensive

The warnings come at a time when President Hussein has been boldly defying the Security Council's gulf war

Charges of continued oppression.

cease-fire terms, and diplomats say they intend to humiliate and push him back onto the defensive.

In recent weeks, Iraq has sought to obstruct United Nations arms inspectors seeking out its weapons of mass destruction. It has refused to renew an aid agreement with the United Nations, rejected the Security Council's offer to let it sell oil to feed its people and refused to accept a new boundary the Council demarcated with Kuwait.

The Shiites of the inaccessible southern marshlands have long been a center of opposition to President Hussein's Government. They are believed to receive assistance from neighboring Iran and have provided refuge for many leaders of last year's unsuccessful Shiite uprising that came after the gulf war.

A Ban Is Considered

The United States, Britain and France have been considering banning Iraq from flying planes over the southern marshes and demanding a withdrawal of its forces from the area, just as they are committed to shoot down Iraqi planes flying near the Kurdish safe havens and have forced Bagh-

dad's army to withdraw a safe distance from them.

At today's meeting these three countries also demanded that Iraq renew a aid agreement with the United Nations that it is trying to cancel and accept the continued deployment of lightly United Nations guards throughout its territory to protect relief workers.

And they informed Baghdad that it remained in clear violation of Resolution 688 by continuing its economic blockade of the Kurdish north as well as of the southern Shiites.

In his report to the Council, Mr. van der Stoep also severely criticized Iraq for failing to renew this aid agreement at a time when public health conditions are deteriorating in the country and the blockaded Kurds and Shiites face increasing difficulties.

He accused Baghdad of seeking to drive the Shiites out of their traditional lands by resettling them in government controlled villages just as it brought the Kurds down from the northern mountains by force in the 1980's and resettled them in areas under its control.

He said the Government was draining areas of these marshlands in order to deprive the Shiites of their distinctive, 3,000-year old culture. And he criticized a vast new irrigation project President Hussein has recently begun in the south of the country as threatening ecological disaster in the marshlands.

In what may prove a conciliatory move, Iraq has invited Jan Eliasson of Sweden, the top United Nations official in charge of aid, to visit Baghdad next week to discuss the future of the organization's relief program there.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

With Rabin Beside Him, Bush Lauds Israelis

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — After several years of cool relations between the Bush Administration and Israel, President Bush hailed Israel today as a "strategic partner" of the United States, as he and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin announced their agreement on a much-delayed package of \$10 billion in loan guarantees.

With Mr. Rabin beside him outside the Bush family home in Kennebunkport, Me., the President said they had agreed on the "basic principles" of the loan program, which would cover five years.

He asked for swift action on the guarantees, which he had held up for more than a year because Mr. Rabin's predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir, had refused to impose a freeze on construction of settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Then, returning to Washington, Mr. Bush told Congressional leaders from both parties that he would send them loan-guarantee legislation within two days. Prospects for passage appeared good.

Senator Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, Democrat of Vermont and chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on Foreign Operations, expressed delight at the announcement, particularly since the loan guarantees would be linked to Israeli economic reforms and limits on further settlements. "I can get it through the Senate," he said, adding that his panel would take up foreign aid shortly after Labor Day.

Congressional officials predicted that the loan guarantees would have a somewhat more difficult time in the House, but that Democratic leaders there would push hard for approval.

It is not known if the legislation would require renewal every year or would be in the form of once-only approval of the full amount over the five-

year period.

As Mr. Bush and Mr. Rabin tried to inject a new tone of warmth and friendship into a relationship that had become severely strained, the Israeli called the President's decision "a significant step."

"We shall also carry as much as possible of the burden, of the financial burden, of the guarantees so as to lessen any cost to the American taxpayer," the Prime Minister said. "But your readiness to extend it following our discussions means a lot to me and to Israel, and again, thank you very much."

Israel wants to use the loan guarantees to help resettle immigrants from the former Soviet lands.

The United States will not be lending money to Israel, but guaranteeing that Israel will repay money it borrows. This will allow the Israelis to borrow from commercial banks at favorable terms.

The appearance by the two leaders this morning ended a 24-hour stay at the President's home, which was intended to signal an end to the tensions in the American-Israeli relationship, as well as present a warm, personal relationship in contrast to the obvious tension between Mr. Bush and Mr. Shamir.

"It was a true pleasure for Barbara and me to spend this time with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Rabin," Mr. Bush said. He added, "We could not be happier than to have them visit us here at Kennebunkport, this very special place for me and my family."

He added, "The meetings were also significant for the tone of the discussions. Our time together can best be described as a consultation between close friends and strategic partners."

Although Mr. Bush's advisers were hoping that the accord on loan guarantees and the improvement in relations would calm election-year criticism of

Mr. Bush's policies on Israel, the President said he had no political motivation in reaching his decision.

"We're not talking here about domestic United States politics, nor are we talking about domestic Israeli politics," he said. "We're talking about principle, about doing what is right."

But Mr. Bush acknowledged that it "isn't easy" to separate his actions from the campaign and added, "I'm going to finesse that."

Offering the kind of reassuring language that American Jewish groups have complained was missing from his comments on Israel over the last three and a half years, the President spoke several times of Israel's "strategic importance" to the United States, signaled that he was ready to move forward with military cooperation between the two countries, and reaffirmed Washington's longstanding policy of assuring that Israel has a "qualitative military edge" over its Arab neighbors.

Before agreeing to support the loan guarantees, American officials said Mr. Bush had sought a personal explanation from Mr. Rabin about the distinction he was drawing between construction of "political" settlements and those his Government considers "security" settlements. The leaders gave no elaboration on this distinction.

Asked today if he agreed with Mr. Rabin's definitions, Mr. Bush said: "We understand the position and all I will say is that I salute this change. We salute what the Prime Minister is trying to do. We understand his position. He understands our position. And obviously, we would not be going forward with this loan guarantee if we did not salute the change."

The Times Book Review,
every Sunday

Republican Platform

Drafters Alter Wording on Tax Stand to Avoid Embarrassing Bush

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 11 — To avoid embarrassing President Bush, the drafters of the Republican Party's platform today moderated sections they had approved on Monday that called the 1990 budget agreement the President signed a "mistake" and that promised to try to repeal the tax increases that were part of that agreement.

Instead, the platform will call the tax increases that were part of the budget agreement with Congress "recessionary," blame Congressional Democrats for them and call only for their "ultimate" reversal.

The changes were made at the request of Charles Black, a senior campaign adviser who is monitoring the platform drafting for the Bush camp.

Underlying Tensions

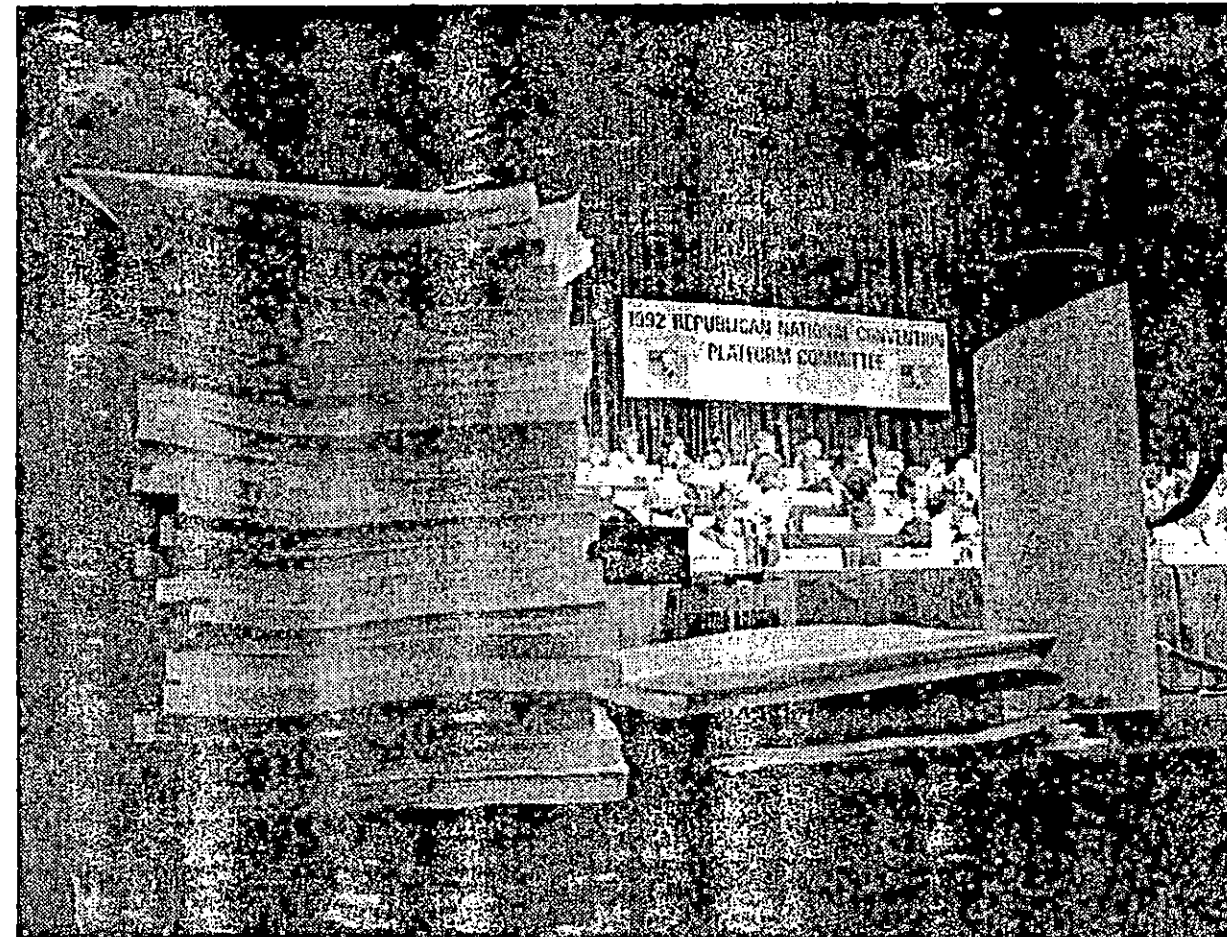
The changes are cosmetic and the dispute, by itself, seemed a tempest in a teapot. But it illustrated the underlying tension between the President and some diehard Republican conservatives who are upset that Mr. Bush broke his no-new-taxes pledge and want him now to be more aggressive on cutting taxes.

Mr. Bush himself has characterized the budget agreement as a mistake, but he has couched it mainly as a political error rather than as a substantive one.

John Taylor, a Stanford economics professor who served for two years on Mr. Bush's Council of Economic Advisers and is now on the campaign staff, said in an interview today that the tax increases by themselves had hindered economic growth but that the budget agreement altogether had been good for the economy, especially because it led the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates.

Mr. Black told reporters that the Bush campaign wanted to keep the platform "a positive vehicle."

The two conservative Congressmen who had sponsored the "mistake" language Monday — Vin Weber of Minnesota and Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania — said they were amenable to



F. Carter Smith for The New York Times

Copies of the Republican Party's platform sat on a table during a meeting of the drafters in Houston.

the changes the Bush campaign requested.

Wary of the Democrats

"The mistake was that it caused a recession," Mr. Walker said of the budget measure. Mr. Weber said the Bush camp feared that if the platform accused Mr. Bush of a "mistake," Democrats would use it out of context in campaign advertisements.

Mostly, the drafters spent today going through the platform language line

by line and adding more rigidly conservative planks. For example, an amendment was approved specifying that passing out condoms and needles would not cure AIDS.

When a delegate from South Dakota tried to add a plank saying that the party opposed using the image of American Indians to sell products, she was found to be violating Republican-style political correctness and was defeated.

The delegate, Mary Wiese, said the Sioux in her state were offended by the advertisements for Crazy Horse Malt Liquor. But an overwhelming majority of delegates said the party had no business violating a company's First Amendment right to advertise the way it wished.

Don't miss Sunday's Times Magazine.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush Angrily Denies a Report of an Affair

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — President Bush today angrily denied a published report, based on a purported interview with a man who is now dead, that he had an affair with an aide in 1984.

"I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN," Mr. Bush said when a reporter for Cable News Network asked him about the report during a news conference in Kennebunkport, Me., with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

"In this kind of screwy climate that we're in, why, I expect it," Mr. Bush said. "But I don't like it and I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

The New York Post today published an article that said he had a sexual relationship with Jennifer Fitzgerald, who was an aide to Mr. Bush when he was Vice President and now works at the State Department's Protocol Office.

The newspaper article was based, in turn, on a book about a Washington lobbyist, "The Power House," by Susan B. Trento. A footnote in Chapter 14 quotes Louis Fields, an ambassador to the nuclear disarmament talks in Geneva, who died in 1986, as saying that he had arranged for Mr. Bush and Ms. Fitzgerald to use a guest house during

an official visit that Mr. Bush made to the talks in 1984. Ms. Fitzgerald routinely traveled with Mr. Bush at the time as part of her official responsibilities.

Marlin Fitzwater, Mr. Bush's spokesman, was furious. He told a reporter, that the CNN correspondent, Mary Tillotson, "will never work around the White House again."

Later, in an Oval Office interview for the NBC program "Dateline NBC," Mr. Bush was asked by the interviewer, Stone Phillips, "Have you ever had an affair?"

Mr. Bush, who had warned Mr. Phillips as he began his question that he might end the interview, tried to brush off the issue. "I'm not going to take any sleazy questions," he said. "I gave you a little warning. You see, you're perpetuating the sleaze by even asking the question, to say nothing of asking it in the Oval Office, and I don't think you ought to do that, and I'm not going to answer the question."

Similar reports were raised during Mr. Bush's first campaign for the Presidency four years ago. Earlier this year, Gennifer Flowers, a former cabaret singer in Arkansas, said she had had an affair with Mr. Bush's Democratic opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Excerpts From a Talk With President Bush

Following are excerpts from an interview with President Bush yesterday by Stone Phillips of NBC News, as transcribed by NBC News.

MR. PHILLIPS: Mr. President, Dan Quayle — he's your man. You're sticking with him. But is it true, as we have heard, that he has come to you and offered to step aside if you thought that could help?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I'm sure he'd do that, I'm sure he would do that.

Q. Has he done it?

A. Well, we had discussions, but it never got to that, because I told him you have my confidence. It never got to that.

Q. But has he made it clear to you that if you felt he was becoming a detriment to the campaign that he would, in loyalty to you —

A. I'm sure he would, yes. But I don't — I'm not even considering that. And this man has been brutalized in many ways, yet he's out doing a good job; he'll do very well in his debate against his opponent there. He's a respected member of the Senate. And I don't quite understand the flurry of these concerns again, just in last month or so. But he has my full confidence. And I stand by people; I don't peel off, you know what I mean?

Q. Mr. President, the nature and character of this year's campaign has been that allegations about the candidates' private lives have been in the air. How did we get to this point?

A. I don't know, I don't know. And it's not pleasant, it's ugly to go after your family and children. But it hasn't happened before this campaign. I've been through quite a few, and I don't know what it is. But it's ugly and I don't want any part of it. And I think the media needs a little discipline on this, to be very honest with you.

Q. Governor Clinton has been asked directly —

A. Be careful now, because this interview might end.

Q. So let me ask you. Have you ever had an affair?

A. I'm not going to take any sleaze questions. I gave you a little warning. You see, you're perpetuating the

sleaze by even asking the question, to say nothing of asking it in the Oval Office, and I don't think you ought to do that and I'm not going to answer the question.

Q. You were asked this morning to respond to a very specific allegation which you very strongly denied, and I was not asking a more general question because I think it goes to the point of character —

A. And I've just given you the answer. I've just answered the question for you. That's it.

Q. What does and does not belong in a Presidential campaign, what issues should and should not be discussed. It has been said that you are often able to take the high road because others who work for you take the lower road and get the shots in, so that you're able to have it both ways. How do you respond?

A. I respond that going after — legitimately defining an opponent's record is not the low road. And I have full confidence in what my campaign is doing. And it's ironic that after you've been attacked month after month and you start to fire back a mild volley — they haven't seen anything yet — the other side starts yelling "negative campaigning, low road." So there's no plan, no design out of which the President stays on the high road — I want to do that incidentally — and then somebody else is out on the low road.

Q. Isn't a reference to "bimbo explosions" by one of your staff people taking the low road?

A. Is it any worse than what you've asked about today? Is it? Do you have any basis to accuse me by inference of anything?

Q. I didn't accuse you of anything.

A. No, you didn't, but you've perpetuating it — and that's the problem with the sleaze business. What happened there, they were quoting the words of the Clinton campaign person. And I didn't like it, and I said don't do it again, because it does perpetuate sleaze.

Q. But the issue of character has been raised in this campaign, even by your own people. And without going to the specifics of the reports that came out this morning, it seems fair to ask you in a general sense the question.

A. ... And then suddenly, after years in public service and a very happy marriage, I am hit by a wave of questions like yours sitting here today. And I should think you'd be a little ashamed of yourself, because it just is beneath — you don't intend it this way, but it just drags down the

ON A GAY CHILD

"I'd love that child. I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to convince people that this was the normal life style."

PRESIDENT BUSH

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

political process. That's why I've told you that's all I'm going to say about it.

Q. Mr. President, former Senator Barry Goldwater, your party's Presidential nominee in 1964, is saying that the anti-abortion stand will make the Republican convention quote, "go down in a shambles" and will cost you the election. And polls certainly show that American women are overwhelmingly pro-choice. Are you willing to write off all of those millions of women —

A. No, but I'm willing to do — what's popular, unpopular — I'm willing to do in this instance what you've just defined as take an unpopular stance. Because I feel it in my heart. It's a matter of conscience. And I love Barry Goldwater. He's helped me. I'm sure he'll help me this time. And I think he's going to be wrong about that. But sometimes, Stone, when you sit in this office, whether it's a matter of this kind of matter of conscience or whether it's on making a tough decision, you can't look at the polls. You've got to do what you think is right.

Q. Even if it costs you the election?

A. Well, that's what I'm prepared to do. And I've said that. You've quoted a great Republican statesman that says it might cost me the election. And I'm saying I'm not going to change my view. Here's how I feel. I err on the side of life. I think when a 13-year-old that's about to get an abortion, the parents ought to be consulted about that. Have to do it if they're going to pierce their ear, but not for an abortion. And I find that offensive.

So whether it polls out as popular or unpopular, I'm sorry, that's my position. But I wasn't elected to this office to run it for the polls. I wasn't elected to do that. I was elected to do what I think is right, and that means making tough decisions.

Q. Mr. President, how would you answer the question that was put to Vice President Quayle by Larry King, if your granddaughter, let's say, came to you and said, in a few years, I'm pregnant, I want to have an abortion?

A. I would talk her out of it, try to. But I'd do it — let me, let me rephrase it for you. If my granddaughter said: I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her. I think that's what the Vice President was saying — didn't, didn't mean he condoned the act. But he said he'd stand by his child. Of course I'd do that. My granddaughter, my son, my daughter, whoever it is.

We've done that all our life as a family. Not going to change that now. And so I, I think that's what, what Dan Quayle was talking about. It got a little out of sync in the translation. But do I, would I support my child? I'd put my arm around her and say, if she were trying to make that decision, encourage her to not do that, but, of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away, and we'd get back in the game.

Q. So in the end a —

A. That's the way life is.

Q. So in the — so in the end the decision would be hers?

A. Well, whose else's — who else's could it be? I want her to comply with — you know, I'd like to be able to influence for, for the belief I have. You see, I'm offended by one million, 500 thousand abortions. I'm offended by that lack of respect for life. So I'd try to say these values, but your question was if she went ahead and did it, what, what would I do. I think, and I'd say I'd, I'd love her.

Or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her.

Q. There are some who feel that the phrase "family values" is a kind of code and an indirect condemnation of people who choose different life styles, like homosexuals. Let me ask you this. If in a few years another of your grandchildren came to you, boy or girl, and said I'm gay, what would you say?

A. I'd love that child. I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to convince people that this was the normal life style, that this was appropriate life style, that this was the way it ought to be. But I, I — you know, for me, I think the Bible teaches compassion and love. But I would say I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a life style that in my view is not normal, and propose marriages, same sex marriages is a, is a normal way of life. I'm don't — I'm not — I don't favor that.

Q. But would you be accepting —

A. But I would love that child.

Q. Would you be accepting?

A. Accepting in what sense?

Q. Accepting of the life style that they would go on to lead?

A. Well, as I say, I would love that, I would love that person. And there's a difference between approving every step of the way and loving and treating with compassion.

And it's clear to me that the latter is what I'd want to do, and I wouldn't, I wouldn't — you know — condone necessarily of something that I felt — that I felt was, was not right.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush, Asked in Personal Context, Takes a Softer Stand on Abortion

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — As the Republican Party drafts a platform that demands a constitutional ban on abortion, President Bush today struck a less absolute tone on the issue when he was asked how he would deal with an abortion in his own family.

During an interview in the Oval Office taped for broadcast on the NBC News program "Dateline" tonight, Mr. Bush said that if one of his granddaughters came to him as an adult and said she wanted an abortion, he would argue against it but ultimately support her.

"Of course, I'd stand by my child," Mr. Bush said, responding to a question like one that was put to Vice President Dan Quayle last month about his own daughter. "I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game," Mr. Bush said.

Although Mr. Bush is on the record supporting a ban on abortions except in cases of rape, incest or when a woman's life is threatened, he said that in the end the decision would be the wom-

an's. "Well, whose else's — who else's — could it be?" he said. (Excerpts of the President's remarks appear on page A15.)

Differences Are Suggested

In the same interview, Mr. Bush was also asked what he would do if one of his grandchildren was homosexual, and he gave the same pledge of personal support for the child.

His answer on abortion seemed to suggest that Mr. Bush would personally leave the final decision on abortion up to the person expecting the child, even though his Administration and party have the official view that this choice, as a matter of constitutional and statutory law, should not belong to an individual.

Mr. Bush's aides moved quickly to say that his response did not mean he was advocating abortion rights. And Mr. Bush himself repeated his recent vows to maintain a strong public stand against abortion even if it costs him votes. "I wasn't elected to this office to run it by the polls," Mr. Bush said.

Advisers to Mr. Bush also said he was not trying to consciously modulate his position on abortion for campaign purposes. They said he had attempted, perhaps clumsily, to answer a question on which he finds it difficult to express himself.

But Mr. Bush's response, just as Mr. Quayle's own tortuous reply on the same issue and his subsequent attempts to clarify himself, only served to underscore the trouble the Republi-

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The Republicans

Bush, Asked in Personal Context, Takes a Softer Stand on Abortion

Continued From Page A1

can Party is having on the abortion issue.

The party platform now being drafted in Houston for the convention next week calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion, but some Republican strategists have been trying for years to accommodate the growing number of members of the party who do not take that stand. "One has to somehow hold open the door," a senior Republican strategist said tonight. "It's just never done very artfully."

In Houston today, the committee drafting the platform soundly rejected several attempts to modify the position against abortion and calling for the appointment of judges who would overturn abortion rights.

By a vote of 84 to 16, the platform committee rejected an attempt to drop all abortion language from the platform. By overwhelming voice votes, it also rejected one effort to relax the prohibition against abortion in cases of rape and another move to permit women to choose whether to have abortions.

Delicate Problem

The problem is ticklish for Mr. Bush, who was an early supporter of legalized abortions and became staunchly anti-abortionist only after joining Ronald Reagan's conservative Republican ticket in 1980. His response in the NBC interview suggested a more moderate view that many people who advocate abortion rights believe Mr. Bush still harbors privately.

But Mr. Bush's response, like Mr. Quayle's, left the Republicans vulnerable to charges from abortion rights advocates that they are ready to ban abortions, except when it comes to members of their own families.

"It sounds like Bush in a previous life," said Jane Danowitz, president of the women's campaign fund. "It reminds us of the George Bush that at one point in his life was pro-choice. At best, it also shows the discomfort that the people who carry the anti-choice message have with their position. At worst, it's hypocrisy to continually veto legislation that allows a woman's right to choose but to be in favor of it in your own personal life, your child's right to choose."

Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, called Mr. Bush's remarks "totally disingenuous."

During the interview, Mr. Bush was asked about a remark by Barry Goldwater, the former Senator from Arizona, who said the abortion fight could cost Mr. Bush the election.

"When you sit in this office, whether it's a matter of this kind of matter, of conscience or whether it's on making a tough decision, you can't look at the polls," he said. "You've got to do what you think is right."

Asked what he would do if a granddaughter wanted an abortion, Mr. Bush said: "I would talk her out of it, try to. But I'd do it — let me rephrase it for you. If my granddaughter said, 'I've done something terrible. I've robbed. I've stolen something,' I'd stand by her."

He said he was "offended" by the number of abortions performed in the United States and said that he would try to influence a grandchild to comply with his own beliefs. Then he concluded: "I'd try to say these values, but your question was what if she went ahead and did it, what, what would I do, I think, and I'd say, I'd, I'd love her. Or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Back on Track

Good for President Bush and Israel's new Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin. Their cordial meeting in Kennebunkport opens the way to quick approval of \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees for Israel and to real bargaining at regional peace talks to resume on Aug. 24 in Washington. Every bit as important, civility has supplanted sour contention in an old, valued alliance.

The new mood was as evident as the smile on George Bush's face, and in his hospitable embrace of the plain-spoken hero of Israel's great victory in the 1967 war.

The President angered many American Jews last fall by refusing to approve the loan guarantees while Israel persisted in widespread expansion of Jewish settlements in disputed Arab territories. But in a June election fought on peace issues, Israelis punished the pro-settlement Likud Government and turned to Mr. Rabin's Labor party. Thus Washington and Jerusalem are on parallel tracks heading into a sixth round of Arab-Israeli peace talks.

Confirming the new mood was a welcome decision by Mr. Rabin's Government to seek the repeal of a law prohibiting people under its jurisdiction from making contact with the Palestine Liberation Organization. So objectionable is this vague law that even former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir drew back from imposing criminal penalties on West Bank Palestinians who met openly with the P.L.O. chairman, Yasir Arafat.

Lifting that ban is the kind of conciliatory gesture long urged by Palestinians. So is the curtailment of new settlements by the Rabin Government. This means that the Arab side can no longer dwell interminably on Israeli inflexibility. The burden is now on Arabs to come up with serious, achievable proposals, beginning with interim autonomy arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza.

While parallel, American and Israeli purposes are not identical. There's plenty of room for differences about, say, "security" settlements, which Mr. Rabin strongly favors. But on two huge matters there is agreement: Israel's new Government accepts the idea of making genuine compromises for real peace, and it gives priority to investing in jobs and houses for Jewish immigrants from Russia and Ethiopia.

That has also been Mr. Bush's hope, for which he has been unfairly attacked. It was, after all, the Bush Administration that airlifted Jews from Ethiopia and changed U.S. immigration policies to encourage Soviet Jews to go directly to Israel. And Washington also orchestrated the successful campaign to rescind the detestable Zionism-is-racism resolution at the United Nations.

In all this, good politics and human decency have gone together; Mr. Bush has earned the right to take a bow.

Cholesterol: Still a Villain

To read the ever-changing reports about diet and health is to fear that you're damned if you do, damned if you don't. The newest example is cholesterol. For years now, people who don't know the difference between cholesterol and collateral have just known that a high cholesterol count — 240 units or more — is bad news. It still is.

True, several studies described in yesterday's Science Times reveal a curiously sinister side to especially low levels of this fatty alcohol substance in the blood — 160 units and under. People with such readings are far less likely to die of heart disease, but it turns out they are far more likely to commit suicide or homicide, and die from strokes, certain cancers, liver and lung disease.

Even so, it's not another occasion to lament damned if you do, damned if you don't all over again. As Dr. Antonio Gotto, a cardiologist at Baylor College of Medicine in Houston, explains, the association of these ailments with low cholesterol levels

isn't necessarily evidence that low cholesterol causes them. There can be many explanations for low cholesterol. Alcoholics, for instance, are apt to have very low cholesterol levels — and a higher than average association with homicide and suicide. But it is the alcoholism itself that is almost surely responsible for the low cholesterol, and not vice versa, given alcoholics' diets.

The new findings merit hard study and elaboration, not only to clarify an individual's possible confusion about cholesterol but about public policy as well. Medical authorities like the National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute and the American Heart Association are pushing for national dietary guidelines intended to lower average cholesterol levels.

Meanwhile, all that medicine knows with certainty is that people with high cholesterol run a high risk of dying of heart disease. The new studies, however fascinating, are no justification to run out for a New York strip steak and a side of fries.

The New York Times

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Doing Drug Business, With WBF

"The whole spectacle is disgusting," declared Colombia's attorney general, referring to prison conditions for Pablo Escobar. He wasn't talking about squalor or abuse of the infamous drug trafficker, who escaped last month. What disgusts him is the opulence of the Escobar confinement. The disclosure of such luxurious conditions raises new questions about Colombia's commitment to the war on drug cartels.

Pablo Escobar surrendered last year under President César Gaviria's program of allowing drug lords to turn themselves in if Colombia pledged not to extradite them to the United States. In order to entice the legendary leader of the Medellín cartel, negotiators agreed to let him choose guards from his home community and have some say over the design of his prison compound.

Colombian officials say they bought his argument that he needed to control his immediate environment to protect himself from rival drug barons. But he promised not to continue doing business from the prison.

Now the Colombian authorities look gullible in the extreme. Far from abstaining from drug business, he installed a computer and a cellular phone.

His other furnishings included a waterbed, a bar, a stereo system, a 60-inch color TV and "wbf," as they say in the classifieds — a wood-burning fireplace. After working out at his personal gymnasium, he could relax in his whirlpool bath. He used his hand-picked guards as waiters and bartenders.

The disclosures shame Mr. Gaviria's administration. He has continued to insist that his offers of negotiated surrender represent no retreat, and that drug dealers will be prosecuted aggressively. But Colombian courts have yet to produce a major conviction or a long prison sentence.

Colombian officials say they don't deserve to be written off as hopelessly incompetent or corrupt. They point out that it was their determined moves to regain control of Mr. Escobar by transferring him to a more secure prison that led to his escape. Rather than trying to cover, they disclosed the scandal of his accommodations. And they invited U.S. military help in the search for Mr. Escobar despite popular objections.

Even so, these are lame answers. The way he handled Pablo Escobar leaves Mr. Gaviria with the burden, now heavier than ever, of showing why his negotiations with drug barons still deserve support.

Topics of The Times

Whistling Down Ms. Ferraro

Geraldine Ferraro seems driven by the first law of political debates: If you think you're ahead, dodge them any way you can rather than give your opponents a platform. Such behavior may be inevitable, but the public can correct it by applying another law of political debates: Front-runners stop ducking when voters blow the whistle.

Polls show the former Representative now leads her opponents in the race for the New York Democratic Senate nomination, and Ms. Ferraro doesn't want to spend much public time in their company. She participated in seven early debates, but none after the one in mid-May during which her rivals roundly attacked her.

She's since turned down more than a dozen debates, and has agreed to only two more, and those only in the last week before the Sept. 15 primary. Why? Because she's busy campaigning, and because she's chosen to participate in the most "high profile" of the many debates offered, says her press secretary, Frank Wilkinson. He left out the more plausible explanation. Debates would give exposure to the other candidates — Attorney General Robert Abrams, City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman and the Rev. Al Sharpton.

But election campaigns are supposed to educate the public about issues and differences between candidates. Debates help that process. Ms. Ferraro, a veteran campaigner, certainly understands that she has an obligation to the public as well as to herself.

Wailing About Wails

A car is stolen every three and a half minutes in New York City. Yet car alarms are hardly the answer. They do far more to annoy whole neighborhoods than to deter thieves. They also encourage vigilante behavior among otherwise peaceable citizens.

The other night on a quiet stretch of East 74th Street in Manhattan, a station wagon erupted in rhythmic wails. The law says that alarms must shut off after three minutes. This one went on for an hour. Soon three neighbors converged on the car, each carrying a note filled with unprintable invective. They placed the messages under the windshield wiper, then retreated. This was polite revenge. Other citizens, jarred from slumber, have been known to slash tires and deface windows.

There are more reasonable remedies. The police are authorized to issue summonses. They rarely do. Local precincts refer most callers to the Department of Environmental Protection's noise complaint center, where a pleasant if weary operator says: "Sorry, it's the precinct's responsibility." Result: stalemate, followed by citizen justice.

A better remedy might be to ban car alarms altogether. Easily triggered — a heavy rain or a slight bump from another car can set them off — the alarms have relatively little value, according to auto-theft investigators. They say that devices that block access to the engine or cut off the fuel supply offer more protection. Thieves, it appears, are deaf to alarms. Not the neighbors.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

The Trade Pact — Plus a Tax

By Don E. Newquist

RECENT commentary on the North American Free Trade Agreement has framed the debate emotionally rather than in the practical terms the public needs to understand the accord.

Regardless of whether the agreement is approved by Congress — and, speaking personally and not for the International Trade Commission, I think it should be — workers, consumers and businesses must appreciate how complicated it would be to integrate the economies of Mexico, Canada and the U.S. And they must be able to understand the benefits and costs of carrying out such a huge enterprise.

Opponents and proponents of the pact agree that it could succeed only if worker retraining programs were expanded, the environment were protected and the crumbling infrastructure on the U.S.-Mexico border were modernized — all at a cost of billions of dollars.

Investments in labor and capital would enhance the agreement's effectiveness and promote free trade if these projects could be financed. Without such guarantees, low-skilled workers who lost their jobs to Mexico would have absolutely no recourse;

Don E. Newquist, Democrat of Texas, is chairman of the International Trade Commission.

for them, free-trade theory would become a bitter reality.

Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader, has proposed an ambitious idea to address dislocations. Central to his plan is a cross-border transaction tax that would, among other things, pay for worker retraining, environmental protection and construction of roads and bridges.

How to protect workers and the environment.

Many economists are horrified at the prospect of a new form of government intervention in trade, arguing that it would reduce efficiency in the marketplace and muddy the free-trade waters. But this view fails to understand that the border region needs a huge investment to address environmental and health problems.

On its own, the free-trade agreement would not change the system fast enough to deal with these problems. And it does not include the resources needed to meet the new social and economic pressures that population increases at the border would create.

President Bush has shown no leadership on the important domestic issues that the agreement raises. While

admitting that worker retraining would be needed to help Americans who lost their jobs, the President in his 1993 Federal budget once again recommended canceling the trade adjustment assistance program; this year, the program will provide \$200 million in benefits.

The U.S.-Mexico environmental plan the Administration unveiled in February is wholly inadequate, proposing a border clean-up less ambitious than the one promised by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico last fall. And on improving the border's infrastructure, which has long been short-changed and needs attention with or without the agreement, the White House has been virtually silent.

Because it is unlikely that Congress will approve the pact unless guarantees are made in the three disputed areas, there needs to be a fallback option that raises adequate money for the projects. A cross-border transaction fee would insure a stable source of financing. This tax would not be my preferred choice. But given the Administration's reluctance to finance these essential programs, the tax may be the only alternative.

The trade agreement could be a tremendous engine for growth and opportunity. But those concerned about the transitional disruptions it would cause should not be pigeonholed as protectionists. Rather, they should be praised for not letting blind ideological adherence to free-trade theory get in the way of their concern for U.S. industries and workers. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Blind, Not Incompetent

By Jay D. Leventhal

On a warm day this spring, I was walking back to my office after getting some cash at the bank. While waiting for the traffic light to change so I could cross the street, someone suddenly grabbed both my upper arms from behind.

Another violent street crime in the big city? No. I am blind, and it was a man who wanted to help me cross the street. He didn't say a word. I had no warning. He just walked up from behind and grabbed me. I jumped, spun around, and said: "What are you doing?" He said, "Excuse me," and walked away.

An isolated incident? No, this hap-

Jay D. Leventhal tests computer equipment for blind people at the American Foundation for the Blind.

pens regularly as I walk the streets using my white cane. People yell at me, push me, pull me and grab my clothes. Recently, as I was walking in my neighborhood, a man coming toward me said: "You are approaching the end of the block. The curb is about 10 feet away. Can I help you across the street?" I said, "No, thank you."

I had not asked for help; he simply assumed that I needed it because of my blindness and interrupted my quiet walk.

Once, near my office, a Con Edison crew was digging in the street. One of the workmen grabbed my suit jacket with his dirty glove and said he would walk me around an obstruction. I would have found the obstruction easily with my cane, but I did need help removing the dirt from my jacket.

People who can see do not acknowledge or respect the personal space of blind people. It stems from a combination of fear, pity and ignorance. From early childhood, people are

taught through religion and popular culture that, aside from death, blindness is perhaps the most awful thing that can happen to a person.

Seeing a blind person triggers anxiety: How could anyone possibly continue living without sight? People are unable to see me as just another person who dresses himself, takes the

Can't you
see I don't
need help?

subway, has a job, has hobbies and functions as a "normal" person.

People I've never met will ask me how and when I became blind — they would never ask a stranger who isn't blind for details of his medical history. During job interviews, I am asked about how I made it to the office rather than about my job qualifications. I often must make new acquaintances feel comfortable about my blindness before we can discuss politics or sports and become friends.

When a total stranger touches me on the street and I jump in surprise or yell or pull away, the person usually becomes angry or defensive or tells a passer-by how inconsiderate I am. But to me not only is the unexpected physical contact startling and sometimes frightening, the presumption that I need help is insulting.

It is still acceptable to assume blind people are incompetent. This is prejudice, and it is apparent in everything from the belief that a blind judge is incapable of serving on the bench to a waiter assuming that I won't be handling the check for my dinner date.

Blind people have reliable methods of traveling, using a guide dog or a cane. By distracting us, people interrupt this process. Suppose someone covered your eyes, turned you around a few times and then offered to help you get somewhere. Think about it.

We got to the point where you met us, and we're capable of getting to our destination the same way. We're also used to asking for assistance when we need it. If we don't ask, we don't need it. So the next time you see a blind person on the street, keep your hands to yourself. □



Horacio Fidel Cardo

Peace and Provocation in New York City

By Fritz W. Alexander 2d

The opponents of Mayor David Dinkins are concocting ever more fantastic tales about the events surrounding the Washington Heights disturbances that followed the death of Jose Garcia last month. Initially, police union officials said the Mayor turned Mr. Garcia into a "martyr." Then Guy Molinari, the Staten Island Borough President, said Mr. Dinkins had not supported the police. Finally, Rudolph W. Giuliani, writing on this page on Friday, criticized the Mayor's efforts to restore calm in the community. As the grand jury investigation of

Fritz W. Alexander 2d, former Associate Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, is Deputy Mayor for Public Safety.

the shooting moves ahead, these charges not only distort the facts but threaten to disrupt the peace.

Simply put, Mayor Dinkins sought to restore calm in a neighborhood that had erupted. The charge that he took sides against the police disparages the efforts of countless New Yorkers who walked the streets and worked with him to end the violence.

John Cardinal O'Connor joined the Mayor in Washington Heights on July 7. After that visit, he wrote in Catholic New York, "Unless tempers cooled, more people could be badly hurt or even killed, including police, and extensive property damage could accrue, with major losses sustained by the poor."

(The critics do not mention that the Cardinal accompanied the Mayor and that he joined Mr. Dinkins and Mr. Garcia's family at Gracie Mansion to appeal for calm. And they do not mention that the Cardinal has said, "I

really do believe that the Mayor wants a thorough investigation believable to all people.")

As Mayor, Mr. Dinkins has an obligation to be sensitive to the aspirations and hopes of all New Yorkers. To suggest that comforting Mr. Garcia's family was to "take sides" against the police in general or the officers of the 34th Precinct in particular spins a fantasy that only encourages dissension and, worse, risks further violence.

A mayor is not an investigator, prosecutor, judge and jury. Determining the facts in encounters between the police and civilians that result when a civilian dies is the responsibility of the criminal justice system. The Mayor is responsible for insuring that threats to peace in the city are minimized, if not avoided entirely. Joining these distinct functions — criminal justice and civic leadership — would jeopardize a fundamental tenet of democratic society.

The Mayor's critics have suggested that he portrayed Mr. Garcia as, in Mr. Giuliani's phrase, "an innocent bodega worker victimized by the police." As noted by Michael Tomasky in *The Village Voice*, however, the Mayor "himself issued no such por-

A mayor isn't supposed to be a police chief.

trayal of a 'pitiable, angelic' young man; the press did that."

It was also charged that the Mayor spread unjustified rumors when in fact he squelched them, his office quickly informing the press that the medical examiner's report had found no indication that Mr. Garcia had been beaten. Similarly, contrary to claims by Mr. Giuliani, it was not after "four nights of violence had passed" but on the Sunday afternoon after the Friday night shooting that I told the press Mr. Garcia had a criminal record.

Beyond a doubt, the record demonstrates that the primary reason the Mayor visited Washington Heights with the Cardinal and Police Commissioner Lee Brown was to assure that no further violence would occur and that a thorough and swift investigation would proceed. Mayor Dinkins did not "take sides" against the police officers. Indeed, the Cardinal wrote that he "did not perceive the slightest interest on the part of the Mayor to try Officer [Michael] O'Keefe in absentia, or to imply that the circumstances of Jose Garcia's death were other than reported by the police."

A month later, most New Yorkers realize we need healing, not histrionics. That is why the Mayor, on Commissioner Brown's advice, has moved to restructure the 34th Precinct, to increase the number of officers on duty and to improve cooperation between the police and people of Washington Heights.

After the Rodney King verdict and the riots in Los Angeles, many New Yorkers, including Mr. Giuliani, pressed the Mayor for his leadership in assuring restraint in New York City. But Mr. Dinkins's response to that crisis differed in no material respect from his response after Mr. Garcia was shot. In both instances, he succeeded in keeping the peace. If only his critics would have joined him. □

The New York Times

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Public & Private

ANNA QUINDLEN

Somalia's Plagues

The two children are the last survivors of their family, but not, it appears, for long. In news footage they sit naked on the ground, their spindly arms wrapped around one another, the inevitability of their imminent deaths in their sunken eyes. In their homeland, rent by internal power struggles, there is no food, and so they starve while worlds away the politicians puzzle over what to do.

But these children are not in Bosnia, now the center of world attention. They are in Somalia, an African country living through — and dying of — a lethal combination of clan warfare, drought and famine that has wrought what one U.S. official called the worst humanitarian crisis in the world right now.

Millions of people in Somalia are in danger of starving to death in the months to come. Hundreds will die today. Although the International Red Cross has mounted the largest relief effort in its history, it is too dangerous to take food to some areas, and supplies are often stolen by gunmen and sold by profiteers. Relief kitchens have graveyards flanking them, so that those who die on food lines may be buried while the line moves on.

Eurocentrism was a kind of catchword not long ago amid the scornful discussion of multicultural curriculums in the public schools. Were we going to throw out Shakespeare, cease to teach Magna Carta, minimize the role of Napoleon in world affairs?

But the truth is that we are a deeply Eurocentric nation, and for obvious reasons. Many of us have Euroroots, and from the beginning we have sought Euroalliances. When we hear of Serbian-run concentration camps we relate them, with renewed outrage, to the atrocities of Nazi Germany. When Americans see Bosnian orphans crying in the windows of buses, offers pour in to adopt them.

Bosnia, with all its horrors, is at the center of public and political dialogue and Somalia, with all its horrors, is a peripheral discussion. "It's racism," says Jack Healey, executive director of Amnesty International.

And a peculiar sort of myopic ignorance. Civil war and unconscionable internment in Bosnia seem man-made evils, subject to man-made solutions. But Africa is a mystery to our Eurocentric nation, even to many African-Americans. Its troubles seem like Old Testament plagues, irresolvable and inevitable.

There is nothing inevitable about

the corpses littering the landscape of Somalia. There are no easy solutions for a nation of nomads who have been prevented from planting crops by the ravages of civil war, a country that has almost no government aside from village elders in dying towns.

There are no easy solutions in the former Yugoslavia, either, where factional hatreds are a tangled web stretching back centuries. But there is now sharply focused attention by the international community on what should be done and who should do it. Somalia deserves that same intense attention, from George Bush, Bill Clinton, the American people and our allies abroad.

The United Nations has agreed to airlift food into the interior, but that is neither an adequate nor a long-term solution. Senator Nancy Kassebaum, who sits on the Senate subcommittee on African affairs, supports the use of an international force of soldiers to make sure food shipments get to the people. But she also says the United States must have a continuing commitment to development in African nations instead of a crisis manage-

There's more than one world crisis.

ment approach.

Just a year ago some of us, unsuaded by the high moral principles involved in giving our all for cheap oil, were saying that America could no longer afford to police the world. With the President's gulf war bluster about liberation, we lost sight of the best reason to involve ourselves in foreign affairs — because it is sometimes obviously the moral thing to do.

The new Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, an Egyptian who is the first leader of the U.N. from the continent of Africa, has referred to the Bosnian conflict as the "rich man's war." He means it is a white man's war. Eurowar, in its combatants, its victims and its international interest. That makes aid no less necessary. Just as the color of its children must make no difference in our help for Somalia. Surely our attention span can encompass two mortal crises at once. Surely our empathy can transcend race.

Next Comes the Political Review of the Free Trade Agreement

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

A trade agreement by Canada, Mexico and the United States cannot go into effect until it is approved by Congress. And before Congress votes next year, an important event will intervene: the election in November.

If Bill Clinton is elected President, he will certainly want to put his own stamp on the deal. That might mean re-opening negotiations with the Canadians and Mexicans. Or it might mean recasting the legislation put forward by the Bush Administration to set the pact into effect.

If President Bush is re-elected, he will face relentless demands from Congress for more money to retrain workers who lose their jobs because of the agreement and for new assurances on environmental protection. Most of this has almost nothing to do with trade policy and almost everything to do with politics.

Clinton as a Free-Trader

At heart, Mr. Clinton is a free-trader, his economic advisers report. But he has been campaigning around the country saying he could get a better trade deal for Americans than Mr. Bush has.

"I believe we could have a free-trade agreement with Mexico that would be good for the country," Mr. Clinton said in Davenport, Iowa, last week, "but I don't know if it would be the kind Mr. Bush would sign."

So once in office, Mr. Clinton could hardly accept the agreement the Bush Administration has struck, without adding his own twist to it.

What is more, Mr. Clinton is a Democrat. And while labor unions, the chief opponents of the trade pact, do not have the strength in his party they once did, they do provide Democrats with essential organization, enthusiasm and money. So Mr. Clinton cannot turn his back on them.

Bush and the Republican Faithful

For his own political reasons, Mr. Bush was eager to get the trade negotiations completed before the Republican convention begins next week.

First, he and his advisers want to use the convention to drive home the point that there are domestic benefits to Mr. Bush's skills in foreign affairs, and the trade pact helps the argument. Second, the Bush camp relishes the idea of using the convention as a forum for portraying Mr. Clinton as a mouthpiece for organized labor, a constituency that to the Republican faithful is tantamount to the devil.

As for Congress, countless members have promised during their own election campaigns that the trade agreement will be accompanied by ample job retraining and environmental protection measures.

Whatever Mr. Bush proposes in this regard, the lawmakers will almost certainly find insufficient, if for no other reason than to generate an issue so that they can show how they keep their campaign promises.

More than perhaps any other issue,

There will be a lot of hard bargaining in Washington after the elections.

trade causes dissonance between scholars and politicians.

Most economists have been trained that unfettered trade is the best policy, and they teach that to their students. On paper, it is the best policy. When all the economic benefits from free trade and all the benefits from protection are tallied, free trade almost always comes out ahead.

But politics runs on votes, not theories, and most politicians at one time or another have sought protection from international competition for their constituents. That is because while many people gain a little bit from free trade, a few people are often hurt a great deal.

Not surprisingly, the ones who are really hurt are the ones who cry the loudest — and the ones politicians tend to listen to.

In the case of the agreement with Mexico, the evidence is that it would promote economic growth, jobs and wealth throughout the continent, allow consumers to buy a greater variety of goods at lower prices and help

solve the problem of illegal immigration into the United States from Mexico.

Squeezing Pennies From Juice

To take one small example of how ordinary people and the overall economy would benefit, almost all families in the United States would pay a few cents less for frozen, concentrated orange juice if more of it was imported from Mexico. They would have that money to save, invest or spend elsewhere, money that probably adds up to millions of dollars throughout the country.

But rare are the politicians who would take a strong stand to save their constituents a few pennies on orange juice. On the other hand, most lawmakers would go to the mat to block the plan if it put citrus growers or producers in their states out of business or cost their districts jobs.

Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott of the Institute for International Economics have calculated that by 1995, the North American Free Trade Agreement would result in about 325,000 new jobs in the United States, while costing about 150,000 jobs. That sounds favorable. But it would probably not be apparent exactly which new jobs were the consequence of the trade agreement, while it would be absolutely clear which were the ones that were lost.

The strongest supporters of the pact tend to be in states along the Mexican border. A free-trade arrangement would allow businesses there to offer more goods and serv-

ices to the Mexican market. And growth in the Mexican economy would mean that fewer immigrants would try to cross the border illegally.

The most vocal opponents are in the Midwest. Workers there in the automobile industry and other manufacturing industries fear companies will move their plants to Mexico to take advantage of its lower wages.

So whoever is elected in November, political blood is likely to be lost next year over the trade agreement.

Once they are in the White House, Presidents tend to be free-traders, whatever their party and whatever they said during their election campaigns, and Mr. Clinton would almost certainly be no exception.

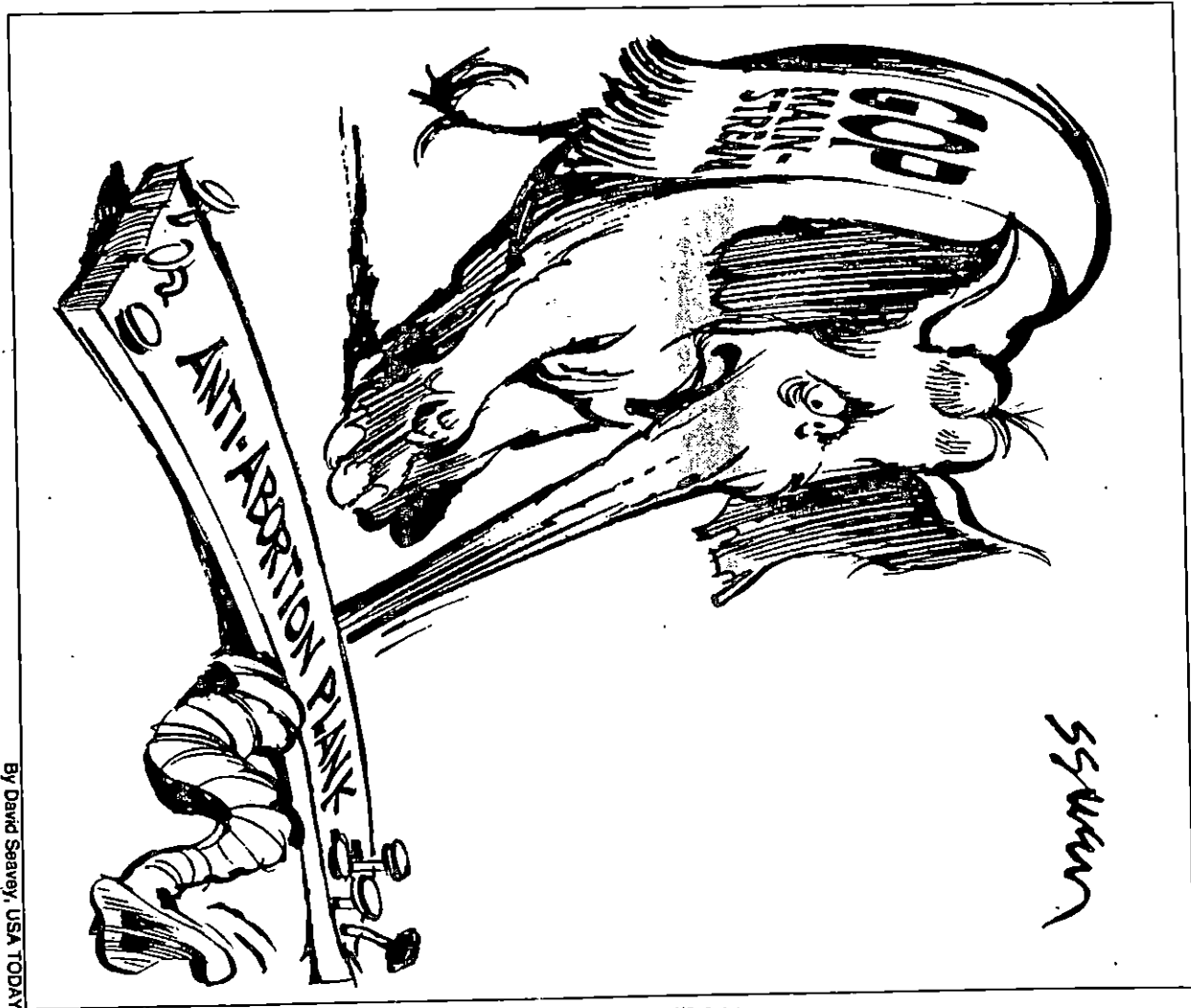
Presidents Take the Broad View

On balance, every President since the Great Depression has opposed trade restrictions. Stuart E. Eizenstat, who was President Jimmy Carter's chief domestic affairs adviser, explained why.

"Unlike congressmen or senators who represent narrower interests," he said in an interview, "Presidents must represent the broader economic interests of the country and must look at trade with a foreign policy perspective."

But Presidents have not always gotten their way with Congress. Whether Mr. Bush or Mr. Clinton could is an open question.

EDITORIAL PAGE



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

Jennifer, Gennifer

On another subject, USA TODAY says voters must put campaign scandals into perspective.

Now it's George Bush's turn in the tabloids.

The latest dirt: An alleged tryst in 1984 between then-vice president Bush and an aide, Jennifer Fitzgerald, reported in Tuesday's *New York Post*. The source: A former CNN reporter who says former U.S. ambassador Louis Fields, now dead, told him in 1986 that he arranged the rendezvous.

Bush says it's a lie.

Rumors about Bush's alleged affair have been around for years, but no one has found enough evidence for a story. Now the media will disgorge notebooks from the failed investigations.

That's exactly what they should do. Not to titillate or pander, an option wisely rejected earlier, but to help voters separate fact from rumor.

The same approach was used when Gennifer Flowers, an Arkansas state employee, claimed she'd had a long affair with Gov. Bill Clinton.

Voters have their own obligation: Weighing a possible scandal against every other facet of a candidate's profile:

What does he have in mind to bring down the deficit? How will he protect the country's security and bring about prosperity? How well does he perform under pressure? What kinds of people does he surround himself with? Is what he says different from what he does? Does he have a coherent health-care plan and a way to pay for it?

Whether voters see allegations of marital infidelity as insignificant or as potentially fatal blots on a candidate's character, they have a right — and a responsibility — to decide based on the facts.

► Cover story, 1A

Today's debate is on **DEFENSE IN SPACE**
and whether "star wars" should be fully funded.

Don't ground 'star wars' — just tether it

OUR VIEW Cut back funding for space-based defense system; it's unneeded and too 'iffy.'

Question: What's a two-word definition for misdirected?

Answer: "Star wars."

Strategic Defense Initiative advocates want to rush ahead and deploy a space-based missile-defense system even though no urgent missile threat exists.

Their gripe this week: A cut in SDI funding from \$4.3 billion to \$3.3 billion.

The lesser funding would continue development of both ground-based and space-based interceptor missiles but at a lower level than star warriors want, especially for space weapons.

Proponents of the rockets-in-the-sky approach say SDI is needed to protect against accidental missile launches from former Soviet states or intentional ones from rogue nuclear nations.

Their all-or-nothing arguments don't make sense.

The threat of an inadvertent launch from ex-Soviet states is being handled by consolidating weapons in Russia and reducing their nuclear stockpiles.

The immediate threat posed by rogue nations isn't from intercontinental missiles. They're at least a decade away. The real threat comes from tactical weapons, like Saddam Hussein's Scud missiles, which can strike U.S. forces abroad.

The best way to handle that threat is to provide \$1 billion, as the Senate bill would, to develop better defenses against those short-range missiles.

Pushing for rapid deployment of either a ground-based or space-based system could waste billions the nation can't afford.

After spending \$27 billion over eight years on SDI, experts remain divided over whether any method will work.

Deployment of a ground-based system could cost \$25 billion, but it might not cover the nation's coasts very well.

A space-based system could push costs to \$100 billion, but could it react quickly enough to a short-range attack?

More research and testing can answer such questions. And that is what the \$3.3 billion in Senate funding would provide.

SDI needs to get its bearings before it barrels down a road paved with more and more taxpayers' dollars.

Fund this one to fly

OPPOSING VIEW If we can buy just one defense program, make it 'star wars': It's the best deal going.

If Congress had to choose to buy one defense program for continued strong funding, it should be the Strategic Defense Initiative. We have the capability to defend ourselves and our friends against aircraft, ships, tanks and terrorists — but no capability to defend ourselves against ballistic missiles.



By Daniel Graham, director of the High Frontier "star wars" advocacy group.

While other threats decline, the threats of accidental or unauthorized attack, brought about by disorder in the former Soviet Union, or deliberate missile attacks by the world's Saddam Husseins, grow fast. By the turn of the century, some 20 developing nations will have these weapons; half will have nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

The threat of a deliberate, all-out So-

viet missile attack is gone, but thousands of warheads remain pointed at the United States. If only one is fired, by accident or intent, damage would far exceed the cost of the defense that could stop it. At June's summit, Boris Yeltsin offered to join in a global protection system against missiles. Why can't Congress?

Tinhorn dictators understand that getting a few long-range missiles with mass-destruction warheads is of great value so long as the United States and its allies choose to remain totally vulnerable to these weapons. Nuclear arsenals let them gain prestige and world attention. The American public learned from Desert Storm that we must and can defend against ballistic missiles.

We have the capability to put into space a defensive system to protect people everywhere from the expanding threat of ballistic missile attack. Such a defense would do much to prevent the inevitable small wars from escalating and remove the urge of irresponsible leaders to acquire missiles.

It is hard to think of a government program more valuable than SDI to our society and economy — to our future.

COMMENT

The \$296 stubbed big toe

These Iraqi terrorists were trying to kidnap some nuns and the *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit models, see, and when I jumped in to break it up, I bummed up my foot pretty badly.

Many people find this version a lot more fun and only slightly less believable than the truth: that I caught my stocking foot in a mounded throw rug and hyperextended the phalangeal bone of my left big toe.

You'll know when this happens.

There's the nuclear pain — and a sharp snap like you haven't heard since the day your teacher shattered the ruler against the desktop.

I was reluctant to go to the emergency room.

Still, there was the blood — and the little matter of wanting to be able to walk again. So I hopped in at about 7 p.m. on a Thursday, a reasonably slow time in the trauma industry.

I was bent over the admissions desk, watching my foot bleed and answering a clerk's



By Dick Hitt, author, *Classic Clint: The Laughs and Times of Clint Murchison Jr.*

questions as my wife joined us.

"What is the name of your nearest relative or friend not living in your household?"

Tough one. My mother died in 1989, the same week she was released from a hospital after pneumonia. The bill was \$18,000. There's my wife's father, but we wouldn't want to bother him because he's been ill with something they haven't quite diagnosed after \$6,000 for the last round of tests.

So my wife mentioned a local friend, Dixi Clay. The clerk tapped the name into the computer, then asked, "Is her address so-and-so and her phone number such-and-such?"

Yup. "Scary," my wife said. "Big Brother stuff." The woman shrugged. "We don't give out this information to the public." But they have it.

I was admitted fairly quickly — possibly a housekeeping decision due to my bleeding toe. Electronic gadgets also made quick work of mapping my temperature, weight and blood pressure. But then I waited another 20 minutes, when a woman wheeled me to X-ray for a 10-minute wait.

They took four X-rays from a glistening device that seemed to fill half the room and must have cost as much as a cruise missile. "The first two didn't show enough of the tissue," said the technician.

"But is anything broken?"

"Oh," she scolded, "only the doctor can tell you that."

"I don't think it's broken," said the doctor, wiggling the toe. So much for the X-rays.

Cost for my three-hour hospital stay: \$296 — not counting the consultation by the radiologist, who may or may not have decided the X-rays showed anything broken.

It's more than I care to spend on a weekday evening, but there's a price to pay for the wondrous medical feats I saw — and for knowing Dixi's home phone number.

INTERVIEW

Black groups need 'new tactics, leaders'

Professor Aldon Morris says groups are so tied to traditional ways they are not meeting black problems head on.

Aldon Morris is chairman and professor of sociology at Northwestern University in Chicago. As the Southern Christian Leadership Conference holds its annual convention this week in Dayton, Ohio, the civil rights expert explains in an interview with USA TODAY's Sharon Shahid the changing black community and the need for new leadership at the top of black organizations to keep up with those changes. His comments:



Morris

"At this juncture, black organizations need the kind of leadership that can deal with the contemporary problems confronted by the African-American community. They have to give some very serious thought to how to develop a young, dynamic leadership within the African-American community. The older leaders have to know that what they did was important, but each generation is given challenges, experiences and insights that can go beyond the leadership of their elders. They need to try to come to grips with generating bold new strategies and tactics to bring about change. Until the Urban League, the NAACP, the SCLC and other groups are creative enough to get their financial support from the black community, they are limited in their vision and in what they actually can do."

On why he thinks many groups are out of touch with mainstream blacks: "I would certainly have to say that when you look at what is happening in the black community, especially in the inner cities, and given the levels of poverty and neglect, if the civil rights organizations aren't addressing those kinds of issues head on, then they are going to really miss the gravity of what is happening within those oppressed communities. Part of the problem stems from the fact that the mainline civil rights organizations are so tied into their traditional ways of doing things, that's the reason why they aren't addressing these things head on."

Black status

The median household income for blacks in 1990 was \$19,758, up 1.4% from 1980, but significantly lower than the \$31,435 for whites. Other trends:

Below poverty line

'80	29.9%
'90	29.5%

Children below poverty line

'80	37.8%
'90	38.8%

Unemployed

'80	11.8%
'90	7.8%

Source: Census Bureau

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

Any group of people who are caught in the kinds of circumstances that you have in the inner city, where they are crowded on top of each other, where there are no jobs, where there's anger and hostility, you are going to have this kind of violence and crime. The whole problem of police brutality is another major issue that has not been solved. Also, African-Americans are so aware that racism hasn't gone anywhere, that it remains an important issue they have to deal with daily. Another thing is that many members of the black community are well aware of the international picture and, in many ways, they share a similar fate with non-whites in other parts of the world. They're very concerned about foreign policy as it relates to places like South Africa and Haiti. Another problem is education. You could go on forever."

On the presidential election: "The African-American community is caught in the traditional dilemma it often finds itself in, and that is they must choose between candidates who are not focused directly on solving the problems of the African-American community. Bill Clinton pushes the whole idea of racial harmony, but he has not yet come up with anything concrete that would bring about the sort of change where you can have racial harmony. He has not outlined anything that would change the fact that black people make only about half of what whites make in this country. He has not solved the problem of coming up with any solutions that would increase the decision-making power of African-Americans in this society. And, certainly, the Bush administration is simply more of the same. We already know from the Reagan era through Bush that there are no creative solutions or even political will to bring about any fundamental change on the racial front."

On the L.A. riots: "There's a message in the L.A. riots that is often overlooked. It's easy in this country, given the racial history, to simply view these things as black-white confrontations. But if we really look at the faces of the L.A. situation, what we saw were many other groups — Hispanics, whites, along with African-Americans — who were participating in that rebellion. And we need to ask, 'What does that mean?' rather than simply saying that it was a confrontation between blacks and whites. What that uprising suggested is that poverty and inequality cut across racial and ethnic lines and, even though the black community is disproportionately affected by these problems, they're certainly not limited to the black community."

On preparing for the 21st century: "That's the million-dollar question. I don't think that black or white leadership has come up with any viable solutions to deal with the questions of poverty, corporate irresponsibility or how we restructure the school system so everyone can be educated so they can function as productive citizens in the 21st century. These are the kinds of issues that are confronting us as an entire nation."

My Self-Determination, Your Extinction

■ **Balkans:** If the world can't prevent the breakup of states, it must ensure the rights of their overnight minorities.

By **MICHAEL REISMAN**

Self-determination is a basic human right, and it's great if you belong to the right self. If you don't, you're in trouble. When one group decides to self-determine, other folks in the neighborhood, folks with the wrong skin or religion or dialect, discover they've just been "unserved." For them, self-determination means "get out." Of course, people don't leave their homes voluntarily. They have to be persuaded. That means killing them until everybody gets the idea.

Naturally, the survivors want revenge. More people die hideous and gruesome deaths. A lot more, because the technology of killing and taking revenge has become quite user-friendly. Self-determination killing doesn't require skill. It doesn't have to be accurate. Most anybody who wants to can get into this aspect of self-determination.

Fortunately, traveling has also become easier. So millions of folks who don't want to be self- or unself-determined can pack up and scamper to peaceful countries where the good people are all for the idea of self-determination. But there's a catch. The good people in those peaceful countries don't want too many refugees.

After a while, the served and the unserved and their ammunition are exhausted. Their new little states have gotten about as self-determined as they can. That doesn't mean that peace is at hand. Across the new borders, memories of self-determination sustain the old hatreds. If there's one thing everyone has learned from the experience, it's that your old neighbors who seemed so nice were really "them." Everyone knows you can never trust "them." So now you need a large army and a big, big, arsenal to protect your self-determination. Self-determination doesn't

create peaceful relations. Look how cordial India and Pakistan are, 45 years after their self-determinations.

A lot of recent history confirms all this, so when Slovenians and Croats began to agitate for secession, the United States and a number of West European states took the position that Yugoslavia as an entity must continue to be the framework; if the component republics wished, they could increase their autonomy by transforming into a confederation. Germany shattered that allied position by unilaterally recognizing Slovenia and Croatia. Bonn may have wanted to purge its image of fecklessness in the Gulf War or to demonstrate the power of the new Germany. It may have been responding to a single-issue Croat lobby at home. Or perhaps, as one German official lectured me at the time, Bonn actually believed that a world of ethnically homogenous states was more stable.

Poor Woodrow Wilson must be spinning in his grave. He introduced self-determination out of concern for human beings and their rights. The result in the territory that was Yugoslavia is a travesty of the principles that animated Wilson and a mockery of human rights. It's far from over, yet now that it has started, there's little that we can do. Except to learn an important lesson. If we continue to think about self-determination the way we did in Yugoslavia, what happened there will happen in many other places.

There's nothing obsolete about the idea behind self-determination. People should be able to choose their own governors. Governments should be politically responsive to the people, should not discriminate and should meet minimum human-rights standards. Other governments and international organizations should insist on all of this and use the means at their disposal to see that it's achieved.

This modern conception of human rights cannot mean knee-jerk support for demagogues who beat tom-toms in regions where many ethnic groups live cheek by jowl, just because they weave the words

self-determination into their chants. If self-determination for "their" people means the violation of others' human rights (or, for that matter, the imposition of a despotism on their own people), then old-fashioned political self-determination is not the solution. U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali put it about as bluntly as could be: "If every ethnic, religious or linguistic group claimed statehood, there would be no limit to fragmentation, and peace, security and economic well-being for all would become ever more difficult to achieve."

When composite states like Yugoslavia begin to fragment and the consequences are likely to be grim, the world community should press them to stay together. This does not mean that injustice can be ignored. We should insist on and promote new internal political arrangements that provide stability, economic realism and, above all, effective human rights. In ethnically mixed areas, secessions that would produce tribal mini-states should be discouraged by making clear to ambitious would-be leaders that they will not get international recognition or any of the indispensable political and economic goodies that go along with it.

This may not work across the board, and it may not always be peaceful. Even internalized struggles may require international supervision. And there may be occasions when the goal of a stable system of human rights for all will be better served by an internationally endorsed and supervised secession. But go slow, and remember that when one self-determines, another is unserved.

Given the mix of peoples in the neighborhoods of our planet, automatic self-determination for whomever shouts loudest for it is a prescription for tragedies like Yugoslavia.

Michael Reisman teaches international law at the Yale Law School and is a member of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. His most recent book is "Regulating Covert Action" (Yale Press).

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

PERSPECTIVE ON FREE TRADE

Mexican Pact Means More Jobs for All



Expanded employment in Mexico means a vast new market for U.S. exports; each \$1 billion will add 19,600 U.S. jobs.

By ALIZA CHELMINSKY

MEXICO CITY—The moment that a North American free-trade agreement among the United States, Canada and Mexico is mentioned, Americans immediately think of its effect on U.S. jobs—and rightly so. Interestingly, it is exactly this concern—preserving and increasing the number of U.S. jobs—that is one of the most visible benefits of a free-trade agreement. This is not only the opinion of Mexico's leaders, but it is also the conclusion reached by top U.S. negotiators for the agreement, whose very charge it is to preserve U.S. jobs.

All independent studies on the effects of the agreement have found that it would result in a net increase in U.S. exports into Mexico, considerably stimulating the U.S. job market.

American workers already make 70% of the goods that Mexico imports, and every increase in access to the Mexican market gives a strong boost both to U.S. exports and to the U.S. jobs supporting those exports. Currently, U.S. exports to Mexico support about 650,000 U.S. jobs. One independent study, conducted by the Washington-based Institute for International Economics, reports that free trade will result in a "net U.S. export expansion [that] should generate about 130,000 net additional U.S. jobs" by 1995.

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills says that decreased trade barriers have already benefited the American worker. She has pointed out that since Mexico joined the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs in 1986, thereby reducing the nation's tariffs on imports from 100% to 10%, U.S. exports to Mexico have more than doubled to reach \$28.4 billion. This increase alone

\$1 billion in exports to these consumers means 19,600 new jobs in the United States.

Still, some fear that a free-trade accord would also "export" U.S. jobs to Mexico as U.S. companies establish operations south of the border. This claim misses the central point of

transnational operations. As corporations find offshore production necessary for survival, it is no longer a question of whether to manufacture abroad, but rather where to do it. The alternative to cost-reducing foreign operations—one suffered by all too many major U.S. corporations—is going out of business or "downsizing" to a small fraction of the company's original capacity and employment.

A less obvious benefit from U.S. companies operating abroad is the increased buying power that foreign workers gain. This is where Mexico's advantages become undeniable. For comparison, consider the effects of an operating strategy in Asia. When American companies opt to build and operate facilities in Asian countries, they employ large numbers of Asian workers, do business with local Asian suppliers and generally stimulate the Asian economy.

How much does this benefit the U.S. worker? Unfortunately, not much. On average, Asian workers spend less than the equivalent of 2 cents of every dollar they earn on American products. So, companies that operate in Asia are generously stimulating demand for Asian products. It's easy to see where the interests of U.S. workers get lost in the equation.

In Mexico, workers spend six times more on U.S. products than their counterparts in Asia or Eastern Europe. U.S. companies investing in Mexico are fueling demand for American-made products, for both intermediate and finished goods. With operations just across the border in Mexico, American facilities do business with hundreds of local suppliers, either other

created 264,000 U.S. jobs.

Competitiveness in heavy manufacturing has been identified by U.S. business leaders, politicians and academics as the key to economic health for the long term; this is precisely why the issue of imported Japanese cars is so very sensitive in the United States. In U.S. trade with Mexico, the automobile industry is one of the primary U.S. sectors that has significantly benefited. Since Mexico's drastic reductions in tariffs in the mid-1980s, the number of U.S. automobile exports to Mexico has quadrupled, while exports in the telecommunications equipment industry—another strategic area for U.S. competitiveness—have doubled. U.S. exports of iron and steel to Mexico, which were running a \$12-million deficit four years ago, now register a \$300-million surplus. U.S. trade with Mexico in textiles and apparel also has reversed from deficit to surplus.

In short, both American companies and American workers benefit from the Mexican consumer. Mexico already imports \$295 per person from the United States—which exceeds the European Community's imports of U.S. goods by more than 10%—and a free-trade agreement would solidify and further improve this positive trade environment. U.S. firms would enjoy access to 100 million Mexican consumers by the year 2000. And every

American companies, or Mexican vendors, whose profits further bolster demand for U.S. products.

In addition to global production strategies, today's companies are increasingly looking to industry alliances. Thanks to an environment of decreased trade barriers, U.S. and Mexican firms are already turning to these cooperative strategies.

Agribusiness offers a good example. Mexican farmers in Ciudad Obregon, in the state of Sonora, have teamed up with the California-based agricultural firm Tanimura to maintain a constant supply of fresh produce. During the winter, when California vegetable production slows or is dormant, Tanimura now counts on Ciudad Obregon growers to cover shortfalls. The Mexican producers, on the other hand, are benefiting from new technologies for preserving freshness, provided by Tanimura, which enables these growers to serve more distant and sophisticated markets.

These successful endeavors, in addition to the plain, solid fact that increased trade with Mexico has already created thousands of U.S. jobs, offer the best possible argument for free trade.

Aliza Chelminsky is executive vice president of the Mexican Investment Board, a joint endeavor of the government and banking in Mexico.

A2 WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Comment

ON THE WORLD

Confronting the World's Second Hitler

*Saddam Hussein has defied
both George Bush and the
United Nations. Stopping
him now won't be easy.*

BY GEORGE W. BALL

PRINCETON, N.J.

Those familiar with the Allies' troubles in getting the Germans to do what they were told in the years after the World War I might well have anticipated what would happen if Saddam Hussein survived. Beginning with his unauthorized use of gunships to suppress the rebellions after the Gulf War, the Iraqi dictator has progressively probed the limits of the United Nations' willingness to enforce its resolutions to contain him—and he is prepared to do so again and again.

Why the Administration let Baghdad extend the freedom of movement of its gunships into southern Iraq last April is a total mystery. This ill-advised concession will allow the Iraqi regime to carry out its plans to drive the Shiites out of their homes, thereby consolidating Baghdad's control in the south. Even more destructive actions will follow unless there is a firm agreement not to make any further concessions to the intransigent Iraqi regime.

During the course of the Gulf War, George Bush called Hussein a "Hitler." No doubt that was largely wartime hyperbole, but the comparison erred principally in degree, not in kind. The Iraqi dictator has committed genocide. He attacked Iran, annexed Kuwait, drove the Kurds into exile and harassed the Shiites. He also initiated a program for building weapons of mass destruction that grew ever more alarming as its full dimensions were progressively exposed.

If Hussein is a second Hitler, the President, in pursuing the war, might well have followed the lesson learned by the Allies in 1945. Not only should Iraqi forces have been expelled from Kuwait, but their fighting power should have been destroyed and Iraq occupied. Their criminal government should have been deposed, its adherents purged from major positions in public and private life and its leaders tried as war criminals.

But Bush faced troubling obstacles, some of which were of his own making. The Gulf War coalition might succumb to internal dissension and fall apart before the full task was completed. The American public might grow weary of additional fighting as sophisticated weapons failed to do the job, casualties increased and the domestic economy sank deeper into recession.

But if America rejected an occupation, what could it do? Covert action was urged by its usual proponents, but an open democracy, like America's, cannot handle that sort of business very effectively. With its army and government destroyed, moreover, Iraq would likely become a cauldron of ethnic conflict and even splinter into three separate countries—a Kurdistan in the north, a Sunni Arab state encircling Baghdad and a Shiite nation in the south. Creating a Kurdish state would invite occupation by Turkey, Iran and Syria, all of which have large, disaffected Kurdish populations, while Shiite Iran would be tempted to take over a new nation of Shiite people over whom it now enjoys strong influence. For these reasons, the United States has supported the U.N. resolution calling for maintenance of Iraq's unity.

In view of the difficulty of maintaining the present economic sanctions and the unity of the coalition that Bush assembled with so much difficulty, one can clearly predict that increasing force will be required to keep Hussein on his present short leash. The Iraqi dictator blames all his nation's troubles on the United States and the United Nations, which, by their trade embargo, are, he asserts, trying to starve the people into submission.

Moreover—and this may be of controlling parochial importance in an election year—the fact that such actions have proved necessary will certainly be construed as a confession that, in 1990, the Administration made a mistake in not overthrowing the Hussein regime, when the coalition forces were already mobilized and on the spot.

The U.N. resolutions concerning Iraq provide a foundation either to impair Hussein's arms plans or to pave the way for a renewed war with Iraq when Hussein finally exceeds everyone's level of tolerance. The war-crimes-trial provision clearly is applicable to Hussein and his leading associates. They are already violating

Please see BALL, A3

George W. Ball, undersecretary of state from 1961-66, is the author of "The Passionate Attachment" (Norton), about U.S.-Israeli relations.

BALL: Confronting the New Hitler

Continued from A2

other provisions that could provide a plausible excuse, should one be needed, to renew hostilities.

Hussein, it is safe to predict, will continue his probing attacks. It is evident that he is more than generally aware of the shifting American mood as the presidential election in November nears. One should not dismiss the possibility that he may try a major move when he knows Bush is most vulnerable and least able to respond, possibly sometime in October.

What one should most acutely fear is a step-by-step repetition of the moves by which Hitler tore up the Treaty of Versailles. First, he violated rearmament restrictions, then marched into the Rhineland and finally began to gobble up other nations, starting with Austria. Similarly, Hussein still refuses to acknowledge the independence of Kuwait, he constantly violates air restrictions and he defies U.N. inspectors. He continues to violate the rights of his own people. Thus, if he and his regime are left in power and continue to pursue their present objectives, all the progress made by the United Nations will be negated.

What then is to be done?

The answer is both complicated and difficult, since it involves considerations not only of America's international obligations but also its internal politics.

One option is to maintain the pressure on Hussein but take no further actions until a new impasse arises. Meanwhile, one might hope that Hussein would die from natural causes or be removed by his countrymen

disaffected by the increasing pressure of the economic blockade.

Most Americans would love to see the last of Hussein. But very few people want another war and fewer still a long occupation. Efforts to assassinate him have not only failed but ended in the deaths of Iraqi civilians. Selected bombing of power plants and war-production facilities may only make the Iraqi people miserable without weakening their tyrant.

There is a renewal of agitation to think in terms of subversion, even covert operations. But the United States is not much good at that kind of operation, and, if history is any guide, we would almost certainly find ourselves with egg on our faces.

Congress and the President thus confront unpalatable options. This is not the kind of decision they should have to make in the politicized atmosphere of an election period. It would be far better to wait until the American people had installed a new government or renewed the mandate of the existing one. A freshly elected government of whichever party will have a normal honeymoon period in which the country can be conditioned to hard decisions, and those decisions can be made without undue concentration on their effect on domestic politics.

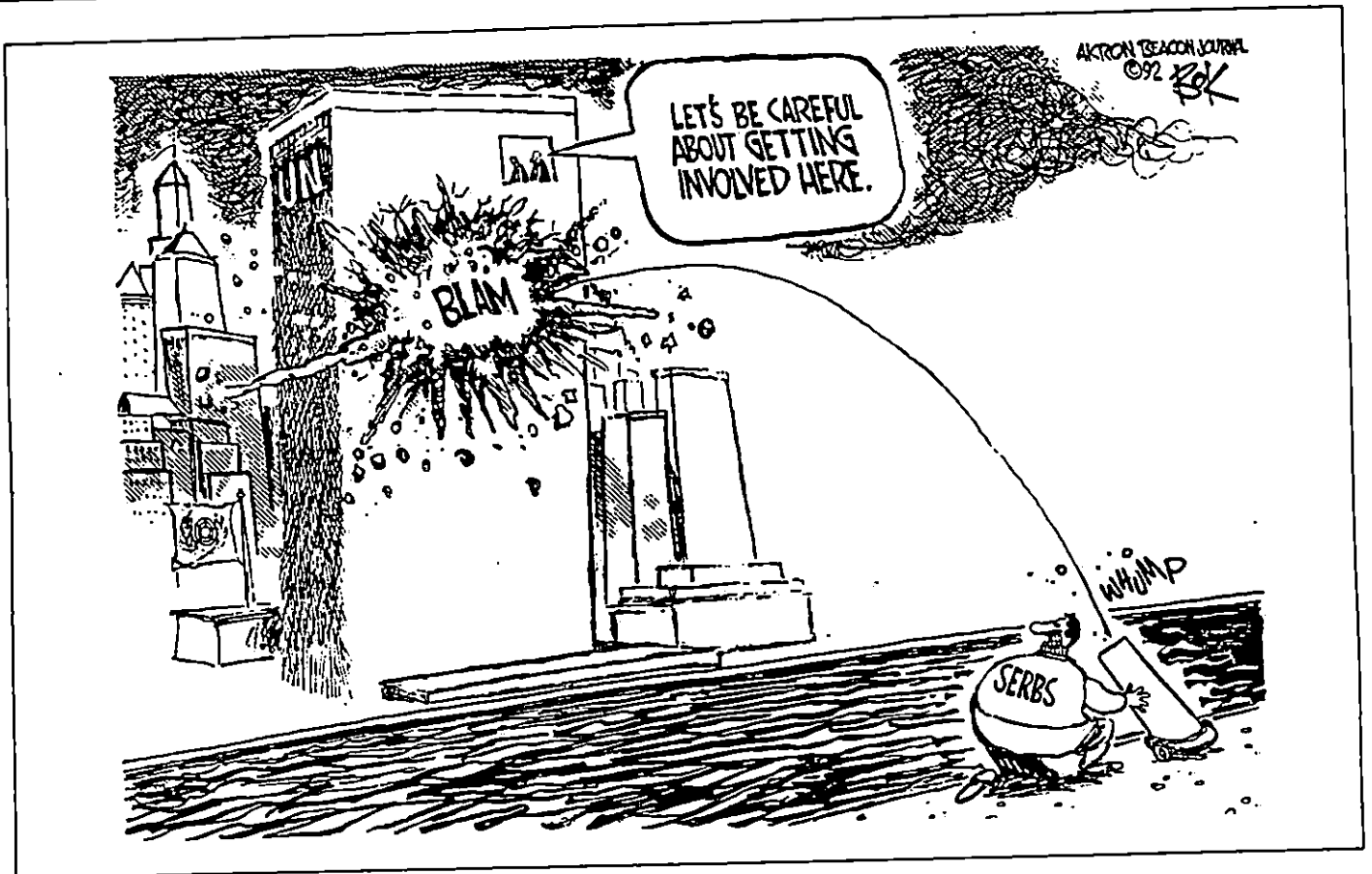
It is not a happy situation, but it is essential that the time between now and January be put to productive use in planning the measures needed to thwart Hussein's schemes and prepare the public for the possible trials ahead.

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

LOS ANGELES TIMES / WASHINGTON EDITION

Commentary



LOS ANGELES TIMES EDITORIAL

NATI

Officers Are Aiding Tailhook Investigation, Navy Chief Says

By MELISSA HEALY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Acting Navy Secretary Sean O'Keefe, the 36-year-old *Wunderkind* tapped to steer the Navy through its politically stormy times, said Tuesday he is confident that Navy officers are now cooperating fully with Defense Department investigators probing allegations of sexual assault at the 1991 Tailhook convention in Las Vegas.

The result, O'Keefe said, is certain to be an "unvarnished" report that will once more plunge the Navy into controversy. And O'Keefe—son of a naval engineer and until a month ago, the Pentagon's comptroller—is eager for the time of reckoning to come and go.

"If anything, this is the eye of the hurricane," said O'Keefe, who is using this relatively quiet interlude to rebuild the Navy's tattered credibility on Capitol Hill. When the report of the Defense Department's inspector general is completed, he says, "it's going to be another bounce all over again. But as long as this [report] hangs out there, we are on a rotisserie."

In the Tailhook case, scores of military aviators allegedly sexually harassed and molested as many as 26 women. O'Keefe said that in spite of his eagerness to put the case behind the Navy, he has not asked Defense Department Inspector General Derek J. Vander Schaaf, who is directing the investigation, for dates or details. He said he has asked Vander Schaaf

only to alert him to any resistance on the part of Navy personnel to the investigation. Since he has received no calls from the Pentagon's chief investigator, O'Keefe said, he believes that the lack of cooperation that tainted an earlier probe has ended.

"Everything that has been indicated to me . . . thus far in terms of the conduct of the review is that people are cooperating," O'Keefe said.

In his first news interview since he was named acting Navy secretary July 7, O'Keefe acknowledged that the Navy's credibility among lawmakers has suffered serious damage from its handling of the Tailhook case, as well as from a series of bungled or controversial programs, including the canceled A-12 fighter and the V-22 aircraft, which Congress has kept alive over fierce Pentagon objections.

That suspicion could hurt the Navy in positioning itself for future budget battles, said O'Keefe, the Navy's top civilian, who served for almost a decade on the Senate Appropriations Committee staff and then three years as the Pentagon's comptroller. And, he said, that is all the more reason he has labored to restore relations with lawmakers and shore up the Navy's position in tough budgetary times.

"The general impression on the Hill is that the Navy just is not cooperative, that [they are] anchor-draggers," O'Keefe said. "In the last 30 days, my impression is we've turned that corner a little

bit, the people are clearly understanding that we're not a bunch of Neanderthals. We're starting to get some credibility back. Is that important to the budget battle and debate? Sure, absolutely. If we're not perceived as being credible and straightforward in the way we're responding, we're never going to get the benefit of the doubt on a damn thing, and don't deserve to."

O'Keefe's openness not only has made him a regular fixture on Capitol Hill, where lawmakers said he is well-liked; it has made him the sounding board for disgruntled taxpayers, who have called him at home with their complaints and sought him out during visits to naval bases. Nor has he complained as lawmakers and critics have lined up to propose new checks and oversights on the conduct of future naval investigations.

"This is a public institution. It must be publicly accountable," O'Keefe said. "If there's certain behavior that is unbecoming of the standards the public expects, we have to be accountable for that, no question. So I don't think there's an intrusiveness or anything else."

But he added, referring to charges of widespread sexual harassment in the Navy: "It is an incredibly emotional issue, no doubt about that, and that makes it difficult. And every single thing you do to try to deal with the case is judged by some as too much, too little, too late, too this, too that. That, you can be absolutely sure about."

ON

By Chance, Scandal Snares Captain

■ **Tailhook:** He loses command for being the senior officer present at a bawdy show that he says took him by surprise.

By H. G. REZA
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN DIEGO—On June 18, Capt. Richard F. Braden decided at the last minute to stop for a drink at the Miramar Naval Air Station Officers' Club and later found himself swept up in the wake of the Navy's infamous Tailhook sex scandal.

One month later, a stunned Braden was told that his otherwise stellar 24-year Navy career had been irreparably harmed by his afternoon visit to the club. The flag rank that he had worked so hard for was now hopelessly out of reach, he said in a recent interview.

Braden, 45, was one of five officers stripped of command last month for either being present at or participating in the Tomcat Follies. The follies, a bawdy show put on each year by pilots at the Miramar club, included a sexually offensive skit directed at Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.).

Some of the disciplined officers have charged that they are victims of a witch hunt by the Navy brass. The officers and their supporters, including Rep. Randy Cunningham (R-San Diego), said the Navy is using them as scapegoats to appease politicians who are critical of the Navy's role in the Tailhook sexual harassment scandal.

The offensive skit at the follies included banners with sexually offensive messages directed at Schroeder. The congresswoman has been a vocal critic of the Navy's investigation of the 1991 Tailhook Assn. sex scandal.

Four of the five officers removed from command at Miramar were either commanding or executive officers of fighter squadrons involved in planning and producing the skits.

Braden's offense was that, through pure happenstance, he was the senior officer present at the club while the skits were being performed.

On July 24, one day after his commanding

officer, Vice Adm. Edwin R. Kohn, had assured him that an investigation had cleared him of any wrongdoing, Braden was stripped of command.

The admiral who supervised the investigation had noted in the report that aside from being the ranking officer at the club on the afternoon of the follies, Braden had no ties to the offensive skits and should not be disciplined.

However, Capt. Tom Jurkowski, spokesman for Adm. R.J. Kelly Jr., commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in Hawaii, said the decision to strip Braden and the other officers of command was "done jointly by admirals Kelly and Kohn."

Sources familiar with the Navy investigation said that Kohn had actually endorsed the report's recommendation that Braden not be disciplined but was overruled by Kelly. Spokesmen for both Kohn and Kelly have declined to comment on the report or its recommendations.

Of the skit that led to his downfall, Braden said, "I was not paying particular attention to the skits. It was not my intent to review them or to be part of them. The final banner in the skit was the inappropriate one. The contents of this banner came as a surprise."

According to Braden, after the show ended he pulled Capt. George L. Moe aside and expressed his concern over the offensive skit. Moe, commanding officer of VF 124, a fighter squadron, was in charge of the follies. The next morning, Braden expressed his concern about the inappropriate skit to Capt. Curtiss Schantz, the Miramar base commander, Braden said.

Kelly's decision to strip him of command devastated him, Braden said. He said that he was also hurt by former acting Navy Secretary J. Daniel Howard's comments about the Tomcat Follies on July 3.

But he also said that Kelly had little choice but to discipline him and the other officers, regardless of the investigation's findings, because of Howard's earlier comments.

"Secretary Howard used the words 'jerks and idiots at Miramar' to describe us. . . . Because of that, I knew it was going to be awfully hard for the Navy to find an equitable solution for this incident," Braden said.

WASHINGTON EDITION / LOS ANGELES TIMES

Proud Pravda Sells Out—to a Capitalist

By STEPHANIE SIMON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MOSCOW—After 80 years of bashing capitalists, Pravda has sold out to one.

The stridently conservative newspaper, once the mouthpiece of the Communist Party and now a harsh critic of Russia's reformist government, has ceded a controlling interest to a Greek businessman in exchange for financial security.

Battered by a mass desertion of subscribers, the sudden withering of once-lavish Communist Party subsidies and skyrocketing production costs, Pravda has been teetering on the edge of bankruptcy for months. Its problems were so severe that it had to shut down its printing presses altogether for 23 days in March and then cut back to three issues a week.

Desperate to save the paper, top editors have been scrambling to attract investors from abroad—even while Pravda's pages continued to browbeat Russian leaders for groveling for Western aid and selling off the country's assets to foreigners.

Readily forgoing principles for cash, Pravda's staff voted last week—with only one *nyet*—to create a joint venture with Steellight Holding Co., a Greek firm run by Jannis Jannikos, a Greek magnate in his 60s who—to the obvious relief of Pravda's editors—has ties to the Greek Communist Party.

Jannikos' party connection may be enough to satisfy his new employees in Moscow, but readers, accustomed as they are to the paper's weekly invectives against greedy international investors, may

**'If no one wants to read Pravda,
it would be more honest just to
close the paper.'**

VLADIMIR GUBAREV
A senior editor

resent the fact that a foreigner is in charge.

"It will be difficult to explain," conceded Alexander Ilyin, deputy editor in chief of Pravda, "but we needed to somehow ensure the paper's existence. If this arrangement ends Pravda's financial problems, that is the most important thing."

Die-hard believers, however, disagree. Vladimir Gubarev, a senior editor at Pravda who cast the lone vote against the joint-venture project, argued that "the name Pravda doesn't just belong to the people who work here now—it belongs to history. Selling the paper is shameful, an embarrassment."

Speaking slowly and sadly, Gubarev added, "If no one wants to read Pravda, it would be more honest just to close the paper."

The new joint-venture company, Pravda International, will soon take over publication of the four- to six-page newspaper, although the details of financing have yet to be worked out, Ilyin said. The Greek partner, who refused to comment on the deal, will reportedly control 55% of Pravda International's stock.

Nonetheless, Ilyin insisted that Pravda would retain complete editorial freedom—something the newspaper has enjoyed for less than one year. The Communist Party rigidly controlled Pravda's contents until after the failed coup by Communist conservatives.

"Pravda will still be Pravda," Ilyin said of the newspaper founded by V.I. Lenin in 1912. "We will preserve Pravda's political line, defending the interests of the common people."

As the official organ of the Communist Party, Pravda ("truth" in Russian) was for decades the Soviet Union's leading daily. The circulation peaked at about 13 million in the mid-1970s, despite the predictable dull speeches transcribed in full, trumped-up accounts of heroic factory workers and glowing paeans to the joys of life on a collective farm.

But, after a brief moment in the spotlight last August when Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin temporarily banned the paper after facing down the hard-line coup attempt, Pravda has all but vanished from public view.

The newspaper's circulation plummeted to 1.2 million in January and dropped below 1 million this summer, Ilyin said.

Colorado Senate Candidates Jockey to Be the Outsider

The three Democratic hopefuls in the primary vie to be seen as the typical, independent Westerner. Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell is leading as voters go to the polls.

By FLORENCE WILLIAMS
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

DENVER—When Democrat Josie Heath said recently that voters should support her in today's Colorado Senate primary because Congress needs more women, one of her two opponents had a ready retort.

"There are two women in the Senate and no Indians," said Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who is half Northern Cheyenne. "So they're ahead of us by two."

Campbell, the co-grand marshal of the 1992 Rose Parade, has established himself as the candidate to beat in a battle with Heath and former Gov. Richard D. Lamm for the Democratic nomination to succeed Colorado Sen. Timothy E. Wirth. The Democratic incumbent decided not to seek reelection.

Most recent polls have shown Campbell with a widening lead over Lamm, who in the 1980s became known as "Gov. Gloom" for his dire predictions about the nation's future, and Heath, a former county commissioner from Boulder.

The surveys have also shown Campbell running by far the strongest against the expected Republican nominee, former state Sen. Terry Considine.

A key to Campbell's momentum is that he consistently has bested Heath and Lamm at their own game: appearing as the heroic outsider.

"Colorado voters want to elect the typified, independent Westerner," said Colorado Democratic Party director Mike Armstrong. "All three candidates have maverick tendencies . . . but [Campbell] is especially appealing. He seems very Western."

Never mind that Campbell has become, in some ways, a Washington insider. Elected to the House in 1986 from a district encompassing rustic Western Colorado and the blue-collar city of Pueblo, he has paid careful attention to the needs of his area's mining and agricultural interests. The Almanac of American Politics rated him "very much a middle-of-the-roader."

In an effort to contrast Campbell's image with his record—and in a sign of

Colorado Senate Clash

Today's Colorado primary for the Democratic Senate nomination pits three distinctive politicians against one another: Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the only American Indian serving in the U.S. House, Josie Heath, who hopes to

join this year's lengthening list of successful women candidates, and former Gov. Richard D. Lamm, once known nationally as "Gov. Gloom."

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL

■ **Birth:** April 13, 1933, in Auburn, Calif.

■ **Education:** A high school dropout, received equivalency degree while in the U.S. Air Force. Obtained bachelor's degree from San Jose State University in 1957; was a research student at Meiji University in Tokyo from 1960-1964.

■ **Family:** Married, two children.

■ **Career highlights:** Won gold medal in judo at 1963 Pan-American Games. Became successful jewelry designer. Elected to the Colorado House of Representatives in 1982, served until 1986. Elected to the U.S. House in 1986. Member of the Council of 44 Chiefs of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Tribe.



JOSIE HEATH

■ **Birth:** Sept. 6, 1937, in San Jose, Calif.

■ **Education:** Bachelor's degree from Eastern Oregon State College, 1959, graduating magna cum laude; master's degree in education from the University of Wisconsin, 1960.

■ **Family:** Married, three children.

■ **Career highlights:** Taught high school in Wisconsin, Texas and Germany and was a professor at Denver Community College. Elected Boulder County commissioner in 1982, served until 1990. Unsuccessful Senate candidate in 1990; teaching fellow at Harvard University for several months after that election.



RICHARD D. LAMM

■ **Birth:** Aug. 3, 1935, in Madison, Wis.

■ **Education:** Bachelor's degree from University of Wisconsin, 1957; law degree from UC-Berkeley, in 1961.

■ **Family:** Married, two children.

■ **Career highlights:** After working as an accountant and lawyer for various private firms, served as attorney for the Colorado Anti-discrimination Commission in 1962. Served in Colorado House of Representatives from 1966 to 1974. Taught law in that period at the University of Denver and the University of Colorado at Denver. Elected governor in 1974, reelected in 1978 and 1982. Currently teaches at University of Denver.



Los Angeles Times

his emergence as the race's favorite—his two foes focused their fire on him in the campaign's closing days.

A television advertisement for Heath sought to depict Campbell as a closet conservative who is weak on the environment, gun control and children's issues.

A Lamm ad never mentioned Campbell by name, but clearly was targeting him with a barb at candidates who accept contributions from political action committees and run up "IOUs with every special interest."

Campbell, for his part, has been content to stress his life story.

Born in Auburn, Calif., the 59-year-old Campbell is the son of an American Indian father he says was an alcoholic and a Portuguese mother who suffered from tuberculosis. After his mother died when he was a young boy, he was raised in a series of Catholic orphanages.

A recent two-minute television spot featured Campbell at his ranch, riding his horse on the range and wearing a black

cowboy hat. It chronicled his rise from an orphan, high school dropout and migrant worker to Olympic athlete (captain of the U.S. judo team in 1964) successful jewelry designer, businessman and congressman.

"His past has molded him into a human being with a great deal of empathy for others," said campaign aide Carol Boigon. "We want people to know him and love him."

His opponents clearly have been frustrated by this tactic.

During a recent televised debate, Lamm, 57, complained that Campbell was "not the only one with life experience. I was a lumberjack in Oregon. I sailed a season on the Great Lakes. . . . I walked 888 miles around this state [in his first gubernatorial campaign in 1974]."

The bolo-tied Campbell responded: "He may have walked 888 miles, but he did it in \$100 Nikes. . . . I [walked] barefoot."

Heath, who lost a 1990 U.S. Senate election to Republican Hank Brown and is considered the most liberal candidate

in the current race, also has bristled at Campbell's emphasis on his humble roots. "Both of us come from backgrounds that were not privileged," said Heath, 54. "I scrambled my way up, was [raised] in rural Oregon and was the first in my family to go to college."

Attempting to turn Campbell's past against him, Heath charged that with his success, he has not been "willing to lower that ladder for others. He voted against family medical leave and against raising the minimum wage."

Heath also noted that despite Campbell's popularity among Colorado's environment-conscious voters, he received a mediocre 49% rating from the League of Conservation Voters. "It's a shock to me, but [Campbell] seems to get a lot from the myth that Native Americans are stewards of the Earth," she said.

Heath worked hard to get this far in the primary. After failing to win enough support at the Colorado Democratic Convention last spring to qualify for the ballot, she traveled the state in a yellow

school bus to collect the 20,000 petition signatures needed to do so.

Heath takes heart from the victory by former California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. in Colorado's Democratic presidential primary in March, pointing out that it was not predicted in the polls.

She also is hoping that in a year in which female Senate candidates elsewhere have enjoyed surprising success, her gender will fuel an upset in her own state. Much of her advertising has been targeted specifically to women. And although all three Democrats support abortion rights, Heath has been stressing that issue.

"More than any other candidate in this race, I understand how it feels to be told that I can't control my body," she said. "I'm not going to be one of the boys."

Lamm has been irked that, as the contest's one white male, he has had to prove his credentials as a foe of the status quo to some voters.

"Women and Native Americans are about as outside as you can get in the political arena," said Jim Carpenter, the former campaign manager for Wirth. "But, in some ways, Dick Lamm is the ultimate outsider. As governor, he was always on the cutting edge of issues and political trends."

Lamm himself said: "I'm an outspoken, noble guy. I make waves."

But Lamm, now a professor of public policy at the University of Denver, also has had to deal with his "Gov. Gloom" image, which took root during the last of his three terms as the state's chief executive. He became especially controversial when he suggested that keeping chronically ill patients hooked up to expensive machines was an inefficient use of resources.

"He said there was no point to prolonging the lives of people on life-support systems when there is no hope for them to lead a quality of life," said Tom Cox, his campaign spokesman. "But it got sensationalized to the point where the papers were reporting he said the elderly had a duty to die. That's not what he was saying at all."

Considered the unofficial favorite of the state's party leadership, Lamm inherited much of Wirth's campaign apparatus. But as the vote has neared, Lamm clearly was worried that Heath, who has been rising in the polls, could keep him from overtaking Campbell.

"I look at Josie's voters, and three-fourths of them used to be with me at one time," Lamm said. "It would be a closer race if not for her."

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Clinton Invokes Old Values of 'New South' in Miami Speech

■ **Campaign:** He appeals to regional pride in an effort to woo conservatives during meeting of state legislators.

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

MIAMI—Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton appealed to his fellow Southerners' sense of pride Tuesday, telling an assembly of the region's state legislators that GOP entreaties to "traditional values" placed President Bush in the White House but produced little benefit to their states.

"We never got anywhere, anywhere, anywhere in our part of the country by being sucker-punched [with] appeals to our traditional values," Clinton said in a speech to the Southern Legislative Conference meeting in Miami.

"Let us vote on our traditional values," he said. "Let us live our traditional values. Let us lift up our whole country by starting in the South and saying, 'Give us a new direction for our country.'"

Clinton's remarks were intended to pry the region's voters away from the GOP and to recapture the ballots of conservative Southerners. That strategy has been the linchpin of Clinton's campaign because Democrats have won neither the region nor the White House since 1976—when Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter did so. Like Carter, who beat President Gerald R. Ford, Clinton is the governor of a Southern state: Arkansas.

Although Clinton seemed to play up his audience's Southern pride, his comments also hinted at the sense of inferiority frequently directed at the region.

He acknowledged that education gaps, racial discord and economic production have held back advancement in states located below the Mason-Dixon line, but suggested the region has dealt with those problems with more candor and openness than other parts of the country.

"Don't you think the South has come a long way in the last few years?" Clinton said, citing foreign investments, lessened racial tensions and improved student academic achievement. "It's something I think most of us are pretty proud of. I know our region still has a higher percentage of poor folks than other regions of the country, but we've made a lot of progress."

Appearing before the bipartisan organization of lawmakers and their staffs, Clinton rarely mentioned Bush by name. But he criticized the record of his Administration and his party—which has controlled the White House for the last 12 years—saying the GOP had failed to improve health care in the South and across the nation.

"You ask the people you represent not to throw their vote away on the kind of rhetoric the people have gotten those of us in the South to be a sucker for for decades," he told the legislators. "Let's show them there is a New South and we're a lot smarter than they think we are, and that whoever gets our votes this time will have to respond to our hopes for our children."

Clinton also discussed his health care proposals, including a so-called "play-or-pay" plan that aims to insure every American. Firms would either have to "play" by providing health insurance to their employees, or pay into a federal fund that would cover those without insurance.

His plan would also require insurance-company

reforms and cuts in unnecessary paperwork that boost medical costs without improving benefits.

"Otherwise, you're going to have more and more and these [insurance firms] dividing up the health insurance markets to where the very ideal thing [they] can do is to insure a group of 15- to 25-year-old women, who spend two hours a day in the gym, don't smoke, don't drink, don't eat hamburgers, [and are] going to live forever. It's their only way to save money."

Clinton also attacked Bush's proposal to give vouchers to the poor and tax breaks to the middle class to help buy health insurance. "The [President's] benefits are completely consumed by cost increases in a year," Clinton contended.

Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan also spoke to the group, defending Bush's health care proposal. Sullivan, who preceded Clinton to the podium, gave the Democrat an opportunity to criticize White House policy without heaping abuse on the Cabinet's only black.

"He's a good fellow," Clinton said of Sullivan. "He's just got a heavy load to carry."

Clinton elicited his only standing ovation when he described how Bush would try to link him to the Democrats' past during the Republican Convention next week.

"You know as well as I do what's about to happen," he said, grinning broadly. "The other side is going to go down there to Houston and tell you [vice presidential nominee] Al Gore and I may have been born in Arkansas and Tennessee, but we're just a bunch of crazy, wild-eyed liberals. They're going to tell you that [Democrats] took us to New York City in a safe . . . and incubated us there for 20 years. We got their crazy ideas, came home and hid them for 20 years waiting for the opportunity to spring them on the rest of the country."

As the audience roared with laughter and applause, Clinton continued mocking his opponents' strategy:

"They're going to say every speech I gave on the Fourth of July in northeast Arkansas was a deliberate attempt to conceal my radical impulses. And we just can't wait to get into power in Washington, where we can take your guns away and trample family values and raise taxes on every poor, working person in America."

"I can hear them now."

The Democratic campaign also swept through New England on Tuesday as Gore toured a leading computer firm in Cambridge, Mass., saying that high technology will create jobs and keep America competitive into the 21st Century.

"It translates into real jobs for real people," Gore said, surrounded by colorful supercomputers capable of making computations at unprecedented speeds. "It sounds a little high-tech. And it is high-tech. . . . But in the competition we now face in the world marketplace, we've got to be willing to move ahead and create the jobs of the future."

Gore delivered his remarks during a visit to Thinking Machines Corp., a nine-year-old firm that makes the most powerful computers in use today.

Gore has been a leading advocate in Congress of science and technology, and in particular supercomputing. He is author of the 1991 High Performance Computing Act, creating the first national, high-speed computer network.

Times staff writer Edwin Chen contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

President Denounces as a Lie Paper's Story of Romantic Affair

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The issue of presidential candidates and alleged extramarital affairs returned to the political campaign Tuesday, when the New York Post published claims, contained in a footnote of a book, that then-Vice President George Bush and a female aide spent a romantic night together in 1984 in a private cottage in Switzerland.

Bush angrily denied the allegation at a news conference in Kennebunkport, Me., and later in an NBC broadcast and chastised reporters who asked about it.

"It's a lie," he said, in response to a question from a CNN reporter.

The allegations were raised in a footnote of a book entitled "The Power House" by Susan B.

Trento of Front Royal, Va. It alludes to an interview by Trento's husband, Joseph, with the late Louis Fields, former U.S. ambassador to arms control talks in Geneva, who allegedly said he arranged for the use of the cottage.

The Times, which learned of Trento's allegation last month from her agent, interviewed her extensively about it on July 17 and concluded there was insufficient supporting evidence to merit a news story.

Bush's remarks at the news conference—where he was accompanied by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin—were his first public comments on the allegations.

"I haven't responded in the past, and I think it's—I'm outraged. But, nevertheless, in this kind of screwy climate that we're in, why, I expect it," Bush added. "But I don't like it, and

I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

In an interview for the television program "Dateline NBC," broadcast Tuesday night, Bush again objected to questions about the allegations, telling reporter Stone Phillips: "You're perpetuating the sleaze by even asking the question, to say nothing of asking it in the Oval Office . . . I don't think you ought to do that and I'm not going to answer the question. . . ."

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, who earlier this year faced allegations of an extramarital affair, condemned the story in the New York Post.

"I didn't like it," he said. "I don't think it has any place in this campaign."

"I feel for him," he said of Bush. "I like him on a personal level. I like his wife. I just don't think it has to be a part of this campaign."

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Quayle Fires New Volley at Lawyers

■ **Politics:** The vice president, in Sacramento area, attacks ABA's liberalism, zeroes in on Anita Hill and Hillary Clinton.

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SACRAMENTO—In a single rhetorical blast, Vice President Dan Quayle on Tuesday renewed his battle with lawyers and derisively invoked the names of law professor Anita Faye Hill and Hillary Clinton, both of whom appeared at a legal convention last weekend in San Francisco.

Quayle, who concludes a three-day California campaign swing with an appearance in Orange County today, also sought to link the Democratic presidential ticket headed by Hillary Clinton's husband to California's "Big Green" environmental movement and one of its leaders, state Assemblyman Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica). Quayle asserted that because of that link, a victory in November by Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and his running mate, Al Gore, would further punish the battered California economy.

Quayle launched his attack on lawyers—or, more precisely, the American Bar Assn.—during an appearance in Sacramento before the conservative Christian Coalition, a group founded by religious broadcaster Pat Robertson.

Quayle, who has had a running battle with the ABA since he went before its convention a year ago and charged that too many lawyers were burdening the American economy, depicted the group as dominated by liberal Democrats.

Referring to the ABA's recent convention in San Francisco, Quayle said that "to ensure that no left wing base went untouched, [the group] gave one of their highest awards to none other than Anita Hill."

The reference to the Oklahoma law professor who last fall accused then-Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment brought hisses from his audience of about 200 people.

"And who did they choose to present this award to liberalism's hero of the 1990s?" Quayle asked. "None other than her fellow lawyer, Mrs. Hillary Clinton."

In fact, Hillary Clinton spoke to the luncheon at which Hill received her award on Sunday, but did not present it to her. Hill was honored by the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession, which Clinton headed until last year.

"Most Americans . . . believed Clarence Thomas and not Anita Hill," Quayle said. "That doesn't matter to the ABA: to them she is a heroine, because she led the attack against a man who happens to be both conservative and black—a combination that makes liberals fly into a rage."

The award made clear, he said, that the ABA leadership "is just one more special interest group of the Democratic Party. Now we know why Bill Clinton will never reform the legal system."

Asked at a press conference to elaborate on his comment on Hillary Clinton, Quayle said, "Obviously, if Hillary Clinton wants to be associated with Anita Hill, that's fine, that's her choice. But what it does show is that the Clinton campaign is clearly in the pocket of the ABA leadership."

The Clinton campaign was quick to respond to the attack.

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, said, "Everyone says stupid things sometimes, but Dan Quayle just does it more of the time than most."

"The President has no economic plan," he said. "All he can do is send Dan Quayle out to be his attack puppy."

Meanwhile, Jamiene Studley, a San Francisco lawyer and member of the Commission on Women in the Profession, said the award to Hill "was a recognition of courage, not politics."

"The commission believes the 85% of women lawyers who reported that they have personally experienced some form of unwanted sexual advances," Studley said. "We applaud and recognize Anita Hill's courage, dignity and continuing forcefulness in bringing the issue to the nation's attention."

Quayle's attack tied together several of the vice president's favorite campaign themes. He has sought again and again to establish that the Democratic ticket is too closely tied to interest groups with liberal agendas.

"If they're moderates, I'm a world champion speller," Quayle told the Christian Coalition.

Would Accept Kin's Abortion Option: Bush

■ **Politics:** The President, asked if it would be her decision, says, 'Well, who else's could it be?'

From a Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—President Bush said Tuesday that if his granddaughter became pregnant and wanted an abortion he would "try to talk her out of it" but would stand by her if she chose to terminate the pregnancy.

Asked if the abortion would be her decision, he replied, "Well, who else's could it be?"

Bush's statement that he would support the child—in response to a question during an interview with "Dateline NBC"—was similar to one made several weeks ago by Vice President Dan Quayle on CNN's "Larry King Live."

Both Bush and Quayle oppose abortion, and the GOP platform endorses a constitutional ban on the procedure.

"If my granddaughter said, 'I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something,' I'd stand by her. I think that's what the vice president was saying: [It] didn't mean he condoned the act. But he said he'd stand by his child. Of course I'd do that. My granddaughter, my son, my daughter, whoever it is.

"We've done that all our life as a family. . . . Would I support my child? I'd put my arm around her and say, if she was trying to make that decision, encourage her to not do that, but of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away, and we'd get back in the game."

When interviewer Stone Phillips

asked, "So in the end, the decision would be hers?" Bush responded: "Well, who else's could it be? . . . I'd like to be able to influence for, for the belief I have. You see, I'm offended by 1.5 million abortions. I'm offended by that lack of respect for life. . . . But your question was if she went ahead and did it, what would I do? . . . I'd say I'd love her."

Then Bush was asked what he would say to a grandchild who announced that he or she was gay.

"I'd love that child. I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to convince people that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way to be," the President said. "But I think the Bible teaches compassion and love."

"But I would say, 'I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a lifestyle that in my view is not normal, and propose marriages, same-sex marriages as a normal way of life. I don't favor that.'"

Asked whether he would be "accepting of the lifestyle that they would go on to lead," the President replied: "I would love that person. And there's a difference between approving every step of the way and loving and treating with compassion."

Bush and Quayle have spoken frequently about "family values" in campaign appearances, and Republican campaigners have sought to focus attention on support Democrat Bill Clinton has received from gay organizations. (1)

GOP Drafters Shift, Won't Call '90 Tax Hike a Mistake

By ROBERT SHOGAN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—Prodded by President Bush's reelection campaign, GOP platform drafters changed their minds Tuesday and decided to call the controversial 1990 tax increase agreed to by Bush "recessionary" instead of "a mistake."

Some Bush campaign strategists apparently feared that Democrats would use the "mistake" phrasing adopted in Monday's platform draft against the President, even though Bush himself has used similar language in describing his decision to approve the tax hike.

Republican leaders gathered here in this convention city sought to minimize the shift. "I thought what we did yesterday [Monday] was acceptable," said Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber, the author of the disputed phrases in the economic

section of the platform. "But they [Bush strategists] wanted some minor modifications, which is OK."

But the flap serves to remind voters of two realities: that Bush reneged on his 1988 "read my lips, no new taxes" pledge, and that his reelection campaign is still in disarray on the eve of his renomination.

And in another complication for Republican strategists, Bush said in a television interview Tuesday that he would "stand by his child" if his granddaughter chose to have an abortion. (Story, A18).

As his supporters here were beating back efforts to modify the party's longstanding call for a ban on abortion, Bush said he opposed abortion but would not turn away from a granddaughter who had one.

When asked on the "Dateline
Please see GOP, A6

GOP: Tax Hike Not a 'Mistake'

Continued from A1

NBC" show "so in the end, the decision would be hers?" Bush responded: "Well, who else's could it be?"

But it was the tax increase argument that captured most attention here.

"The guy [Bush] said it [the tax increase] was a mistake himself and why his people are reacting so strongly to this now is a mystery," said Don Devine, a former Ronald Reagan White House official and chairman of the Committee for a Conservative Platform. In March, Bush said that his decision to retreat from his campaign promise not to raise taxes "probably wasn't worth it," given the "political flak" that ensued.

Underlying Tuesday's rewrite of Monday's language was the tension between Bush and the conservative core of his party, which has always suspected his ideological credentials. This antagonism, suppressed during the 1988 election campaign and the early years of the Bush presidency, was revived by Bush's decision to support a 1990 tax increase to reach a budget agreement with Democratic congressional leaders aimed at reducing the deficit.

Conservatives have blamed that tax hike for contributing to the nation's current economic difficulties and for one of its major consequences—Bush's low standing in public opinion polls.

On Monday, members of the platform subcommittee charged with dealing with economic policy sought to shift responsibility for the tax hike to the Democrats, declaring: "Republicans believe that the taxes contained in the 1990 budget agreement were a mistake [and] should be repealed."

After a meeting Tuesday with Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign, the subcommittee added the assertion that the 1990 taxes had been "insisted on by the Democrats" and substituted the word "recessionary" for the words "a mistake."

Black said that his talks with the platform subcommittee were prompted by phone calls from the Bush campaign rather than the White House. But he pointed out that Robert M. Teeter, chairman of the campaign, "talks to the White House every hour."

And other Republicans here said that in private conversation Black indicated to them that he had heard directly from the White House.

"I would have just as soon gone with the [original] language, but the White House wanted some other language," said Pennsylvania Rep. Robert S. Walker, who was one of the chief supporters of the anti-tax language drafted by Weber.

Black himself said he was simply trying to make "a few adjustments to put the platform in sync with what our campaign has been saying."

Bush's comments on abortion created another source of confusion and distraction for the proceedings here, where his supporters were striving to get the abortion issue out of the way.

During nearly two hours of debate Tuesday, a series of motions to modify the total ban now advocated in the platform were soundly defeated. On the only roll call vote, the anti-abortion forces prevailed, 79 to 17.

"On this issue politically you must be consistent, you can't move from side to side," contended Howard (Bo) Callaway, former chairman of President Gerald R. Ford's reelection campaign. "And on this issue, the President has been consistent," Callaway said before he learned of Bush's comments about his granddaughter.

When he was informed of what Bush had said, Callaway seemed startled. "The pro-choice people may try to make something out of that," he said. Ann Stone, head of Republicans for Choice, one of the leaders of the fight to change the platform, contended that Bush's comments would help the effort to get platform language asserting that the party was open to a variety of views on the issue.

But Phyllis Schlafly, chairwoman of the Republican National Coalition for Life, one of the anti-abortion movement's most seasoned political operatives, appeared to take Bush's statement in stride.

"What else would you expect him to say? You can't get him to try to force his granddaughter to do something she doesn't want to do," she said.

Two leading California Republicans, Gov. Pete Wilson and Sen. John Seymour, both urged the party to modify its abortion stand. Wilson said if he were going to the Republican Convention—instead of staying home for state budget negotiations—he would vote to force the abortion issue to the convention floor. But in a letter to California's delegates he said they should be guided by their "own personal convictions."

Wilson acknowledged that "a divisive floor fight clearly does not serve our purpose" of reelecting the President because it "risks giving aid and comfort to our opponents."

In a statement to the platform committee, Seymour said: "The proposed restrictions in the platform are divisive. Our party needs to reach out to all types of people in 1992, particularly Democrats and independents, who are pro-choice."

Los Angeles Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

POWs Left in Laos, Perot Asserts

■ **Vietnam War:** He tells a Senate panel that U.S. officials 'covered up' this dark truth for more than 20 years.

By MICHAEL ROSS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Ross Perot told a Senate committee Tuesday there is "overwhelming" evidence the United States left POWs behind in Laos after the Vietnam War and that officials in successive administrations "covered up, dissembled and finessed" this dark truth for more than 20 years.

The Texas billionaire, who has been closely involved with the POW/MIA issue since 1969, cited a number of newly declassified documents, intelligence reports and information based on personal contacts to support his conviction that the Nixon Administration was so eager to extricate itself from Vietnam in the spring of 1973 that it prematurely closed the books on evidence that POWs were still being held in Laos.

"There is no question we left men in Laos, and I think I can prove it to any rational person," Perot said at the start of daylong testimony before the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs, a special panel set up last year to investigate the fate of the 2,266 military personnel still listed as missing in Indochina.

But in a series of feisty, often impatient exchanges with senators—in which he also spoke of having his life endangered more than once by Vietnamese assassination squads—Perot offered little new evidence to support either the claims of a widespread cover-up or the hopes held out by relatives of the missing that some Vietnam-era servicemen may still be alive in Indochina today.

"Look at the map. Just look at the map!" Perot said, gesturing to a map of Southeast Asia that the committee had marked with miniature flags illustrating the locations for hundreds of sighting reports about American servicemen received over the years. "Discount 99% of them. Discount 99.9% of them. . . . Even [if] we agree there is one living American held against his will," Perot said, ". . . we have an absolute obligation to bring that person home."

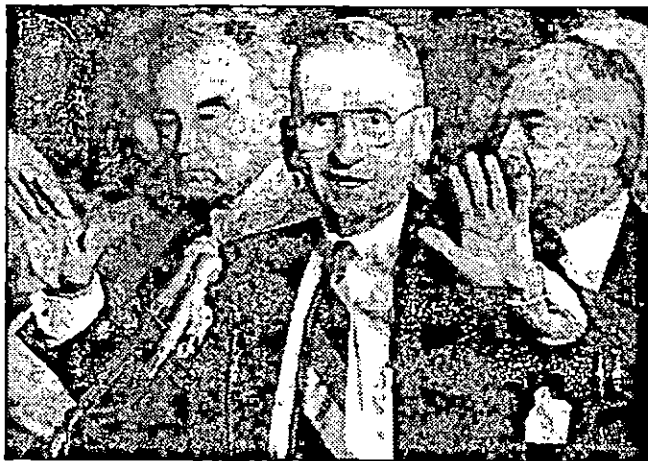
The senators agreed, but committee Chairman John Kerry (D-Mass.) later pointed out that Pentagon officials have already testified that most of the cases represented by the flags have been investigated and resolved. Sixty-nine percent of the sightings have been related to Americans who are now accounted for, 24% were determined to be fabrications and only 7% remain the focus of ongoing investigations, Kerry noted.

Pressed at one point to acknowledge the possibility that many of the reports of POWs still being held in Vietnam or Laos could be frauds, Perot said he agrees that "hoaxers" are a problem. But he declared them "bush league . . . compared to federal employees who have covered up, dissembled and finessed this issue for 20-some-odd years."

Perot also complained that Bush Administration officials now seemed to be trying to "rewrite history" by suggesting that, when he was in the presidential race, his motives for becoming involved in the POW/MIA issue stemmed from his interest in commercial ventures with Vietnam.

He said he made the first of several trips to Vietnam and Laos in 1969 at the request of Nixon Administration officials, who wanted to do something about the POW issue but did not want it to look like a government effort. He said Vietnam is the "last place in the world" he would ever have considered doing business and—in one of many displays of temper during the day—he accused a "sick government" of "lying" about his motives to discredit his character before he dropped out of the presidential race last month.

Much of the questioning during Tuesday's session, one in a



Agence France-Presse

'Even [if] we agree there is one living American held against his will . . . we have an absolute obligation to bring that person home.'

ROSS PEROT

series of hearings being held by the committee, focused on a briefing that Perot said he received from the CIA station chief at the U.S. Embassy in Laos in April of 1970. Perot said he was told by the station chief, whose name was not disclosed, that U.S. intelligence knew where American POWs were being held by the Pathet Lao.

Murphy Martin and Thomas Meurer, two former Perot associates who also said they attended the briefing, later testified that the station chief told them that between 25 and 27 POWs were then being held by the Pathet Lao. However, McMurtrie Godley, the former U.S. ambassador to Laos, disputed the figures in his recollection of the conversation, and the CIA official told the committee in a still-unreleased deposition that he never briefed Perot or his aides at all.

"He claims that meeting didn't take place. . . . But I'll tell you right here, under oath, that it did take place," Perot insisted.

Other evidence that Perot cited for his conviction that POWs were left behind was a 1970 conversation he said he had with a Laotian intelligence official who "boasted" that Laos at the time held "tens of tens" of U.S. prisoners—none of whom were among the servicemen who came home in 1973, when the last POWs held by Vietnam were to have been repatriated.

Laos, against whom the United States had been waging a covert war, was not a signatory to the Paris Peace accords, and many of the still-missing servicemen listed as POWs at the time were believed to have been captured in Laos.

To support this belief, Perot also cited a recently declassified memorandum written in March, 1973, by Lawrence Eagleburger, then acting assistant secretary of defense, who expressed frustration with the Laotians' refusal to account for some 350 American military and civilian personnel whom U.S. intelligence then listed as missing in Laos. The memo, to Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson, clearly indicated that officials believed that POWs were being held in Laos and recommended a resumption of the war through limited air strikes as "a last resort" to force their release.

The recommendations were passed along to Henry Kissinger, then President Nixon's national security adviser. However, two weeks later, in April, 1973, Nixon announced that all remaining prisoners had been returned and that the POW issue was closed.

Bush Expected to Announce Trade Accord

By JAMES RISEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—President Bush is expected to announce as early as today that the United States, Mexico and Canada have reached an historic North American Free Trade Agreement designed to link 360 million consumers into a single, \$6 trillion market, an unprecedented pact that is certain to profoundly transform the economies of the United States and its two neighbors.

After more than a year of intense and detailed negotiations covering more than 20,000 tariffs on virtually every product and service traded between the countries, bargainers for the three countries apparently were wrapping up their marathon talks in a Washington hotel Tuesday night. The Bush Administration had been pushing the negotiators to complete the talks quickly to allow President Bush to announce a deal before the Republican National Convention.

While sources suggested that Bush would announce a trade agreement today at the White House, U.S. trade officials late Tuesday night sought to play down reports that an agreement is imminent.

"Contrary to press reports, negotiations continue this evening. . . . An announcement will be made when the negotiations are complete and a deal has been reached," said a statement from the office of the U.S. trade representative.

Bush Administration officials have been eager to trumpet the trade pact in the presidential campaign, in order to counter Democratic charges that Bush has failed to act decisively in economic affairs. The Administration also hopes the trade agreement will underscore just how the President

Please see **ACCORD, A3**

ACCORD: Trade Pact Due Today

Continued from A1

dent's foreign policy expertise can benefit the U.S. economy.

"It looks like the President will have an announcement" today, one White House official said Tuesday.

The agreement, a cornerstone of Bush's economic agenda, is designed to gradually phase out tariffs and other trade barriers so that goods and services can flow freely from Toronto to Mexico City by early in the next century. It represents a dramatic expansion of a free-trade agreement the United States forged with Canada three years ago, and Bush has argued that the export boom that will result from the pact could create as many as 300,000 new U.S. jobs by 1995.

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Anderson Hills has also stressed that the trade pact will be a good deal for America because Mexican tariffs are now far higher on average than those imposed by the United States. The agreement, she maintains, will level the playing field for American firms, accelerating an ongoing boom in U.S. exports to Mexico.

In fact, Mexico is now America's fastest-growing export market; exports there have doubled over the past five years to nearly \$65 billion annually.

But critics, in organized labor and elsewhere, have argued that the agreement will lead to a massive shift of high-wage manufacturing jobs from the United States to Mexico, devastating an American economy still reeling from the effects of a prolonged recession. In addition, environmentalists have warned that, unless Mexico is required to improve enforcement of its environmental laws, U.S. and Canadian multinational firms will flee to Mexico in an effort to seek a haven from tough anti-pollution rules.

Also, critics have complained that the negotiators bowed to pressures from large industries and labor unions in each of the three countries by working out special deals that will give extra trade protection for highly sensitive products and industries. In fact, while tariffs covering most products will be phased out over the next decade, other trade barriers for a broad range of agricultural products and other items with politically powerful constituencies will remain in place for as long as 15 to 20 years, sources close to the trade talks said Tuesday.

While Bush is expected to announce a tentative agreement at the White House today, he is unlikely to send the trade agreement to Congress for quick ratification. Most observers believe that Congress will not take up the issue until next year.

Leading Democrats have already begun to criticize Bush's handling of the trade negotiations, and have threatened to oppose the deal unless the White House deals more forcefully with the likely social and environmental consequences of the trade agreement.

But sources close to the talks say that the Bush Administration has largely left the environmental and labor-related issues to be handled by separate, "parallel" negotiations with Canada and Mexico. Although the pact does apparently call for a tri-national commission to deal with environmental matters, the agreement to be announced today is not likely to include much detail on how Mexico will deal with its internal pollution problems.

And the Bush Administration is also not expected to announce today any special new programs to help American workers who lose their jobs. Administration officials have repeatedly stressed that such details will be included in the enabling legislation covering the trade pact that will be sent to Congress next year, but that stance has left the White House open to continued criticism from Democrats that Bush is not addressing those concerns.

28,000 Bosnians Face Expulsion, U.N. Says

■ **Balkans:** Refugee officials hope to forestall Serbian plan and avoid becoming accomplices in resettlement.

By CHARLES T. POWERS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

ZAGREB, Croatia—United Nations officials warned Tuesday that Serbian forces are attempting to expel about 28,000 Bosnians, most of them Muslims, from their homes around the Bihac area in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Calling it one of the largest single acts of "ethnic cleansing" since the war in Bosnia began in May, the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees hopes to forestall the expulsion and to avoid becoming a pawn in the Serbian plan to remove Muslims from the area.

Lars Nielsen, field coordinator for the high commissioner's office, said that he, officials of the U.N. peacekeeping force and local Serbian and Muslim leaders plan to meet in the Bihac area today to discuss the potential exodus.

He said the Muslims are from four towns in the Bosanska Krajina region of northwestern Bosnia, an area with a Muslim population of more than 80%.

The city of Bihac, with a population of 70,000, has been subjected to artillery attacks daily since mid-June, and city officials have been locked in an intense debate for weeks over whether to evacuate women and children from the town. So far, there has been no evacuation. The town's most influential Muslim leaders fear that it would mark the first step in surrendering their homes to the Serbian militiamen who surround the city.

Two weeks ago, U.N. refugee officials complained bitterly of being forced into helping in the evacuation of more than 7,000 residents of Bosanski Novi, a town in the region that the Serbs hope to clear.

Jose Maria Mendiluce, the U.N. high commissioner's special envoy, has described the paradox facing his agency.

"If we help the people go out, we are helping them [the Serbs] cleanse the areas," he said recently. "If we don't help them leave, there is a very dangerous situation."

On July 28, Jean-Claude Concolato, then head of the high commissioner's Zagreb office, said he was "outraged" at being "blackmailed" by Serbian militia commanders in Bosanski Novi into

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assisting in the removal of the Bosnian Muslims. "It was a shameful operation," he said.

"All we can do," Concolato said, "is make so much noise about it, to scream so loudly, that this will be the first and last time it happens."

The tension in the Bihac area has been mounting steadily. The city has been without electricity and telephones for four months. Virtually no food supplies are getting in. Shops are closed, a meager farmers' market sells only a few fresh vegetables (at rapidly escalating prices), and virtually no one works. New refugees arrive in the city daily, as do mortar rounds and artillery shells fired from the hills into the heart of the city.

"Some say we are in a very big concentration camp," said Philippe Noel, head of the Red Cross in Bihac and in Velika Kladusa, the region's other main city on the Bosnian-Croatian border.

As the Serbs were continuing to press their "ethnic cleansing" campaign in the Bosanska Krajina, the leadership of the rump Yugoslav nation appeared to be moving

The U.N. Security Council is to open debate today on a resolution that would authorize the use of force to ensure that relief supplies reach Bosnian civilians. A vote is expected Thursday. And on Thursday, the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva will take up reports of brutal conditions in Serbian-run Bosnian prison camps.

British Liberal Party leader Paddy Ashdown was taken on a closely supervised visit Tuesday to the Manjaca prison camp in northern Bosnia, where he found several hundred prisoners transferred in recent days from the notorious Omarska prison camp, whose former inmates have told of shootings, frequent beatings and near-starvation diets.

"Everyone I spoke to said conditions had clearly improved since they left Omarska," Ashdown said. However, he was allowed only about 30 minutes in the camp, and no prisoner got more than a few seconds to speak out of earshot of the guards.

Many of the prisoners, filmed by a television crew accompanying the British politician, were virtually skin and bones, and most seemed traumatized by their ordeal.

Representatives of the Interna-

tional Committee of the Red Cross were to begin inspecting some of the prison camps today, including Omarska, but it was widely believed that virtually all prisoners will have been removed by the time the Red Cross gets there.

In Washington on Tuesday, two very different generals—the Canadian who led the U.N. peacekeepers in Sarajevo and the assistant to Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—offered the Senate sobering views about military involvement in Bosnia.

Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie of Canada, who led the U.N. peacekeepers until a week ago, described military intervention as nothing but "a carrot" for the Bosnian government.

The general told the Senate Armed Services Committee that the Serbs, since they now control sizable territory, are ready to sit down and negotiate with the Muslims who run the Bosnian government. But the Muslims refuse. MacKenzie said, because they hope that outside military forces will help them regain lost lands.

"My soldierly advice . . . is to get away from the carrot of intervention," MacKenzie said.

The Canadian warned that any intervention of troops to protect humanitarian supplies would inevitably lead to even more intervention. "It can't stop there," he said. "It's not a nice, neat little package."

"There is no way that intervention will do anything but escalate the fighting," MacKenzie said. "and more people will be killed. . . . What we need is intense political pressure to put the parties of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the same table for an extended period of time . . . to grind out an agreement and come up with a constitutional solution."

Replying to questions from the senators, Lt. Gen. Barry R. McCaffery, who is Powell's assistant, said he believes it would take a field army of 400,000 troops one year to pacify Bosnia and lower the level of violence.

"It would take a considerable amount of time," McCaffery explained, "because what we're trying to destroy is not 4,000 tanks but the hatred of three peoples for one another."

As for the more limited goal of guarding the Sarajevo airport and clearing a relief corridor of 200 miles from the Adriatic port of Split to Sarajevo, McCaffery estimated that would require 60,000 to 120,000 troops.

Meanwhile, flights bearing relief supplies have continued to arrive in Sarajevo, with total cargo running at a rate of about 200 tons daily. A U.N. spokeswoman in Geneva noted also that land routes are opening up to convoys bearing supplies from the Adriatic Coast.

Serb and Bosnian forces signed an agreement Tuesday allowing more than 300 women and children to evacuate Sarajevo, wire services reported from the Bosnian capital.

A U.N. official said the three-way agreement to evacuate the women and children was signed by a Serbian liaison officer to the U.N. mission in Sarajevo, a representative of the Bosnian presidency and the Children's Embassy, a charity group organizing the evacuation.



rapidly to clean out its most notorious prison camps and to allow relief supplies into the besieged Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, in an evident effort to stave off international intervention in the Bosnian war.

Bush OKs Israel Loan Guarantees

■ **Mideast:** President eases terms for Rabin by accepting limited curtailment of settlements. He calls for an Arab gesture to break the deadlock on peace talks.

By NORMAN KEMPSTER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

KENNEBUNKPORT, Me.—President Bush sealed his new and friendly relationship with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on Tuesday by approving Israel's request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees on terms much easier than those offered to Rabin's predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir.

With Rabin at his side in a yard near his seaside vacation home, Bush said the United States "understands" Rabin's refusal to order a total freeze on Jewish settlement activity in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, even though U.S. officials have long maintained that all settlements are an obstacle to peace. Bush said Rabin's limited curtailment of settlements is enough.

"We salute what the prime minister is trying to do," Bush said. "Obviously, we would not be going forward with this loan guarantee if we did not salute the change."

When Shamir was in office, the President said he would approve the full \$10-billion, five-year package only if Israel ended all settlement activity, leaving houses unfinished and stopping road and sewer projects in their tracks.

For a more limited freeze, Bush offered a smaller loan package. Shamir refused to accept either alternative.

Israel had asked the U.S. government to guarantee repayment of commercial loans to finance houses, jobs and other services for an influx of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. Almost half a million have already arrived, and thousands more are expected.

The U.S. guarantees—similar to co-signing the loans—will permit the Israeli government to get much lower interest rates than it could qualify for on its own. If Israel defaults on the loans, the U.S. taxpayer would have to repay them.

Even if Israel makes the payments in full and on time, the U.S. Treasury will be liable for some administrative costs, but Rabin

Please see BUSH, A3

BUSH: President Cements New Ties With Israel, OKs Loan Guarantees

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said Israel will reimburse the U.S. government for at least part of that.

In another demonstration of Bush's strong support for Rabin's centrist government, the President endorsed most of Rabin's objectives for the Arab-Israeli peace talks that resume in Washington on Aug. 24. And he sought to shift from Israel to the Arabs the responsibility for making the concessions required to break the deadlock that has marked the negotiations since they began in Madrid last October.

"Prime Minister Rabin has persuaded me that Israel's new government is committed to making these talks succeed," Bush said. "And I call upon the Arab parties to respond in kind. The time has come to make peace, not simply to talk of it."

The President added that Washington wants a comprehensive peace, codified by treaty, that would open the way for trade, tourism and other aspects of normal relations.

The Israelis have long sought such a relationship, which would constitute the Arabs' acknowledgment of Israel's right to live in the region, but only Egypt has signed a peace treaty with Israel. Some Arab states, especially Syria, have resisted even the discussion of such close ties, arguing that the only issue before the peace conference is the return of territory that Israel occupied during the 1967 Middle East War.

"We shall do our best to inject new momentum to the negotiations," Rabin said.

Bush and Rabin were effusive in their declarations that the close U.S.-Israeli alliance has been restored after the friction of Shamir's tenure as prime minister. Bush contrasted Rabin's decision to limit West Bank and Gaza settlements with Shamir's aggressive policy of building up the Jewish population of the territories to dilute their Palestinian character. At present, about 115,000 Jews and 1.7 million Palestinians live in the territories.

Shortly after he took office last month, Rabin announced curtail-

ment of settlement-building. But he said Israel would finish houses that were partially up and would continue to settle Jews in "strategic" parts of the occupied territories such as the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights and in neighborhoods ringing Jerusalem. He said he would stop "political" settlements, essentially those that do not meet his strategic criteria.

On Sunday, just before Rabin arrived in Maine, a senior Administration official said Washington

'If the loan guarantees are given while settlement actions are continuing, then this invalidates the role of the United States as a peace broker.'

HANAN ASHRAWI
Spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks

does not agree with the new prime minister's distinction between strategic and political settlements. The official said that Washington considers all the outposts to be obstacles to peace because they will make it far more difficult for Israel to make a land-for-peace deal with its Arab neighbors.

But Rabin clearly won the day in his talks with Bush. The President offered no public criticism of Rabin's approach, and he did not impose any restrictions on the loan package to penalize Israel for continuing some settlements.

Because the loan package runs for five years, Washington—in effect—surrendered its leverage over Israeli settlement policy for most of the rest of this century.

The loan package requires congressional approval, but that is virtually assured.

In Jerusalem, Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, objected to Bush's decision to approve the guarantees without a total freeze on settlements.

"If the loan guarantees are given

while settlement actions are continuing, then this invalidates the role of the United States as a peace broker," Ashrawi said, according to the Reuters news agency.

Bush's political strategists clearly hope that the refurbished relationship with Israel will appeal to Jewish voters, many of whom were upset by the President's public feud with Shamir. Bush got about 30% of the Jewish vote in 1988 and needs at least that much this time if he is to have any hope of carrying such key states as California and New York.

But the President recoiled when he was asked to assess the impact of his actions on the campaign.

"We're not talking here about domestic United States politics, nor are we talking about domestic Israeli politics," Bush said. "I think what we are talking about is too important."

But in an election year, politics is never very far below the surface. Bush was asked about his plans for Secretary of State James A. Baker III: Will he continue to oversee Arab-Israeli peace talks or will he be brought to the White House to try to rejuvenate Bush's faltering reelection campaign?

In a tongue-in-cheek explanation to Rabin, Bush said the question referred to "a lot of domestic speculation that the press has written with such certainty and finality . . . that Jim Baker will leave the State Department."

"That was not discussed with the prime minister," Bush told the reporters.

Asked to assess the impact of a Baker departure on the peace process, Rabin deadpanned: "I don't deal with domestic political American or personal domestic American problems."

Turning to the warfare in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rabin gave Bush a gentle push toward more forceful action.

"We, the Jewish people, having suffered persecution throughout history, can never remain indifferent to such tragedies," Rabin said. "The killing must stop. And I know that the United States is now making great efforts toward a solution there."

CIA Director Gates Told to Testify

■ **Trial:** A judge orders him to testify for the defense in case of ex-CIA agent Clair George.

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A federal judge Tuesday ordered CIA Director Robert M. Gates to testify for the defense at the perjury and obstruction trial of former CIA spy chief Clair E. George, declaring: "Mr. Gates is up to his eyeballs in his knowledge of this subject."

Justice Department lawyers had argued on behalf of the CIA that there was no "sound basis" for subpoenaing Gates. But U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth disagreed, saying that "what Mr. Gates knew can be very critical to Mr. George's defense."

Lamberth took issue with Justice Department attorney David J. Anderson's contention that Gates had not attended CIA meetings where George allegedly learned key details of secret efforts to support the Nicaraguan Contras—knowledge George later denied to Congress.

A number of witnesses at George's trial, where the prosecution wrapped up its case Tuesday, testified that Gates was present at some of the meetings, Lamberth noted at a hearing after the trial ended for the day.

"The problem is that there were only two people above Mr. George, and one is dead," the judge said, referring to former CIA Director William J. Casey, under whom Gates served as deputy and George as deputy director for operations.

Gates' contention at his Senate confirmation hearings that Alan D. Fiers, the chief prosecution witness against George, never discussed with him former White House aide Oliver L. North's work for the Contras could buttress George's claim that Fiers did not tell him either, defense attorney Gordon Coffee argued at the hearing. Fiers, a Casey protege, served as chief of the CIA's Central American task force.

Gates is not expected to be called before Monday, Lamberth said.

Lamberth's ruling came after he rejected a defense motion for directed acquittal of the nine felony counts against George, and after George's defense got off to a shaky start.

CIA official David Gries, who headed the agency's congressional affairs office in 1986 when George allegedly lied and gave false statements to House and Senate panels, described the agency as in great disarray at the time as senior officials struggled to come up

with explanations of the agency's role in Iran-Contra.

"Compartmentation, [restricting information to only those who have a need to know] a way of life in the intelligence world, had become the enemy," Gries said, hampering efforts to put together an accurate account. He noted that George's testimony that he did not know for certain that "Max Gomez" was an alias for Felix Rodriguez, a key operator in the secret program to resupply the Contras, was followed up by a CIA effort to correct the record. But under cross-examination by chief prosecutor Craig A. Gillen, Gries conceded that this follow-up information did not include important details about Rodriguez's role that were included in a briefing book that George carried with him to the Senate and House hearings.

"That is correct," the obviously distressed Gries said. "I have never seen this [briefing book] before in my life."

"Why wasn't this information provided" as the CIA sought to "correct the record?" Gillen asked.

"It should have been," Gries said.

"Can you tell us why . . . ?" Gillen persisted.

"I have absolutely no idea," said Gries.

George Cave, a CIA veteran who was the final prosecution witness, also described the frenzy that characterized efforts by the agency to give a full account of what had occurred after Iran-Contra began to unravel in the fall of 1986.

"We were going back and forth between the White House and the agency, and also other things were going on," Cave recalled. But that was nothing compared to the efforts by then National Security Council official Oliver L. North, who was issuing a new explanation "every two hours or so"—so frequently that they had to be marked with date and time to keep them straight, Cave said.

In a related development, former juror David Willett Bullock, who was removed from the panel Monday by Lamberth without explanation, said the action came after he asked one of the judge's law clerks last week about "the jurors' right to 'nullification of law.'" Bullock, in an interview, said this "right" was volunteered to him by a friend in Tallahassee, Fla., during a social telephone call. The friend told him that jurors can nullify a law in a given case when, even though the facts show that a defendant had violated the law, jurors felt it should not apply.

The law clerk, whose name Bullock said he did not know, "hemmed and hawed" about the proposed right and Bullock said he might ask the judge about it.

After being interviewed by the judge in the presence of attorneys from both sides, Bullock said he left the judge's chambers, and after 5 or 10 minutes was called back and Lamberth said he felt it best "to relieve me of any future duties."

Law on Special Prosecutor Gathers Steam

■ **Government:** The post-Watergate law is due to expire this year, but key senators are arguing for an extension. The Administration is opposed.

By PAUL HOUSTON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Momentum to renew a post-Watergate law under which special prosecutors are appointed increased Tuesday, as a bipartisan pair of senators blasted the Administration's opposition at a hearing.

Key legislators said that, until recently, there was little chance Congress would extend the law this year, largely because of criticism over the length and cost of the Iran-Contra investigation conducted by independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh.

But recently there have been several new indications of support, including the decision of Republican Sen. William S. Cohen of Maine to join Democratic Sen. Carl Levin of Michigan in co-sponsoring a bill that would prevent the law from dying Dec. 14.

The 1978 statute, renewed in 1982 and 1987, provides for appointment of an independent counsel, or special prosecutor, to handle criminal investigations of top officials close to the President. The law grew out of the Watergate scandal's 1973 "Saturday Night Massacre" in which former President Richard M. Nixon fired Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox.

At a hearing, Levin and Cohen pounced on Deputy Atty. Gen. George Terwilliger after he detailed the Bush Administration's opposition to their bill and hinted at a veto.

Levin noted that Bush, while he was still vice president, said in July, 1988, that "I wholeheartedly endorse the concept of the independent counsel law."

Terwilliger, who had complained that the law is an insult to the Justice Department's ability to prosecute fairly, responded: "I will let the record speak for itself. If the President wishes to contradict me, he's free to do so."

Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), who plans to introduce a renewal bill today, had said recently there was little chance that Congress would act before it adjourns.

But late Tuesday, he said that Democratic support was mushrooming because of Atty. Gen. William P. Barr's opposition Monday to an independent investigation of the Administration's pre-Persian Gulf War relations with Iraq.

Also, Frank added, Republican support is growing not only because of Cohen's sponsorship of an extension bill but also because of the increased possibility that Democrat Bill Clinton may be elected President in November.

He explained that Republicans want to make sure that a Clinton Administration would be subject to the same independent counsel law that produced a raft of investigations and indictments against officials of the Ronald Reagan and Bush administrations.

"Some of the Republicans are starting to say, 'If the Democrats want an independent counsel, let 'em have one under Clinton,'" said Frank, who heads a House Judiciary subcommittee that oversees the independent counsel statute.

Terwilliger protested that the law gives special prosecutors too much opportunity for abuse, does not automatically cover members of Congress and has lax cost controls resulting in exorbitant expenses.

In renewing the law for five years, the Levin-Cohen bill tightens cost controls and makes clear that the attorney general has discretion to use an independent counsel in cases involving members of Congress.

In a related development, 75 Republican lawmakers asked Barr to investigate the spending practices of Walsh and, if he has violated the law, to fire him. They suggested that the estimated \$35 million spent on the Iran-Contra probe so far was extravagant.

Cohen scoffed at the request, noting that the Justice Department spent \$19 million to prosecute former Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega on drug-trafficking charges in a much-less-complex case.

Economic Growth Bill Altered by Senate Panel

■ **Taxes:** Senators expand enterprise zones and drop credits for first-time home buyers from the \$32.5-billion measure.

By WILLIAM J. EATON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Senate tax bill writers more than doubled the amount of aid for an expanded enterprise zone program in blighted cities and rural areas Tuesday, but to offset the cost, they scrapped President Bush's popular plan to give tax credits to first-time home buyers.

The changes, which increase the number of enterprise zones from 25 to 125 and raise tax incentives from \$2.5 billion to \$5.5 billion, were made by the Senate Finance Committee just before the Senate began debate on the \$32.5-billion tax-break measure.

In addition to deleting Bush's plan for a \$2,500 tax credit for first-time home purchases in the last half of this year, the panel also dropped another part of the President's economic growth package: a provision that would have earmarked \$1.7 billion for tax breaks on business investment in 1992.

The finance panel had approved a tax bill that included a major overhaul of the enterprise zone program less than two weeks ago. But the panel's chairman, Sen. Lloyd

Bentsen (D-Tex.), and the committee decided to revise the bill in the face of a veto threat.

Housing Secretary Jack Kemp had termed the original legislation a "hoax on the poor," and advisers to Bush said they would recommend vetoing the original version.

There was no immediate reaction from the Bush Administration to the major changes in the bill.

The bill—expected to be the only tax legislation to clear Congress in this election year—also would restore fully deductible individual retirement accounts regardless of the taxpayer's income, and repeal the two-year-old luxury tax on yachts, planes, furs and jewelry.

Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) charged that the IRA provisions were a giveaway to the wealthiest Americans and would cause deficit increases of at least \$11 billion a year after 1997. But his proposed amendment to eliminate the expanded benefits for savers was killed by a lopsided 72-25 vote.

On the controversial enterprise zone issue, the revised bill authorizes 125 tax-favored areas designed to spur investment in 75 inner cities. Included are 40 zones in cities with fewer than 500,000 people, 40 in rural areas and 10 on American Indian reservations. The original legislation provided for only 25 such zones, with 15 in urban areas, eight in rural areas and two on Indian reservations.

"We think it will have a much better chance of working" with additional funds, Bentsen said. But he continued to

oppose a Republican move to reduce capital gains taxes in the zones.

The biggest tax break would go to businesses, which could claim a 30% wage tax credit on workers who are residents of the zone, up to \$4,500 a year for each worker. In the original bill, the ceiling on this wage tax credit was \$8,000.

The bill, originally sparked by the Los Angeles riots, became a major vehicle for the extension of a dozen popular tax breaks that expired June 30, as well as for other parts of Bush's proposals designed to strengthen the feeble economic recovery.

It includes a long-sought benefit for full-time real estate professionals that would allow them to offset losses on rental units against other income, thus revising the so-called "passive loss" rules.

In all, the measure reduces taxes by a total of \$32.5 billion over the next five years. Under the pay-as-you-go rules required by the 1990 Budget Enforcement Act, the amount will be offset by other tax increases.

The bill makes permanent two provisions that restrict itemized deductions and phase out personal exemptions for individuals who make at least \$100,000 a year. In addition, it speeds up collections of estimated taxes from self-employed workers and corporations. Deductions for job-related moving expenses also would be curbed.

Securities dealers would be required to pay taxes on the market value of their holdings, thus raising their taxes.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Reagan-Bush Record and Misleading Attacks Threaten to Loosen GOP's Grip on Tax Issue

By DAVID SHRIBMAN
And JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — Desperate Republican efforts to cling to the tax issue that helped win the past three presidential elections are being threatened by divisions in the party and the GOP's own hyperbolic attacks on Democratic rival Bill Clinton.

Republican efforts to seize the tax offensive against Mr. Clinton were seriously hampered in preliminaries to the Republican National Convention here, as a platform subcommittee dropped language that was adopted only Monday, describing President Bush's acceptance of tax increases in 1990 as a "mistake." In feverish negotiations in an anteroom in the George Brown Convention Center here, Bush campaign leaders successfully argued that the original language was too likely to turn up in a Clinton ad.

The platform writers retained language calling for the repeal of the 1990 tax increases. But the struggle over how to characterize the tax issue pointed up the party's difficulty in regaining the tax issue, the cornerstone of Ronald Reagan's appeal and successes, as the tool for reinvigorating the president's lagging campaign.

"We should have the tax issue," argued Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota, the author of the original language, who finally acceded to dropping the language in a closed-door meeting with Charles Black, the convention manager. "We've got to get it back. Given that we don't have the Cold War any more, we'd better darn well have taxes."

Further complicating the Republican efforts to use the issue this year is that their allegations against Mr. Clinton are being couched in harsh, misleading language that may not stand up to scrutiny.

President Bush has alleged that Mr. Clinton "proposes the largest tax increase in American history," while Vice President Dan Quayle and other Republicans have accused the Democratic nominee of raising taxes in Arkansas 128 times in his 12 years as governor there. But the evidence suggests that the Republicans themselves have raised taxes more often than Gov. Clinton has.

To be sure, Gov. Clinton's record in Arkansas does contradict his tax message to the voters. A central element of his presidential program is to raise taxes on wealthy people, but in Arkansas many of the tax increases during his governorship have been on sales taxes, which are regressive.

Reagan's Was Bigger

But tax experts generally exonerate him of the charge of promoting the biggest tax increase in U.S. history. That distinction, most agree, belongs to the increase signed into law by President Reagan in 1982, when Mr. Bush was vice president. That bill called for an estimated \$152.3 billion in tax increases over four years. In today's dollars, the Reagan increase would total more than \$200 billion. The Clinton proposal, by contrast, calls for \$150 billion over four years.

The Bush allegations are "downright deceptive," says Gene Sperling, economic director of the Clinton campaign. Among other things, he says, the Bush campaign fails to mention the \$104 billion in tax cuts over four years that the Clinton plan also contains, including \$60 billion for middle-class tax relief, \$12 billion for the earned

income tax credit for the poor, and \$25 billion for an investment tax credit for corporations.

Bush aides defend their calculations, which they say don't even take into account the burden on small businesses and middle-income people of increased costs that they assert will result from Mr. Clinton's proposed national health-care and job-training programs.

GOP analysts say they base their assertion that the Clinton tax increase would be the largest in history not on what the 1982 Reagan bill was projected to raise, but on a Senate GOP estimate of what the bill actually brought in, a figure the Republicans put at only \$92 billion. Clinton aides counter that even if the GOP estimate were correct, which they don't concede, the net Reagan increase was still far larger than Mr. Clinton's proposal when offsetting tax reductions are figured in.

The charge of 128 Arkansas tax increases is also inaccurate. The Republicans' official accounting of Mr. Clinton's Arkansas record lists 58 tax increases and 70 increases in fees of various sorts. But three of the items on the list circulated by the Bush-Quayle campaign are numbers inserted where there is no tax provision, but rather the second line of the previous tax-increase listing. One item isn't either a tax or a fee increase, but rather increases the number of days of dog racing for the benefit of two funds.

The Clinton campaign's count is that there are 49 actual tax increases on the GOP list, seven of which have expired or been repealed. The list also doesn't include tax cuts over the same period, which total 48, one of which was temporary. In other words, the Clinton camp says, the number of tax increases, 42, is less than the number of tax decreases, 47, that are still on the books.

Using the Bush campaign's own standard of counting up tax increases, a study by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service shows that during the Bush administration 78 taxes have been raised for a total increase of \$40.7 billion. During the entire Reagan-Bush era beginning with the 1981 tax bill, 327 tax increases have been signed into law with a total revenue gain from those provisions of \$219.8 billion, the research service said.

This number doesn't include an estimated 250 tariff increases from 1981 and dozens of other fees that were raised or proposed to be raised by the Reagan and Bush administrations.

The 1990 tax increase Mr. Bush signed into law was projected to raise \$106.4 billion over four years and \$137.2 billion over five years. Experts still dispute whether a 1984 tax increase signed by Mr. Reagan was larger, but say there is no question that Mr. Bush's increase was one of the biggest ever. The tax increases in 1982, 1984 and 1990 "are the three largest, with the '82 being the largest, and '84 and '90 being comparable in size," says Barry Dennis, a partner at Price Waterhouse & Co., and a former top government revenue estimator.

Call for Repeal of Bush Increase

The changes in the GOP platform agreed to yesterday would now put the party on record as saying the 1990 tax increases were "recessionary," rather than "a mistake." Further, the new language says the taxes should "ultimately" be repealed, making it a long-range rather than an immediate target.

The issue of the platform language isn't only an embarrassment for President Bush. It is also a problem for Senate

A Tale of Three Tax Increases

Four-year projections, in billions of dollars not adjusted for inflation

	REAGAN 1982	BUSH 1990	CLINTON PROPOSAL
Gross Increase	\$152.3	\$125.0	\$150.0
Offsetting tax cuts	2.1	18.3	104.0
Net tax increase	\$150.2	\$106.7	\$46.0

Sources: Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation; Clinton-Gore campaign

Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, who was one of the chief congressional architects of the tax-raising budget agreement, and for other Republicans who went along.

Even as the platform attacks congressional Democrats for the tax increases, it also suggests a weakness on Mr. Bush's part. "The Democratic Congress held President Bush and all Americans hostage, refusing to take even modest steps to control spending, unless taxes were increased, and the American economy has suffered," the platform says.

Several top Republicans, including Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, are arguing that strong platform language won't be sufficient to give Mr. Bush the political offensive again. Instead, they say, the president should make tax-cutting a major theme of his acceptance speech next Thursday evening.

While acquiescing to the new tax language, Mr. Weber and his allies also pressed Bush intimates to make taxes a major theme, arguing that Mr. Bush should assert he won't consort with the Democrats any more.

Taxes weren't the only issue the platform-writers were focusing on yesterday, however. The full 107-member platform committee debated the party's position on abortion late into the evening, with anti-abortion forces firmly in control. In an effort to strike the abortion language entirely from the platform, abortion-rights advocates could muster only 16 votes, far short of the 27 needed to bring the issue to the convention floor next week. In the debate that preceded that vote, only two members of the committee spoke out for eliminating the provision.

The platform-writers also added provisions against giving away hypodermic needles or condoms in the battle against acquired immune deficiency syndrome, or AIDS, and they urged state legislators to oppose same-sex marriages and to prohibit same-sex couples from providing foster care for youngsters.

But the Bush campaign left no doubt that taxes was most on its mind. The "daily line" for yesterday, distributed to high campaign officials, emphasized "the Clinton tax hikes."

Some, though, were less than enthusiastic at the line. "We have to say more than just that Clinton's a big taxer," said Donald Devine, a conservative Republican strategist.

One of the most glum was Arthur Laffer, one of the founding fathers of the supply-side movement. "It's too late, the damage has been done," he said. "There's no way to recoup virginity."

—James M. Perry contributed to this article.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

No Simple Wars

George Bush, along with other problems, now faces two foreign affairs crises, the lingering one in Iraq and the growing one in Yugoslavia. In the New World Order, as in the old, issues of war and peace inevitably find their way to the Oval Office.

Both of the current issues are heavily booby-trapped. It is one thing to be a Bill Clinton with the luxury of either staying mum or making tough-sounding but generalized pronouncements. It is quite another to have to decide whether to commit young Americans and the youth of allied nations to complex political quarrels abroad without knowing for sure how much those quarrels might ultimately threaten vital U.S. interests.

In some dim past, an American President might have been able to shrug off distant events so long as they posed no clear and present danger. But there is a new dimension today. Televised scenes of mutilated babies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Saddam Hussein mocking U.N. weapons inspectors arouse a watching public. The President faces a rising clamor to "do something." If Vietnam is any guide, should things start going badly, many who raise that hue and cry will quickly turn tail, transforming themselves into violent critics of any U.S. involvement.

Mr. Bush, no doubt aware of this risk, has been cautious and measured in his responses. There is no such thing as a simple war, a lesson learned in Vietnam and not forgotten by the President when he applied overwhelming force to subdue Saddam Hussein in Desert Storm. He has launched new military exercises in the Gulf as a warning to Saddam. That other miscreant, Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, has been put on notice by a draft U.N. resolution, agreed to by the U.S., Britain and France Monday, allowing the use of force to insure that relief supplies get through to starving and injured Bosnians.

Saddam and Slobodan both have backed off a tad. Saddam finally allowed the U.N. team access, for what it was worth, to his so-called agricultural ministry, ending the stand-off. As to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva reported yesterday that U.N. convoys were being let through military roadblocks to bring food and medicine to beleaguered areas.

Saddam and Slobodan think themselves skillful in judging how far they can push the U.S., but both also are capable of colossal misjudgements, as

Saddam demonstrated two years ago and as Slobodan may be demonstrating now. It has taken a long time to unify Serbia's critics sufficiently to persuade them to consider military action. But the draft resolution probably will be passed by the U.N. Security Council this week. Neither Russia nor China, the other two permanent members, have any particular reason to veto it.

Given the wording of the resolution, Slobodan can avoid military attack by continuing to ease his blockade of relief supplies. But once the West has agreed in principle to military action, it is not a very big step to go beyond protecting relief efforts to protecting populations. If the Serbians, emboldened by their Bosnian conquests, decide to extend "ethnic cleansing" to the Albanian Muslims of Kosovo Province, Sarajevo's nastiness will look relatively mild.

The Kosovo Albanians hate the Serbs, who have oppressed them for years. If things get bloody, Turkey's government will come under heavy pressure from Turkish Muslims to intervene. This will unsettle Greece, possibly damaging the NATO alliance, of which both Greece and Turkey are members. It also could endanger hopes by both the U.S. and Russia that Turkey can be a moderating force throughout the Muslim band that stretches across the lower part of the former Soviet Union.

At any rate, NATO has been asked to do some military planning. Given Yugoslavia's mountainous terrain, experienced analysts advise that commitment of ground troops be avoided at all costs. Hitler employed a vast force of 30 divisions to pacify Yugoslavia and failed. It is questioned whether even 100,000 U.N. troops could do the job, whatever the job is supposed to be. Does someone envision a permanent U.N. occupation force to keep Croats, Serbs, Muslims et al from slaughtering each other? Who thought the U.N.'s Cambodian exercise looked expensive?

This does not mean there are no alternatives. Air strikes at military targets around Belgrade might persuade Slobodan and his Serbian generals that their adventures can no longer be conducted without cost. They might discourage would-be land grabbers elsewhere.

In short, it is decision time for the President again. Right or wrong, he has to decide. That comes with the territory of being President of the United States.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Crime Busters

"The problem of violent crime in America is largely the problem of the repeat, violent offender." So begins Attorney General William Barr's report to the President on violent crime. The report was released recently into a sea of yawns and dismissed as a campaign gimmick. That's a pity, because it is in fact a persuasive document about an enormous problem that most voters think is truly the responsibility of government.

The report's basic premise is one on which criminologists agree: A relatively small number of repeat offenders is responsible for the majority of violent crimes. Common sense tells us that those are the people who should be in jail. And since 95% of violent crimes fall under the jurisdiction of the states, it is to them that the Attorney General directs his two dozen proposals.

The states, he says, treat criminals far more leniently than the federal system and "undercut and undermine" prosecutors and police. He calls on them to toughen bail, sentencing and parole procedures, adopt minimum sentences for offenders with guns and treat juvenile criminals more strictly.

Mr. Barr's most controversial proposal is for pretrial detention of defendants whom judges deem dangerous. This would require many states to change their constitutions, revoking any absolute right to bail. It would also require the states to stand up to the ACLU, which has announced its vigorous opposition on the grounds that it violates defendants' rights.

Yet what about victims? A 1988 Justice Department study found that 18% of defendants released before their trials were rearrested on felony charges. That is, the victims proliferate, and the public, reading these accounts in the news, lose respect for the criminal justice system. Civil order requires some ranking of priorities.

In New York last week, a parolee

who boasted that he "killed like RoboCop" was arrested for the murders of five women and a 14-year-old girl. Incredible as it may seem, in 1988 17% of all those convicted in state courts of murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault served no time at all. This is justice? Attorney General Barr urges "truth in sentencing"; parole would be limited so that time served closely approximates the sentence.

Juvenile criminals have become a particular problem. Between 1981 and 1990, the number of juveniles arrested for murder rose by 60%. Nevertheless, juvenile criminals are generally spared punishment by a juvenile justice system that was set up in the 1950s to protect the unruly kid who might have been a shoplifter or a car thief, not a murderer or a rapist.

Mr. Barr suggests: Don't let off first-time offenders, and discipline them by putting them in boot camps or requiring them to perform community service; treat repeat violent juveniles as adults; and permit the use of juvenile criminal records. Today, juvenile records generally are closed, making a repeat criminal look like a first-time offender every time he's arrested. And they know it.

The establishment alternative to all this? The recent president of the increasingly fatuous American Bar Association condemned the Barr report and called for more social services, drug treatment and gun control.

Both President Bush and Governor Clinton have been relatively silent on crime, though it looms large in the minds of most citizens. Part of the problem may be that it is truly a "do something" issue, but most politicians sound hopelessly ineffectual when they talk about it. The suggestions in the Barr report are specific, and we suspect they're in sync with the public mood. The first candidate who embraces them with any real credibility will undoubtedly have an edge come November.

Asides

Better Green Than Growth

The Journal noted yesterday that Gallup's pollsters now think an amazing 57% of voting-age Americans want to elect politicians who'd impose more environmental restrictions on business. And 59% of respondents would

take environment over growth if forced to choose. If these are the same people who reportedly think their lives won't be as good as that of their parents, we wish they would stop whining and find a way to enjoy the high-cost environment that they say they're happy to pay for. Or are they?

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

LAW

Bar Association Votes to Back Abortion Rights

By CHRISTI HARLAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN FRANCISCO—After a contentious debate, the policy-making body of the American Bar Association voted to take a pro-abortion rights position at the organization's annual meeting.

The decision by the ABA, which followed Monday's vote by convention attendees to endorse the proposal, was a victory for abortion-rights advocates. At its annual meeting two years ago, the ABA adopted a neutral position.

Before the 276-168 vote yesterday, the ABA's new president, Michael McWilliams of Baltimore, told reporters that the ABA could no longer remain neutral.

"You can't dodge an issue just because it's tough," said Mr. McWilliams, a Baltimore lawyer, in remarks to reporters. "And you can't call [abortion] a non-legal issue."

The ABA's perceived alliance with one side or the other in the abortion debate was a matter of concern to lawyers attending the annual meeting here this week. Both the National Abortion Rights Action League and the National Right-to-Life Committee have been closely monitoring the ABA action, spokeswomen for the groups said.

"People who support this [abortion-rights] resolution want the prestige of the ABA behind the pro-choice movement," Texas bar President Harriet Miers said Monday, arguing against adoption of the resolution supporting abortion rights.

But Atlanta lawyer W. Stell Huie told ABA members that the association's neutral stance, adopted two years ago, was heralded as a victory by anti-abortion groups. "It is the government, not the association, that should be neutral," contends Mr. Huie, who supported the abortion-rights resolution.

Among those registering opposition to the resolution was U.S. Attorney General William P. Barr, who urged the ABA to "carefully consider the implications of its support for this resolution" in a letter Friday, to the outgoing ABA president.

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Talbot D'Alemberte, sponsor of the abortion-rights resolution.

"By adopting the resolution and thereby endorsing one side of this debate," Mr. Barr wrote, "the ABA will endanger the perception that it is an impartial and objective professional association."

Before the vote, the ABA's House of Delegates spent an hour debating whether to send the abortion-rights resolution to the organization's full membership for a vote by mail. That motion, which was as hotly contested as the resolution itself and would have postponed a decision on the issue, failed by 76 votes.

Mr. McWilliams, the new ABA president, acknowledged that the issue could resurface for the association, both at future meetings and in repercussions from the association's vote.

"Now we have a new policy — again," Mr. McWilliams said. "But we also have to heal the wounds that the divisiveness of this debate caused."

Dallas lawyer Darrell Jordan, who led the Pro-Bar Committee for Abortion Neutrality, said after the vote that he didn't "know how we're going to explain this [position] to the average member of the American bar. . . . There are such strong feelings on both sides of the issue, I expect it will come up again."

* * *

BAR WILL TRY to reach accord with regulators on lawyer's responsibilities.

An ABA task force will try during the next year to draft guidelines to govern lawyers representing regulated clients and regulators cracking down on violations by lawyers.

Michael McWilliams of Baltimore, the ABA's new president, met with Stuart Gerson, head of the Justice Department's civil division, during the ABA's annual meeting and agreed to work together to come up with the guidelines.

The push to set forth lawyers' responsibilities came in the wake of the Office of Thrift Supervision's actions earlier this year against the New York law firm Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hayes & Handler for its role in the collapse of Lincoln Savings & Loan Association.

The OTS accused Kaye Scholer of falsifying documents and purging its files of damaging information, and it froze the assets of the law firm, which insisted it was merely advancing its client's best arguments. The allegations against Kaye Scholer and its negotiation of a \$41 million fine sent shivers through the legal profession. Many lawyers believe that it is their ethical responsibility to mount a zealous defense on behalf of their clients.

The ABA task force, in its preliminary report this week, made it clear that it doesn't want to turn lawyers into government agents.

"The private lawyer is the champion of individual and institutional clients, who works to protect their rights and guide them in their actions," the task force said. "In some instances, this means representing, protecting and defending the client against the power of the government."

* * *

OSWALD 'TRIAL' draws big crowds, presents new evidence at meeting.

"Every cab driver in town knows about this," said Theodore R. Tetzlaff, outgoing chairman of the ABA's litigation section, which sponsored the mock trial of Lee Harvey Oswald in the assassination of President Kennedy.

The "jury" of San Francisco-area residents, which was allowed only 2½ hours to deliberate yesterday, couldn't reach a unanimous verdict. The jurors returned with seven votes of guilty and five innocent.

The trial was open to the public, contributing to overflow crowds that prevented many would-be spectators, including Mr. Tetzlaff, from watching the proceedings in the mock courtroom at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco. "There's a tremendous amount of interest in what lawyers do," Mr. Tetzlaff exulted. "It's refreshing."

But the real interest was probably in the new examination of assassination evidence, and not in the courtroom performances of "prosecutors" Jim Brosnahan, Joe Cotchett and John Keker of San Francisco and "defense counsel" Tom Barr, David Boies and Evan Chesler of New York.

The evidence went through \$1 million of re-analysis by Failure Analysis Associates Inc., a litigation-support firm, according to Mr. Tetzlaff. Among other things, he said, the Menlo Park, Calif., company bought a rifle identical to the one found at the Texas School Book Depository in Dallas

and had it fitted with a scope by the same craftsman who had fitted the scope on the rifle purchased by Mr. Oswald. The company then fired the rifle into jelly-filled corpses in a limousine identical to President Kennedy's to try to determine whether Mr. Oswald was the only gunman. The simulation was shown on videotape in the mock courtroom.

"Gruesome," said lawyer Robert Friebe of Milwaukee, who managed to find a seat in the courtroom. "Really grisly."

But Mr. Friebe said he was convinced by the "new" evidence, particularly a freshly enhanced frame of the film shot by Abraham Zapruder that showed the coat lapel of then-Texas Gov. John Connally blowing forward — apparently struck from behind by a bullet from a single gunman.

"They certainly resolved that issue for me," Mr. Friebe said. "This was incredible testimony."

LESBIAN AND GAY law group wins right to affiliate with ABA.

The ABA's House of Delegates, the organization's policy-making body, voted to approve an affiliation with the National Lesbian and Gay Law Association. The vote means that the group will be represented in the House of Delegates.

At last year's ABA meeting in Atlanta, a vote for the affiliation failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority.

* * *

LAWYERS BEAT DOCTORS in spending at conventions.

A San Francisco taxi driver said he'd rather ferry lawyers than doctors "any day."

"The doctors don't eat out," he complained. "They pack their lunches."

"The lawyers," he said happily, "they spend and spend and spend."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Senators Expand Plan to Create Enterprise Zones

Revision in Tax Bill Drops Two Key Bush Proposals For Spurring Economy

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Senate Democrats, piqued by Bush administration criticism of a bipartisan tax bill, acceded to demands for a broader program of business incentives for blighted areas, but dropped two of the president's other economic priorities to pay for it.

The surprise move, in the first of what is expected to be two days of inconclusive debate on the tax bill, removed the main provisions aimed at giving some minor spark to the economy—a one-time acceleration of write-offs for new business equipment, and a \$2,500 credit for first-time home buyers. The two provisions, drawn from Mr. Bush's seven-point economic plan, would have applied to purchases of equipment or homes through the end of this year.

In making the change, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D.,

Shaky Grip

The Republicans' hold on the tax issue may be loosened by misleading attacks on Clinton's proposals and record and by their own tax increases over the past 12 years. See article on page A12.

Texas) seemed to strike an independent course for Democrats after initially bidding for White House support. He originally had included the two provisions after consultations with Senate GOP leaders.

But initial signals of support for the bill from various officials were drowned out by protests from Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, a longtime proponent of tax incentives for blighted "enterprise zones." He called the bill a "hoax" because it would create too few such zones and wouldn't cut taxes on capital gains of investors in these zones. The divided White House then issued a veto threat.

"I thought we had an agreement for the administration's support," Sen. Bentsen complained. "But no sooner had we made these concessions than they sent word that unless we did some additional things, we'd get a veto. So any deal we had obviously was ended at that point."

The change engineered by Sen. Bentsen and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine) would quintuple to 125 the number of zones that would be designated to offer a passel of business-tax incentives. Mr. Kemp had called for at least 300 zones. The expansion to 125, Sen. Bentsen said, would increase the proposed program's cost — \$2.5 billion over five years—by \$2.8 billion. But omitting the tax benefits for business equipment and homes purchased this year would save \$3 billion.

Sen. Bentsen had said he wanted to keep the untried enterprise-zone program limited at first, to avoid its becoming a coast-to-coast, pork-barrel, political patronage system and to better assess whether the zones work. "I'm not sure they do," he reiterated.

He said he made the change in part to counter what he characterized as Mr. Kemp's "misrepresentations" about the bill. The secretary was in Dayton, Ohio, and declined to comment.

The expansion also helps cement support for the package; Sen. Bentsen acknowledged that several senators were concerned that no communities in their states would qualify to be enterprise zones. One convert was Sen. Joseph Lieberman (D., Conn.), who had planned to offer a substitute enterprise-zone amendment with GOP Sen. Robert Kasten of Wisconsin, supported by Mr. Kemp.

Sen. Kasten, in turn, complained that Sen. Bentsen made the change because he feared the Kasten-Lieberman version, which would reduce capital-gains taxes for investors in new small businesses, would pass.

Senators from states that allow gambling were the target of another minor change, which removes a provision raising taxes on state-authorized wagering. For farm-state senators, a minor tax benefit for farmers' cooperatives was added.

More than 150 amendments waited as the Senate began debate on the package, which includes a variety of tax breaks for businesses and individuals. Its tax breaks, which would cost more than \$31 billion over five years, would be paid for by myriad taxes on upper-income taxpayers and corporations. Congress is planning to leave today for the Republican National Convention and a monthlong recess, so the bill won't be finished until September. Then it must be reconciled with a bill passed by the House.

Among the first amendments to surface was one by Sen. John Chafee (R., R.I.) to kill Sen. Bentsen's own top priority, an expansion of the tax benefits for individual retirement accounts.

Last night, by a 72-25 vote, the Senate rejected an amendment by Sen. John Chafee (R., R.I.) to kill Sen. Bentsen's own top priority, an expansion of the tax benefits for individual retirement accounts.

The bill would restore the full deduction for contributions to IRAs, now \$2,000 a year, to taxpayers of all incomes. A 1986 law limited the deduction to those below certain income levels or those without employer-provided pension plans. Also, the bill would create a new type of IRA that wouldn't be deductible immediately, but instead would waive taxes on withdrawals made after five years. And funds in current IRAs, which generally can't be withdrawn until age 59½ without a penalty, could be transferred to the new type of account as long as taxes are paid on the income over four years.

"I would think millionaires would think that was splendid," Sen. Chafee said, adding, "This is a great giveaway program." With charts, Sen. Chafee disputed Sen. Bentsen's claims that IRAs would boost personal savings, arguing that many taxpayers would simply shift existing savings into the tax-favored accounts.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Wolves in the Marketplace

By TERRY L. ANDERSON

Efforts by the National Park Service and environmental groups to reintroduce wolves to Yellowstone Park and to encourage natural repopulation of wolves in the West have aroused the ire of ranchers. Wolves, which kill sheep and other livestock, are not popular on Western rangeland.

But a Montana environmentalist named Hank Fischer thinks that ranchers might actually provide habitat for wolves, if the incentives are right.

Under Mr. Fischer's direction, Defenders of Wildlife, an environmental group, has established a wolf reward program. Defenders will pay a private landowner \$5,000 if the landowner can show that a litter of wolf pups has been successfully reared on his property. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service will verify the location of den sites and the presence of wolves.

Defenders of Wildlife has not always taken such an innovative approach. In 1991, it simply sued the federal government in an effort to speed up wolf reintroduction into Yellowstone Park.

But Mr. Fischer's wolf reward program demonstrates a willingness to take responsibility for the impact of wolves, and it should be applauded. Already, under a program developed by Mr. Fischer, Defenders of Wildlife pays Western ranchers for any losses of livestock due to wolf predation. Defenders has raised \$100,000 for its compensation fund; since 1987, \$12,000 has been paid to 10 different ranchers.

No one knows whether the new program will be accepted. But by combining this compensation program with rewards for protection, Defenders of Wildlife is trying to turn wolves from a liability into an asset. The programs, says Mr. Fischer,

"shift the economic responsibility of wolf recovery away from the individual livestock producer and toward those people who seek wolf restoration."

Mr. Fischer calls the program "a foray for Defenders of Wildlife into free-market environmentalism." In other words, Defenders of Wildlife is willing to take responsibility for its actions by paying those who supply what it wants — wolf habitat. This free market approach contrasts sharply with the federal government's management of wildlife.

Consider, for example, how the National Park Service treats bison and elk. In essence, its officials deny responsibility for the elk and bison in Yellowstone National Park—even while claiming the right to manage them.

Elk and bison migrate out of Yellowstone Park in the winter, partly because the park herds exceed park carrying capacity. Outside the park, they pose a threat to livestock because some carry brucellosis, a bacterial disease that causes cattle to abort their fetuses.

In the winter of 1989, after the famous Yellowstone fires destroyed winter grazing habitat, elk and bison wandered out of Yellowstone in search of food. The Park Service did nothing. Officials of the state of Montana, convinced that the brucellosis-infected bison would endanger Montana livestock, turned to hunters to shoot the bison. The hunts sparked such a public outcry (since bison are easy targets) that the state halted them. Only then did National Park Service officials take action—luring them back into Yellowstone, or shooting them if they kept eating Montana grass.

The treatment of wildlife habitat under the Endangered Species Act also illustrates the government's unwillingness to

take responsibility for protecting wild animals. The act requires that owners of habitat known to harbor endangered species follow strict, sometimes draconian, regulations — rules that can make their own use of the land or development nearly impossible. The government puts the burden of protection on the landowner.

While a few landowners welcome endangered species, those whose livelihoods are endangered by protecting spotted owls, silverspot butterflies, or California gnatcatchers may not. Consider a private forest owner who thinks he has spotted owls living in trees slated for harvest. This owner has every incentive to cut his trees immediately. Waiting until the owls are discovered could destroy the economic value of his asset.

In sum, the federal government makes others — in these examples, ranchers and landowners — bear the cost of providing wildlife habitat. In contrast, Hank Fischer's approach offers a carrot rather than a stick by offering a voluntary trade. Defenders of Wildlife, the demander of wolves, is willing to pay ranchers for their supply.

Such an approach could be adopted to protect other species, including the spotted owl. A reward program that paid timber owners \$5,000 per pair of nesting spotted owls could motivate landowners to raise spotted owls as well as timber. The invisible hand of free market environmentalism offers an effective alternative to the heavy hand of command-and-control.

Mr. Anderson is a senior associate of the Political Economy Research Center in Bozeman, Mont., and co-author with Donald Leal of "Free Market Environmentalism" (Pacific Research Institute and Westview Press, 1991).

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Let Your Fingers Do the Voting, Maybe

By LOUIS JACOBSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Ross Perot's idea for an electronic town hall may have died along with his candidacy. But the vision of a wired-in electorate voting by telephone — long a dream of populists and techno-nerds — is inching its way into the mainstream.

This June in Nova Scotia, the Liberal Party threw open the phone lines at its convention, holding a provincewide televote to choose its new leader. Despite a computer glitch that delayed the vote by two weeks, voters eventually cast ballots in numbers four times greater than at the previous convention, which had used traditional balloting methods.

Late last month, the House Subcommittee on Elections heard testimony on allowing phone or fax voting for overseas civilians and military personnel. Soldiers in the Gulf War voted by fax from the Mideast.

Meanwhile, Boulder, Colo., could become the first U.S. city to test a telephone-voting system, if the Voting by Phone Foundation succeeds in getting the issue on this fall's ballot. The proposal has prompted a spirited local debate and, if passed, could present Colorado courts with a landmark case on the issue.

Too Busy

Longstanding proponents say telephone voting could remedy low voter turnout, which has shrunk to half of the eligible voters in presidential elections. Citizens with disabilities or those too busy to vote could be easily enfranchised. Even better, supporters say, the technology already exists. Yet, the idea is dogged by worries over fraud and privacy.

"This idea crops up like mushrooms after a spring rain," says William Kimberling, a Federal Elections Commission official. "I'm just not sure it's worth it, especially if you need a parallel system [of ballot voting]. What do you gain except a terrible expense and unknown ramifications? The futuristic stuff is good for people who watch Star Trek regularly, but not my mother."

Undeterred, advocates say the fine-tuning of communications technology, as well as the public's comfort with banking and shopping by phone, may provide a breakthrough for a heretofore subversive idea.

A symbol of the movement's anti-establishment roots is Evan Ravitz, who founded the Voting by Phone Foundation in 1989. A 42-year-old computer programmer, Mr. Ravitz has variously supported himself as a tightrope walker, juggler and comedian. Now, leading the charge in Boulder, Mr. Ravitz boasts 100 to 200

Longstanding proponents say telephone voting could remedy low voter turnout. Yet, the idea is dogged by worries over fraud and privacy. What do you gain except a terrible expense and unknown ramifications? asks William Kimberling, an official at the Federal Elections Commission. 'The futuristic stuff is good for people who watch Star Trek regularly, but not my mother.'

volunteers and has more than half of the 5,500 signatures needed by next Monday to put the issue on Boulder's ballot. His foundation's literature cites support from local and state politicians of both parties.

Mr. Ravitz argues that phone elections are so easy to put on that they could even be held monthly. Such a system would make voting less disruptive, requiring only a minimum of staff to man a handful of voting booths. Frequent elections, he adds, would spread out the battery of referendums that have clogged many states' ballots recently. Right now, companies such as Call Interactive, a unit of First Data Corp., and MCI Communications Corp. could handle a vote held in almost any single U.S. city, as long as the phone-polls stay open for several hours.

Public Appeal

Mr. Ravitz's notion was bolstered by the Nova Scotia vote because it was apparently the first-ever test of voting-by-phone. Liberal Party leaders, who had appealed for ideas on democratizing the party, say the local phone company, Maritime Telegraph & Telephone, was eager to work with them. Once the company solved the first glitch, caused by new computer software, the system easily handled the surge of about 7,000 calls in a two-hour period, says Howard McNutt, Maritime's networks-marketing manager.

Some observers say the vote may already have changed provincial politics in Canada. The experience "compels the other political parties to do the same thing," says Carey Veinotte, an aide to the Liberal member of parliament representing Halifax. "I can't see the grass roots of the Conservative or New Democratic parties accepting brokerage politics ever again, when they can look at everybody in the Nova Scotia Liberal party voting." In fact, Nova Scotia's conservatives have set up a committee to study potential uses of new voting technologies, and the NDP,

which has experimented in the past with video linkups, says it would also consider similar methods.

But others aren't impressed. In Washington, Richard Smolka, who has edited Election Administration Reports for 22 years, says he is sick of the idea. "It hasn't advanced one iota, for the obvious reasons. The technology is there — you can change your bank by phone—but the problem with elections is due to the nature of the ballot."

Some obstacles can be overcome. Votes cannot be duplicated if voters are sent confidential ID numbers, like those on a bank card, to punch in before voting. Once a voter's selection is made, he could short-circuit long lists of also-rans by pressing a button. Citizens could vote from home, the office, a friend's house or a public pay phone without giving up the alternative of voting in person, if they so wished. In fact, the number could be set up as a free call, such as 911 or 411 are now.

Telephone voting could actually cut overall costs by 80%, Mr. Ravitz says, compared with the price tag of manning traditional polling places, plus transportation costs and the voter's lost productivity. "The real costs are the costs of moving electrons," he says.

Petty Cheating

More problematic is fraud. Voting electronically could cut back on petty cheating, but it also opens the door to more widespread and damaging fraud. On the one hand, traditional voting identification "is based on the archaic idea that you know everyone in your precinct," Mr. Ravitz says. An electronic system, on the other hand, raises the stakes by making it possible to change thousands of votes with the press of a button. Such mischief as tying up phone lines is also possible.

But voter privacy is perhaps the trickiest issue. Caller-ID can be defeated by

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using a public phone, but if hackers crack the master list of names and personal ID numbers, they could track a person's votes. Mr. Ravitz's solution: Keep names and ID numbers under lock and key, and use a recording system that keeps ID numbers separate from votes.

"There is no problem with electronic voting per se, but safeguards must be adopted to protect privacy and promote reliability," says Marc Rotenberg, director of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility. "It's a design issue, and you need independent oversight. Now we have a lot of checks and balances locally, but when things hit the big time, like,

Even if universal telephone voting fails to catch fire, observers say it is likely that local tests will become sufficiently widespread to familiarize voters with the technology. Such a system may actually work better for voting in a corporate or university setting, Maritime's Mr. McNutt says.

The biggest problems may actually be bringing people to the technology. Mr. McNutt adds. With the Liberal Party vote, he says people were willing to learn, once they were talked through it. "They're not Luddites," he says. "They're intelligent

Joseph N. Pelton, who directs the University of Colorado graduate telecommunications program and advises Mr. Ravitz's foundation, compares the challenge of telephone voting with that faced by automatic teller machines a few decades ago. "People said, 'I'll never use that.' Now people find them quite user friendly. It took quite a while to work out the bugs. That scenario may happen here."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

RTC Legal Staff Faces Senate Probe On Hiring Practice

By PAULETTE THOMAS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Democrats on the Senate Banking Committee questioned whether the Resolution Trust Corp.'s legal department is doling out jobs to cronies, and accused the agency of avoiding some lawsuits against directors of failed savings and loans.

In a four-hour hearing, the committee disclosed a Jan. 3 memorandum from the RTC's general counsel, Gerald Jacobs, in which he instructed his staff to give particular consideration to applications for legal jobs that were "specially referred."

That included any job application "referred to us by a personal acquaintance, by an RTC or [Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.] senior management official, or by a member of the administration," the memo said. It laid out a nine-step process for special referrals, including requirements that these applications be reviewed regardless of whether there were job vacancies, an interview considered, and a follow-up letter sent. Other applicants were to receive form letters indicating whether jobs were available. "It seems to me as I read this that it has the potential for cronyism and favoritism," said Sen. Timothy Wirth (D., Colo.).

The senators didn't provide any specific instances, but they noted that Mr. Jacobs got his job on a White House referral. Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D., Md.) said the memo indicated "a serious situation" and urged the committee to further investigate the agency's hiring practices.

RTC officials, caught flat-footed, said they were unaware of any job openings being handled in that manner. Albert Casey, president of the RTC, said he had never seen the memo. "I shall take it out of effect," he said. Mr. Jacobs wasn't available for comment.

The RTC's legal department was recently reorganized and streamlined to reduce the number of supervisors, RTC officials said. Testifying yesterday, the General Accounting Office said the reorganization had contributed to poor morale and staff shortages, as about 40% of the RTC's professional-liability staff has been reassigned or left the program in the last five months. "There's no doubt that there was an internecine struggle going on," said Richard Fogel, assistant comptroller general of the GAO, the investigative arm of Congress.

But committee Chairman Donald Riegle (D., Mich.) said he believed the changes in the legal department were designed to push out aggressive attorneys and hire lawyers less inclined to pursue cases for negligence. "It sounds to me like the government is taking a dive," he said.

Moreover, three staff attorneys for the agency testified that they were recently demoted for pursuing civil lawsuits against directors of failed S&Ls too aggressively. "It is my strong and deep belief that I was reassigned because we were aggressively going after these cases," said Jacqueline Taylor, former section chief of the Denver office for professional liability.

Ms. Taylor said she was pressured to settle cases for unreasonably small amounts. She claimed that in one case, she was offered a settlement of \$30,000 by an S&L official who earned \$200,000 a year and was partly responsible for millions in losses. She said she was told to accept the settlement, because the director had connections to Mr. Jacobs's "favorite outside legal counsel." She refused to elaborate, or say how or whether the case was settled.

Along with two other attorneys, she contended that the agency is also veering away from filing suits alleging negligence, particularly against outside directors of S&Ls — those who were members of the board, but not in charge of day-to-day operations. "If you delete this standard," she said, "the taxpayers can only lose." She also said that those who were avoided were "politically prominent," but didn't elaborate.

RTC attorneys, after the hearing, rebutted that and said that five outside S&L directors had been sued for negligence in the last week alone. In addition, "we've sued the Republican governor of Arizona and a sitting federal judge," noted a spokesman for the agency.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush Agrees To Grant Israel Loan Guarantees

Accord for Up to \$10 Billion Restricts Use of Funds For New Settlements

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — President Bush agreed to give Israel as much as \$10 billion in loan guarantees to help absorb immigrants and asked Congress to move immediately to approve the financing.

By granting the loan guarantees, which had become a symbol of the problems between the Bush administration and former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Mr. Bush is signaling a turnaround in U.S.-Israel relations. The administration hopes the revived relationship, which should please U.S. Jewish voters in this election year, also will translate into Israeli proposals on Palestinian autonomy that produce progress at the next round of Middle East peace talks this month in Washington.

The deal represents a tactical victory for Mr. Bush, who used approval of the loan guarantees as a lever to win a significant change in Israel's policy on building settlements on occupied Palestinian land.

After a day of talks here with the new Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, Mr. Bush said they had agreed on the "basic principles" governing the use of the loans, which are to be disbursed over five years.

U.S. and Israeli officials have held detailed discussions on procedures to ensure that U.S. financing isn't used for settlements built in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Mr. Rabin has pledged to halt most of the settlements planned by his predecessor, Mr. Shamir, but he has also said work will continue on some "security settlements," as well as some partly completed projects. Under a formula of "deductibility," money Israel uses to complete settlements will be deducted from the total amount of loan guarantees.

Asked whether the U.S. and Israel had resolved their differences about what "security" settlements still might be built on occupied land, Mr. Bush avoided a direct answer. He said only that Mr. Rabin had significantly changed Israeli settlement policy and added: "I salute this change. We salute what the prime minister is trying to do."

The loan guarantees don't require a direct outlay of U.S. government funds. Rather, the U.S. government agrees to back loans to Israel from private banks, pledging to repay them if Israel defaults.

There will be a small impact on the U.S. budget, however, because the administration is required to set aside as a reserve a

Federal Program Is Boon To Mortgage-Issue Holders

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—With mortgage rates at 19-year lows of 8% and less, it seems bizarre that some homeowners might be willing to continue paying rates of 12½% to 16½%.

But thanks to an obscure federal mortgage-subsidy program, thousands of such loans are alive and unlikely to soon be refinanced, mortgage experts say.

Moreover, those double-digit rate loans provide a windfall for holders of mortgage securities backed by them. Securities backed by these loans pay rates as high as 16% — more even than junk bonds.

Holders of the securities can thank a U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development program, "Section 235." Created in the 1960s to aid low-income Americans, it picks up half or more of qualified homeowners' mortgage payments. No new mortgages are being created under this program, but mortgages outstanding continue to be subsidized.

Washington officials long have debated killing the program and repaying the loans. But against the vast total federal budget, "this is a small peanut little program. It's not a burning issue," says one government economist.

Among mortgage securities, 15% and 16% Ginnie Maes of the Government National Mortgage Association are mostly backed by Section 235 mortgages.

percentage of the total amount of loan guarantees. The size of the reserve will be based on an assessment of the risk of Israel defaulting on some of the loans. U.S. officials indicated that discussions with Congress still must be held on this issue.

Mr. Rabin pledged that his government will pursue economic policies designed to invigorate the Israeli private sector, thereby increasing confidence in Israel's ability to repay and reducing the "burden on the American taxpayer"

After talks here at his seaside vacation home, Mr. Bush made two other significant nods in Mr. Rabin's direction to underscore the change in relations. He said that after the new policies Mr. Rabin has enunciated to improve the chances for Arab-Israeli peace, the U.S. now looks for Arab governments to "respond in kind" with concessions of their own. The U.S. has tried to play the role of a neutral honest broker in the talks, seeking to avoid pressuring either side too openly.

And without offering any specifics, Mr. Bush said the U.S. and Israel are "strategic partners" and will deepen military cooperation. U.S. and Israeli officials said the Bush administration is beginning to talk about more joint security planning with Israel, something that hadn't been discussed much in the strained days of Mr. Shamir's rule.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

U.S. Food Stamp Enrollment Grows; Congress Clears Bill Raising Aid Budget

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The faltering economy is driving up enrollment in the federal food stamp program, which has already grown by more than a third since President Bush took office and is projected to reach a record level of 27.8 million next year.

The revised estimates by the administration are reflected in a \$60.75 billion appropriations bill that cleared Congress last night and covers farm and nutrition programs for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. Total spending would grow by \$9.1 billion over the current budget year, and nearly two-thirds of this increase is attributed to food stamps and related assistance for children.

The increased enrollment is significant as a measure of economic stress and growing poverty in the U.S. Unlike welfare or Medicaid, which are targeted to single-parent families, food stamps are available more generally to households whose earnings fall below 130% of what the government defines as a poverty income. Most of the participants are, in fact, below the poverty line. And in the past, budget analysts have used the program as a measure to anticipate changes in the poverty rate nationwide.

Increase Expected

The last such poverty estimate, 13.5% of the population in 1990, is certain to increase when the government announces the 1991 poverty rate next month. Food stamp enrollment jumped to 22.6 million from 20 million from 1990 to 1991, and monthly reports by the Agriculture Department show that the program has grown by an additional two million people in the past year.

The Food and Nutrition Service, for example, reported a record 25.8 million people participated in the program in April, before dropping slightly to 25.7 million in May. Going into the fall elections, the escalation is embarrassing to President Bush, and the revised enrollment projections for next year represent a nearly 50% increase over the participation level in 1989, the first year of his administration.

"Spending on entitlements is out of control," protested Rep. Dan Burton (R., Ind.). But Democrats countered that the new figures were more an indictment of the administration's economic record.

"These are the people at the bottom rung," said House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta, who is the ranking member of the Agriculture subcommittee responsible for nutrition programs. "We haven't increased eligibility. This reflects the recession."

The underlying bill is the first of the fiscal 1993 spending bills to be sent to the White House and final action came on a simple voice vote in the Senate last night following a 299-100 vote in the House.

Other Accounts

In other accounts, the measure provides nearly \$2.86 billion for rural development programs and \$9.2 billion to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation for losses. The bill rejects funding for a new wetlands reserve program backed by the administration. But under pressure from the Senate and California agriculture interests, negotiators agreed to preserve \$148 million for the controversial Market Promotion Program used to sell U.S. commodities abroad.

Large business interests, including McDonald's Corp. and Sunkist Growers Inc., have been among those benefiting from the initiative. The House initially cut the proposed budget by more than half to protest what critics said were unwarranted subsidies for agribusiness. The final bill restores much of this reduction, but it still represents a 25% cut from the level authorized in the 1990 farm bill.

Among regulatory agencies, the bill provides \$780 million for the Food and Drug Administration, a modest increase from current spending. But in response to pressure from the House, the agreement would prohibit any funding for the Food Safety and Inspection Service's streamlined inspection program for cattle after April 1, 1993.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bosnian Album: Snapshots of Suffering War May Leave New Nations Unstable for Decades

By ROGER THUROW

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BOSANSKI BROD, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Muslims and Croats fleeing the advancing Serbs in this northern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina wait restlessly, in despairingly long lines, to cross the Sava River into Croatia.

A look at the license plates on their tractors and hay wagons, indicating their hometowns, is enough to know their stories: Bijeljina. Zvornik. Foca. Doboj. Gorazde. The names are embedded in local lore as scenes of massacres, of sieges, of "ethnic purification" where people are forced from their homes and marched away.

"I am from Doboj," says a toothless Muslim woman fleeing the Serbian siege of her town. She leans against the tire of her tractor, punch-drunk from months of ethnic fighting. "What else do you need to know?"

Pictures of gaunt Muslim and Croat inmates of Serb detention camps, film clips of refugee orphans coming under fire and tales of savagery unknown in Europe since World War II have shocked much of the world.

Now, to the people of what used to be Yugoslavia, the abnormal has become the normal. Serbs have moved into houses of displaced Croats, drinking the brandy that has been left behind. Croats occupy homes of displaced Serbs, sleeping in their enemies' beds.

The savagery is almost medieval, the ethnic edge reminiscent of World War II. The emotions of many of the combatants haven't really matured since that war, when Croatia became a Nazi puppet state and violently clashed with Serbs, Muslims and anti-Nazi Croats. Hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs died at the hands of one another.

Geographic Intertwining

The postwar Tito government obscured this history and artificially obliterated ethnic divisions in the name of Communist brotherhood. When communism collapsed, the yearnings for independence in some of the country's six republics unleashed these old emotions. (In other former Communist countries now splitting along ethnic lines, the national groups involved generally don't have so much violence and hatred in their past.)

Serb leaders used Croatia's declaration of independence as a call to arms, invoking Croatia's treatment of the Serb minority in World War II. But this time it was Serbia that adopted the aggressive tactics, moving into Serb-populated regions of Croatia and forcing a massive migration of ethnic groups.

Bosnia's declaration of independence, opposed by its Serbian residents, was more explosive because Muslims, Croats and

Serbs are closely intertwined geographically and socially. Thus, Serbia's efforts to carve out the Serb-populated regions from the rest of Bosnia has proved to be particularly bloody. One atrocity, it seems, leads to another.

The war began in Croatia 15 months ago, routinely separating women from their husbands and sons, fathers and brothers, who often disappeared or were herded into detention camps. People in countless towns in Croatia and Bosnia have been forced to live in cellars and scurry like rats to get food and water between rounds of shelling.

The recent images of suffering coming out of Bosnia and its capital, Sarajevo, have finally roused the world toward ac-



tion. British members of Parliament touring the area call for Serb detention camps to be opened to international inspection and control. The United Nations Security Council is expected to vote on authorizing force to ensure the delivery of relief supplies to Sarajevo. The U.N. Commission on Human Rights convenes an extraordinary meeting to examine reports of atrocities.

These moves are aimed at alleviating the suffering and limiting the horror, but little is being done to stop the source of it—the war itself—let alone to deal with its debilitating aftereffects. The focus on immediate relief ignores the long-term psychological scars of the continuing inhumanity and the probability that this region of Europe — where four new countries, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and a smaller Yugoslavia, have been born in blood — will remain unstable for decades.

View on a Tragedy

"The tragedy is that in years to come, maybe people will come out of this physically fine, but they will be mentally ill," says Ante Kozina, a Bosnian who runs a relief agency for refugees in Slavonski Brod, just across the Sava from Bosanski Brod. "If you see your parents slaughtered, or your children killed, you can never be the same again."

Adnan Smajic, a 30-year-old surgeon, was on duty at the hospital the night in early April when Serbian forces came to

Bijeljina, a town in eastern Bosnia that was 65% Muslim and 35% Serb. He remembers being overwhelmed by a wave of bodies, some dead, some badly wounded. Many of the dead had bullet holes in the back, as if they had been executed. Dawn the following day revealed the extent of the horror.

Mr. Smajic, a Muslim, was fired from his position at the hospital and went into hiding — with a Serbian friend. Three days later, that friend led him safely out of town.

He talks blankly about the massacre and of leaving his parents and younger brother behind. "They wanted to stay with our house," he says.

But the thing he remembers most vividly is this: "Every Serb in town was given a gun, a machine gun. Whether they wanted it or not. Even my friend. He had a gun."

When the women and children who survived the siege began pouring out of the Croatian city of Vukovar, they told how the men had been taken aside and marched off to a Serb prison camp called Srijemska Mitrovica. There was no time for good-byes, though most hoped a prisoner swap between Serbia and Croatia would soon reunite the families. Today, 10 months later, more than 1,000 former residents of Vukovar are still listed as "missing."

Edina Cubela, a Muslim from Sarajevo, dreads that her uncertainty may last as long. Three months ago, she waved an abrupt farewell to her husband when she and her 18-month-old son joined a convoy of women and children and fled to Croatia. She hasn't heard from her husband since.

Staring Into Faces

At a refugee center in Zagreb, she watches news footage of the detention sites. But rather than merely seeing the misery that has fixated others around the world, she stares into the faces of the men, hoping that a familiar one will stare back.

When the fighting in Yugoslavia began, Vladimir Degan, a Croat, was a maverick. As a specialist in human-rights law at Zagreb University, he urged the Croatian government to draft legislation protecting minority Serb rights. Instead, he watched with chagrin as his fellow Croats showed increasing intolerance while the war dragged on.

As the Serbs began their siege of Sarajevo, he found himself feeling the emotions he had so deplored. He pictured his sister and 83-year-old mother, who were trapped in Sarajevo, being pinned down by snipers. How could he continue to advocate tolerance?

"Now I become a victim," Mr. Degan says in his Zagreb office, his eyes welling up with tears. "I was a very tolerant person. But now maybe I am changing. I, too, have become less tolerant."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

EPA Rejects Calls for Rules On Used Oil

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Evergreen Oil Inc. and its high-technology recycling process for oil got a publicity boost when President Bush chose it for an environmental campaign stop in California this summer.

But weeks after the photo opportunity, the Bush administration has decided against giving Evergreen's so-called green technology the competitive boost sought by the company and environmentalists.

The Environmental Protection Agency plans today to reject calls by companies such as Evergreen and Safety-Kleen Corp. of Elgin, Ill., and by environmentalists to declare used motor oil a hazardous waste that needs stringently safe handling and disposal.

The decision may give new ammunition to vice presidential candidate Sen. Al Gore (D., Tenn.), who also recently visited Evergreen's Newark, Calif., plant to accuse Mr. Bush of being the "hypocritical president" instead of the environmental president.

While the EPA's regulations will require better tracking, storage and handling of used oil, the rule probably will mean that the bulk of used oil from cars and other engines will continue to be burned in industrial and residential boilers as fuel oil. Evergreen and Safety-Kleen each have a plant that uses a new process to clean dirty motor oil and turn out clean oil that can be used for industrial and automobile lubricants.

Environmentalists claim that burning waste oil puts dangerous pollutants, such as lead, into the air and that the recycling done by Evergreen and Safety-Kleen is better for the environment. But the companies contend they are at an economic disadvantage because oil-burning companies aren't required to be as protective of the environment.

Mr. Bush unwittingly stepped into a hornet's nest when his advance team, wanting to showcase a high-technology environmental company on the campaign trail, chose Evergreen on the advice of the California governor's office. The news media seized on the embarrassing fact that at the same time Mr. Bush was lauding Evergreen, the company and its trade group in Washington were suing the administration over its failure to issue used-oil rules.

The EPA's latest action satisfies the lawsuit but may make publicity matters even worse.

"What it means is we've got an environmental president whose commitment to these issues lasts as long as the camera flash," charged Richard Fortuna, head of the Hazardous Waste Treatment Council that filed the suit for Evergreen and

Safety-Kleen. The president's visit to Evergreen, Mr. Fortuna said, was "either hypocrisy or stupidity."

Evergreen executives are more even-handed in their criticism. "I don't think it has as much to do with the man at the helm" as with lower-level bureaucrats swayed by oil-industry lobbying, said Greg Ray, vice president of Evergreen's parent. Chairman Curtis Morgan, said Congress is as much to blame. "Al Gore is a senator with an excellent environmental record," Mr. Morgan said, "and if he felt that strongly why didn't he introduce legislation to do it?"

Mr. Fortuna said that his group and the environmental community are certain to challenge the new rules in court.

Safety-Kleen, whose year-old East Chicago, Ind., plant is the world's largest for refining used oil, stood to gain the most if the EPA had imposed tougher standards; it can reprocess 75 million gallons annually. Evergreen, which can process about 13 million gallons of waste oil annually, already benefits from a California law that requires used oil to be handled as a hazardous waste.

Christopher Harris, a lawyer who represents a trade group of 75 oil processors and transporters involved in selling waste oil for burning, said the EPA's final regulations will impose costs on those companies for upgrades, such as building berms or containment walls to catch spills, but are reasonable. He denied claims the EPA is giving oil-burning companies an unfair edge. "The EPA is, in essence, saying let the market compete, let the marketplace choose," he said.

Political Paradox

People With the Least To Fear From Crime Drive the Crime Issue

Appeals to Suburban Whites Highlight Split Between Perception and Reality

Some Blacks Deny the Fear

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WILMINGTON, Del. — Once again, crime is bubbling to the surface of presidential attack politics. "One of the things we'd like to see is to get our crime bill passed, which is tough on the criminal, more compassionate for the victim of crime," President Bush told a meeting of law-enforcement officers in June, complaining that he is being "hung up" by "old thinkers" in Congress.

This happens every four years, from Richard Nixon's "law-and-order" to George Bush's own Willie Horton. But there's an inherent irony in the issue: The people it is designed to appeal to are, in fact, the people with the least to fear from crime.

They are people like Craig Stabler, a 30-year-old white computer technician here. He had his first and only brush with crime a few months ago: A neighbor's purse was stolen from her home at the city's affluent northern edge.

The offender was caught by police 20 minutes later. But the incident made a strong impression on Mr. Stabler. He has installed a steel security door and now always makes sure his doors are locked and his car is secure. He has become "more defensive, more careful," he says.

"I'm pro-law enforcement," he says. "As far as the city goes, crime is a big thing." And he adds: "I would never vote for Clinton, never in a million years."

A Different Perspective

Despite Mr. Stabler's fears, crime is more likely to touch people like Jerome Edwards, a 33-year-old black janitor who lives across town in East Wilmington. He says he feels perfectly safe on his block in his blue-collar neighborhood because "it's more calm around our way." But a check of police records shows his block had the same number of service calls last year as a notorious drug market a few blocks away: a murder took place just two blocks from his house. Still, Mr. Edwards insists he isn't concerned about street crime because "I know how to defend myself." And if you ask him what the most important issues are in this election, he says: "Getting some jobs out here and something for these kids to do."

The riots in Los Angeles highlighted the crime problem in the public mind. Scenes of young black men beating a white truck driver, of people looting stores and talking openly about a war on the police, have raised the specter of a season of unrest and violence. And national and local politicians are once again talking about crime.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Last month, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton took a page from the GOP playbook and surrounded himself with dozens of police officers to make a speech critical of the administration's record on crime. He called for the hiring of 100,000 new police officers and bans on some so-called assault weapons. Mr. Bush's latest political advertisements also sound the crime theme. In an ad running on many local and cable channels, Mr. Bush says, "We must increase respect for the law. We must pass strong legislation to help the fight against crime and to back up our police officers."

'Prejudice' vs. 'Common Sense'

But despite this renewed attention, law enforcement personnel and crime experts say the public's perception of crime, and the reality of crime, remain far apart. "The way this is being framed as a political issue doesn't jell with the reality," says Katherine McFate, a political scientist who has been studying urban crime at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a research institute in Washington, D.C.

For example, Ms. McFate says there is a widespread perception that blacks commit most of the violent crime in America. And she worries that events in Los Angeles may reinforce the fears of many whites who think they are the likely targets. That attitude doesn't always show up in public opinion polls, she says, because "people know the politically correct answer to these questions." But when a 1989 ABC/Washington Post poll asked whether it was "common sense" or "prejudice" for white people to avoid black neighborhoods out of fear of crime, three-quarters of the whites answered: common sense.

In fact, in 1990, whites committed 54% of all violent crimes, while blacks committed 45% — although that figure is still far above the 12% of the total population represented by blacks. And while the incidence of violent crime has risen sharply over the past decade, the rate of increase has been the same among blacks and whites alike.

Subtle Messages

Moreover, violent crimes between races are by far the exception, not the rule. In 1990, a full 72% of violent crimes committed against whites were committed by other whites, while 84% of violent crimes committed against blacks were committed by other blacks.

Political appeals on the crime issue all too often are also subtle appeals based on race. Many whites and blacks, including a number of black Republicans who serve in the Bush administration, continue to see the ad about Willie Horton — a black man

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who attacked a white couple while out on a prison furlough — as a way to stir racial fears rather than as an attack on Michael Dukakis's lax crime policies, as Mr. Bush said it was.

But perceptions of crime don't break down neatly along racial lines; instead, socio-economic factors are often key. A recent survey by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and Home Box Office found that upper-income black voters were more likely to see crime as a critical issue than were lower-income blacks, although they report experiences with it less often, according to David Bositis, a senior analyst at the Joint Center. "I think it is more of a voting issue for whites, especially as it pertains to race," Mr. Bositis says. But even within racial groups, crime is "more important to higher income than lower income," he says. "It is more of a suburban fear."

Television promotes another common misperception: A recent study found women of any race were far more likely to be portrayed as the victims of crime than men. In fact, black males are by far the most frequent victims of violence. According to figures compiled by the federal government earlier this year, for every 1,000 black males over the age of 12, 53 have been victims of a violent crime. That compares with 35.5 white males, 28.2 black females, and 21.3 white females.

The impact of violence on the life expectancy of black males has been so great that Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan has declared homicide one of the greatest risks to inner-city public health. Murders "are sort of an occupational hazard of living in the ghetto," says James Fyfe, until recently a professor of Justice, Law and Society at American University in Washington, D.C., and a former New York City police officer. "White, middle-class people are at very little risk."

Ambivalent Relationship

Mr. Fyfe, like Mr. Bositis, believes that white suburbanites, rather than black ghetto residents, tend to drive the crime debate because they have access to the means to do so. They are more likely to be consistent voters and vocal activists, and to demand attention from their elected officials on such issues, while poorer citizens are more preoccupied with individual economic survival. In the Joint Center survey, for example, all black voters identified jobs and the economy as the No. 1 concern, but poorer respondents were even more firm about it.

Messrs. Fyfe and Bositis also cite the ambivalent relationship that has long existed between law-enforcement officials and many black communities, whose residents often complain they are targeted for harassment even as they complain of being underserved by police.

And Mr. Bositis also suggests that many black voters have concluded that the government's repeated "wars" on crime don't work or that they produce alarming results — such as high rates of incarceration of black men — so they are more interested in government efforts on things such as creating jobs.

Television may also serve to exaggerate the fears of suburbanites by its frequent portrayal of crime. "Violence on television is vastly exaggerated compared to real life and has a totally different demography," says George Gerbner, a professor of communications at the University of Pennsylvania, who has collected more than 20 years of research into television and movie violence.

Mr. Gerbner says that, in all networks combined, there are an average of six to eight acts of violence per hour in prime time, and an average of two murders each night. More than half of all major characters in network prime-time shows get involved in some violence every week.

Mr. Gerbner theorizes that this is important not because television violence stimulates real-life violence — he says there's no proof of that — but because it encourages "feelings of insecurity, dependence and fear" in heavy viewers of television who don't have much direct experience with crime. In contrast, he contends, such portrayals of violence have little impact on inner-city residents, who have enough experience with real-life crime to separate reality from fantasy.

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A visit to Wilmington and its suburbs shows just how deeply misperceptions about crime run. In the suburbs of New Castle County, which includes the high-income "Chateau Country" that is home to several du Pont heirs as well as the city's top business executives, the biggest crime increases have not been in violent crime, but in auto theft. Compared with city residents, those in New Castle County "are probably very, very secure," says Thomas Gordon, the county's chief of police. But, he adds, "they are living in fear of crime." And perception of crime, he adds, "is more important in some cases than crime itself."

Melissa Eissner, who is Craig Stabler's fiancée, lives in New Castle County. She has never personally experienced crime, although she knows of a neighbor who was murdered by a boyfriend. Still, crime, she says, "is an issue. Being a girl on my own I have taken care of that." She was careful to select an apartment in a high-security building with a guard, and always uses her door locks. "When you're younger you don't really think about what can happen to you," she says, "but now that I'm on my own, I really try to be more careful," especially since she believes that women are far more likely to be victims of crime than men.

A handful of burglaries earlier this year left Ms. Eissner's neighbors in the nearby Chateau Country in an uproar, with heavy demands for police action. No one was hurt, but five burglaries resulted in an average loss of \$44,000. Col. Gordon decided to add a police substation to an area known as Westover Hills. While some might call that an overreaction, Col. Gordon believes it is necessary. "What happens in these areas like the county is they're going to private security," he explains. "I think that's very dangerous."

A reliance on private security tears at the

social fabric, he says, and heightens public perception of an unequal justice system. To prevent that, he wants to take actions that will reduce fear — even if it isn't clear that those actions will actually reduce crime.

More Foot Patrols

Col. Gordon has also begun doing things like using his new police recruits to take door-to-door neighborhood surveys. Each month, his sergeants call randomly selected residents who have come in contact with the police for any reason — even those who have been arrested — to see whether they feel they were fairly treated. And he has substantially increased foot patrols, believing they allow officers and residents to get to know each other. "What you have is a lot more participation, and that makes people feel safe," he says. "It's important to reduce fear, because fear is related to quality of life."

Many crime experts agree. Lynn Curtis, executive director of the Eisenhower Foundation, a Washington research organization on crime and urban problems, says that even in depressed areas, the most important police role is "reducing fear."

Adds Guy Sapp, chief of the Wilmington police: "It's funny. Some of the things that are analytically least effective in combating crime are the most popular with the public, things like mounted patrols and walking patrols. People feel safer, I guess."

East Wilmington, a depressed area just outside downtown Wilmington, shows what can happen when that fear is not calmed: At some point, people become far too sanguine about crime. Psychologist Alvin Turner, who counsels young offenders as well as drug and alcohol abusers and their families, says many ghetto youths have "learned as part of their development to not respond to fear."

Dr. Turner says that despite the much higher rate of crime in the predominately black and lower-income neighborhoods where he practices, compared to the university areas where he teaches, "I hear white people talking about [crime as an issue]. I don't hear black people talking about it. It's almost a non-issue for us."

Hasan Carter, 29 and unemployed, has been robbed twice in recent years. In one case he was beaten so badly that he suffered broken ribs. He never reported the incidents.

"What would I say?" Mr. Carter asks, since he says the first time it happened he was attacked by drug dealers whom he had tried to rob earlier. The second time he was held up in a bathroom at a concert. Mr. Carter says he isn't involved in crime now and doesn't carry a weapon, but he insists he isn't afraid to walk the streets of his East Wilmington neighborhood. "It's going to happen to every black male, black female," he explains with a shrug.

New Castle County Police Maj. Sherry Sczubelek says "you have to re-educate people it's not OK" to be a victim of crime. "You can go to a high-crime area and they don't think it's that bad of an area."

Not all inner-city residents deny their fear. Waiting at a bus stop with her two small children, 22-year-old Shatana Richards says crime in her neighborhood is "bad. Nothing ever happened to me in particular but I have two friends over the past couple of years that's been killed. A lot of kids are getting guns." Nevertheless, she doesn't believe there is much to be done about it — except, she says, "move."

Perot Tells Senate Panel POWs Were Left in Asia

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — Erstwhile presidential candidate Ross Perot told a special Senate committee that he has no doubt the U.S. left prisoners of war in captivity in Southeast Asia. But he offered little new support to back his claim that POWs are still held there.

"We left them," the Texas billionaire declared. "There is no question in my mind that we left men behind and we left men in Laos, and I think I can prove it," he said. He also accused the government of covering up information regarding the POW-MIA issue.

Members of the panel, the Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs, were deferential to Mr. Perot, but were not uniformly persuaded. Some members cited Defense Intelligence Agency reports accounting for almost all Americans missing in Southeast Asia.

In morning testimony, Mr. Perot said a Pentagon official, who said publicly in 1973 that no U.S. personnel remained alive in Southeast Asia, later told him he was unsure of that judgment.

Yesterday afternoon, the committee released copies of a memo from the official, Roger E. Shields, largely substantiating Mr. Perot's account. The memo, dated May 24, 1973, says Mr. Shields' public statements on April 12 of that year were "no longer fully satisfactory."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Allegations of Bush Affair May Blunt Possible GOP Tactic Against Clinton

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Tabloid allegations of marital infidelity by President Bush, which he denied, may reduce the chances that his campaign will benefit this fall from similar allegations against Democratic rival Bill Clinton.

During a nationally televised news conference with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin from his Kennebunkport, Maine, vacation home, the president was asked about a front-page New York Post report on charges in a just-published book that he shared a cottage with longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald while in Geneva for arms-reduction negotiations in 1984.

Visibly angry, Mr. Bush denounced the "sleazy" question and said, "I'm outraged . . . I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

Later, Mr. Bush was questioned on the subject again in an Oval Office interview aired last night on the NBC program "Dateline." The president, saying he has "a very happy marriage," told NBC's Stone Phillips, "I should think you'd be a little ashamed of yourself" for asking about it.

"It perpetuates sleaze," Mr. Bush said. "Do you have any basis to accuse me of anything?"

Ms. Fitzgerald, who currently is an official in the State Department's office of protocol, was out of the country and couldn't be reached.

The accuracy of the published report is difficult to verify. The source, according to the account of author Susan Trento in her book about a Washington lobbying firm, "The Power House," is a former U.S. diplomat named Louis Fields, who died in 1988.

The controversy complicates Republican attempts to capitalize on issues of character, a campaign theme propelled in part by Mr. Clinton's own bout, during Democratic primaries, with allegations of infidelity. Mr. Bush trails Mr. Clinton badly in the polls.

Both the Bush and Clinton campaigns have insisted they won't exploit such allegations of "sleaze," while accusing the rival camp of doing so. Rep. Bob Dornan, (R., Calif.), a co-chairman of Mr. Bush's California campaign, took the House floor

last week to repeat charges of infidelity against Mr. Clinton. Top Bush-Quayle aide Mary Matalin recently issued a press release referring to "bimbo eruptions," a term previously used by a member of the Clinton staff in a published interview.

In an interview with CBS This Morning, Ms. Matalin denounced the New York Post report as "total trash," and Bush-Quayle spokeswoman Torie Clarke said the Clinton campaign circulated the allegations to news organizations. Washington Post reporter Ann Devroy said she received a fax containing allegations in Ms. Trento's book from a Democratic congressional aide.

"We had nothing to do with this," responded Clinton communications director George Stephanopoulos, who referred to the allegations against Mr. Bush as "trash." Campaigning in Miami, Gov. Clinton himself said, "I didn't like it when it was done to me, and I don't like it when it's done to him."

Earlier this year, Hillary Clinton referred in a Vanity Fair interview to rumors of a Bush-Fitzgerald affair while defending her husband against charges that he had an affair with former cabaret singer Jennifer Flowers. Around the same time, Democratic political consultant Robert Squier also referred publicly to the Bush-Fitzgerald rumors; Mr. Squier has subsequently joined the Clinton campaign.

The allegations against both candidates are suspect. Ms. Flowers was paid by a supermarket tabloid to publicize her allegations. And not only is the purported source of the allegation against Mr. Bush dead, but one of Ms. Trento's three corroborating sources, Washington lawyer William Joyce, said Mr. Fields merely told him he arranged for Mr. Bush and Ms. Fitzgerald to use the villa but didn't mention suspicions of an affair. "It was one of those raised-eyebrow things," Mr. Joyce said in an interview.

One of the other two, Jay Gourley, has written for the National Enquirer and for European tabloids. The third is her husband, Joe Trento, who now works for a national security news service.

The allegations against Mr. Bush have appeared in print before but have not been widely disseminated by major news organizations.

Russia's Constitution Drafters Need Help From the American Bar

By tradition, August is the gathering time for lawyers and judges across the country to focus on the needs of the American legal profession. This year is no exception, with thousands of American Bar Association members assembled in San Francisco this week to focus on the broad agenda of the law. High on that agenda should be the future of legal reform in the emerging democracies of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"Everything is boiling here," observed Oleg Rummyantsev in Moscow earlier this month. Mr. Rummyantsev, a parliamentarian and secretary of Russia's Constitutional Commission, is the author of a much-discussed draft of a new constitution. Legal reformers abound in Moscow,

Rule of Law

By Kenneth W. Starr

including the young minister of justice, Nikolai Fyodorov, and a cadre of seasoned pro-reform advocates, such as Lev Simkin, who heads the International Committee for Promotion of Legal Reform. It is too early to place Madisonian and Hamiltonian mantles on anyone, but what is already clear is that Messrs. Rummyantsev, Fyodorov and Simkin are at the center of the debate over such bedrock concepts as limited government, economic and political liberty and an independent judiciary.

Like his counterparts in the executive branch and in the emerging sector of young academics, Mr. Rummyantsev is brimming with ideas. The good news is that, with the notable exception of the concept of trial by jury, the basic principles embraced by a wide array of Russian reformers are chosen from (or at least informed by) U.S. constitutional traditions.

What is especially encouraging is that the economy and constitutionalism are increasingly seen in Moscow as intimately interrelated. The development of sound constitutionalism and legal structures is widely viewed as going hand-in-glove with the emergence of a market economy, the dismantling of centralized state organs and the creation of a new order based upon the rule of law.

The U.S. won the Cold War, but the new Russia is not a vanquished postwar Japan waiting for a Western-style constitution to be imposed upon it. As Russia is now doing, every newly freed society must take its own road toward democratic rule through constitution-building. But, to paraphrase Lenin, what can be done on this side of the Atlantic to assist these young Russian reformers?

Encouragement. Sounds amorphous, but one week in Moscow and Alma Ata convinces me that that is the specific mission right now for the U.S. legal community. Alfred Belcuore, president of the Federal Bar Association, and J. Michael McWilliams, the new president of the ABA, have been making the rounds in Russia in recent weeks. They are encouraging reform, offering suggestions (when asked) on draft provisions and making much-needed U.S.-Russian legal connections.

This effort is increasingly important to the U.S. business community. At the same time that Russian constitution-building is moving into high gear, American businesses are spotting opportunities for investment in the new republics, symbolized by Chevron's multi-billion dollar deal with oil-rich Kazakhstan. It is thus no surprise that American law firms, taking their cue from U.S. corporations, are seeking their own business opportunities.

But now that the American legal community has awakened to new business

opportunities in Moscow and beyond, the need is even greater for the American bench and bar to help — voluntarily — Russia and the other new republics in building a law-based society. Constitution-building is emphatically not a revenue-producing enterprise, but its ultimate moral and economic awards will be abundantly great — not only for Russia and other republics, but also for American business.

The Federal Bar Association is providing the most recent example of what's

The development of sound constitutionalism and legal structures goes hand-in-glove with the emergence of a market economy, the dismantling of centralized state organs and the creation of a new order based upon the rule of law.

needed by accepting, on the spot, Mr. Rummyantsev's request to help organize a conference in Moscow on "The Idea of a Constitution," including such features as executive obedience to lawful orders by courts — even those the executive may not like. So too, planning is underway for a conference in Moscow this fall on "Legal Reform and the Protection of Entrepreneurship in Russia" sponsored by the International Committee for Legal Reform, Mr. Yeltsin's Justice Ministry, and the Washington-based Center for Democracy.

Moscow's version of Madison's vision

of balanced government hit home this month as I watched the trial of the Communist Party in the newly invigorated Constitutional Court here. The 13-member court is hearing some ex-Communists' challenge of President Yeltsin's decree banning the Communist Party. The decision of the court is weeks, perhaps months away. But when its decision is finally rendered, the issue may well prove to be whether the president and the the Congress of People's Deputies will abide by whatever that decision proves to be. And that as yet unknown response may turn on whether the legislators are able to quickly absorb the rudiments of a basic constitutional system.

For that process, business development efforts by U.S. lawyers need to be complemented by a powerful dose of civic and constitutional education, not only of the Russian people but of officials. Like government elsewhere, Mr. Yeltsin and his colleagues will be teaching the people by the way they choose to conduct and explain their affairs. And this founding generation of Russian constitutionalism very much stands in need of American involvement and encouragement.

That is, above all, what American lawyers and judges need to be doing right now. Developing new legal business is fine, but there is a growing danger that in that process, we in the West are overlooking the hard, cold fact that Russian constitution-building remains very fragile. The antidote is this: Redoubling the effort to establish concrete linkages between the U.S.-Russian legal community. That is the most direct — and appropriate — way to bear witness to Russia's continuing Constitutional Convention.

Mr. Starr, the solicitor general, headed the Federal Bar Association's delegation to Moscow and Alma Ata.

Laptops: U.S. Pulls Plug on a Domestic Industry

By BRYAN T. JOHNSON

Chances are, the laptop computer you are using is not made in this country. American computer companies are among the world's most competitive when it comes to producing personal desktop computers. Yet those attempting to break into the lucrative laptop market find U.S.-government-erected trade barriers blocking the way.

The growing laptop computer market currently racks up \$4 billion a year in sales world-wide. Data Analysis Group forecasts an annual growth rate of more than 25% from 1992 through 1995. The predictions of Arthur D. Little, a management and technology consulting firm, are even more optimistic. It sees \$6 billion for this year, with growth to \$52 billion by the year 2000. Unfortunately, if current trends continue, little of this pie will go to American firms.

An Arbitrary Definition

We hear much about how foreign governments unfairly subsidize, protect and nurture their domestic industries, supposedly leaving American firms at a competitive disadvantage. Yet little attention is paid to what the U.S. government is doing to make America less competitive. The laptop story is one example of how our anti-dumping laws harm America's enterprises. These laws allow U.S. firms to sue foreign competitors if the price of their imports is considered "unfair."

The problem is that the definition of unfair has no economic basis. It is confusing and arbitrary, and in many instances merely allows American firms to secure punitive tariffs against competing importers where no unfair trade practices are involved. Worse, these laws drive up the price of imported parts used by other U.S. enterprises, making their products less competitive. It's no wonder that the current round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is attempting to reform these laws world-wide.

The Japanese began developing the laptop computer in the early 1980s. The first models were bulky, costly and of very limited capabilities. Yet companies such as Toshiba continued to upgrade each new model, until laptops became an industry of their own.

That's when American computer manufacturers began to try to break into the laptop market. One way to do this was to import technologically advanced Japanese

considering moving production facilities abroad.

Flat panel display screens are not the only example of how American anti-dumping laws have hurt American competitiveness. Ball bearings are used in many products, from small engines to appliances. In the 1980s, U.S. ball-bearing manufacturers were unable to supply enough bearings to meet domestic demand. In fact, many American users of

The Commerce Department and the ITC found that the Japanese high-end display imports injured a U.S. industry that did not even exist yet.

flat panel display screens and put them in American-made computers.

The American display-screen industry consisted mainly of a few small firms that focused on manufacturing low-end display screens for the military and various medical devices. It never developed and marketed higher-end components for commercial use. But when it got wind of the potential huge profits from selling screens to laptop manufacturers, it wanted a piece of the action. Rather than using their profits from government contracts to invest in commercial production, these companies hired lawyers and initiated a dumping case against Japanese display manufacturers in 1991.

As a result, the Commerce Department and the International Trade Commission found that the Japanese high-end display imports injured a U.S. industry that did not even exist yet. The U.S. government imposed a 62.7% tariff on Japanese display imports. This left American laptop manufacturers with no affordable suppliers for display screens. As a result, to avoid paying duties, Apple Computer abandoned plans to manufacture laptops in Fountain, Colo., in favor of Cork, Ireland. IBM also announced that it was

ball bearings could not find any reliable domestic producers. Despite this, the Commerce Department in 1989 recommended duties on ball-bearing imports of as much as 212%, with an average rate of 60%. This significantly increased the production costs for such companies as Briggs & Stratton, General Electric, Hewlett Packard, and IBM.

In another case, the Commerce Department recommended a 6.51% duty on softwood products imported from Canada. While the American housing industry is already fighting its way out of a slump, construction firms are being asked to pay higher prices for wood.

And now many countries — including Mexico, Japan and South Korea, whose firms have been found guilty of dumping by the U.S. government — are taking the attitude that "if you can't beat protectionist American policies, join 'em." It is conceivable that a company like IBM will be harmed coming and going: first when it imports flat panel displays for its laptop computers, and then when it tries to export those laptops to South Korea.

The U.S. anti-dumping laws originated in the early 1900s and were intended to prevent "predatory pricing" by foreign

companies. The burden of proof was on the U.S. to demonstrate that a foreign firm was selling its products below the cost of production in America and with the sole purpose of injuring an American firm or industry. Through the years, however, Congress has made it easier to "prove" dumping. As a result, in nearly all American dumping investigations, foreign firms are found guilty as charged.

With each successive round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, it has become easier for American companies that want to limit their foreign competition to use U.S. anti-dumping laws than to lobby directly for government subsidies or protection. As a result, more companies are making use of such laws. Yet these laws have proved to be more trouble than they're worth; the U.S. should work hard in the current round of GATT to limit them.

More Harm Than Good

While awaiting an international agreement to abolish these laws, American policy makers should begin to reform current anti-dumping regulations. If no "predatory pricing" exists, the import should be allowed to enter the U.S. unhindered.

In the name of "fair trade," many policy makers have instituted laws that appear on the surface to make sense. Yet a careful analysis finds that many of these laws, like anti-dumping, do more harm than good. Competition today is not between nations, but between individual companies that are owned by citizens of many countries and whose production and sales transcend national borders. America should do all it can to make its globally oriented companies more competitive. Scrapping U.S. anti-dumping laws is a good place to start.

Mr. Johnson is an international economics studies analyst with the Heritage Foundation in Washington.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush Expected To Unveil Pact On Trade Today

U.S., Canada, Mexico Close
To an Accord for Treaty;
Only Few Issues Remain

By KENNETH H. BACON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — White House officials said they expect President Bush to announce today that the U.S., Canada and Mexico have reached a path-breaking free-trade agreement that combines the three countries into the world's richest trading area.

"Right now we don't have a deal, but we expect to have one tomorrow," a White House official said last night.

"We're very close," said Kathleen Lyon, spokesperson for U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, who has been negotiating with her Canadian and Mexican counterparts for the past 10 days. But, as negotiations continued last night, Ms. Lyon said that several issues remained to be worked out, including a crucial one affecting the U.S. automobile industry.

Statement Is Issued

As reports circulated last night that an agreement was complete, Mrs. Hills, along with Jaime Serra Puche and Michael Wilson, the trade ministers of Mexico and Canada respectively, released a statement saying only: "An announcement will be made when the negotiations are complete and a deal has been reached."

The North American Free Trade Agreement would link Canada, Mexico and the U.S. in the world's largest trading area by eliminating tariffs on all trade among the three neighbors during a 15-year period. One of the last—and most contentious—issues to be resolved was what percentage of a car's value must come from North American parts and labor for the auto to trade duty-free in the new trading bloc.

The U.S. auto industry initially had pushed for a 70% domestic-content rule to help reduce the use of parts from Japan and other Asian countries. Mexico, eager to attract more investment from Japan, wanted the level set at 50% and Canada wanted 60% or less. The differences have narrowed considerably; earlier this week the U.S. was pressing for 62.5% and Canada was holding out for 60%.

The White House had hoped to announce an agreement last Friday, but as the Bush administration seemed more eager to complete the pact, Mexico and Canada hung tough on several issues that are particularly sensitive. For instance, Mexico, under pressure to protect its own industry, resisted U.S. and Canadian demands for greater access to supply contracts let by Mexican government-owned energy monopolies. And Canada fought to protect the thriving wool-suit industry in Quebec from new textile rules

that it says are too restrictive.

The main impact of the agreement would be the reduction of trade barriers with Mexico. The U.S. and Canada, America's largest trading partner, reached a free-trade agreement in 1988, calling for the abolition of tariffs on all trade. But Mexican tariffs on imports from the U.S. currently average 10%, while U.S. tariffs on Mexican goods average 4%.

Fastest-Growing Market

Mexico, America's third-largest trading partner, is the fastest-growing market for U.S. exports and demand for American goods and services is expected to expand rapidly as tariffs fall and Mexico continues to modernize its economy.

Although the agreement will affect most industries in the U.S., political concern about the pact has focused on two issues: How to help workers who lose their jobs as U.S. companies move plants to Mexico, where wages are about 10% of what they are in the U.S., and how to clean up the environmental damage along the U.S.-Mexico border. Sen. Max Baucus (D., Mont.), chairman of the trade panel of the Senate Finance Committee, told a National Association of Manufacturers conference yesterday that the pact would face tough going in Congress unless the Bush administration deals adequately with these issues.

"From what I have seen, most of the commercial provisions" of the pact "are basically sound," Sen. Baucus said. "But the Bush administration has inadequately addressed environmental issues in the NAFTA. And the administration has yet to even propose a program to assist workers that may be displaced as a result of the NAFTA."

Pact Is Unique

The pact is unique because it links a developing country with low wages and extensive infrastructure problems with two of the world's richest, most sophisticated economies.

Trade experts at the Institute for Inter-
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Bush Is Expected To Announce Signing Of Trade Agreement

Continued From Page A3

national Economics, an independent research organization, estimate that the increased trade flowing from the tariff-reducing pact would create about 325,000 jobs in the U.S. by 1995, while eliminating about 150,000 unskilled factory jobs, some of which will be lost to cheaper Mexican competition.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic presidential candidate, supports the North American free trade pact in principle, but says that worker displacement and environmental issues must be addressed.

Yesterday, William Reilly, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, told the manufacturers' association conference that NAFTA contains pioneering provisions that will protect U.S. environmental standards and improve Mexico's environment.

The agreement will be "the greenest international trade treaty the world has ever seen," Mr. Reilly said, explaining that it will call for "sustainable development" along the Mexican border that balances economic growth with environmental protections.

Mr. Reilly predicted that the agreement will "serve as a model for the rest of the world" in dealing with environmental concerns. He said the pact allows the U.S., Canada and Mexico to require the same environmental-impact statements on foreign investment and building that they apply to domestic projects; specifies that countries and their states may maintain environmental standards that exceed international standards; and establishes a mechanism for resolving disputes that supersedes the less environmentally sensitive rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which sets international trading rules.

Air France to Cut Fares to U.S.

PARIS — State-owned Air France, following the lead of its U.S. competitors, decided to lower its fall and winter U.S.-to-France air fares by 25% to 35%.

"We're obliged to follow the other carriers," said an Air France spokeswoman. "We have to keep customers from drifting to other companies."

The reductions apply on so-called APEX special round-trip fares from the U.S. to either Paris or Nice between Oct. 1, 1992, and March 31, 1993. Tickets must be purchased by Sept. 4.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush Responds To Hypothetical Abortion Question

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

HOUSTON — As George Bush's allies were prevailing in struggles to keep strong anti-abortion language in the Republican platform here, Mr. Bush suggested in a television interview that he would try to dissuade a granddaughter from having an abortion but would support her if she did.

Asked if the ultimate decision to have an abortion would be the granddaughter's, the president told NBC in an interview for broadcast last night: "Who else's could it be? . . . If she went ahead and did it, what would I do? . . . I'd love her or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Last month, Vice President Dan Quayle was criticized by some anti-abortion leaders in the party for giving a similar answer to the same hypothetical question about his daughter.

When the president was asked the question about one of his granddaughters, he said he'd try to talk her out of such a decision. Then he added: "If my granddaughter said, I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her."

He said he thought that that was what Mr. Quayle meant when he was interviewed on Larry King Live on CNN.

The president's responses triggered quick reaction from those in the midst of the abortion debate at the party's platform hearings here.

"Sounds to me he's pro-choice when it comes to his own family," said Mary Dent Crisp, one of the leaders of the abortion-rights movement within the GOP. "When the issue becomes personal, it's very difficult to deny that young woman a choice."

But Phyllis Schlafly, a leading anti-abortion voice in the party, played down the president's remarks. "It's a phony issue," she said. "You still love your children and grandchildren no matter how many sins they commit."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

William Raspberry

Chronicles of the 'Nameless Grandmother'

A celebration of values that we may no longer take for granted.

OKOLONA, Miss.—After all these reenactments, the pageant still gets to me: Young Simon, perhaps 12 years old, on a forced march from Virginia to Kentucky, watching in helpless horror as his mother, several months pregnant, stumbles again and falls.

The boy turns to help her but is ordered back in line—ordered to leave the dearest person in the world to him to die like a dog on the trail.

It's the last time Simon—my great grandfather—ever sees his mother. He never even knew her name. And so it is that at each of our family reunions, the younger members of the clan reenact that forced march, that agonizing separation, and make their report to Nameless Grandmother.

They depict Simon's being sold "down the river" to Mississippi by his Kentucky owner, show him on the slave auction block in Columbus. (Next to the day he last saw his mother, he later told my grandfather, it was the low point in his life: being displayed and poked and probed and sold like a thing.)

There are other, less gloomy elements of the report to Nameless Grandmother: Jubilee—the emancipation Simon's mother hardly dared dream of; Simon's persistently upright and ethical behavior; his struggles to meet the demands of his new status as a free citizen. (Family lore has it that he harvested nuts and berries to supplement his meager earnings in order to purchase the 40-acre parcel that was to become the nucleus of the family farm near Smithville.)

But the heart of the children's report is family: Simon's marriage to Great-Grandma Martha Ann, their children and their grandchildren—my mother and her seven siblings—in all, seven generations of descendants of Nameless Grandmother.

Interestingly enough, there's no mention of



secular accomplishment in the entire skit. The recitals are of special people and their special traits (Aunt Dora's intellect, Aunt Fannie's wit, Uncle Ernest's musicality), not of degrees or status or income.

The whole affair is about (as we say these days) "family values." It is about family writ large—the main river stretching back to Nameless Grandmother and embracing generations yet unborn—but also about the smaller tributaries: the marriages and births that constantly renew the stream, the parental sacrifices, the inherited standards of permissible behavior.

The celebration seems remarkable at a time when families are under such stress, when two-parent households seem almost aberrant. Particularly among black Americans, with nearly two-thirds of all births out of wedlock, the loss of family is making it more difficult to raise healthy and hopeful children or to pass along tribal values.

But how remarkable, really, is my family's devotion to family? I've been thumbing

through a book called "From Plantation to Ghetto" (August Meier and Elliott Rudwick), and I'm struck by these passages:

"Much in the slave regime promoted marital and familial instability. Slave marriages were not recognized by law; slave sales were a frequent disrupter of family life; the miscegenation that resulted from the white males' sexual exploitation of female slaves, while at times involving stable and affectionate concubinage, also discouraged slave married life. . . .

"Slaves nonetheless managed to create and sustain a stable family life, with two-parent male-headed households evidently the norm." And this:

"The eagerness with which slaves hastened to legalize their marriages after the Civil War, and sought to reunite with long-separated families, reveals the importance of this institution to them."

The thing we celebrate in the story of the Nameless Grandmother may be unusual in its detail but is—or was—quite ordinary in its content. Strong and enduring marriages, devotion to families that cared enough about children to make serious demands on them, were the norm. What is truly remarkable is how unremarkable "family values" used to be.

Economic pressures, we say today, are tearing families apart; joblessness, exacerbated by pride-destroying racism, keeps them from forming in the first place.

I think of Great-Grandpa Simon and the thousands of people like him for whom our "economic pressures" would have constituted undreamt of opportunity, and for whom the racism we experience would have seemed an eyelash from freedom, and I wonder: What precious thing have we lost? How can we at least begin to get it back?

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Robert J. Samuelson

Perils of a Power Vacuum

What we are discovering is that Western Europe barely cares about the East.

We can only hope that the tragedy now unfolding in the former Yugoslavia is not a harbinger. If it is, we can expect cascading chaos—driven by ethnic strife, economic collapse and political breakdown—in Eastern Europe and much of the former Soviet Union. Beyond the immediate horrors of Bosnia, the deeper problem is that Western Europe barely seems to care about what's happening in the East. The result is a dangerous power vacuum that encourages all the most destructive forces for social and economic disintegration.

Western Europe is so preoccupied with its own problems that it seems incapable of taking effective and decisive action. No one minimizes the enormous difficulty outsiders face in influencing countries undergoing political upheaval. But that's not the same thing as being powerless. The Europeans simply aren't paying much attention. They haven't made the same sort of moral, political or economic commitment to the East that America made to them after World War II.

Our own policies are hardly above reproach. We have not been especially generous or imaginative in dealing with Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. We face a real dilemma. If we try to lead too boldly, we're accused by Europeans of being overbearing. If we don't lead, no one does. The truth is that Europeans should be playing the major role in the effort to stabilize and revitalize this region. It's their backyard, and it's their security and prosperity that are most at stake.

The latest refugee count from Yugoslavia is crudely estimated at 2.3 million by the United Nations. Of these, perhaps 450,000 have moved to other European countries. The lesson—abstract before, now concrete—is that turmoil in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union threatens Western Europe in disruptive and costly ways. By the same token, prosperity and

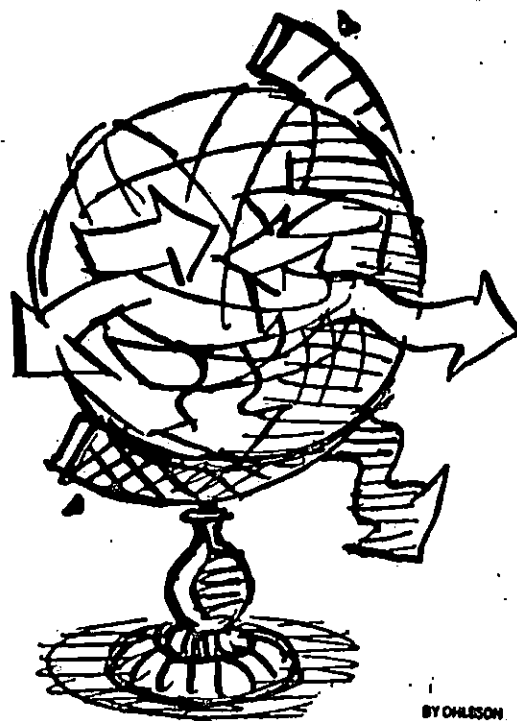
stability in the East would create vast markets for Western Europe's factories.

Yet these imperatives have barely moved Western Europeans. One way to help Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union is to open the European Community's huge market (about 345 million people) to their exports. True, the EC has signed new trade agreements with Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. But after reviewing the agreements, the Economist termed them "deeply ungenerous." Farm imports are tightly restricted (another concession to Europe's subsidized-agriculture lobby). Imports of textiles and some other industrial products are limited too.

"It is frankly amazing that the EC should feel it has such a problem adjusting to us," said Poland's chief negotiator with the EC. "The community now accounts for 57 percent of our trade. We account for about one percent of its trade."

Another indicator of Western Europe's interest is financial aid. In the EC's current budget, farm subsidies (about \$50 billion) account for more than half of total spending. By contrast, aid to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union is no more than a tenth of that. Including aid provided directly by individual countries raises the grand total. But with the exception of Germany—which has spent huge sums to rebuild eastern Germany and to subsidize Soviet withdrawal—the amounts are still modest.

Money and trade alone won't solve the problems of Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union. Nor is it plausible to attribute the vicious ethnic warfare in Yugoslavia to inadequate economic aid. But these tepid responses symbolize Western Europe's hesitancy and aloofness in dealing with the East. The Serbs correctly calculated that they could move with impunity on their neighbors. In turn, the explanation for Western Europe's passivity is that, in many



ways, the dominant impulse is to act as if the Berlin Wall had never fallen.

Consider the EC's Maastricht Treaty, named after the Dutch city where the community's 12 member countries met in late 1991. The treaty envisions the creation of a common European currency no later than 1999 (called the ECU, it would replace national units, such as the German mark). Next, the EC committed itself to constructing a "political union" that would—details remain fuzzy—have its own social, defense and foreign policies.

Even with a community of 12 member nations, the practicality of these goals is debatable. But the end of communism made them virtually irrelevant. The need now is to promote

growth by expanding trade. This requires admitting more countries into the EC, where they can enjoy the absence of tariffs and other trade barriers. Eastern European nations want in; so do many nonmembers in Western Europe (Austria and Sweden, for instance). But a bigger EC would make Maastricht unworkable. With more members, there would simply be too many competing interests to create a common currency, social policy or foreign policy.

The point is that—in both spirit and substance—the EC's embrace of Maastricht means that Western Europe is attending an old vision, not present realities. The problems of the former Soviet bloc are relegated to secondary status. What prevents more decisive and constructive action is attitude. To take the hardest case: Military intervention in Yugoslavia requires mainly a consensus on the need, not a new decision-making apparatus in the EC. But Western Europe's major powers (Britain, France, Germany and Italy) are immobilized.

The resulting policy toward the East is little more than wishful thinking: Please, let everything turn out all right. Indeed, the same inward-looking attitude pervades much of Western Europe's foreign policy. In the Persian Gulf crisis, only Britain quickly followed the American lead. Western Europeans want to be treated as a major superpower on a par with the United States. But when a real crisis develops, they have trouble assuming global responsibilities that transcend their domestic politics.

The Yugoslav crisis ought to provide a wake-up call. Thoughtful Europeans do worry. The chief U.S. correspondent of a major European paper asks: Is Yugoslavia a new Munich? By this, he doesn't mean that another Hitler looms. He merely wonders whether Europe's passivity—and its present political climate—is leading inexorably to some wider catastrophe. It's a good question.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Erasing A 'Mistake'

HOUSTON—The attempt by concerned Republicans to remove the stain left by the 1990 budget was foiled by the man it was intended to help most: George Bush.

The president's agents overseeing Platform Committee deliberations had agreed to a provision calling Bush-backed 1990 tax increases a "mistake" and demanding their repeal. But when Bush arose Tuesday morning and learned of what had happened, he erupted and sent an order to Houston: This shall not stand.

The economics subcommittee was hastily called into secret session Tuesday afternoon, in violation of rules that all proceedings are supposed to be public, and handed marching orders from the White House. The word "mistake" had to be taken out of the platform and a rollback of the onerous 1990 tax increases had to be delayed.

Rep. Vin Weber, author of the proposal adopted Monday, is a national co-chairman in the campaign and could scarcely fight his leader's wishes. "This is the president's platform," Weber told us, "but this was a way to put the budget deal behind us."

Instead, to kick off a convention in which Republicans desperately need to look good, the president once again has underlined division and incompetence. Nothing could better dramatize the gap between the president and Republican foot soldiers who blame him for the threatened loss of power in Washington.

While Bush's 1990 decision to break his no-new-taxes pledge is an open sore for Republicans, the president's conduct indicated how grudging was his admission of a mistake. But even if he could not bear to put a confessional into the platform, what he forced on Tuesday amid embarrassment could have been handled with ease on Monday.

The White House has been the last to understand lingering resentment over the 1990 taxes. When Housing Secretary Jack Kemp went there last month to offer a platform plank that proposed their repeal, he was cut down sharply by Chief of Staff Sam Skinner. Skinner scolded Kemp that the budget deficit is what counts, declaring: "Jack, you just don't get it!"

Drafts of the platform did call for repeal, but the Bush campaign insisted on taking it out last weekend on grounds it would hurt the president. That collided with efforts by Kemp, Weber and other congressional conservatives to revive the economy and the campaign by calling for tax cuts.

As platform drafters gathered in Houston, Weber privately floated his platform amendment on the '90 budget deal to the Bush campaign. Veteran political operative Charlie Black, in overall charge of the platform for Bush, didn't say yes and didn't say no. When Weber introduced his proposal Monday morning, Black called him in for a noontime chat and flashed his okay.

It was a prudent move by Black. It precluded the need to put down Weber and the economics subcommittee and satisfied the mood of the delegates. It also increased chances that Kemp will be on board here. He still has not promised to endorse the platform or even show up in Houston for his scheduled speech.

A last effort at softening Weber's proposals was attempted Monday afternoon. Washington lawyer Jamie Baker (the secretary of state's son), monitoring the subcommittee for the campaign, asked Weber whether he would weaken the amendment by taking out the word "mistake." Weber agreed, but the subcommittee wouldn't.

Black ended a long day Monday convinced that both the president's and the party's interests had been protected. He learned differently Tuesday when the White House overruled him.

A distraught Weber called Budget Director Richard Darman, architect and stubborn defender of the budget deal, in Washington to ask whether he had upset the agreement. Darman pleaded innocence. As in much else, George Bush was the author of his own misfortunes.

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The Washington Post

David S. Broder

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Olympic Antidote for Government Gridlock

After two weeks of total immersion in the beauty of northern Michigan and the glory of televised Olympics, Washington is worse than a letdown. You catch up on the latest battle in the unending war between the White House and Congress, and you realize that if the Dream Team had worked the way government does now, it would have been called the Nightmare Squad.

Watching the Democratic Congress and the Republican president fuss at each other, you think longingly of the way Magic Johnson and his teammates move the ball and the way the two record-setting U.S. relay teams passed the baton in Barcelona. As they showed, it really makes a difference when people are working together for the same goal.

That's so common-sensical it's a cliché. Teamwork is what every boy and girl is taught in elementary school. And yet our voters, bless them, keep splitting the government between opposing parties and wondering why the result is confusion, frustration and inaction.

"Gridlock" has made the headlines, and maybe, just maybe, this overdue attention will help voters understand their part in unscrambling this mess.

For five days last week, The Post ran front-page stories, written by our team of congressional correspondents, on the causes, the consequences and the costs of legislative impasse. The New York Times, not to be outdone, had a front-page story on Sunday covering much of the same ground.

As both newspapers made clear, there is more to the problem than simply the fact of divided government. Powerful interest groups have lobbied hard to prevent agreement on budget cuts and education system changes. Incumbents' self-interest has twisted campaign finance "reform" into a caricature of its name. Issues from crime to abortion to welfare have been put forward by one side or the other as a way not to resolve conflicts, but to heighten fears in certain constituencies that their beliefs and interests are in danger.

All of this is made worse by the terrible budget deficits. In times past, some conflicts between the parties could be resolved by giving each side a bit of what it wanted. Under Eisenhower and Nixon, when the pattern of divided government began to seem normal, budgets were stretched to accommodate both Republican and Democratic objectives—within reason. But the deficits of the Reagan-Bush era have forced harder trade-offs, and the conflicts have grown more severe. All of this raises the cost of divided government.

When I talk with friends in Michigan about this sorry spectacle, their question is: Why don't politicians stop playing these cheap games and just do what is right for the country?

They have a point. The politicians should be held to account. Bush has not engaged seriously and consistently in pushing his proposals in Congress. Instead, he has fallen back on a veto strategy that has thwarted the Democrats without achieving many of his own objectives. For their part, Democratic congressional leaders, particularly in the last two years, have framed more and more of their strategy around frustrating Bush and sharpening the issues for the 1992 campaign.

But to blame all this on politics and personal selfishness is to ignore the fundamental fact that there are serious and substantial differences of view between the Democrats and Republicans. Those differences will continue to hobble Washington's performance until the voters decide to give one party or the other responsibility for the whole national government.

Those differences range from the ideology of Supreme Court justices to the scope of the government's regulatory responsibilities and the size of the post-Cold War military establishment. The differences are not trivial, and on these basic questions, the parties have a remarkable degree of internal cohesion. The line of demarcation is between Republicans and Democrats.

On the most important question facing the president and Congress—the proper size and role of the federal government, its spending priorities and the proper level and distribution of taxes to support its work—Republicans as a party give one set of answers, Democrats another.

A good campaign this autumn will illuminate those differences and help voters understand the economic, social and political values that underlie them. That debate will be more useful to the country than the current sloganeering that puts "change" on one side and "trust" on the other.

The journalistic focus on "gridlock" is useful. But we have to go beyond the symptom and cure the disease—divided government.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Frank Horton

Let Congress Be a Partner, Not a Dictator

"More money for cities" is the applause line in this election season. Congressional candidates from both parties promise funding for city revitalization, welfare reform, jobs, education and other worthwhile investments. But come January, leaders in Congress will have to set priorities. Maybe states and communities will be among these priorities, though with 535 interested parties, a consensus will be elusive. So what to do in the meantime for our struggling local governments?

The answer: End the unfunded federal mandates that consume a growing share of state and local budgets, and let states and communities use some of the federal funds they already receive to design creative new programs.

President Bush urged in his 1992 State of the Union that Congress curtail its penchant for unfunded federal government mandates. A curb on new unfunded mandates is a top legislative priority of state and local interest groups. The National Association of Counties considers it of great importance and has issued a "dirty dozen" list of those federal regulations it finds most intrusive and expensive. The National Conference of State Legislatures has estimated that mandates passed in the 101st Congress will cost state governments \$15 billion over five years.

States estimate that environmental mandates included in the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act amendments, for instance, will cost them \$198 million. Compliance with the National Literacy Act will cost states more than \$27 million. Most states and localities are required to have balanced budgets, and the cost of compliance with new mandates means they must find more revenue. In too many cases, the source of this new revenue is new taxes.

While a growing share of city and state budgets is devoted to implementing federal

mandates, federal social service programs have become increasingly fragmented. The National Commission on Employment Policy reports

Local governments need more discretion in spending money they have and fewer mandates to spend money they don't.

there are 75 federal programs providing assistance to economically disadvantaged individuals and families. Most of these are based on different eligibility and benefit rules, have distinct and sometimes inconsistent objectives, are subject to a multitude of procedures and are designed to provide a narrow range of services or benefits. Few programs are designed for a comprehensive approach to help low-income Americans end their dependence on government assistance.

The president proposed last year an initiative that would have given local governments some discretion in spending the federal funds they already receive. Known in generic terms as "service integration," such proposals would allow a community to work with its low-income citizens to design innovative, comprehensive approaches toward providing services and benefits.

This July I introduced a bill, the Mandate and Community Assistance Reform Act, to put into effect the president's initiative and to respond to his call against unfunded federal mandates. The list of co-sponsors continues to grow as members start to listen to their communities.

My approach is to establish a Commission on Unfunded Federal Mandates to study this expanding practice and to recommend termination, suspension or consolidation of reporting requirements of up to 30 existing mandates. The commission also is directed to identify mandates that should be carried out in whole or in part by the federal government. A report will do nothing for our communities if it sits on a shelf collecting dust, however, and so I have provided that the commission's recommendations will take effect automatically unless Congress acts to disapprove them.

States and cities will never get a break as long as Congress continues to pass new mandates. To make the cost of mandated programs abundantly clear, I have included legislation to strengthen the procedure for estimating the cost impact a piece of legislation will have on state and local governments. Put the numbers in black and white, and elected representatives will think twice before they require their communities to foot the bill.

Restoring power to those governments closest to the people has emerged as a foundation of domestic policy. Yet existing federal assistance programs are controlled by Washington, and communities find themselves stifled in their attempt to provide benefits and services to their low-income citizens by inconsistent and incompatible program requirements. It is time to pave the way for local governments to integrate federally funded programs under community-based plans tailored for their distinct needs and constituencies.

It is high time for Congress to be a partner—not a dictator—in the federal system.

The writer, a U.S. representative (R-N.Y.), is ranking minority member of the House Committee on Government Operations.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Pushing for a Mideast Peace

PRESIDENT BUSH has now made it clear that he does not intend merely to coast along in the Arab-Israeli peace talks but to press the pace and to play a major and forceful role. This was the principal result of his meetings with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. When the peace talks resume in Washington on Aug. 24, the United States will act as a "driving force, catalyst and honest broker," he said. Not alone, he believes conditions are ripe for a breakthrough. Israel has a government eager to move. Palestinians and Syrians, the key Arab parties, are taking up position. Regional players are, if not helpful, then unable or undisposed to make trouble. The international horizon is uncluttered.

It will be said that President Bush is acting so boldly with his reelection foremost in mind—to play to Jewish voters and a larger constituency at the same time. But no president has to apologize for attempting to conduct a sound policy in the national interest.

Certainly on this issue, Mr. Bush has been earning his pay. He created the first broad direct Arab-Israeli talks. By conditioning housing aid on a reversal of Israel's West Bank settlement policy, he produced a mature turn by Israel's voters and showed Arabs he was to be taken seriously. With the previous Israeli

leadership, Mr. Bush scraped the nerves of Israelis and some of their American supporters. But his consultations with Mr. Rabin have quickly restored closeness with Israel, whose confidence in Washington must be sustained if it is to take the risks necessary for peace. Israel's return to the accepted formula of land for peace is a sturdy basis on which the housing loan guarantees can now go forward.

The United States is making a show of support for the negotiating positions Israel will take into the Washington round. This reflects the special favor that Israel is again reaping in this country; it is also essential to induce Israeli flexibility. Some Arabs fear the Israelis have locked President Bush into support for improved but still inadequate bargaining positions. But this ignores that Israel has a far greater interest than the United States in exploiting the historical moment. There is good reason to believe this is the way Mr. Rabin intends to go.

Of course, there will be no progress if any party gets the idea that the United States means to "deliver" Israel. The Israelis made some policy changes to fit themselves out as a plausible diplomatic partner. The way for Arabs to win further changes is by making changes of their own at the table.

No Counsel on Iraq

ARGUING THAT it has already looked into the affair adequately, the Justice Department refuses to authorize an independent counsel to investigate American exports to Iraq. Congressional Democrats have been charging that some officials of the Bush administration may have broken the law in their efforts to bolster Iraq up to the moment when it invaded Kuwait. The charges are sufficiently broad and troubling that the administration would have done better to turn them over to an independent counsel, particularly if it is as certain as it claims that there have been no violations. But there is, fortunately, an alternative. The House Banking Committee has had an investigation underway for some time, and if Congress wants answers it can best look for them there.

A congressional committee has the advantage of not being tightly focused on the criminal laws and can deal with the broad issues that are at the center of this quarrel. The administration has acknowledged that its Iraq policy, in the years up to the seizure of Kuwait in 1990, was a failure—although, it emphasizes, one launched in good faith. The idea was, by active diplomacy, to draw Iraq and its president, Saddam Hussein, closer to the American position. It's not the policy that's in

dispute here, but rather the Democrats' claims that the administration pushed it much too far.

The Atlanta branch of an Italian bank made unauthorized loans of more than \$5 billion to Iraq in the late 1980s, and some of that money evidently financed arms purchases. The branch manager pleaded guilty in June to conspiracy and fraud, but no one has yet satisfactorily explained how he was able to move that much money for those purposes without the knowledge of anyone in the U.S. government. The chairman of the Banking Committee, Henry B. Gonzalez, has charged that the administration knew by late 1989 of Iraq's attempts to buy equipment here to help it build nuclear and chemical weapons as well as missiles.

The Justice Department says that there is no evidence of criminal conduct by anybody, certainly not at the high levels of political responsibility that the independent counsel statute addresses. That may or may not be true. But there are also large questions here about the way the administration administered the laws controlling the export of military equipment and the means to make weapons. There are similar questions about banking regulation and the financial side of the arms trade. The Banking Committee now has an increased responsibility to pursue them farther.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Campaign Batting Practice

THE REPUBLICANS took some pre-convention batting practice on the economy the last few days; they've been hitting a lot of pop-ups. The problem is not so much that they disagree on economic policy as that the policy on which they mostly do agree has produced a result which they feel it necessary to disown.

Tactic One will apparently be to declare the policy an orphan. It wasn't theirs; theirs was never really tried, but was done in by the Democratic Congress (and the Federal Reserve) before it had a chance. Whatever went wrong was accordingly not their fault—and then there is Fallback Two, which is that the other fellow would be worse.

The Republican theory in 1980 was that the country could have it all ways at once: Taxes could be cut while defense spending was increased, and still the deficit would come down. The magic carpets would be growth and domestic spending cuts. It didn't happen. Instead the contradiction generated record deficits and a four-fold increase in the national debt.

The true-believing wing of the party now suggests that the cure should be a second roll of the same dice. The modest tax increase to which the president agreed as part of the effort to reduce the deficit in 1990 has been renounced as a mistake. The stalwarts—though not yet the president—propose instead another round of tax cuts even larger than the ones in 1981 and mainly for the benefit of payers in the highest income brackets; from there the benefit would trickle down.

Why didn't the policy work as advertised before?

"The problem was that Congress couldn't bring spending under control," Sen. William Roth, cosponsor of the 1981 tax cut, said at a news conference Monday—and never mind that not even Ronald Reagan, much less George Bush, has ever been able to identify the domestic spending cuts that their mythical view of the government says should be so easy to make. "The public needs to . . . understand that with the great power grab of 1974," meaning the shift to the present budget process, "the president cannot make fiscal policy any more," added Rep. Richard Armey, ranking Republican on the Joint Economic Committee. The "instruments . . . are controlled now by Congress."

Thence to Bill Clinton, whom the Republicans call a full-blown tax-and-spender in thin disguise who would be "a captive of the Democrat Congress no less than was President Carter," against whom they still think they can run. The Republicans say that the Democratic candidate hasn't faced up to the deficit—which, unfortunately, in our view—is true, but it's they who own that deficit.

They warn that a Clinton fiscal policy would stultify growth—in an economy that for the last four years has scarcely grown. They denounce the Democrats as "the party of government" while "we are the party of opportunity," as Sen. Phil Gramm put it Monday. But more opportunity for some than for others; witness the 10 million unemployed or the tenth of the population on food stamps or the fifth of all children living in poverty. The economy is not the Republicans' most congenial issue this time around.

Ballot Claptrap in Montgomery

PERHAPS THERE will always be at least 10,000 well-meaning voters in Montgomery County who will sign any petition in the belief that this is a good democratic thing to do. But when it comes to the prolific petition efforts of Robin Ficker, people should just say no thank you. It would save everyone from the danger that another dingy tax proposal on a ballot might confuse enough voters to make it a law—at least until a court looked at it.

The county's elections officials have announced that Mr. Ficker's 1992 effort has won more than enough signatures to qualify for the ballot in November. The board said that of 15,000 signatures collected, there are at least 10,000 belonging to registered voters, as required by state law.

The language of his proposal is so confusing that County Executive Neal Potter and others argued that the proposal should have been declared invalid as written. The board didn't accept that argument. Depending on what any other challenges may do to it, the ballot measure is a

convoluted attempt to negate a recent increase in the local "piggyback" income tax rate. The council voted to raise this rate from 50 percent of an individual's state income tax liability to 60 percent. Mr. Ficker's amendment would require the county council to reduce property taxes by an amount equal to any increase in the piggyback income tax rate above the 50 percent rate.

There are groups that automatically oppose any increase in any tax, and they may choose to vote blindly for this proposal and hope that the math works. But they may also wish to consider exactly what all this shifting to an unwieldy and unclear formula might do to county services now and to planning for future budgets. Other voters may conclude that the council's increase in the local piggyback tax was a serious and sound effort made after much scrutiny of the budget.

There is nothing wrong with petitioning any proposal to a vote. But Mr. Ficker's proposal is neither structurally sound nor constructive. Thoughtful Montgomery voters should make a point of rejecting it in November.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

DOROTHY GILLIAM

The GOP's Pernicious Plank

The Republican Party has found the enemy, and it is us, D.C.

In its draft platform, to be presented at next week's national convention, the party attacks the city in this manner:

The District has "the most bloated bureaucracy anywhere," with its politics dominated by "one-party rule" that "has brought massive dependency, hellish crime, illegal drugs and unrelenting scandal."

The draft calls for "closer congressional scrutiny of the city, federal oversight of its law enforcement and courts, and tighter controls over its expenditures." It also reiterates the party's long-standing opposition to statehood for the District.

Guess why the GOP has chosen us for its evangelistic efforts?

The Republicans' stated goal is to draw distinctions between their conservative principles and the Democrats' liberal stances and pragmatic shift to the center. The distinction is drawn most sharply around the abortion issue, with the platform advocating a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion and supporting appointment of judges who would overturn the right to abortion.

Once again, it seems, the Republicans have decided to appeal to some of the same hateful special interests that elected them before. This is a

platform based on a series of bashes, of which the hit against the District of Columbia is only one.

The Republicans also have chosen to District-bash because of their own failings.

"When you don't have an affirmative program, you look for demons or try to construct demons," said Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.). "When Americans wake up tomorrow, the first thing on their minds will not be how well the D.C. government is doing, but how is the economy doing, and the Republicans don't have an answer."

They're hoping to disguise the reality of their failings by pretending that they can do in the District what they are not able to do in the federal arena. What's more, they can play to prejudices by assuming that the District has to be fixed in a manner they deem appropriate.

But this is a terribly unfair attack on Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, who ran on a platform to initiate reform on the very issues they bash her about. She has made strides in balancing the budget and efforts to reduce the bureaucracy.

Although during her 19 months in office she hasn't had the success many expected of her, neither has George Bush, and he has had twice as much time on the job as she has.

See GILLIAM, D3, Col. 1

GILLIAM, From D1

As my grandmother might have said, "Talk about the pot calling the kettle black!"

Kelly expressed fear that the Republicans "might try to make the District the Willie Horton of 1992." She's right in identifying the attack as another form of Willie Hortonism.

Just read references to the District of Columbia to mean "those African Americans," "those people," "those inner-city people you're afraid of" or "those incompetent people."

That the Republicans feel they should be the ones to rescue the city is laughable.

"The only plan ever put forth by President Bush, Jack Kemp, William Bennett or Dick Thornburgh to increase the quality of life in the District was to expand our jail cells by 500," Jesse L. Jackson said yesterday.

Both Norton and Jackson see the pejorative platform language as a strike against the Democrats' strong pro-statehood stance.

The Republicans "can't stand the prospect of what they believe would be two more Democrats in a Senate they already have little chance of controlling," Norton said.

Unfortunately, I don't see statehood stirring that much passion in grass-roots America just now. No, the loaded statements in this plank are classic slams, the worst so far in this campaign.

The plank notes our urban ills but not our strengths. It does not speak to the amazing diversity and racial harmony this town has achieved at a time when other cities have experienced riots.

It does not speak to the neighborhoods where we tend our homes and send our children to school in harmony with other people. Nor does it speak to a city that has remained remarkably politically active despite constant attempts to negate its power by the federal government.

No, the District is not the problem. The problem is not the way Bush and the party see the District, but rather how they would corrupt the rest of this country into seeing a District that exists only in their mind's eye.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN ACTION

Friendly fire, the accidental killing of U.S. troops by the guns of fellow Americans, was arguably the worst allied problem in the Persian Gulf War. Its emotional impact dwarfed the small numbers of actual casualties. The Defense Department and the services tried to shield those emotional stories from public release, preferring to speak only of statistics. Here is what happened when a reporter tried to use the Freedom of Information Act to compel disclosure of the whole story.

1. THE EVENT—Aug. 12, 1991: Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams organizes a news conference disclosing that 35 Americans were killed by friendly fire in the Persian Gulf War. The news conference provides no details of names, units or circumstances.

5. THE REPLY—July 28, 1992: Nearing the anniversary of The Post's request, Williams's office writes with joyful tidings: The request is "granted in full." Enclosed in the packet are the following: 1) The press release of the Aug. 12, 1991, news conference and 2) the transcript of the Aug. 12, 1991, news conference, both of which the reporter had since Aug. 12, 1991.

2. THE REQUESTS—Aug. 15 and 16, 1991: The Washington Post submits Freedom of Information Act requests to the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, the Central Command and several other military organizations seeking names, after-action reviews, sworn statements and other such details. The aim is to reconstruct with documents and interviews exactly how the tragedies took place and the impact they had on individual troops. Clock starts ticking on the law's 30-day deadline for release of records.

3. THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT—Aug. 21, 1992 [sic]: Williams's office at the Pentagon stamps the FOIA request—one of several filed—as received on Aug. 21, 1992, though it really arrived a year earlier on Aug. 21, 1991.

6. EPILOGUE—While the FOIA requests submitted to Williams's office spun in a year-long circle, other Pentagon departments did better than that—although none met the law's 30-day deadline. The Army responded first, last October, and with the most material: more than 2,000 pages of investigations in all, but with the names censored. The Marine Corps, though slower, released its investigations beginning in November in full, including names. Central Command wound up releasing one document: a memo proposing joint investigations instead of single service investigations where troops from one military service kill another. The Navy and Air Force purported to have no documents relevant to The Post request, even though Air Force planes were responsible for at least two fatal friendly fire attacks.



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

28 JUL 1992

Ref: 91-FOI-1575

Barton Gellman
Washington Post
1150 ... Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20071

Dear Mr. Gellman:

This responds to your August 16, 1991, Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request, submitted to this Directorate and received on August 21, 1992.

The enclosed documents have been determined to be responsive to your request and have been granted in full. Additional responsive documents have been forwarded to the DoD Inspector General and US Central Command for review as a matter under their cognizance for a direct response to you. The following addresses pertain:

Assistant Inspector General
for Investigations
RM 1016A
400 Army Navy Drive
Arlington, VA 22202-2884
ATTN: FOIA Coordinator

U.S. Commander in Chief
Central Command
Attn: Maj. James Royster, USAF
CCJ1/AG
MacDill AFB, FL 33608-7001

There are no assessable fees for this response in this instance.

Sincerely,

W. M. McDonald
Director
Freedom of Information
and Security Review

Enclosures:
As Stated

4. THE PROCESS UNFOLDS—Over the next 11 months, The Post receives 49 "interim replies" announcing that the FOIA request has been "forwarded," at various intervals, back and forth among: Director of Freedom of Information and Security Review for the Pentagon; the Army's FOIA office in Alexandria; U.S. Central Command; Chief of Naval Operations; Chief of Naval Personnel; Navy Judge Advocate General; Congressional Liaison; Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Naval Warfare); Army Judge Advocate General; Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations; Commander, U.S. Total Army Personnel; Secretary of the Air Force; Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps; Marine Corps Combat Development Command; Central Command Directorate of Manpower, Personnel and Administration; Information Systems Command; Central Command Air Forces; Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel; Air Force Military Personnel Center; Air Force 363rd Mission Support Squadron; Army Inspector General; Army XVIII Airborne Corps; Bureau of Naval Personnel; Army Forces Command; and Army Office of the Administrative Assistant.

—Barton Gellman

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

A Status Report on the Glass Ceiling

Invisible Barrier to Top-Level Promotions Is Still There, Martin Says

By Shari Rudavsky
Washington Post Staff Writer

Women and minorities have yet to overcome the proverbial glass ceiling in business, Labor Secretary Lynn Martin said yesterday, conceding that little has changed since she vowed one year ago to help women and minorities land America's top corporate jobs.

"We continue to find a general absence of minorities and women at the highest levels in the corporate work force, in the developmental programs and in credential-building assignments," Martin told a news conference held to release "Pipeline of Progress: A Status Report on the Glass Ceiling."

Martin noted that only 7.5 percent, or 99 of the 1,315 board members at America's 100 biggest companies are women. Only 27 women, or 11.5 percent, hold leadership positions in the country's 25 biggest unions, she said.

Martin also finalized an agreement yesterday with the Small Business Administration designed to "effect real change . . . to heighten awareness of glass ceiling issues" among small and medium-sized businesses.

In response to questions, Martin, who is scheduled to nominate President Bush at next week's Republican Convention in Houston, denied that politics motivated the timing of the report's release. "And did I stop beating my husband?" Martin joked, adding that the news conference



LYNN MARTIN

... women, minorities face obstacles

was planned long before she was picked to deliver the nominating speech.

Martin did, however, emphasize a Bush administration commitment to tackling the issue of advancement for women and minorities. She said approximately 46 percent of the president's appointees have been women and/or minorities.

She also said the Labor Department conducted compliance reviews over the past year, and eight of nine Fortune 500 companies audited had since complied with federal rules mandating equal opportunity for women and minorities. Twelve more firms are now being audited.

"Much is being done in corporate America to eliminate barriers," Mar-

tin said. "Much, however—too much—remains to be done. We continue to find a general absence of minorities and women at the highest levels in the corporate work force."

The report found that the main barriers to advancement include recruitment practices, lack of opportunity to participate in corporate development programs, performance measures and mobility. It recommended that corporations better track women and minorities with potential for advancement, improve access to development programs and recruit more women and minorities at entry-level professional positions.

Martin said the department's agreement with the SBA aims to educate smaller businesses on gender and race discrimination. SBA Administrator Patricia Saiki added that the effort might identify a small business model that larger corporations could follow in breaking their glass ceilings.

Many small businesses—companies with 500 employees or fewer—are owned by women or minorities, Saiki said. When women and minorities hit the glass ceiling in larger corporations, they may decide to start companies of their own. "They bring with them the history of frustrated goals and ambitions, and they vow not to replicate those patterns in their own small companies," she said.

Noting that 99 percent of all businesses are small, Saiki said, "When smaller businesses set a trend, big business will have to pay attention."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Quality of Work Force Seen as Not in Decline

But Panel Cites Lack of Objective Standards

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

An advisory commission that has been studying the federal work force for the past two years yesterday rejected suggestions that the overall quality of the federal bureaucracy has declined in recent years.

The finding by the Advisory Committee on Federal Workforce Quality Assessment was limited, however, with the 23-member panel citing a lack of long-term studies and objective standards that could be used throughout the government to measure the effectiveness of federal workers.

The committee, formed in 1989 by the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) and the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), said it could find "enough anecdotal evidence to cause widespread alarm about the quality of the federal workforce."

But it also said that recent studies of federal supervisors and others in engineering, scientific, procurement and computer fields suggest the quality of the federal work force "is not generally deficient and has remained fairly constant over time."

That may not be good enough, the committee cautioned: "Simply maintaining the same workforce standards may not be acceptable in an environment where the challenges facing government and the corresponding complexity of the jobs is increasing."

The panel, composed of government, union and business executives as well as academicians, further qualified its findings, saying there may be exceptions to the central finding "by agency, occupation or geographic area."

In its report, "Federal Workforce Quality Measurement and Improvement," the committee argued that increasing the quality of the federal work force is "critical" and outlined recommendations agencies should take to better assess the quality of their workers. Chief among them was establishing "a broad definition of workforce quality" against which the federal work force could be

judged. It also said that department and agency heads should be charged with setting "explicit standards of production and service quality" for their workers.

The committee's call for a high-quality federal work force appeared to represent a rejection of the philosophy of Donald J. Devine, the

Recent studies of supervisors and other federal employee categories show that quality "has remained fairly constant over time."

Reagan administration's OPM director. His belief that the public deserved a competent, but not necessarily stellar, federal work force angered many employee organizations.

That view had little support on the advisory committee. "I don't know anybody who wants to get their letters any later," said panel member Evangeline W. Swift, director of the MSPB's office of policy and evaluation. "The public wants quality service from the government and you've got to have quality people to have quality service."

Acting OPM Director Douglas A. Brook said in a statement that the agency welcomed the committee report and predicted that its findings would be "extremely helpful as OPM continues to develop standards and programs for enhancing the quality of the federal workforce."

MSPB Chairman Daniel R. Levinson also praised the committee, saying it "has done an excellent job in assessing workforce quality issues and furnishing a valuable blueprint for achieving quality throughout the federal community."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

RTC Accused Of Easing Up On S&L Suits

By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer

Three managers in the Resolution Trust Corp.'s legal division told a Senate committee yesterday that top agency officials have eased up in their pursuit of some former savings and loan directors and officials and said they believe political considerations are behind the moves.

The three said that in the past several months the RTC has agreed to small financial settlements in some cases and has abandoned some lawsuits altogether, even though they said the suits were justified and potentially lucrative. They said all these actions came since the agency decided to replace many of its most experienced lawyers assigned to pursue fraud and negligence by S&L officials.

The trio of lawyers, all of whom are facing forced ouster or demotion, have been on the front lines of the government's effort to recover what it can for taxpayers from former S&L officers, directors, lawyers, accountants and appraisers. Spending to clean up after failed S&Ls since 1989 has reached \$88 billion, with tens of billions more to come. So far, the RTC has recovered \$93 million from fraud or negligence claims.

"The bad guys walk—they get off cheaply or they get off all together because we're not allowed to do our job," Bruce Pederson, until May

See THRIFT, A17, Col 1

THRIFT, From A1

manager of professional liability suits in the RTC's western region, told members of the Senate Banking Committee.

Jacqueline Taylor, another one of the attorneys, said one lawsuit recently slated to be filed was abandoned in favor of settlement negotiations after President Bush met with some of the targets of the suit.

Sources said that case involved Deseret Federal Savings & Loan, whose directors included Howard W. Hunter, a top-ranking official of the Mormon church. Bush met for about an hour with Hunter and other top Mormon officials during a campaign stop in Salt Lake City July 17.

A church spokesman said yesterday the Deseret case was not mentioned during the meeting. White House spokesman Sean Walsh said last night that "the president has never intervened in any way on an S&L case."

RTC Chief Executive Albert V. Casey disputed the charge that the agency is going easy on S&L officials, saying, "I am completely satisfied that none of the individual personnel decisions nor the collective decisions were in any respect motivated by a desire to prevent the aggressive pursuit of . . . investigations and cases."

Several Senate Banking Committee Democrats charged that recent directives issued by top officials of the RTC are part of a deliberate Bush administration effort to rein in government pursuit of S&L wrongdoers. They cited a draft policy statement, which sources said is being promoted by White House and Treasury officials, that would make it more difficult to sue bank and S&L directors who are not employees—so-called outside directors, who are

often politically well connected and prominent in their communities.

The lawyers testifying before the committee yesterday were Pederson; Bradley Smolkin, who was manager for the suits in the eastern region; and Taylor, a supervisor in the Denver office. All three said Washington officials are ordering that some directors be dropped from lawsuits and making it difficult to bring negligence claims, the bread and butter of potential financial recovery for taxpayers.

They said they and about two dozen other RTC lawyers who have aggressively pursued these cases are being harassed and driven out of the RTC under the pretext of an agency reorganization. The result, according to Pederson, is a system close to

chaos, with "hundreds of cases shuffled among attorneys nationwide" at a time when legal deadlines are expiring on the filing of suits.

Casey, however, said the effort to pursue S&L wrongdoers will not be hurt by the restructuring, which he said is intended to increase the number of staff attorneys and thin the management ranks.

Committee Chairman Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.) called the recent developments in the RTC legal division "a stunning situation" and said taxpayers should be concerned about the "tens of millions, hundreds of millions of dollars that are being forgone here or put in jeopardy."

He and Sen. Timothy Wirth (D-Colo.) said they see a broad effort by the administration to ease up on for-

son said the draft language on suing outside directors "is a watering down of the standard" now used. The proposed policy would not hold directors responsible for monitoring the activities of management, as is now the case. They would be liable, generally, only when they "were on notice of circumstances existing at the institution that required correction and failed to take steps to implement corrective measures after receiving such notice."

Treasury officials and some Republicans in Congress have said legal actions against S&L officials have made it hard for institutions to find people willing to serve on their boards.

The witnesses at yesterday's hearing said they already have seen instances when outside directors were

mer S&L officials. Republicans on the banking committee have complained in recent months about their constituents being "harassed" by frivolous RTC suits, and several have been vocal opponents of an effort to extend the statute of limitations for such claims.

Wirth questioned Casey about an RTC memo written by agency general counsel Gerald Jacobs that requires special treatment for politically connected applicants for legal jobs. Applications referred by the administration, members of Congress or top-level RTC officials are to be handled by ranking lawyers in the agency whether or not vacancies exist, the memo said.

Wirth called the memo a blueprint for "political cronyism and political favoritism."

Casey said he was unaware of the policy, and would order it rescinded.

Jacobs did not attend yesterday's hearing because he is temporarily recused from all professional liability matters while the agency inspector general conducts an investigation into his representation of a Phoenix firm, Dicor Inc., that defaulted on more than \$40 million in loans to a failed S&L, among them dealings branded as "sham" transactions by his own agency in a racketeering lawsuit against the S&L's officials.

Wirth said yesterday that Jacobs also is under investigation by the Office of Thrift Supervision, which has the power to take administrative and enforcement actions. Sources said OTS has subpoenaed Dicor for legal bills and correspondence involving Jacobs and his former law firm in Phoenix.

Wirth also produced the current draft of a proposed multi-agency policy statement on standards the government will use in deciding whether to sue officers and directors. Peder-

dropped from pending lawsuits on orders from Washington. Smolkin cited a case this summer in which Washington officials overruled staff lawyers and ordered them to remove outside directors from a suit. Sources said that case involved a black-owned institution, Peoples Savings & Loan of Hampton, Va.

"My unit was very aggressive in pursuing causes of action," said Taylor, adding she believes that is why her caseload was taken from her. In one instance, she said, she was ordered to settle a \$10 million case for \$30,000 with a defendant who was worth far more. When she balked, she said, she was told she was on "politically shaky ground" because pursuing the suit could block Jacobs's ability "to hire his favorite outside counsel."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

In California, Quayle Assails Liberal Icons

Conservatives Asked To Aid Uphill Battle

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO, Calif., Aug. 11—Vice President Quayle targeted a set of liberal icons including Anita Hill, Hillary Clinton and the spotted owl today as he toured the sweltering Central Valley, imploring conservatives to aid the Republicans' uphill fight for California's 54 electoral votes.

The three-day swing through the nation's biggest battleground, Quayle's last major excursion before next week's national convention in Houston, saw him renewing the assault on liberal environmental, education and legal groups he said are calling the tune for the national Democratic ticket and threatening America's economic hopes.

In a speech here this morning to the California branch of television evangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, Quayle ripped into the American Bar Association (ABA) for inviting Hillary Clinton, wife of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, to speak before an award was presented at its San Francisco convention to Hill, the Oklahoma law professor whose sexual harassment charges last fall almost derailed the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

At meetings with ranchers and homebuilders, Quayle was equally caustic about "radicals" in the environmental movement he said would elevate the interests of owls and snakes above jobs and people.

Quayle told leaders of the state's cattle industry outside Stockton that

environmental "radicals" were trying to deny water to agricultural interests because "they don't want growth."

At a suburban development outside Sacramento today, he met with housing industry officials and repeated his promise to the ranchers that President Bush would try to give them relief from the Endangered Species Act provisions which, according to Quayle, are taking valuable land out of production and burdening the stagnant economy with unnecessary costs.

"The spotted owl alone," Quayle said, referring to the bird whose nesting areas are coveted by timber cutters, "has added \$3,000 to \$5,000 to the price" of the \$140,000 tract houses under construction around him.

Over and over, Quayle argued that Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), are in league to the most liberal of the school, environmental and legal lobbies.

"If they are moderates," he told

several hundred people at the Christian Coalition breakfast, "I am a world champion speller."

It was there that the vice president unleashed his attack on the ABA leadership, with whom he has been feuding since last summer, when the then-president of the legal society forced Quayle into an impromptu debate about the merits of the civil litigation reform program the vice president had just unveiled.

The choice of Hillary Clinton to address the awards program honoring Hill makes it "very clear that the ABA is just one more special interest group of the Democratic Party," Quayle said, adding that ABA President Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte is a "liberal Democrat activist."

Hill was honored Sunday by the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession, which Hillary Clinton headed until last year. Quayle said the ABA considered Hill a "heroine" because "she led the attack against a man who happens to be both conservative and black, a combination that makes liberals fly into a rage."



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Quayle greets children during a visit to new development outside Sacramento.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

GOP Platform Pushed to Right

Plank on Tax-Hike 'Mistake' Softened

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 11—Conservatives today pushed the Republican platform further to the right to reflect their views on abortion and homosexuality.

The Republican Platform Committee ratified the party's strongly antiabortion plank, which includes a call for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. It voted 84 to 16 against a motion to drop the abortion plank entirely. In a series of voice votes, the panel also rejected amendments to the plank.

Abortion rights supporters appear to lack the votes to bring the matter before the full convention here next week, but several of them said they still hope for some acknowledgment by the party of divergent views on the issue.

President Bush added to the debate when, in Washington today, he answered a television interviewer's hypothetical questions about how he would react to a granddaughter's decision to have an abortion by saying he would "stand by my child." Would the decision be hers, NBC interviewer Stone Phillips asked. "Well," Bush

said, "who else's could it be?" [Details, Page A12.]

Despite the platform's strong antiabortion language, a Washington Post-ABC News survey of Republican delegates found that 55 percent of those questioned oppose a constitutional ban on abortion, while 28 percent favor it.

Conservative Phyllis Schlafly, head of the National Republican Coalition for Life, denounced delegate polls on abortion at a news conference here: "They all offered options to find out where you stand, but none of them offered the option of opposing abortion except to save the life of the mother." She said this is the position consistent with the plank adopted today.

A platform subcommittee that apparently angered some in the White House on Monday by labeling the 1990 tax increases signed by the president "a mistake" pulled back today—although only slightly.

A special meeting of the economics subcommittee, called after consultations between its members and Bush campaign officials, agreed to strike the word "mistake" and instead call the tax increases "recessionary."

REPUBLICANS, From A1

The subcommittee also softened a commitment to repeal the 1990 tax increases. Instead of saying they "should be repealed," the panel said they "should ultimately be repealed."

Conservatives claimed victory in sustaining the rebuke to the tax increase. "I've gotten what I wanted here," said Rep. Robert S. Walker (Pa.). "The taxes wrecked the economy."

Rep. Vin Weber (Minn.), sponsor of the original language, acknowledged that some in the Bush campaign would have preferred to see the section dropped. It was included on Monday with the acquiescence of Bush's platform representative here, Charles Black, who believes Bush needs to step away from the 1990 tax increase and thought he could soften the language. Officials here said top Bush aides in Washington objected far more strongly to the language than Black did.

Weber said the tax-cutting philosophy embodied in the platform marked a major departure from administration policies. "It would be a profound change in economic policy," he said.

The shift of the platform toward the right was evident in amendments adopted today and in changes made Monday by platform subcommittees.

For example, to make clear the party's view on homosexuality, the committee today adopted an

amendment expressing opposition to "any legislation or law that recognizes same sex marriages."

Another change reflected the objections of some conservative Christians on the committee to a passage that celebrated "our country's rich religious pluralism." They said the platform failed to mention the country's religious roots in Christianity and Judaism. So, on a 51 to 37 vote, the passage was amended to celebrate "our country's Judeo-Christian heritage and rich religious pluralism."

A subcommittee even substituted one quote from First Lady Barbara Bush for another one, to move the message in a pro-family direction. "In order to grow, you must choose a cause to serve larger than yourself" was dropped today for a statement celebrating motherhood: "At the end of your life you will never regret not having passed one more test, not winning one more verdict or not closing one more deal. You will regret time not spent with a husband, a child, a friend or a parent."

The platform planks adopted today also endorsed "home-based schools," a cause dear to many religious conservatives, and echoed Vice President Quayle in declaring that "elements within the media, the entertainment industry, academia and the Democratic Party are waging a guerrilla war against American values."

Although the Bush campaign proposed some of the conservative language, the changes in the document

reflect the strength of the religious right in the platform process. Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, the political arm of television evangelist Pat Robertson, said his group had 20 members and eight allies on the 107-member platform committee, enough to allow them to force a convention floor fight on any proposal they wished to push.

Reed argued that the conservative platform changes would help Bush by "hanging some red meat on the rather flaccid bones of the record of the last three years."

"The language on AIDS, education, abortion, homosexual rights, prayer in schools and taxes is all being strengthened so we can telegraph a message to the core constituency that this is their party and that we want their votes in November," Reed said.

But Tanya Melich, a delegate from New York and executive director of the New York Republican Family Committee, a liberal group, expressed the displeasure of a handful of dissenters here.

"I am appalled that no one on that platform committee got up and argued about artistic freedom, about the freedom to create, about the freedom to hold one's moral views or one's sexual preference," she said. "No one talked about the entertainment industry or academia having the right to their own view of the world. Certainly this stuff is worth discussion."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush Angrily Denounces Report Of Extramarital Affair as 'a Lie'

Tabloid Story on Rumored Relationship With Ex-Aide Called 'Sleaze'

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

A long-running rumor that President Bush once had an extramarital affair with a former aide burst into the media spotlight yesterday when CNN reporter Mary Tillotson asked Bush about it at a news conference carried live by her network.

A visibly angry Bush said he was "outraged" that Tillotson would ask such a question and denounced a story in yesterday's New York Post that prompted the question as "a lie."

The president took a similar tack later in the day on "Dateline NBC" when co-host Stone Phillips asked him if he had ever had an affair. Bush threatened to end the interview, broadcast last night, and told Phillips: "You're perpetuating the sleaze by even asking the question, to say nothing of asking in the Oval Office."

Unsubstantiated allegations that Bush once had an affair with Jennifer Fitzgerald, a top aide on his vice presidential staff and now the State Department's deputy chief of protocol, have been bandied about in political and journalistic circles for more than a decade. The talk was revived earlier this year after Jennifer Flowers charged in a supermarket tabloid story that she had had a lengthy affair with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

Several news organizations, including The Washington Post and Los Angeles Times, have investigated the rumor but found no evidence to substantiate it. Fitzgerald, who was out of the country yesterday, denied the rumor a decade ago to Washington Post reporter Ann Devroy. "I spent two solid months looking into this in the early 1980s and I never found any evidence of it," said Devroy, who was then working for Gannett News Service.

The controversy marred Bush's attempt yesterday to showcase his handling of foreign policy by announcing agreement on \$10 billion in loan guarantees for Israel. But it remains to be seen whether questions of infidelity will dog Bush as they did Clinton earlier this year, or blunt his emphasis on family values.

The New York Post's story—with the banner headline, "The Bush Affair"—was based on a footnote in "The Power House," a new book by Susan B. Trento about lobbyist Robert Gray. Democratic activists have sent the relevant passage to a number of journalists in recent weeks.

The book quotes the late Louis Fields, former U.S. ambassador to the arms-control talks in Switzerland, as saying that in 1984 he arranged for then-Vice President Bush and Fitzgerald to use a guest house in Geneva. Fields did not say he had firsthand knowledge of an affair but said the living arrangements made him uncomfortable.

The book says Fields gave the account in 1986 to former CNN investigative reporter Joe Trento, the author's husband, and later repeated it to two other people. The New York Post said Bush attended the Geneva talks in April 1984, while his wife, Barbara, was on a U.S. book tour.

Fitzgerald has worked for Bush since he was ambassador to China and CIA director in the 1970s. She was the target of frequent staff complaints that she was limiting access to Bush when she ran his vice presidential office in the early 1980s. Bush named Fitzgerald his Senate liaison in 1985 and gave her the State Department post in 1989.

The Customs Service fined Fitzgerald \$648 the following year for failing to declare a silver fox cape and undervaluing a fur-lined raincoat she purchased on an official trip to Argentina.

CNN's Tillotson asked Bush about the report at a news conference he held with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Kennebunkport, Maine. She told Bush she

was raising the subject "because you've said that family values and character are likely to be important in the presidential campaign."

"I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN," the president replied. "I am very disappointed that you would ask such a question of me. . . . I'm outraged. . . . I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

Ed Turner, CNN's executive vice president, said Tillotson had asked the question on her own. "It's the role of the reporter to ask questions," he said. "What comes of them determines the news value."

Richard Gooding, the New York Post's metropolitan editor, said the tabloid published the story after determining that Fields "was not a crackpot or senile." Asked if he is troubled that the key source is dead, Gooding said, "Obviously, you'd rather have a live guy."

Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke called the New York paper "below the Star and the National Enquirer."

Clinton said yesterday that he deplored the New York Post article and sympathized with Bush. "I felt for him," Clinton said. "I like him on a personal level. I like his wife. I just don't think it ought to be part of this campaign."

In April Hillary Clinton, the governor's wife, referred to rumors about Bush having had an extramarital affair in an interview in Vanity Fair and said "the establishment" had shielded Bush from any questions about it. After the article appeared, she said she had not meant "to be hurtful to anyone."

Bush's response at his news conference was given extensive play on CNN and radio news throughout the day, and the three major broadcast television networks last night all aired stories about it.

"We wish we didn't have to deal with this," said Erik Sorenson, executive producer of the "CBS Evening News," "but if our own viewers are hearing it all day . . . we sort of have a responsibility to address it."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Rep. Hatcher Loses in Georgia Runoff

Colorado Rep. Campbell Nominated to Succeed Wirth in Senate

Associated Press

Six-term Rep. Charles Hatcher was ousted in a Georgia Democratic runoff yesterday, while in Colorado Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell defeated two opponents for the Democratic nomination to succeed retiring Sen. Timothy E. Wirth (D).

State Sen. Sanford Bishop led Hatcher, seeking a seventh term, by 53 percent to 47 percent, with 96 percent of precincts counted.

Hatcher, who is white, won 40 percent of the primary vote in the redrawn district three weeks ago, short of the majority needed to avoid a runoff. Bishop was the leader among four black candidates with 22 percent, and the losers later endorsed him. Hatcher's 819 bad checks in the now-closed House

Bank were a nagging but secondary issue in the election.

Hatcher became the 16th House member ousted in a primary this year.

In another majority-black district, black state Rep. Cynthia McKinney defeated white businessman George DeLoach in a Democratic runoff. With 93 percent of the precincts reporting, McKinney had 54 percent of the vote.

In a Republican runoff for the U.S. Senate nomination, with 99 percent of the precincts reporting, former Peace Corps director Paul Coverdell, who was endorsed by President Bush, led former U.S. attorney Bob Barr by 51 percent to 49 percent, a margin that represented less than 1,700 of the 158,000 votes cast.

The winner faces first-term Democratic Sen. Wyche Fowler.

Over the weekend, Barr accused Coverdell of "sleazy campaigning" and Coverdell charged Barr with shifting his stand on abortion to pick up antiabortion votes.

In Colorado, the surprise retirement of Wirth, a first-term Democrat, lured three prominent members of his party into the race—Campbell, former governor Richard D. Lamm and former Boulder County commissioner Josie Heath, who lost a Senate bid two years ago.

With 71 percent of the precincts reporting, Campbell had 50 percent to Lamm's 34 percent and Heath's 17 percent.

The GOP nominee, former state senator Terry Considine, had no primary opposition.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Clinton Softens Assault Against Bush

Democrat Turns to Humor, Appeal to Pride Before Southern Group

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI BEACH, Aug. 11— There are moments during a political campaign that call for a slightly different approach by the candidate. Today was one of those moments for Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton.

For days he has been hammering President Bush with sharply partisan attacks and warning that when Republicans meet next week at their national convention in Houston they will launch an all-out attempt to frighten the electorate about the consequences of electing him and his vice presidential running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.).

But speaking today before the Southern Legislative Conference, a bipartisan although mostly Democratic organization of state legislators from southern and border states, Clinton softened the harder edges of his message.

The Arkansas governor turned to humor and an appeal to southern pride to make essentially the same points, providing a classic example of how he hopes to use his

Gore's southern roots to undercut a solid Republican electoral base that was last cracked by a Democrat from the region, Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Clinton devoted most of his speech to health care issues, spewing out statistics while defending his plan to overhaul the health care system. Then, near the end of the speech, Clinton turned to his favorite subject these days—GOP campaign tactics.

"The other side is going to go down there to Houston and tell you Al Gore and I may have been born in Arkansas and Tennessee, but we're just a bunch of crazy, wild-eyed liberals," Clinton said as he spread his arms in unusually animated gestures.

"They're going to tell you they took us to New York City in a safe and no one saw us and [they] incubated us there for 20 years and we got crazy ideas and hid them for 20 years, waiting for the opportunity to spring them on the rest of the country.

"They're going to say every speech I gave on the Fourth of July in northeast Arkansas was a deliberate attempt to conceal my radical impulses," he continued. "And that

we just can't wait to get in power in Washington so we can take your guns away and trample family values and raise taxes on every poor working person in America. I can hear it now, and so can you, and the reason you're laughing is you know I'm telling the truth."

Clinton was clearly in his element before the friendly audience of southern state legislators such as those he has worked with for years in Arkansas and the audience responded with laughter and a standing ovation.

He concluded with an appeal to the pride and lingering sense of defensiveness about their region that is shared by many southerners.

"You ask the people you represent not to throw their votes away on the kind of rhetoric people have gotten those of us in the South to be a sucker for for decades," he said. "Let's show them there is a New South and that we're a lot smarter than they think we are, and that whoever is going to get our votes this time will have to respond to our hopes for our children, to the problems we live every day, they'll have to give us a way to win again by being one again."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Bush: Choice on Abortion Would Be Granddaughter's

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush said yesterday that if one of his granddaughters came to him and said she wanted to have an abortion, he would try to talk her out of it but would still "stand by my child" if she chose to terminate the pregnancy.

Bush, in an interview with "Dateline NBC," responded in a way similar to recent statements by Vice President Quayle, who, in an interview with talk show host Larry King, said he would support his daughter whatever her decision in that circumstance.

"Would I support my child?" Bush asked. "I'd put my arm around her and say, if she were trying to make that decision, encourage her not to do that, but of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away, and we'd get back in the game."

When interviewer Stone Phillips asked, "So in the end, the decision would be hers?" Bush responded: "Well, who else's could it be?" He said he was "offended" by the number of abortions performed yearly and that "lack of respect for life," but that if his granddaughter were to go ahead anyway, "I'd hold

out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Bush said Quayle's similar comments on the King show had been misunderstood. "If my granddaughter said I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her," Bush said. "I think that's what the vice president was saying, didn't mean he condoned the act. But he said he'd stand by his child. Of course I'd do that. My granddaughter, my son, my daughter, whoever it is."

On another contentious social issue that Republican operatives have said could be a line of attack in the campaign, Bush was asked what he would do if one of his grandchildren announced that he or she was gay.

Bush said that although he does not believe homosexuality is a "normal lifestyle," he would still "love that person."

"I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to convince people that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be," Bush said. "But I would say I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a lifestyle that in my view is not normal, and propose marriages, same-sex marriages [as] a normal way of life."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Senate Approves Family Leave Bill

Joining Democrats, GOP Loyalist Calls Bush Opposition 'Plain Wrong'

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

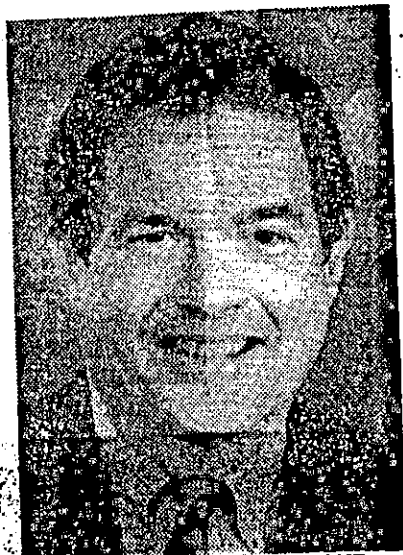
The Senate yesterday defied veto threats and approved family-leave legislation in a send-off message to President Bush as he heads for the Republican National Convention that included sharp criticism from a staunch Republican loyalist.

"I think the president is just plain wrong on this. I hope they [the administration] will reconsider," said Sen. Christopher S. Bond (Mo.), a Republican who has a strong record of support for the president but who joined Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) in drafting the final version of the bill.

Acting by voice vote after Republicans blocked a roll call, the Senate approved a House-Senate compromise on the legislation, which would require businesses to give workers unpaid leave for care of newborn infants or medical emergencies within a family.

Bush, contending he favors family leave through labor-management agreement rather than governmental action, vetoed similar legislation in 1990 and his veto was sustained in the House. Administration officials have said the president would veto the new bill on the same grounds.

The bill, which the House is expected to approve and send to the White House before the November elections, would guarantee employees of firms with 50 or more workers up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for birth or adoption of a child or for the serious illness of the worker or



SEN. CHRISTOPHER S. BOND
... urges Bush to "take another look"

a close family member. Health insurance would continue during the leave.

Leave would be allowed only for employees who have worked for a firm for at least a year and worked at least 1,250 hours, or 25 hours a week, during that period. "Key" employees, who constitute the highest-paid 10 percent of the work force, could be excluded.

At a news conference after the Senate approved the bill, Bond joined Dodd in appealing to Bush to sign the legislation.

"I think his failure to support [the bill] is a failure to reinforce an important part of his platform," Bond said. "I'd say it's a missed opportunity if they in fact will not take another look at it."

Dodd was even harsher in his criticism and his assessment of the political damage that Bush could



SEN. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
... seeks policy that values families

suffer if he vetoes the bill. "I think the president has made a huge mistake on this," Dodd said. "People really want this."

"It's time to replace 'family values' rhetoric with real policies that value families," Dodd told the Senate before the vote in what amounts to a theme song for the Democrats as they attempt to counter Republican claims to represent "family values" better than the Democrats.

Counting three absentees who were on record in favor of the legislation, the Senate produced 68 votes—enough for the two-thirds necessary to override a veto—when it passed its version of the bill last year. But not all can necessarily be counted on as votes for a veto override. The House fell 50 votes short when it attempted to override Bush's veto in 1990.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Lawyers' Group Votes To Back Abortion Rights *Two-Year Stance of Neutrality Abandoned*

By Sandra Torrey
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 11—The American Bar Association voted decisively today to take a strong stand in favor of abortion rights, reversing a two-year position of neutrality on the emotional issue.

The ABA's House of Delegates, the organization's policy-making body, voted 276 to 168 in favor of a resolution supporting women's right to choose an abortion before the fetus is viable and in cases where the life or health of the mother is threatened.

The House "realized that the issue is front and center throughout the country and can't be avoided," said Estelle Rogers, a Washington lawyer, who was one of the leaders of the abortion-rights forces.

Rogers said the ABA can now add its "powerful, prestigious and effective" voice to lobbying on the issue in Congress and state legislatures. Congress may soon take up the Freedom of Choice Act, which would guarantee the right to an abortion, and various laws to restrict the right to abortion are moving through state legislatures.

The political fallout from the vote was already evident.

In the letter to the ABA last week, Attorney General William P. Barr warned that taking sides "on this divisive political issue" would endanger the "essential" perception of the ABA as impartial and politically neutral.

Barr did not mention the ABA's role in evaluating nominees to the Supreme Court and the federal bench. But several ABA members, who sought to keep the association neutral on abortion, said they feared that the ABA would lose credibility as a nonpartisan evaluator of prospective judges. Evaluating federal judges is one of the ABA's most prominent and prized roles.

The debate today at the association's annual meeting followed days of intensive lobbying by both

sides in the battle. On Monday, the ABA Assembly, a meeting of all members who come to the convention and pay the registration fee, voted 659 to 340 in favor of the abortion-rights stand. But their vote was only advisory to the House.

During today's debate, ABA President Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte said that the ABA should not shrink from the issue, as it had during the 1950s and early 1960s on

*Political fallout
from the decision
was already
evident.*

"the most important issue of the century," civil rights.

D'Alemberte said the ABA grew in size and stature when it finally decided to become involved in the issue.

Supporters of the neutral position came one by one to the microphone, some asserting that they were anti-abortion and others saying they were "pro-choice."

But they argued that was not the point. Former ABA president Robert Meserve, of Boston, proclaimed that he is strongly "pro-choice" but said many in the ABA feel on moral or religious grounds that abortion is wrong. When the ABA voted in favor of abortion rights in February 1990, about 1,000 members resigned, citing that stance as their reason. After an unprecedented lobbying campaign, the ABA reversed itself six months later and adopted the "neutrality" position.

After the vote, former ABA president John J. Curtin, of Boston, who strongly supported the neutrality stand, was asked whether he would attempt to overturn today's vote.

He said, "I am not precluding the fact that I might challenge the decision another time, another place and on different grounds."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

'We Left People Behind,' Perot Tells POW Panel

Texan Says U.S. Officials Covered Up the Truth

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

Texas businessman Ross Perot said yesterday there is "no question in my mind" that U.S. prisoners were left behind in Indochina at the end of the Vietnam War and that federal officials have "covered up" and "dissembled" to prevent the truth from coming out.

In more than four hours of sometimes contentious testimony before a special Senate committee, Perot, who until last month was an undeclared presidential candidate, recounted his efforts stretching back more than 20 years to win release of those U.S. prisoners. The efforts included a series of discussions with then-Vice President Bush and his staff in the mid-1980s that produced a bitter rift between the two men.

Without directly pointing at Bush, Perot repeatedly claimed that his attempts were thwarted by senior U.S. officials who "played games" with the POW issue.

"I don't care about my image, I care about the facts," Perot said in his first major public appearance since he stunned supporters July 16 by abandoning his independent campaign for the presidency. "And there is no question in my mind that we left people behind, and we left people in Laos, and I think I can prove it to any rational person."

Some of Perot's assertions appeared to be bolstered yesterday by the committee's release of three newly declassified government memorandums—including one written in March 1973 by Lawrence S. Eagleburger, then acting assistant defense secretary and now deputy secretary of state—concluding there was credible evidence that Laos was holding captured Americans who were not freed as part of the general release of U.S. prisoners of war under the Paris peace accords that ended the Vietnam War.

Eagleburger's memo noted that the North Vietnamese had released the names of only 10 U.S. prisoners being held in Laos, while the Defense Intelligence Agency had listed "350 U.S. military and civilians as missing or captured in Laos." Eagleburger

concluded that the Lao Patriotic Front (LPF) "may hold a number of unidentified U.S. POWs" and urged that the United States consider a number of diplomatic moves—including, "as a last step," resumption of air strikes—"to force the release of our prisoners in Laos."

Eagleburger's views were echoed in a March 28, 1973, memo by then-Defense Secretary Elliot L. Richardson to President Richard M. Nixon's national security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger. In addition, the committee released a third memorandum dated May 24, 1973, in which Pentagon official Roger E. Shields said the department's statement the month before that it had no knowledge of any U.S. personnel still being held prisoner in southeast Asia was "no longer fully satisfactory."

In the memo, Shields cited two instances in which U.S. manned aircraft had been shot down over Laos in early 1973 and electronic intelligence indicated that some Americans "had been captured." Shields concluded "that the DOD [Department of Defense] position regarding the possibility of men still being held prisoner in [Southeast Asia] should be altered slightly."

Neither the newly released documents nor Perot shed any light on the bitter debate over whether any Americans are living in captivity today. Most of Perot's testimony recounted events and evidence that already have been made public, and at least some of his assertions were challenged by committee Chairman John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) and other senators who noted that earlier witnesses had contradicted his version of events.

At several points, committee members appealed to Perot for any ideas he might have to resolve the POW mystery. He offered the following suggestion: Call in all the top U.S. government officials who have had responsibility for the POW issue; "get them all in a room and give them total amnesty—total immunity I guess is the word you'd use here—anything to get them to tell you the truth."

"See, these people are worried to death—a huge number of them are

worried about their images. This is a town that lives on how it looks, not how it is," he said.

Perot contended that the secret to the fate of U.S. prisoners is in Laos, where the United States conducted a "secret" war that at one point he suggested might have involved drug trafficking by U.S. officials. Perot said that in a 1970 mission to that country he and two associates were briefed by the CIA station chief about specific intelligence involving captive Americans in that country.

But committee members said later that the station chief has denied giving Perot such a briefing. And McMurtrie Godley, then the U.S. ambassador to Laos, who allegedly attended the briefing, told the panel later that he had no recollection of such a meeting. He said he recalled that intelligence at the time indicated that captive Americans had been moved to Vietnam.

Perot also recounted how in early 1986 he had been called by Bush, who urged him to pay \$4.2 million to a jailed businessman in Singapore peddling a videotape that purportedly showed captive Americans

"used as slaves in the Golden Triangle." Perot said Bush assured him the government would reimburse him and he paid \$45,000 to win release of the businessman.

But after he did so, Perot said, he got a call from Donald Gregg, then a Bush aide and now ambassador to South Korea, who told him "we have decided not to reimburse you." Perot said he repeatedly called Bush's office trying to find out who made that decision. "Well, I never got a call back," he said.

The Washington Post reported in June that after Bush assured Perot about the reimbursement, the Pentagon checked out the businessman and concluded his efforts to sell the tape were most likely a scam. Perot acknowledged yesterday that he never saw the purported videotape and could not vouch for its authenticity.

Perot expressed bitterness over how the government has treated his efforts, asserting that in 1970 the Vietnamese even sent five terrorists to his Dallas home to try to kill him and his family—a raid that Perot said was thwarted by his sheep dog. "Can you imagine the exposure my family has had over the years?" he asked.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Judge Orders CIA Director Gates to Testify for Defense in George Case

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

A federal judge yesterday rejected an attempt by CIA Director Robert M. Gates to avoid testifying at the trial of an old colleague, former CIA spy chief Clair E. George.

Saying Gates "is up to his eyeballs in his knowledge" of the Iran-contra affair, U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth expressed annoyance at the last-minute attempt Monday night to quash a subpoena directing Gates to appear as a defense witness.

"There were only two people above George, and one is dead," Lamberth said in response to a claim by Gates that his testimony was not needed. "What Mr. Gates knew can be very critical to this defense."

The two people Lamberth was talking about were the late CIA director William J. Casey and Gates, who was deputy director and No. 2 official at the agency in 1986 before the Iran-contra scandal broke. George was deputy director for operations, in charge of the agency's clandestine service.

Gates, now expected to appear early next week, could face rough questioning by both sides in the trial.

Defense lawyers announced yesterday that they consider him "a hostile witness" because of his reluctance to appear. According to court papers, they have dropped an earlier request that he testify "about Mr. George's good character." George was a chief rival of Gates when Gates was promoted to the No. 2 job at the agency and, according to CIA insiders, there is no love lost between the two men.

Iran-contra prosecutors, on other hand, have always regarded Gates as "a subject" of their investigation and said in previous court filings that if he appears as a witness, they might try to impeach some of his Iran-contra testimony before Congress.

After months of negotiations with CIA lawyers, George's attorneys issued a subpoena Saturday, calling for Gates's appearance yesterday, the day they began presenting their defense. The trial is in its fourth week.

The Justice Department stepped in on Gates's behalf Monday night, contending that George's lawyers had failed to justify "interference with the work of an Executive Branch agency at its highest levels." Departmental lawyers complained that chief defense counsel Richard A. Hibey had "failed to identify the particular areas of testimony he seeks, or how any such information is material and favorable to [George's] defense."

Defense lawyer Gordon Coffee told the court at a special hearing late yesterday that Gates was important to efforts to knock down charges that George lied to congressional and grand jury investigators and obstructed their inquiries.

George's main line of defense has been that he was too busy with other CIA operations to have been aware of the Iran-contra details he is accused of lying about.

Gates has similarly professed inattention to the Iran-contra operations, which involved secret sales of arms to Iran and covert resupply of the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Offering one example of why Gates' testimony is needed, Coffee said that the CIA director in his Senate confirmation testimony last fall acknowledged meeting with former CIA Central American task force chief Alan D. Fiers nine times in the spring and summer of 1986 to discuss the situation in Nicaragua.

Gates insisted in his Senate testimony that at none of those meetings did Fiers tell him he was working with then-White House aide Oliver L. North and the "private benefactors" North had enlisted to supply the contra rebels with munitions at a time such aid was barred by Congress.

Coffee pointed out that George has made somewhat the same argument and that Gates's expected repetition of his previous testimony before the jury "buttresses our case."

The judge took umbrage at the suggestion that Gates was too important and too busy an official to be required to appear in court without a meticulous explanation of his

importance to the case. Lamberth told Justice Department lawyer David Anderson he was not impressed with the precedents cited, such as one quashing a subpoena for President Ronald Reagan's appearance at North's 1989 trial.

"This is a criminal case," Lamberth emphasized. "All the criminal cases you cited refer to the president. Let me tell you, Mr. Gates is in a lot different position than President Reagan."

Lamberth said courts have been reluctant to require top government officials to testify in cases they know little or nothing about. He said that was not the situation here.

"Mr. Gates is up to his eyeballs in his knowledge about the subject," the judge said, pointing out that Gates has been placed at a number of important meetings and briefings in testimony thus far.

The prosecution rested its case at midday yesterday after a reading from an April 24, 1987, deposition George gave the Senate and House committees investigating Iran-contra.

In the deposition, George recalled in graphic terms how he had met and immediately raised questions about Iran-contra middleman Richard V. Secord. One of the counts against George is that just a few months earlier, he failed to tell a different congressional committee he had ever met Secord.

The Washington Post

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

The federal judge who presided over a case involving illicit bank loans to Iraq criticized Attorney General William P. Barr yesterday for deciding not to seek an independent investigation of how the Bush administration handled the case.

Judge Marvin H. Shoob said Barr's letter to Congress on Monday rejecting a request for an independent counsel contained several "totally untrue" assertions about the Atlanta-based court proceedings. Shoob said only appointment of an independent counsel could set the record straight.

In 45 years practicing law, "I have never seen anything that has so many unanswered questions," Shoob said in a telephone interview.

Elaborating on concerns he first raised in June, Shoob said he is perplexed by indications that officials in Washington interfered with the prosecution of the case and worked out a last-minute deal which, he said, avoided a public statement by a key defendant whose attorneys had threatened to implicate government officials in the illicit loans.

The case involved an estimated \$5 billion in unauthorized loans to Iraq by the Atlanta branch of the Italian-owned Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), of which \$1.25 billion were guaranteed by the Bush administration as part of a high-level effort to bolster U.S.-Iraqi relations. The case was concluded in June when the U.S. attorney's office, acting with advice from the Justice Department, accepted a guilty plea by BNL branch manager Christopher Drogoul to 60 of the 347 initial counts of conspiracy and fraud.

It is considered unusual for a federal judge to express such vigorous criticism of the government's handling of a case over which the judge retains jurisdiction. Justice Department officials say that if any others are charged in the case, they may be brought before Shoob.

Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee, relying in part on Shoob's criticism of the plea bargain, petitioned Barr to appoint someone who could independently examine "irregularities" and possible criminal violations by U.S. officials. But Barr, in denying the request, wrote to the committee that "almost without ex-

ception . . . the 'facts' cited by Judge Shoob to explain his conclusion have been shown to be incorrect."

Barr specifically challenged Shoob's account of the negotiations leading to Drogoul's plea bargain and denounced as "completely unfounded" Shoob's allegation that the Justice Department somehow tried to silence Drogoul by dismissing most of the charges against him. "It simply is not a crime for the department's headquarters to assist in and review investigations and prosecutions being conducted by U.S. attorneys' offices," Barr said.

Shoob, a 69-year-old former business litigator appointed to the bench in 1979 by President Jimmy Carter, said he is a Democrat. "But I'm not active politically at all" and not motivated by politics in this case, he said.

He said that Barr "is right that I don't understand the case."

He said he did not, for example, understand why the U.S. attorney's office waited until February 1991 to empanel a grand jury in the BNL case, more than a year after Gayle McKenzie, the chief prosecutor in

the case, had drafted an indictment and faxed it to Washington.

Democratic legislators have said recently that the delay was prompted by Washington's desire to avoid disrupting U.S.-Iraqi relations before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. But the Justice Department, in a lengthy report given to Congress in support of Barr's letter and released yesterday, said the delay was due partly to McKenzie's workload and partly to uncertainties about the culpability of officers at BNL's headquarters in Rome.

Shoob said he does not understand "why the White House would call the assistant U.S. attorney [McKenzie] on at least two occasions" to discuss the case in 1989. While some legislators have suggested that the calls may have amounted to political interference, the Justice Department report states that the official involved was "only seeking information" and not acting at the behest of other White House officials.

Shoob said he also questions why the government did not move more swiftly to investigate U.S. companies that supplied goods to Iraq with loans

See JUDGE, A7, Col. 1

JUDGE, From A6

from BNL; why certain BNL officials were not included in the eventual indictment of Drogoul and various Iraqis; and why it required his prompting to make the government revoke Drogoul's bond so that Drogoul would remain in confinement before sentencing. Shoob said he had to point out that Drogoul had "substantial sums on deposit in Europe" and might flee.

A Justice Department official declined to comment on these criticisms last night, and neither McKenzie nor her supervisor in the U.S. attorney's office returned phone calls.

Shoob's principal concern, he said, remains the plea bargain offered to Drogoul last May 29, which Drogoul accepted several days later.

It was this agreement, Shoob said, that produced an "arrangement, in my opinion, that Drogoul would make no statement" about the case in open court. The plea agreement instead required that Drogoul submit to daily questioning about BNL's activities by the U.S. attorney's office.

But Shoob said the agreement was not as favorable to the government as a proposal several days earlier by Drogoul's attorney, Sheila Tyler, that called for Drogoul to plead guilty to all 347 counts and "make a full disclosure" to the court in a public statement about the case expected to last five to six hours.

While Justice Department officials maintain that they secured Drogoul's assistance in their continuing investigation of potential wrongdoing only by dropping most of the counts

against Drogoul, Shoob said it is his understanding that the arrangement put forward by Drogoul's attorney—and not accepted by the government—also would have entailed Drogoul's "full cooperation."

On several points, Shoob's account of the negotiations leading up to the deal with Drogoul is at odds with the version set out in Barr's letter and the detailed Justice Department report. The differences could not be resolved yesterday because Drogoul could not be reached and Tyler, who works at the federal public defender's office in Atlanta, did not return a phone call.

Shoob said that McKenzie's deputy, Randy Chartash, offered Drogoul the plea bargain on a day when McKenzie was out of town. In a June letter to the House Judiciary Committee, he attached additional importance to the apparent fact that Chartash had "joined the case only in February . . . and [had] recently arrived from the Department of Justice in Washington."

Shoob acknowledged yesterday that he was wrong about Chartash's career path. Chartash worked for the Justice Department from 1981 to 1986 and joined McKenzie's office in 1991. But Shoob maintained that "it is highly unusual for an assistant to give away a plea bargain" and said McKenzie told him in chambers that she was not aware of Chartash's proposal until three days later, "after the bargain was made."

Justice Department officials in Washington said last night the deal offered by Chartash was identical to one that McKenzie had proposed on May 16.

Judge in Iraq Loan Case Criticizes Attorney General
Barr's Letter Rejecting Call for Independent Counsel Is Said to Contain 'Untrue' Assertions

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Children's Poverty Rose in '80s

Suburbs, Rural Areas Also Show Increase

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

Child poverty, which historically has been concentrated in the nation's largest urban areas, climbed rapidly during the 1980s, not only in big cities but in small cities, suburbs and rural areas, a child advocacy group reported yesterday.

The Children's Defense Fund reported that the list of cities with the highest child poverty rates included not only places like Detroit, New Orleans and Miami, but smaller cities with less obvious economic problems, such as Laredo, Tex.; Rochester, N.Y.; Fresno, Calif., and Shreveport, La.

Among the 100 largest cities in the country, the percentage of children living in poverty went up from 24.8 percent in 1979 to 28 percent a decade later, according to the group, which based its findings on 1990 Census figures. The figures were much higher among minority children, with as many as two-thirds in poverty in some cities.

Just more than a quarter of the children living in Washington were poor in 1989, placing the city 123rd among the 200 cities with populations over 100,000.

"Urban child poverty is high, it is rising and it is pervasive," said James D. Weill, general counsel for the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group. "The lesson is . . . all American children are at risk."

The current recession is pushing more children below the poverty line, which was \$9,885 for a family of three in 1989, Weill said.

Census Bureau surveys show that between 1989 and 1990, another 841,000 children fell into poverty, nearly as many as were added during the previous decade. New poverty figures scheduled for release next month are likely to show another leap, according to Weill.

Olivia Golden, director of programs and policy for the group, blamed the increase on several fac-

tors, including the loss of manufacturing jobs.

Golden also said the government safety net had become less effective over the decade, with welfare benefits for families falling relative to

The current recession is pushing more children below the poverty line, a Children's Defense Fund official said.

inflation and a smaller fraction of unemployed families receiving unemployment benefits.

She also said the increasing number of single-parent households had driven up child poverty rates.

The group urged adoption of legislation—introduced by Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.) and passed last week by the House—to provide increases in food stamp assistance and other programs aimed at children.

Its officials also called for a higher minimum wage, expanded job training and youth employment pro-

grams and an increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit, which benefits low-income families.

Child poverty rates were particularly high among minorities. Half or more of black children were poor in 31 cities, with the highest rates for black children in Erie, Pa., at 62 percent.

The same was true for Hispanic children in 10 cities, for Native American children in 19 cities and for Asian American children in eight cities.

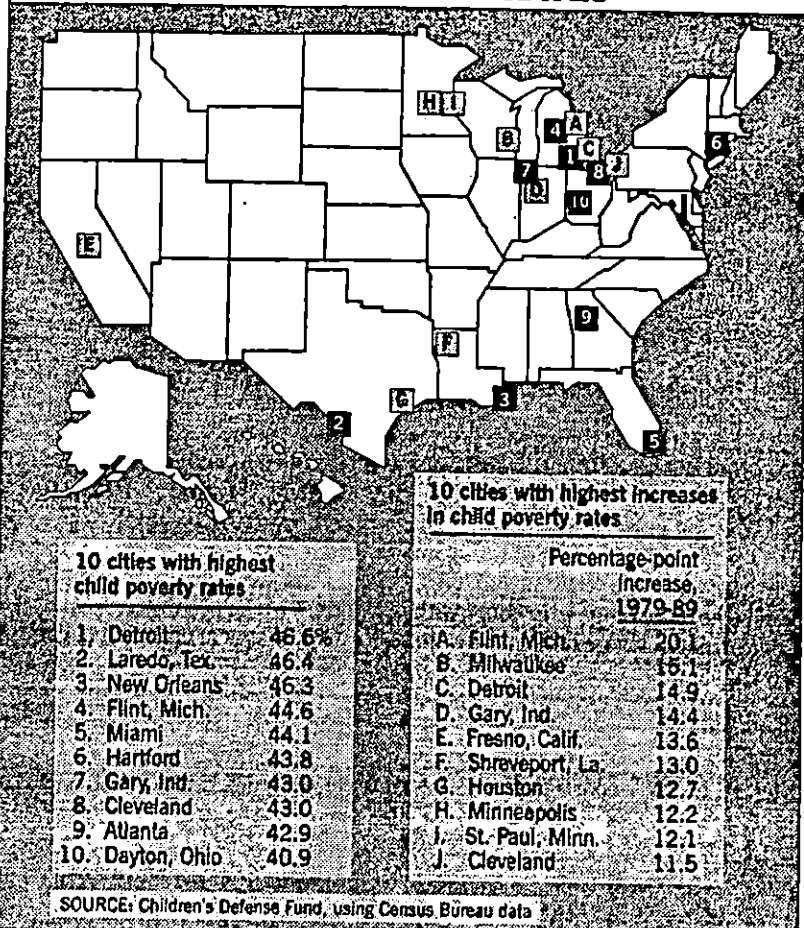
Erie also had the highest rate for Hispanic children, at 69 percent. Minneapolis had the highest rate—66 percent—for Native American children. And the highest figure for Asian-American children was 69 percent, in St. Paul, Minn.

Many rural counties also had high child poverty. The rates in more than 80 rural counties, for example, were higher than that in Detroit.

The Children's Defense Fund reported a month ago that child poverty rates rose in 33 states during the 1980s, at the same time many states were experiencing a period of economic growth.

Weill argued yesterday that, because of long-term changes in the economy, an economic recovery is unlikely to lift enough children out of poverty to bring rates down to their previous levels.

CHILD POVERTY RATES



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Panel Asks Independent Probe of Inslaw Case

From Staff Reports and News Services

The Democratic-controlled House Judiciary Committee, over Republican objections, adopted a report yesterday that concluded high-level Justice Department officials may have conspired to violate a computer software company's property rights.

The report "concludes that high-level Department of Justice officials deliberately ignored" the proprietary rights of Inslaw Inc., said committee Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Tex.).

Brooks did not release the report and it is not clear how much new information was turned up during a three-year investigation. One potentially significant disclosure is an assertion—said to be described in the report—that a senior Justice Department official concluded in 1986 that Inslaw had a valid claim on the royalties for its software.

An informed source said documents show that then-Deputy Attorney General Arnold Burns asked for a review of the legal issues surrounding the Inslaw matter in 1986

and was told the department had waived its rights and would probably lose in court. Nonetheless, the Justice Department spent \$1 million in litigation with the company, forcing it into bankruptcy. After almost seven years of litigation, "the department is still denying its culpability," Brooks said.

The evidence "clearly raises serious concerns about the possibility that a high-level conspiracy against Inslaw did exist and that great efforts have been expended by the department to block any outside investigation," said Brooks.

The Democratic report called for an independent counsel to probe the Justice Department's dealings with the company. But the panel did not formally request appointment of a counsel after adopting the report by a 21 to 13, party-line vote.

Republicans argued that the allegations were unproven and that the committee should take no action because an independent review of the case is under way. "We act inappropriately when we disseminate un-

proven allegations," said Rep. Hamilton Fish (N.Y.), the panel's ranking Republican.

Attorney General William P. Barr has already appointed a retired federal judge, Nicholas J. Bua of Chicago, to investigate the Inslaw case as special counsel to the Justice Department. Bua has convened a grand jury, according to Fish.

Brooks said former attorneys general Edwin Meese III and Dick Thornburgh "blocked or restricted congressional inquiries" into the matter and refused to seek appointment of an independent counsel.

The report also recommended that the government compensate the company, Brooks said, but he did not specify an amount.

A federal bankruptcy judge found in 1987 that Justice Department officials used "trickery, fraud and deceit" to steal software Inslaw had written for U.S. attorneys' offices under government contract.

But the judge's findings and a \$7 million award to Inslaw were overturned on appeal.

Justice Dept. Chastised on Demjanjuk

By Sharon LaFraniere
Washington Post Staff Writer

CINCINNATI, Aug. 11—A federal appeals court panel today chastised the Justice Department for withholding evidence in the John Demjanjuk Nazi war crimes case, roundly rejecting the government's argument that the omissions were insignificant.

The three judges took turns sharply questioning the department's failure to disclose evidence that suggested Demjanjuk might have been misidentified as Ivan the Terrible, the notoriously sadistic SS guard who operated the gas chambers at Nazi death camp in Treblinka. After the same three judges refused to block Demjanjuk's extradition in 1985 for the crimes of Ivan the Terrible, the retired Cleveland auto worker was convicted in Israel and sentenced to death.

"One thing we assumed . . . was that we had the entire record," said Judge Pierce Lively, who wrote the court's opinion in the case. Chief Judge Gilbert S. Merritt said: "This was not just any extradition proceeding. . . . It's a little more than some bank robbery."

The judges are struggling with

the issue of what they can do at this point, with Demjanjuk, 72, in prison in Israel and the Israeli Supreme Court expected soon to rule on his appeal. Michael Tigar, Demjanjuk's attorney, asked the court to consider allowing Demjanjuk back into the United States, at least temporarily, should Israeli authorities free him. The Justice Department contends that whatever happens in Israel, the court here no longer has jurisdiction to reopen Demjanjuk's case.

The judges said they also will consider whether they need another hearing to pursue the issue of possible Justice Department prosecutorial misconduct.

The key issue in today's hearing was why the Justice Department did not disclose Soviet statements from two former Treblinka guards implicating a man named Marchenko as Treblinka's gas chamber operator. The department also withheld a Polish document that listed Marchenko as a Treblinka guard.

Patty Stemler, a Justice Department attorney, acknowledged, "There were mistakes made."

"But the question is: Was there a fraud upon the court? No."

Stemler appeared to make little headway with an argument that the

Marchenko evidence would not have reversed the course of seven years of legal proceedings against Demjanjuk in the United States. While the department did not have the voluminous evidence about Marchenko released last year by the Soviet Union, Lively told her, prosecutors apparently had enough to suggest "a great possibility that Demjanjuk was never there" at Treblinka.

When the appeals court refused to block Demjanjuk's extradition, Lively said, all three judges were concerned about relying on photo identification by survivors who had not seen Ivan the Terrible for more than 30 years. "It's not what we like to rely on."

Merritt said Stemler seemed to argue that the department had no duty in 1985 "to set the record straight" for the court. "In a case of this kind, I just can't see that as being the law," he said.

Judge Damon J. Keith said he was particularly disturbed to learn that one of the prosecutors assigned to the Demjanjuk case had doubts about the strength of the evidence as far back as 1980. "The government is at a higher standard," he said. "It's frightening to think of the power the government possesses when they go after someone."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Senate Democrats Expand Enterprise Zone Proposal

Finance Panel Plan Drops 2 Bush-Backed Tax Breaks

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senate Finance Committee Democrats yesterday proposed a fivefold increase in the number of enterprise zones that would be created under their \$21.8 billion tax and urban aid bill, dropping two of President Bush's proposed tax breaks to finance the increased tax relief for depressed areas.

The Democrats unveiled the changes—which would raise the number of enterprise zones from 25 to 125 at a cost of \$5.5 billion instead of \$2.5 billion—in an apparent attempt to pick up votes and head off an administration-backed alternative that includes a capital gains tax cut.

To finance the additional urban and rural tax-relief zones, the Democrats sought to drop Bush's proposals to stimulate the economy with a \$2,500 tax credit for those who purchase their first home before next January and a 15 percent tax allowance for business equipment installed by next July.

Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) outlined the committee proposal as the Senate began debate on the huge election-year tax bill with virtually no hope of completing it before Congress leaves town today for a nearly monthlong recess. The bill also makes some substantial additions to the types of individual retirement accounts (IRAs) available to taxpayers.

Bentsen told reporters he felt free to drop the two Bush proposals, which were among several from the president that had been incorporated in the bill in an attempt to satisfy the White House, after Bush sent word that he would veto the bill unless major changes were made. "Any deal we had obviously was ended at that point," he said.

In initial voting on the bill, a proposed expansion of individual retirement accounts survived a preliminary vote. The Senate rejected, 72 to 25, a move by Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) to scuttle a committee proposal to restore to all taxpayers a \$2,000 a year deduction for IRA contributions. Now only those with incomes below a certain level or who are not covered by other retirement plans can deduct IRA contributions. The defeated amendment also would have dropped a special new IRA in which interest would not be taxed if funds were left in it for five years.

It was not immediately clear whether the enterprise zone issue would be resolved today or put off until after the Senate returns Sept. 8.

Hopes of agreement between Bush and the Democrats faded after Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp called the

committee's enterprise zone proposals a "hoax" and charged that many needy cities, including riot-scarred Los Angeles, would not qualify for enterprise zones—a charge vehemently denied by Bentsen.

Many Democrats regarded Kemp's attack as a veiled attempt to force inclusion of a capital gains tax cut, which Kemp has championed, among the tax breaks that would be available to encourage investment in the zones, which would be created in depressed urban and rural areas.

The committee included credits against wages paid to employees living within the zones, accelerated property depreciation and other investment incentives among the tax breaks proposed for enterprise zones. But it excluded the tax rate cut for capital gains, which are profits made on the sale of assets, sought by the administration and included by the House in its version of the legislation.

The committee's original proposal would have authorized 25 zones—15 in cities, 8 in rural areas and 2 on Indian reservations—and made them eligible for an average of \$20 million a year for five years. The new plan would create 75 zones in cities, of which 40 would be set aside for cities of less than 500,000 population, along with 40 in rural areas and 10 on Indian reservations. Each zone would receive an average of \$8.8 million in tax breaks in each of the next five years.

The committee was under pressure from senators who saw no chance of their states getting enterprise zones under the earlier proposal. The new plan assures that most if not all states could qualify for one or more zones.

The administration had proposed 300 zones at a cost of \$2.5 billion, which Democrats argued would spread the money too thinly to work, although Kemp contended that, with a capital gains tax cut, it would have been sufficient.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Still the Old Perot

At MIA Hearing, He's Back and Kicking

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

It seemed like donkey's years since anyone had heard from Ross Perot, who's been listed as missing in action from the White House wars.

Yesterday, Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) treated the witness's circumstance with soothing delicacy. In his best funeral director's voice, the chairman of the Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs took note of "the period of time that your candidacy was, perhaps, about to be announced."

"Some difficulty we had because of the candidacy," murmured Vice Chairman Robert Smith (R-N.H.) with equal tact, alluding to the witness's earlier refusals to testify. "Minor, very minor, procedural matters."

It fell to Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.) to tackle the issue head-on.

"Mr. Perot, you were wise enough to return to the business world after considering public office," said Kohl, himself a tycoon who left commerce for politics. "I may not agree with the decision you reached, but, in truth, I sometimes envy it."

Thus Citizen Perot resurfaced yesterday morning in the baroque glare of the Senate Caucus Room, almost a month after he pulled the plug on his incipient presidential bid, a crusade that was going to turn the status quo on its head. Instead, the people's champion had second thoughts, only to be heaped with scorn by folks who once adored him, who'd given their lives to his noble cause, who'd believed his repeated promises of "a world-class cam-

See PEROT, C2, Col. 1

PEROT, From C1

paign," who'd had faith in his simple assurances that "I'm a man of my word."

"The Quitter," Newsweek branded him on its cover—the accompanying photograph cramped and small.

Yet there he was again, larger than you-know-what, as though none of it had ever happened, claiming that U.S. soldiers from the Vietnam War were still being held somewhere in Southeast Asia. Shirt starched, cuffs linked, short hairs standing at attention, Perot leaned across the witness table with his unblinking blue stare and gave them what for. Was he still the guy his troops counted on to cut through the Washington bull? You betcha!

"I realize you got aides giving you 3-by-5 cards and all that stuff," he scolded the senators at one point, when they appeared to be lapsing into normal senatorial behavior, "but just for one minute—listen to me."

"Let me try to give you a lesson in 'Negotiation 101,'" he patronized the committee at another point, launching into a fable ("Let's go to the Middle East!" he cried) about a "three-legged, one-eyed, 44-year-old camel."

"It'll be complicated, but let's sweep over that," he said with that can-do spirit, when senators tried to mire him in details. "Let's not get lost in the trivia."

Dissatisfied with various senators' effusive statements of praise and respect, Perot spent several minutes reading aloud from his own collection of rave reviews, rendered by the likes of Brent Scowcroft and Alexander Haig.

"Let me give you a couple of sound bites," he offered—then did, and did again.

"It's more fun to do business," he sound-bit during the lunch break, when asked how it felt to be back in the saddle.

The Caucus Room was SRO, of course, as dozens of family members of Vietnam MIAs cheered the witness on—prompting Chairman Kerry to threaten "politely to remove" them—while grumbling and hissing at any skeptical questions. At the break, Perot obligingly signed autographs and allowed himself to be led from the witness table by a small girl who was intent on introducing him to her wheelchair-bound grandmother.

"I'm up and down on him now," said former enthusiast Frank Cunningham, a retired firefighter from Traverse City, Mich., who nevertheless wore a Perot button into the hearing—for which he and his wife, Mary, queued up at 7 a.m. "I felt like he was

betraying a bunch of his people, who were supporting him and working for him when he got out of the race."

"I cried," said erstwhile Perotista Robin Sampley of Kinston, N.C., describing her reaction to his withdrawal announcement after spending weeks collecting petitions to put him on the North Carolina ballot, one of nearly 40 state ballots for which he eventually qualified. The 31-year-old daughter of a special forces soldier who disappeared in Laos in May 1968, Sampley attended the hearing with her 15-day-old son.

"I feel like they must have threatened his family," she said of Perot's decision to drop out. "The reasons he gave didn't seem to make sense. It doesn't seem like him to back down

As for who "they" were, Sampley said, "I just don't know."

The Dallas computer magnate also talked about "they," evoking the much-heralded dark side of this one-time great bright hope.

"They tried to kill me," Perot told the senators, apparently referring to North Vietnamese agents. "They actually got into my home one time. Well, they didn't make it to my house," he revised, "but they got into our front yard."

Meanwhile, he attacked "federal employees who have covered up, dissembled and finessed this issue for 20-some-odd years."

"They're federal employees, so you got to coddle them, right?" he de-

manded with a sarcastic little heh-heh-heh.

"Let's stop covering it up," he kept repeating.

"There's a pattern here," he kept repeating.

But when it came time to put up or shut up, Perot reverted to his own pattern. For instance, Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) took the bait and asked the witness if some conspiracy was afoot.

"You'd have to ask a conspiracy theorist," Perot bristled at the former Navy flier who was shot down during a bombing run and spent six years imprisoned in Hanoi. "I'm not a conspiracy theorist."

In the end, it was a tale told by a little guy, full of sound and fury, signifying God knows what.

Maybe a clue will present itself in Perot's new paperback, "United We Stand: How We Can Take Back Our Country" is due out next week from Hyperion Press—leading some to wonder if he's thinking of going long again on presidential futures.

"That's a different story," he quipped outside the Caucus Room, when asked about this possibility. And then he melted into a crowd of admirers, dropping out of sight once more.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

U.S. Military Fears Balkan Intervention

Dual Combat, Relief Role Seen Unworkable

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Senior U.S. military leaders, convinced by doctrine and bitter experience that they cannot be combatants and relief agents at the same time, are profoundly worried that domestic and international pressure will require them to be both in the Balkans.

In that contradictory posture, at once bellicose and vulnerable, operational planners foresee steady casualties among U.S. participants and a logic that leaves two distasteful choices: abandoning the former Yugoslav republics in defeat or building U.S. forces to a size and role that no one in the administration or Congress would support.

Humanitarian aid, like peacekeeping, requires the consent and good will of all parties because it necessarily exposes to attack those providing the aid—on foot, in trucks and in undefended cargo planes.

Such troops "must at all costs avoid taking actions that appear to favor one side in the dispute," according to the authoritative Pentagon policy document on the subject, Joint Publication 3-07.

By contrast, any use of force to overcome resistance—stopping atrocities against civilians or sending food to break a military siege—requires, above all else, taking sides.

Yet a draft U.N. resolution, given

The Pentagon blames just such a confusion of roles for its disastrous experience in Lebanon, where 241 servicemen died in a truck bombing in 1983. As operational planners see it, the policy would require them to start a fight without giving them the means to control its outcome.

No one in the Bush administration or Congress, least of all in the Defense Department, proposes to send sufficient force to take physical control of Bosnia's territory. Army Lt. Gen. Barry R. McCaffrey, who commanded a division in the Persian Gulf War and is now the top aide to Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified yesterday that such a job would require a field army of perhaps 400,000.

"If we try to impose a solution by military means on these combatants

without their consent," Stephen J. Hadley, assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, testified yesterday, "it will require a very large force that would have to use violence to stop violence. . . . Our own forces could become the objects of attack and of a guerrilla war that could have no end. We would have, in essence, an occupation force continually at risk."

Yet that, in the Pentagon's private view, might be the better scenario. If the United States and its allies stop short of sending a large ground force—roughly comparable to the force that defeated Iraq in the gulf war—they cannot control events in a war fought by small and decentralized units in mountainous, forested terrain.

Canadian Maj. Gen. Lewis W. MacKenzie, who recently left Sarajevo after a five-month tour as commander of U.N. forces there, predicted yesterday that in response to a forcible relief operation Serbian militias would "take a village hostage . . . and they'll say, 'You take one more step and I'll wipe that village off the face of the earth.'"

MacKenzie, in his most explicit rendition to date of an argument that has infuriated the Bosnian government, said any form of intervention, even for humanitarian relief, "won't do anything but escalate the violence and get more people killed."

In effect, MacKenzie said the Bosnians need to acknowledge that they have lost their war, that no outside power intends to roll back Serbia's aggression and that it is time to come to terms with the 19 Serbian warlords who control some 70,000 troops and the preponderance of heavy weaponry in Bosnia.

But "as long as there is any hint of [foreign] intervention" to rescue them, MacKenzie said, the Bosnians "will not talk to the other side."

In Congress and in the presidential campaign, Democrats led by nominee Bill Clinton have argued for a form of intervention. Clinton told an East St. Louis audience last week, "I would begin with air power against the Serbs to try to restore the basic conditions of humanity."

But Clinton and his top aides are steadfast in refusing to elaborate.

"We do not have a Pentagon or an NMCC [National Military Command Center] and we cannot be and should not be in the business of choosing target sets, but what Clinton has done is to say in essence that . . . we should take every reasonable action to make sure that the U.N. relief operations are protected and that the U.N. should go beyond words to insist on access to the camps," said Anthony Lake, a top Clinton adviser.

Some critics of current U.S. policy are more specific. Jennone Walker, a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, argued in written testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee yesterday that the United States should lead an effort to "make aggression costly" for the Serbian government by grounding the Serbian air force; launching air strikes against Serbian ammunition depots, arms factories and heavy guns, and providing arms to the Bosnian defenders.

"It is a truism that one way to end a war quickly is for the victim of aggression to give up," she said.

*"Our own forces
could become the
objects of attack
and of a guerrilla
war that could have
no end."*

—Stephen J. Healy, Defense Dept.

new momentum yesterday in a 74 to 22 Senate vote on a nonbinding resolution, would combine those roles.

The emerging military mission is to use "all measures necessary," diplomatic code for combat force, to deliver food and medicine to besieged civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with or without the consent of Serb militia commanders who have seized two-thirds of Bosnia's territory in a policy of "ethnic cleansing" against Muslims and

The Washington Post

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Serb Leader Speaks of Peace, Warns on

Intervention

By Laura Silber
Special to The Washington Post

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia, Aug. 11—For Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, the solution to four months of factional bloodletting here is simple.

"All we need now is to negotiate a settlement," he said. "We should all sit down and make peace . . . [we could] even give up some territory. We now control 70 percent of the land, but we only claim 64 percent as ours," he said in an interview here, the headquarters of Serb militia forces in northwestern Bosnia.

Karadzic, a psychiatrist turned militant Serb nationalist, is well aware that the Serb military gains here at the expense of Bosnia's Slavic Muslim and Croat communities are viewed with outrage by much of the world, but the threat of possible foreign military intervention appears not to worry him.

"It would be a bloody big mess with no clear political goals," he said. "Western troops would not be able to cope; it would be a mess for years," he said, echoing some of the arguments being made by Western political leaders and military strategists as they consider whether NATO or the United Nations or any international body can—or should—play a forceful role in the unequal struggle here that so far has taken nearly 9,000 lives and left more than a million people homeless—the vast majority of them Slavic Muslims.

Karadzic, who is president of the self-proclaimed autonomous Serb republic of Bosnia, and other local Serb leaders appear to be banking heavily on such misgivings and have encouraged visions of foreign troops bogging down here in a Vietnam-style operation with high casualties and no end in sight.

"You see what a big country we have," Karadzic said, referring to Bosnian territory under Serb control. "It took nine hours for me to get to Banja Luka by car from Pale," a Serb militia stronghold near Sarajevo, a road distance of about 150 miles. Western military analysts agree that any foreign force would face enormous problems in Bosnia, a heavily forested, mountainous republic that is ideal for hit-and-run warfare and the worst possible battleground for a modern mechanized army.

One senior Western military commander with firsthand knowledge of the Bosnian landscape noted that more than 30 German divisions were committed to Bosnia during World War II but were unable to crush lightly armed guerrilla forces using the rugged terrain to their advantage.

But, of course, Karadzic said, there is no need for any foreign military involvement here. "We are ready for a peaceful solution," he declared, but he said his overtures are being ignored unredeemably by President Alija Izetbegovic, the head of Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government, whose domain has now been reduced to about 15 percent of prewar Bosnia. "We have our [Bosnian] Serb republic which Muslims and Croats are free to live in,"

Karadzic said, "but we could not live in a state dominated by Muslims and Croats. We were under the Turks for 500 years, and that is enough," he said in a reference to the centuries of occupation of Bosnia and adjoining Serbia by the Ottoman Empire.

"We have a functioning government, we have everything," he said of the Bosnian Serb state—even its own currency bearing the figure of a double-headed white eagle, an ancient Serb symbol. The republic also has a powerful military force composed primarily of tens of thousands of well-armed, well-trained Bosnian Serbs who were in the Serb-led Yugoslav army until this spring when they were placed under command of Bosnia's Serb leadership. And it also has effective control of a broad corridor of territory across northern Bosnia that links Serb-held lands in

neighboring Croatia eastward to the republic of Serbia, the main source of the Bosnian Serbs' logistical support and—most Western governments say—the chief instigator of Serb aggression in Bosnia.

Banja Luka, which had a prewar population of about 200,000, is in the center of that Serb-controlled corridor, and despite Karadzic's assertions that his "republic" is open to any of Bosnia's communal groups, Serb militia forces are apparently in the process of driving out all non-Serbs. Thousands of Muslims being forced from their homes here will swell the refugee tide that threatens to engulf Croatia and the few other European countries willing to take them in. Others—chiefly men of military age—will be interned in Serb detention camps, where some former inmates say they have suffered brutal treatment and witnessed torture and murder by Serb guards.

Karadzic has denied that such abuses have occurred, and he said today that he has offered the Bosnian government an "all-for-all" prisoner exchange but that this too was rebuffed. Izetbegovic, he said, refuses to agree because he "doesn't care about his men." Moreover, Karadzic said, Serbs everywhere are outraged that the world could believe they would operate anything resembling a "concentration camp," pointing out that during World War II it was the Serbs who suffered in concentration camps run by the Nazi-allied government of Croatia.

Nevertheless, many of the hundreds of inmates at a Serb-run detention camp in Manjaca, about 13 miles from here, appeared cowed by their captors during a reporter's visit there today. Some of them were painfully thin and clad in filthy shreds of clothing. The camp is surrounded by barbed wire, and painted signs warn that the area has been mined.

Col. Bozidar Popovic, the camp commander, said he blames the U.N. trade sanctions against Serbia and its satellite, Montenegro, for any shortages of food and medical supplies for the prisoners. "It is war," said one camp guard. "What do you expect. But the prisoners here have better conditions than many of our boys at the front." Popovic said he could "personally guarantee" that conditions at his camp "are 90 percent better than Izetbegovic's camps for Serbs."

A prisoner who identified himself as Havazic said he was transferred to Manjaca three days ago from the Serb-run detention camp at Omarska, where televised scenes of emaciated prisoners last week shocked the world and provoked Western demands that the camps be opened to in-

spection. "It was cruel; they broke our ribs," Havazic said of Omarska.

Most inmates peered with mute curiosity at a group of visiting foreigners, saying little and eyeing the guards warily. One man named Dervis whispered, "It was horrible at Omarska," but he fell silent as a guard bent over to eavesdrop.

Among other visitors to the camp today was British Liberal Democratic Party leader Paddy Ashdown, the first Western political leader to visit any of the Serb detention centers. Ashdown pronounced conditions at Manjaca "vile," but he told reporters afterwards that, bad as it is, it is "not a death camp . . . not a concentration camp. It is a prisoner-of-war camp."

Karadzic said it costs the equivalent of about \$3,000 a day to feed the 3,500 prisoners at Manjaca. He said this is a burden on his republic, which must start improving its economy.

The Washington Post

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Banja Luka, a Town Without Pity

Bosnian Serbs Accelerate Expulsions of Muslims and Croats

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

BANJA LUKA, Bosnia—This is a city of daytime arrests, midnight beatings and around-the-clock terror.

Serb militiamen drive through town, some wearing black leather masks and gloves, firing automatic weapons in the air, shouting nationalist slogans. Warplanes buzz the city, close enough to rattle windows. Helicopters clatter above the rooftops.

There is a 10 p.m. curfew, but only the drunk or well-armed willingly venture outside after darkness falls about 8. For the city's Slavic Muslims and Croats, even daytime can be horrifying.

Banja Luka is the second-largest city in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a once neighborly place of about 110,000 Serbs and 75,000 Muslims and Croats. But, like other towns and villages of northern Bosnia, Serb militia forces and local Serb political authorities are forcing the Muslims and Croats to leave town. While recent international attention has focused on conditions in Serb detention camps for Croat and Muslim men, in cities like Banja Luka the Serb campaign to drive these groups from their homes and lands has accelerated.

In larger cities, Muslims and Croats are not being marched out at gunpoint, a practice Serb gunmen are alleged to have used in more isolated villages. Sufficient terror has been generated in Banja Luka without such tactics that about a third of its non-Serbs have fled, and most of those left behind are searching desperately for safe passage out.

Besides roving Serb security men and the frequent echo of gunfire, much of what intimidates the Muslims and Croats here is on public view. Buildings are splattered with Serb nationalist slogans and symbols. The radio replays speeches that warn of threats from "fascist" Croats and "fundamentalist" Muslims.

One sign of Muslim and Croat desperation is that they have papered trees with offers to swap their apart-

ments here for ones in other cities—including Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, which is still held by the Bosnian government's Muslim-led defense forces.

According to U.N. relief officials and city residents, Muslims and Croats are being fired from their jobs. Po-

See BANJA LUKA, A25, Col. 1

BANJA LUKA, From A1

lice raid their apartments, ostensibly looking for weapons. Streets are suddenly cordoned off, and residents' documents are checked. Men of military age are taken away.

The terror includes random attacks, according to Muslims. The city's main mosque, built more than 400 years ago, has been raked with machine-gun fire. A Muslim-owned optical shop next to it has been bombed.

Fearing deportation to Serb prison camps, many Muslim and Croat men live in hiding, never venturing outside their homes. Some scurry from one safe house to another, afraid that the police will catch up with them if they sleep at home.

"We are living like rats," said a Muslim who was too fearful to give his name. He said he has left his home once in six months, relying on his parents to bring him food and other necessities. "I was an idiot," he added. "I thought ethnic cleansing would never happen here."

Ethnically, Slavic Muslims, Roman Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs are virtually identical. But "ethnic cleansing" is the term applied by Serb leaders to their policy of forcing Croats and Muslims out of what they have declared as the autonomous Serb republic of Bosnia—an entity roughly consistent with the 70 percent of the republic occupied by Serb militia forces.

Local Serb leaders say the Muslims are leaving voluntarily. They claim that because Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, has failed in an alleged attempt to set up a fundamentalist Muslim state throughout Bosnia, his followers are disenchanted and want to move to Western Europe. The Serb leaders say also that they are doing all they can to stop intimidation of non-Serbs by radical nationalists. The evidence here is overwhelmingly to the contrary.

On a street next to the Hotel Bosna the other day, the stories of one group of Muslims and Croats suggested that intimidation is the rule. A line of buses, filled with Muslims and Croats trying to flee

the city, had just returned from an aborted trip to the Croatian border, where they had been turned back. As the buses were emptied of their terrified passengers, machine-gun fire crackled in the air.

"We can't live here," sobbed a Muslim girl who nearly collapsed in fright as a rat-tat-tat of gunfire burst out. The girl would not give her name, but she did tell her story, even though an unidentified man was filming the interview from a distance of about 20 yards. Asked why he was filming, the man would not say. He just smiled.

The girl said that Serb policemen came to her family's apartment a month ago at midnight, saying they were searching for weapons. They ransacked the place—no weapons were found, she said—and took her father away. He returned three hours later, his face and body badly bruised. "My father was beaten up for no reason," she said. "He wants to save me and my sister. He wants us to leave."

A 42-year old Croat named Goran sat on a suitcase nearby. He said he had been fired from his job and that he fears for his life because he has refused to join the Serb militia. He is married to a Serb, but he said that's no guarantee of safety. "This is pure ethnic cleansing in a dirty civil war," he said.

There are two places in Banja Luka that Muslims and Croats flock to these days. One is the Red Cross office, where they are pleading for help and asking for information about lost husbands or sons. There is a long line out front.

The other place is a city administrative office where, Muslims say, they must sign over possession of their homes, cars and other property before getting permission to leave. Then they are given special passes allowing them to pass through Serb roadblocks surrounding Banja Luka.

There is a line at that office, too.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Loan Guarantee Deal Opens A New U.S.-Israeli Chapter

Bush Considering Sale of F-15s to Saudis

By Ann Devroy and Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin opened a new cooperative chapter in U.S.-Israeli relations yesterday with an agreement to send a new \$10 billion loan guarantee proposal to Congress and pledges of stronger strategic cooperation.

At the same time, Bush told congressional leaders at a White House briefing that he is seriously considering approving in the immediate future a controversial \$5 billion sale of U.S. F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia, a sale that Israel has strongly opposed in the past.

Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R-Mo.), whose state contains the main production line for the advanced fighter and who backs the sale, said some lawmakers told Bush they favor proceeding with the transaction, while others expressed reser-

vations. With U.S. aircraft production jobs as well as the election-year posture of pro-Israeli groups at stake, a decision by Bush to move ahead could produce a battle on Capitol Hill, which has a veto over large-scale weapons sales abroad.

The loan guarantees to help Israel resettle about 400,000 Jewish emigrants from the former Soviet Union has been among the most contentious issues between the United States and Israel in recent years. In a showdown earlier this year with then-Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, Bush refused to provide U.S. funds that could finance the building of new Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territory.

Rabin, who took office last month, has moved quickly to curtail what he calls "political" settlements while insisting on the right to build

See GUARANTEES, A28, Col 1

GUARANTEES, From A1

other settlements aimed at ensuring Israel's security.

The arrangement worked out between Bush and Rabin during two days of talks at the president's vacation home in Kennebunkport, Maine, was described by members of Congress as considerably more generous to Israel than a compromise plan that was proposed earlier this year by Sens. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) and Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.) but rejected by the administration.

Under the new proposal, Israel agreed that the cost of continuing settlement construction in the occupied territories will be deducted from the amount of the U.S. loan guarantees, so that the United States will not finance settlements that it considers an obstacle to Middle East peace. The actual deduction, however, is to be established by a "joint mechanism" of the two governments rather than by the United States alone.

Moreover, Israel's contribution to the costs that will be assessed to the U.S. budget for guaranteeing the loans will be limited to 3.5 percent of the face amount of the loan guarantees. Budget Director Richard G. Darman estimated, however, that the actual assessed cost will be 7 to 9 percent, meaning the U.S. budget will have to absorb the difference.

Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said he strongly objected in the meeting with Bush to U.S. taxpayers footing a large share of this bill and therefore is "not on board" the administration proposal. With the loan guarantees expected to amount to nearly \$2 billion yearly for each of the next five years, the charges as-

sessed to U.S. taxpayers under the plan could mount well into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

Leahy, chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations, said he intends to take a close look at the loan guarantee details with the aim of bringing legislation before his subcommittee shortly after Congress returns in early September from the recess that is scheduled to begin later today.

The immediate reaction of many of the congressional leaders who were briefed by Bush was positive, subject to consideration of the details of the loan guarantee legislation.

American Jewish groups praised Bush's pledge to back the U.S. loan guarantees, which would enable Israel to obtain financing on better terms and with less difficulty than it

would do on its own. Shoshana S. Cardin, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, which represents 48 Jewish organizations in the United States, said the most important development was "reaffirmation of the very strong, special relationship between the United States and Israel."

Palestinian groups in the Middle East responded cautiously. The Associated Press reported that a Palestine Liberation Organization statement issued in Tunisia did not denounce Bush's decision, but asked Congress to go slow in considering the guarantees. Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks, warned that the U.S. role as "an impartial peace broker" would be invalidated if settlement activity continued under the loan guarantees.

Bush, in his opening statement at a news conference in Kennebunkport announcing the loan guarantee agreement, said the effort to achieve peace between Israel and Arab nations was entering "a new, more productive phase."

Bush said Rabin had convinced him of his commitment to productive negotiations when the new round of Arab-Israeli peace talks open in Washington March 24, and he called on Arab nations to show flexibility as well.

The Bush-Rabin talks ended with mutual praise common between the two allies but missing in the last years of the Shamir era. Bush described Israel and the United States as "close friends and strategic partners," and Rabin lauded the "very special relationship" with the United States.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Thousands More Muslims Face Eviction

New Expulsions in Bosnia Said to Be Part of Serbs' 'Ethnic Cleansing' Campaign

Associated Press

ZAGREB, Croatia, Aug. 11—U.N. officials said today that about 28,000 people, mostly Slavic Muslims, are being forced from their homes in northwestern Bosnia by Serb militia forces, an operation they describe as one of the biggest single episodes yet in the Serbs' "ethnic cleansing" campaign.

The new dislocations—swelling a flood of hundreds of thousands of earlier Bosnian refugees—has confronted U.N. officials in the region with a dilemma. If they seek to aid the refugees during the expulsions, they said, they will be seen as participating in a purge of non-Serbs from homes and lands their families have occupied in peace for years. If they do nothing, the refugees could be exposed to more brutal expulsion methods.

Jose Maria Mendiluce, special envoy in the region for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, said he is awaiting instructions from superiors on what course to take. "We cannot continue to be blackmailed and put in this dilemma every day," he said. "We are not here to facilitate the criminal policy that is being followed in those areas—forcing people to leave houses through harassment and threats."

Four months of full-scale factional fighting in Bosnia have created an estimated 1.3 million refugees—most of them Slavic Muslims, who make up Bosnia's largest communal group. Many are apparent victims of "ethnic cleansing" by Serb militia forces—a notorious campaign to create purely Serb areas by driving all non-Serbs to flee.

Meanwhile, Serb militia units besieging Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, promised about 300 mothers and children safe passage out of the city, a move seen by Western diplomats as an attempt to head off any possible foreign military intervention in the conflict.

At the same time, a U.N. refugee spokeswoman in Geneva said that the growing threat of an international military effort to ensure deliveries of humanitarian aid in Bosnia appears to have discouraged combatants from blocking relief routes and made it less difficult for U.N. convoys to get much needed supplies to hard-pressed civilians. "Land routes are opening up for us every day now," said Sylvana Foa, spokeswoman for the U.N. refugee office. "Yesterday, we actually got a convoy from Split [on Croatia's Adriatic coast] into Sarajevo," a trip of about 100 miles.

The U.N. Security Council is expected to vote Wednesday on a measure that would authorize use of force to safeguard humanitarian aid to Bosnian civilians, while NATO officials are scheduled to meet Friday to consider contingency plans for possible use of force in connection with the aid deliveries.

Lars Nielsen, field coordinator for the U.N. refugee agency, said that the 28,000 people being forced from their homes are from several towns in an area around Bihac, a northwestern Bosnian city near the Croatian border. He identified the towns as Bosanski Novi, Sanski Most, Bosanska Kostajnica and Bosanski Petrovac. The

"We are not here to facilitate the criminal policy that is being followed in those areas—forcing people to leave houses and harassment and threats."

— Jose Maria Mendiluce, special U.N. envoy

region, which includes about 300,000 inhabitants, has been effectively controlled by Serb forces for months.

Nielsen said some residents already had been forced from their homes by Serb militiamen or local security forces and had been "collected in large groups." Others were still in their homes but face an "ultimatum" to sign papers saying they relinquish all claims to their properties, he said. The number of people facing eviction from the area in the Serb "ethnic cleansing" campaign previously had been estimated at about 10,000. Nielsen said the new figure is based on information from local authorities and from Bosnians who have informed the U.N. refugee office that they want to leave.

Tens of thousands of refugees from northern Bosnia have fled to the city Karlovac, northwest of Bihac in neighboring Croatia. Nielsen said it is not certain whether U.N. officials would help the

28,000 now being forced from the Bihac area to reach Karlovac. "We are trying not to participate in the politics of ethnic cleansing," he said. "If we do what is best at the moment for those people, it might not be good in the long run." Nielsen said he would meet Wednesday with officials of the U.N. peace-keeping mission in Croatia and with local Serb and Muslim leaders.

The agreement to allow women and children under 18 out of Sarajevo was signed by a Serb militia officer and a representative of a local relief organization called the Children's Embassy. The charity said the first bus convoy would leave Wednesday.

However, previous convoys organized by the group have run into trouble. A week ago, two of 47 children being evacuated by the group were killed by sniper fire, and nine others were removed from a bus by Serb militiamen who identified the children as being of Serb descent and said they would see to their care.

In another development today, the leadership of the self-styled autonomous Serb republic of Bosnia pledged to cooperate with the U.N. Security Council on seeing that humanitarian aid is safely delivered to beleaguered civilians. The "republic" which essentially comprises Bosnian territory controlled by Serb militia forces, asked for U.N. guidance on what steps were needed to "avoid military intervention and the bloodshed that would accompany it."

The statement promised that Serb forces, who now occupy more than two-thirds of Bosnia, will not impede humanitarian convoys and will open detention camps for inspection. It reiterated previous Serb statements supporting an immediate end to the fighting and a consensus solution.

Consultations continued today on the proposed Security Council resolution on using force to safeguard relief shipments; the United States, France, Britain and Belgium agreed Monday on the text of the resolution. The measure does not specify what countries might provide the forces to safeguard the relief effort, nor have its formulators suggested how the task might be accomplished without risking open conflict with the warring Bosnian factions.

Bosnia's president estimated today that it would take 10,000 troops to guarantee safe corridors for the aid shipments. Some Western military experts have put the number at about 100,000.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

U.S. Warns Iraq on Shiites

*U.N. Might Intervene
If Abuses Continue*

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 11—In a veiled warning, the United States today hinted that if Baghdad continues its bloody repression of the Shiite population in southern Iraq the U.N. Security Council may have to intervene and create a protected zone there as it did in the Kurdish north of the country.

The warning came during an urgent meeting of the council to discuss mounting human rights violations in Iraq. During the session, Max van der Stoep, the U.N. special investigator of human rights abuses in Iraq, presented a report in which he expressed concern that "thousands of innocent people are in danger of losing their lives" throughout the country as a result of forced starvation and military attacks.

The U.S. warning, which was echoed by Britain, appears intended both to prod Baghdad to end its suppression of Iraq's Shiite and Kurdish populations and to force it to cooperate with the world body. Iraq so far has refused to renew a memorandum of understanding covering U.N. and humanitarian personnel in Iraq and has rebuffed a plan for it to sell \$1.6 billion in oil to pay for food and medicine for its people.

The warning was contained in a statement by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Edward Perkins. Referring to the council's decision last year to protect the Kurdish population from Iraqi forces by creating U.N. protected camps, Perkins suggested the situation among the Shiites in the south appeared to require a similar response.

It was unclear if he was threatening to repeat the 1991 military intervention by thousands of U.S. and allied troops to help Kurdish refu-

See IRAQ, A27, Col. 1

U.S. Warns Baghdad On Rights Abuses

IRAQ, From A23

gees, or proposing to emulate the subsequent dispatch of U.N. guards to set up protected zones.

"We have reason to believe that additional villages will be attacked, bombed, destroyed, and civilian casualties will rise," Perkins said. "In 1991 the council condemned the repression of civilian populations. Additional measures had to be taken to prevent further Iraqi repression."

At the moment, it is not known whether the council will support creating a protected zone for the Shiites. And, if the plan were approved,

it is uncertain whether it could be properly implemented should it involve U.N. guards since Iraq continues to deny visa renewals to U.N. guards and humanitarian personnel.

Baghdad also is refusing to sell fuel to the United Nations, thereby impeding its distribution of relief and monitoring of humanitarian needs.

Perkins said Iraq's refusal to renew visas meant that the normal contingent of 500 U.N. guards assigned to Iraq would be reduced to 127 within one week.

During his speech, van der Stoep also appealed for "massive" humanitarian aid for Iraq. He said that in

recent weeks Baghdad had intensified its economic embargo of the Kurdish area and that no food supplies are entering. He said Iraq also had imposed a food embargo on the Shiite inhabitants of the south, many of whom live in marshlands.

The increase in military attacks against the Shiites included artillery bombardments, he said, and "causeways" are being built to drain large sections of the marshes, depriving the inhabitants of food.

Iraq has charged that van der Stoep is part of a "campaign of hostility" waged by the United States and its allies. It denies that it has attacked Shiite population centers and says it has merely been protecting the inhabitants from crimes committed by groups linked to Iran.

During the debate in the council, Iraqi Ambassador Abdul Amir Arabi accused van der Stoep of failing to properly research his charges.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

American: Soviets Blocked Return to U.S.

Caught in Poland by War, Man Failed in Plea for Embassy's Aid

By Bryan Brumley
Associated Press

PETRICH, Ukraine, Aug. 11—An American who became trapped in the Soviet Union after World War II said he twice approached U.S. diplomats seeking help to return home, but police beat, harassed and accused him of spying.

Michael Semko, 73, born in Ormrod, Pa., near Bethlehem, moved with his father and siblings to Poland after his mother's death in 1927.

Semko was among 39 Americans—mostly ethnic Ukrainians, Russians and Belarussians—who were born in the United States or

held U.S. passports but became trapped in the former Soviet Union. Their names were released last month by a U.S.-Russian commission formed in March to look for U.S. prisoners of war held by Soviet authorities.

On Monday, another American named on the list, John Yarema, 74, said he would like to return to the United States but doesn't have enough money.

Semko said that shortly before World War II, his father abandoned him, his brother and sister.

In 1947 he approached the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, seeking to return to the United States, he said.

"The American diplomat said to go to [Vyacheslav] Molotov, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, and ask permission to leave," Semko said. "But I was arrested right after I left the embassy."

He said he was freed the following day. He went back to the embassy, where he was given money for a ticket, food and a letter that asked him to keep the embassy informed of his efforts to emigrate.

Then police came looking for him.

"They beat me and accused me of being a spy," said Semko, adding that they held him for two months. Semko never received a visa.

Three to Stand Trial in L.A. Trucker's Beating

Associated Press

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 11—A judge today ordered three men to stand trial on attempted murder charges in a truck driver's beating at the start of the city's riots.

Municipal Court Judge Larry Fidler also ordered the trio to stand trial on related charges that included aggravated mayhem and torture. He ruled in the eighth day of a preliminary hearing.

The April 29 beating of Reginald O. Denny at an intersection in south-central Los Angeles was captured by helicopter cameras and televised

live. It came to symbolize the rioting that followed acquittal of four police officers on most charges in the March 1991 videotaped beating of motorist Rodney King. The four police officers were indicted last week on federal civil rights charges.

Damian Williams, 19, Henry Watson, 28, and Antoine Miller, 20, face 35 charges of attempted murder, torture, robbery, assault, mayhem and acting in association with a criminal street gang in the attacks on Denny and others. Fidler dismissed four other charges against them for lack of evidence.

The Washington Post

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TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9:30 a.m.

Committees:

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. State of the economy &

U.S. competitiveness, 538 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Commerce, Science & Transportation—9:15 a.m. Nomination of

Marion Blakey as administrator of the National Highway Traffic Safety

Administration, nomination of Robert Martinez as associate deputy

sec. of transportation, 253 Russell Office Bldg.

Environment & Public Works—9 a.m. Environmental protection

subd. Northern Spotted Owl Preservation & Northwest Economic

Stabilization Act of '92, 406 DOB.

Foreign Relations—No set time. Pending business, S-116 Capitol.

Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Permanent subd. on

investigations. Corruption in professional boxing, 216 Hart Office Bldg.

Governmental Affairs—Noon. Adjustment of census, 342 DOB.

Judiciary—2 p.m. Pending business, 226 DOB.

Labor & Human Resources—9 a.m. Mark up Comprehensive

Occupational Safety & Health Reform Act, reauth. of Agency for

Health Care Policy & Research, Breast Cancer Screening Safety Act,

DES Education & Research Amendments, Live Performing Arts Labor

Relations Amendments & pending nominations, 430 DOB.

Select Indian Affairs—9:30 a.m. Mark up Yavapai-Prescott Water

Rights Settlement Act, oversight hearing on Indian trust fund

management, 485 ROB.

Select POW-MIA Affairs—9:30 a.m. Postwar efforts to account for

military personnel missing in Southeast Asia, 325 ROB.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Armed Services—10 a.m. Investigations subd. Defense Dept. role in

reviewing foreign investment in U.S. defense companies, 2212

Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Financial institutions,

Restitution Collection Improvement Act of '92, 2128 RHOB.

Education & Labor—9:30 a.m. Health & safety subd. Mark up Indoor

Air Quality Act, 2261 RHOB.

Government Operations—9 a.m. Environment, energy & natural

resources subd. Problems with Energy Dept.'s isotope production &

distribution programs, 2203 RHOB.

Interior & Insular Affairs—9:45 a.m. Mark up auth. national rivers

system assessment, improve U.S. Forest Service wilderness

Management, improve National Park Service & Bureau of Land

Management, improve U.S. Fish & Wildlife

Service wilderness management, adjust boundaries of South Dakota

portion of Sioux Ranger District of Custer National Forest, auth.

Interior sec. to enter into a cooperative agreement with William O.

Douglas Outdoor Classroom, 1324 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Judiciary—9:30 a.m. International law, immigration & refugees subd.

Hearing & markup on private immigration bills, 2226 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Intellectual property & judicial administration subd.

Criminal sanctions for violations of software copyrights, B-352 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Administrative law & governmental relations

subd. Child Support Modification Orders, Interstate Rail Passenger

Network Compact & private bills, 2237 RHOB.

Rules—11 a.m. Child Safety Protection & Consumer Product Safety

Commission Improvement Act, H-313 Capitol.

Science, Space & Technology—10 a.m. Investigations & oversight

subd. Consider pending subpoenas, 2318 RHOB.

Standards Of Conduct—9:30 a.m. House post office task force.

Pending business, H-2 Cap.

Ways & Means—9:30 a.m. Oversight subd. Review Superfund

hazardous waste cleanup program, 1100 LHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Social security subd. Mark up eligibility

HIV-related disability, B-318 RHOB.

Ways And Means—2 p.m. Social security subd. Measures to reduce

delays in Social Security Administration disability insurance payments,

B-318 RHOB.

Joint Economic—10 a.m. Roundtable discussion on the state of the

economy & economic policy, 2359 RHOB.

Select Aging—9:30 a.m. Housing & consumer interests subd.

Housing for older Americans & Department of Housing & Urban

Development's strategy, 2325 RHOB.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Texas: On Guard and Primed for GOP Action

There are those who think next week's GOP convention in Houston will be boring. But not the Texas National Guard.

A rather exciting "draft" for activating the Texas forces in the event of an emergency covers everything from the arrival of "enemy forces" (defined as "gangs and dissident citizens") to a plan to airlift in reinforcements.

Not to mention the question of appearances: "Although body armor and face shields are of little practical value," warns a memo obtained by The Post, "they do have a great 'image' impact . . . and should be used."

And don't worry about being run down by a tank: "The use of track vehicles such as the M113 is discouraged because of poor public reaction."

The Houston Police Department is taking no chances either, sweeping out the drug dealers and prostitutes from around the Astrodome and even tearing down a nearby vacant hotel. Almost half the department's 4,200 officers will be on duty (the city has budgeted \$2.4 million for security) and, combined with 2,500 members of the Guard ready for call-up, should keep the GOP arena safe from siege.



The Texas National Guard: That body armor sure does look impressive, yup.

Actually, the Repubs may see more demonstrations than they're used to. Gay rights groups and both sides of the abortion rights battle have promised to show the flag. Even the inside of Astrodome may not be off-limits, as some of the more liberal-minded in the party have said they'll show their displeasure with the GOP platform's antiabortion plank.

Not to worry, though, says Houston police spokesman Rick Hartley. "We had people in New York observing. We are ready."

Picturing Marion Barry, the Movie



Marion Barry: Back from the bottom.

■ To hear producer Ron Samuels gush about Marion Barry, you'd think he was the D.C. Council candidate's campaign manager. But the Hollywood mover is really just angling to get in on a film project of the former mayor's life story.

"This is a man who has gone through an enormous amount of stress and pain and one who got caught up in a system he was sucked into," says Samuels, who met with Barry recently in Los Angeles for preliminary talks. "He went to the bottom of the barrel and came back. I see it as a great success story."

The project is being spearheaded by Michael Thaxton of Stellaris Entertainment, a self-described "young black producer interested in doing something on the life of Mr. Barry." Thaxton has been looking for an established producer to join the project, and says he and Barry met with Samuels and



Ron Samuels (with Lynda Carter at their 1977 wedding): Barry booster.

other producers last week. "It was just exploratory discussions," he says. There's not even a script in the works.

But Samuels, the ex-husband of Lynda Carter, already has someone in mind to play Barry. "Lou [Gossett Jr.] would be a wonderful choice to play him," he says. "He's got the dimension and range."

And the producer is adamant about his message: "His life is more than getting caught in a hotel room" with cocaine and a woman who was not his wife.

"He's a great role model. I think he's an inspiration."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT...



Roger Ailes: Gives Bush the business?



William Figueroa: Minds GOP's business?

■ Combative GOP media man Roger Ailes reportedly will once again help George Bush rehearse for a high-stakes speech—this time for the convention in Houston next week. "He's one person who can say to the president, '\$*&+!\$! Come on! That was terrible. Keep your %&*+\$\$ hands down! You're not concentrating," says one Bush adviser. ■ Academy Award-winning actress Sissy Spacek will star in a film to be produced entirely in her home state of Virginia beginning next month. Spacek shares star billing with Richmond, Virginia Beach and the Shenandoah Valley, the locations for the comedy, "The Mommy Market."

■ House Speaker Tom Foley's still feeling rotten after eating pieces of plastic from a Salisbury steak TV dinner that he'd put

on a hamburger bun over the weekend. Doctors said an X-ray showed that the bits should pass through his system harmlessly. ■ Vice President Quayle doesn't have any golf scheduled on his official Houston itinerary next week. But we'll be watching.

■ Bobby Koeb, the very Democratic son-in-law of the president, will be accompanying wife Doro to Houston.

He'd be the uncomfortable-looking one in the president's box at the Astrodome.

■ Some GOP campaign officials are predicting Mr. Bush will halve Mr. Clinton's 20- to 25-point lead in the polls coming out of the convention. Others are less optimistic. "Frankly, any kind of a jump would get us back in the game," said one senior campaign strategist.

■ William Figueroa, the 12-year-old who out-spelled the vice president, will be giving a kid's-eye view of the convention to a New York radio station next week.

As he did for the Dems, he's agreed to

watch it each night and comment on the proceedings on WFAN-AM's morning show. ■ Former HEW secretary and Washington lawyer Joseph Califano has given up his law practice and gone to New York to start the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University—with an \$8 million grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. Califano says the group will not only research the issues but develop new programs for combating abuse. "I'm going to give my life to this," he says. ■ FDA Commissioner David Kessler was walking on crutches last week because of a "nonspecific arthritic" flare-up in his ankles. "It's possible it's tendinitis, it's possible it's gout, it's possible it's the result of a fracture I had a couple of years ago," he said yesterday. "But I'm fine." ■ The Team 100—the GOP's \$100,000 donors—will be feted one night in Houston at the Junior League building. How appropriate.

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

The Olympians, Taking the White House by Storm

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

A thunderstorm almost ruined yesterday's White House picnic on the South Lawn for the U.S. Olympic Team, until the whole thing was moved inside and a weirdly casual, super-jolly atmosphere prevailed.

Secret Service agents grimaced uncomfortably when Matt Ghaffari, a 286-pound Greco-Roman wrestler, put his arms around President Bush and lifted him into the air during a photo op. There was even more concern when 450 athletes—wearing T-shirts and tank tops and shorts—stood in the very formal State Rooms with their Dove Bars dripping down their sticks into the Persian rugs.

"Chocolate on the rugs!" said Leo White, Judo competitor. "Wow, it was *grrreat* to trash the White House."

Poppy Bush—jock of all jocks—shook every hand, smiled every time. He was as nice to them as Bob Costas, as agreeable as an Olympic sponsor like Reebok or Mars or Coca-Cola or Xerox.

"Sports are ageless. Take Pablo Morales," Bush said—looking around

See OLYMPIANS, C9, Col. 3



BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

President Bush with the Olympians. Summer Sanders, Oscar de la Hoya and Shannon Miller are in the foreground.

OLYMPIANS, From C1

the crowd. "Oops, can't find him. There he is. Swimmer. Missed out in '84. Didn't make the team in '88. Then came back this year to earn a gold medal at the ripe old age of 27. Now, just goes to show that youth and inexperience are no match for maturity and determination. Ah..."

Bush was talking about Bill Clinton, but it was a little hard for the Olympians to get this campaignish remark. They've been in Spain so long.

"Ahhhh," Bush said. He waited. "Ahhhh..."

And then a cheer rose up, and some hoots. They got it!

Campaign kickoff?

"Every four years there's an Olympics. Every four years, there's an election," said rower *Baron* Pollack.

"This wasn't a political vehicle," insisted wrestler Michial Foy. "It's a tradition. I met Ronald Reagan four years ago."

How did it compare?

"This was much more personal," said Foy. "We were able to touch him, joke with him. It was like being at home."

The athletes sat on the high-gloss floors. They perched on the freshly painted windowsills. They tracked through the Red and Blue and Green rooms in their running shoes. They took pictures of one another. "We've had a lot of athletes proudly represent the symbol of the bald eagle," Bush said, pointing to members of the men's

ones to look like bald eagles."

They ate hamburgers and French fries before the Dove Bars came along. They each met President and Mrs. Bush.

"Even if you don't like his politics," said Pollack, "you gotta like *him*."

"He was very laid back," said gymnast Jair Lynch, "not stuffy like I thought he'd be."

"I walked into the reception room to shake his hand and he recognized me!" said Mike Barrowman, gold-medal swimmer. "He said, 'Hey, a hometown guy! Way to go, Mikel!'"

Funny thing about Pollack. He's a devoted Clinton supporter and the day before yesterday, he was in the Philadelphia train station and saw his candidate. He ran over to Clinton, took his picture, got an autograph. Yesterday, he planned to bring that piece of paper to the White House, so he could get Bush to sign it and have both signatures on one page. "It wasn't that I didn't have the *nerve* to ask the president for an autograph," said Pollack. "I just thought maybe it was a tacky thing to do."

"It's an honor to come here," said John Moore, another rower.

"I changed my plane reservation to come here," said another, Rob Shephard.

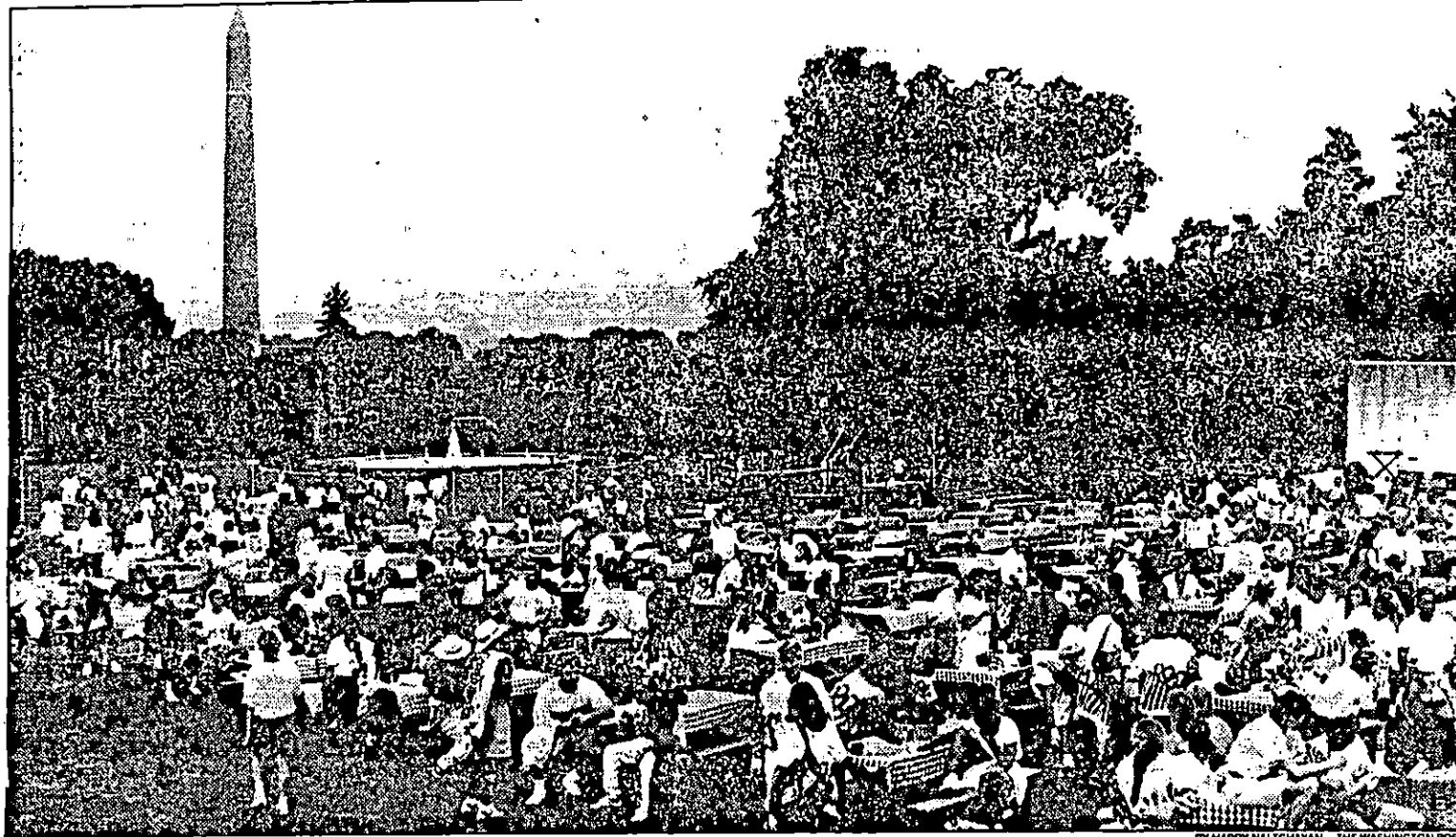
"But in any case," said Pollack, "in the last 24 hours, I clearly met the man who will be the next president."

And how about Andrea Thies, another rower. Did it seem like a political commercial to her? "It was pretty thrilling to meet the president," she said. "And can you mention the company I work for in your article? It's called PRC, an environmental management company."

Staff writers Liz Robbins and David Nakamura contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992



Five hundred members of the U.S. Olympic team prepare for a barbecue lunch on the South Lawn of the White House; rain moved it inside. BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

White House Unrolls Red Carpet for Olympians

By David Nakamura and Liz Robbins
Washington Post Staff Writers

He began his day in Los Angeles, having hours earlier told Jay Leno that he used to think of himself as "just another boy from Virginia," but when diver Mark Lenzi ended the day eating hotdogs and Dove Bars on the White House floor, he knew those days were long gone. Such are the perks of winning a gold medal in an Olympic glamour sport.

She began her day at the McLean Hilton, having earlier shopped at Tysons Corner Mall and eaten at McDonald's, but when taekwondo athlete Terry Poindexter ended the day shaking hands with the president, she knew the 15 minutes of

fame her sport brought her were almost up. Such are the perks of a bronze in a demonstration sport.

The two Olympians, united under the U.S. flag for two weeks in Barcelona, made their final team appearance yesterday afternoon, when they joined nearly 500 other athletes for a two-hour visit to the White House. They listened to the president joke: "I've watched so much Olympics that when Barbara asked me to move a piece of furniture, I asked her, 'What is the degree of difficulty?'"

They ate a barbeque lunch inside because of the rain, and they posed for pictures. Then Lenzi and Poindexter, along with the others, rode away on 16 team buses ready to begin very different lives.

A two-hour visit with President and Barbara Bush was more than just another stop on the post-Olympic media-and-endorsement-trail for Lenzi, who is from Fredericksburg, Va., and trained at the Northern Virginia Diving Club in Fairfax. But it wasn't much more.

He made a triumphant return from Barcelona on Aug. 8, having won a gold medal on the one-meter springboard, but as heir apparent to two-time Olympic gold medalist Greg Louganis on the springboard, Lenzi must now try to match the success the media-savvy Louganis had in public. It hasn't been the easiest of feats.

"Let me give you a quick example," said Lenzi, standing out of the rain on the back steps of the

See OLYMPICS, B5, Col. 4

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

Olympic Heroes Make A Stop at White House

OLYMPICS, From B1

White House yesterday. "I got back on [Aug. 8] and the jet lag was killing me. I went home to Fredericksburg and slept, then on the 9th I flew to L.A. to do 'The Tonight Show.' I got back at 6 a.m. this morning, slept a few hours at the hotel, did some interviews there and then came here [to the White House]. Now I have to drive back to Fredericksburg, pack my bags and fly to Texas at 7 a.m. for the senior nationals [diving meet], where I'll be competing for the next three days.

"Then I have to go to Michigan to look for a house to buy because the lease on my apartment is up."

The sleep Lenzi got yesterday, after arriving on the red-eye from Los Angeles, was short, and soon he was up and signing autograph after autograph. His blue eyes are naturally glassy, and yesterday they were glazed too.

"Sometimes this pace really gets to me," he said. "I need to slow down a little bit. I'm really tired, kind of out of it."

At the White House, the 5-foot-5 Lenzi was engulfed by the crowd of athletes, who were forced by the rain to squeeze into the small East Wing. The president gave a short speech, peppered with one-liners and political praise of the current administration.

"I thought the president was great," Lenzi said. "He was really friendly and patient."

Poindexter, of Blue Springs, Mo., also was impressed with the visit. The slight 5-3, kinked blond-haired taekwondo expert was picnicking on the White House Persian rugs, looming just as large as the more famous medalists. Bush glossed over her name in favor of Lenzi and swimmer Pablo Morales in his speech, but

Poindexter, a four-time collegiate champion in the flyweight, doesn't seem to care that her friends steal the spotlight.

"I don't mind at all," she said. "I met Oscar De La Hoya and Trent Dimas before we left in Tampa and became good friends with them. I'm just as excited as anybody for them."

Poindexter, like her compatriots at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., exuded the confidence and perseverance of a champion. "I don't like to lose. I'm such an aggressor," she added with a gritty smile. But unlike some of the other Olympians, Poindexter, 23, can boast that the awards ceremony, in addition to the spellbinding Opening Ceremonies, were the most unforgettable hours of her life.

"I didn't go expecting anything, which made it even more incredible," Poindexter added.

Looking around, she defended her sport, a demonstration in these Olympics. "Sometimes I see the other sports and I really don't know why they're there," she confided, nodding to roller hockey and table tennis.

But the truth is that some sports at the Olympics are more valued by the public than others. And although the future holds many endorsements for Lenzi, the same isn't true for Poindexter.

Lenzi said he is weary of the demands on his time that come with his new-found stardom. But after watching Bush he learned he wasn't the only one with this problem.

"I know that sometimes when people come up to you, you want to get away," Lenzi said. "Sometimes it gets to be a pain. But he took the time to meet all of us."

"But I'm going to enjoy it all. This is fun. I wouldn't change this one bit."

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

GOP Calls the District Hotbed of Scandal, Crime

By Martin Weil
Washington Post Staff Writer

A draft of the Republican Party's platform calls the District of Columbia home to "the most bloated bureaucracy anywhere" and criticizes the city as a place of "one-party rule ... massive dependency, hellish crime ... and unrelenting scandal."

The original draft prepared by party staff members called the District a "national disgrace" and spoke of "rescuing the nation's capital," but that wording was eliminated Monday by a subcommittee of the Republican Platform Committee.

City political leaders, after learning of the early version, denounced the draft yesterday, with Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly accusing the GOP

of resorting to "Willie Horton tactics."

Horton is a black convict who was depicted in television commercials used by the Republicans in the 1988 presidential campaign. Two-thirds of the District's residents are black.

The draft that will be considered today by the GOP platform committee for submission next week to the party's national convention in Houston calls for closer congressional supervision of the city. It also recommends federal oversight of law enforcement and courts here and tighter controls on city spending.

In addition, the draft expresses opposition to statehood for the District, calling it "inconsistent with the original intent" of the framers of the Constitution.

Ann Heuer, head of the District's

delegation to the Republican convention, said a platform subcommittee included the District in the draft because it is the nation's capital. She said her fellow subcommittee members felt strongly that "their taxpayers' money spent there was not being wisely spent."

She said some of the original staff language "has been redrafted ... softened" by the subcommittee. References to the District account for seven lines of 2,827 in the platform draft.

In a statement, Jesse L. Jackson called the document a race-baiting return to "Willie Horton" tactics through "demonizing Washington D.C."

He criticized the administration's "continued undemocratic treatment of the politically disenfranchised

citizens of the nation's capital." Jackson, a Democrat, was elected to lobby the Senate on behalf of D.C. statehood.

Kelly accused the Republicans of avoiding real issues by trying to use the District as a "convenient political whipping boy."

For her part, Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.) called the "District-bashing" reference to the city "the cheapest shot of this campaign."

In a statement, Norton called the GOP's proposed platform language "a feeble preemptive strike by Republicans who see statehood coming, [but] can't stand the prospect of what they believe would be two more Democrats" in the Senate.

The Democratic Party platform adopted July 14 calls for statehood for the District.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

U.S., Canada, Mexico Near Accord on Trade

Pact Would Remove Tariffs Over 15 Years

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States, Canada and Mexico are preparing to announce this morning the conclusion of an agreement that will gradually knit the three nations of the continent into the world's largest and richest free-trade zone, sources from all three countries said last night.

With 14 months of negotiations virtually concluded last night, the White House was scheduling a Rose Garden announcement by President Bush early this morning to mark the conclusion of the North American Free Trade Agreement, known as NAFTA.

"It's almost done," said a Bush administration official. A Canadian official reported the same, as did Mexican officials close to the negotiations, which have been going almost non-stop in the Watergate Hotel here for the past two weeks.

Over the next 15 years, the agreement will eliminate all tariffs on products moving between the three countries and end other barriers to the movement of services and investment capital within North America.

Bush has made NAFTA a centerpiece of his reelection campaign, arguing that it will create new American jobs by increasing U.S. exports to Mexico as that country becomes richer. U.S. business generally supports NAFTA, saying that it will make them more competitive by allowing them to spread manufacturing sites across the continent and bring back jobs from Asia.

But the agreement has come under fire from organized labor, which says it will increase the shift of high-paying American manufacturing jobs south of the border to take advantage of Mexico's lower wage levels.

Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.) and House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) also have criticized the administration's approach to the

agreement, saying it didn't go far enough to ensure sound environmental controls at plant sites in Mexico or to provide retraining of American workers who lose jobs because of NAFTA. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, while saying he supports NAFTA, has echoed their concerns and said he could negotiate a better deal than Bush has.

The knottiest issues holding up final completion of NAFTA involved the crucial question of jobs in the three countries. Sources said that U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills and her counterparts from Canada and Mexico were seeking a formula to make sure that North American auto manufacturers gained the benefits of the agreement, not Japanese companies that want to ship parts to Mexico or Canada for assembly and then sell the finished product in the United States.

The debate was over how much North American content is required for a car to gain duty-free entry into the United States, and the differences were reportedly narrowed to 63 percent to 65 percent North American content.

Also in dispute at the final sessions were how fast to open Mexico's oil industry to the more efficient U.S. and Canadian service companies, how long to protect industries most sensitive to imports and how to settle trade disputes among the three countries.

But Hills's spokeswoman, Katheryn Lydon, cautioned that the deal was not completed at the time the White House was reporting the early-morning presidential announcement.

"We sure hope we are going to make it by tomorrow morning, but it's not done yet. We may have to go through the night," Lydon said.

The agreement still must be ratified by Congress, where opposition is

See NAFTA, F3, Col. 2

NAFTA, From F1

strong. The final agreement is not expected to be presented to the lawmakers until next month, and then they will have 90 days to work with the administration to draft implementing legislation.

Under a special "fast-track" procedure, Congress then has 90 more "legislative," or working, days to approve the deal, with no amendments permitted.

Mexico already has achieved economic gains as a result of entering into the free-trade talks. Foreign investment there, largely from the United States, has soared, reaching almost \$10 billion last year. The Mexican stock market has boomed, inflation has dropped and the nation has boasted of strong economic growth over the past two years.

As a result, U.S. sales to Mexico have almost tripled since 1987, reaching \$33.3 billion last year and they are expected to grow to \$44 billion this year. The United States ran a \$2.1 billion trade surplus with Mexico in 1991, and that is expected to

climb to \$8 billion or \$9 billion this year.

As a result of the increased trade with Mexico, that country is about to surpass Japan as the United States' second-largest trading partner, behind Canada.

A free-trade agreement with the United States followed a series of economic reforms for Mexico that were instituted by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and his predecessor, Miguel de la Madrid. These reforms eased restrictions on foreign investments and imports, opening Mexico to foreign goods and factories.

Canada joined the talks late, largely to ensure that it didn't lose any of the benefits of a 3½-year-old free-trade agreement it has with the United States. Although Canadian exports to the United States have grown 30 percent over the past three years, the free-trade pact is very unpopular in Canada, where it is blamed for the recession, job losses and factory closings. Like Bush, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney also has to sell NAFTA to his legislature.

The Washington Post

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sam Donaldson flew to Yugoslavia for ABC's "PrimeTime Live" Monday and will be there all week...

Vice President Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, will be interviewed live in their Washington residence Friday by Harry Smith for "CBS This Morning" during the 7 a.m. half-hour...

By the way, the appearance of the Democratic ticket—Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore—on "CBS This Morning" for two hours on Monday attracted a 2.6 rating in the Nielsen overnight. CBS News says that's up considerably from the 2.0 the show has averaged on Mondays in the past month...

For the second straight week "NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw" found itself in the rarefied atmosphere of second place in the network news race, tied again with "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather," with a 7.9/18 national average...

"ABC World News Tonight Without Peter Jennings" led with an 8.5/19...

NBC was obviously helped by the Olympics coverage that immediately followed the newscast in many markets...

Viewers may have noticed a little swelling around Jennings's left eye Monday night on his return from vacation. While on leave the ABC anchor underwent surgery for the removal of several benign facial cysts...

Mary and Jerry Fritz are the proud parents of identical twin girls, born Sunday at Columbia Hospital for Women...

Skyler Bellamy and Whitney Elise weighed in at a total of 7 pounds 7 ounces, which is appropriate because Dad is general counsel for Allbritton Communications' Channel 7 (as well as Channel 8). Mother works for American Express. The twins are their first children...

"The McLaughlin Group"—Fred Barnes, Eleanor Clift, Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke and Dr. John—will broadcast from Houston the next two weekends...

Al Roker, the Friday weatherman on the "Today" show, will be featured in a taped segment Friday as he participates in the feeding of 30 sharks at Walker's Cay Hotel and Marina in the Abaco Islands in the Bahamas...

Roker was warned by divemaster Gary Atkinson to "try not to look like a fish and as long as you don't get between the sharks and their dinner, you'll be fine!"—which sounds like pretty good advice at any time to Captain Airwaves. Atkinson, who sounds like our kind of guy, also said "break a fin" as Roker headed for the shark feeding a couple weeks ago...

(And you thought the Charlie Gibson item yesterday about the 1984 Democratic convention couldn't be topped!)

CBS News said yesterday it will cover the Republican convention in Houston next week from 9:30 to 11 p.m. on Monday; 10 to 11 on Tuesday; 10 p.m. to 12:15 a.m. on Wednesday; and 9 to 11 on Thursday...

Dan Rather will anchor, Bob Schieffer will be podium correspondent; Connie Chung and Ed Bradley, floor correspondents; Susan Spencer, reporting on the president; Charles Kuralt with "essays and evaluations on the proceedings"; and Harry Smith at "behind-the-scenes locations providing different perspectives on the convention"...

The season return of "Blossom" Monday night helped NBC win the evening with a 12.5/22 primetime average. A repeat of the movie "Settle the Score" did a 12.8/22...

CBS was second as a repeat of "Northern Exposure" did an 11.8/21. We mention this because Captain Airwaves went to Roslyn, Wash., which poses as "Cicely, Alaska," for that series, while he was on his summer vacation. He didn't hear anybody say "break a fin" while he was in Roslyn...

Bryant Gumbel, back from Africa with whiskers and his right hand in a cast, says he may hang on to the beard through the week of Nov. 16-20, when the "Today" show staff, including Gumbel and Katie Couric, broadcasts for six days from Zimbabwe...

He's told staffers, however, the whiskers could also go any day and reports that they've drawn "mixed reactions" so far. Couric, following her Olympic Games duties, doesn't return to the show until Monday, so her response is unknown...

Gumbel hurt his hand last week in Kenya while chasing a hippopotamus in a Land-Rover...

Jay Leno returned to the air Monday night after a two-week Olympics vacation repeatedly interrupted by bad press notices, topped—if that's quite the word—if the National Enquirer's story this week trumpeting "NBC's Secret Plan to Dump Jay Leno"...

During his "Tonight Show" monologue Monday he finally responded on the air to the off-air folderol, which in recent days has included a full-page essay in Time on his troubles with Arsenio Hall and not one but two articles in the Aug. 1-7 edition of TV Guide detailing the pressures on his show and blueprints for potential late-night rivals...

"And we are here to stay, ladies and gentlemen," he announced Monday, to a smattering of applause. "Oh, they've been taking shots at us. You know, sometimes people think if people say nasty things about you and you don't answer it, it's a sign of weakness. Well, you don't get this far, you don't get this job, by being weak. And if you don't think that nice guys can finish first, just keep watchin'. Okay? That's all I have to say" (another smattering)...

According to Nielsen overnight ratings in the 25 major markets, Leno's first show after the Games, featuring Clint Eastwood, the B-52's and NBC legal correspondent Star Jones, averaged a 5.9 rating and a 17 percent audience share, compared with a 5.5/16 for the syndicated "Arsenio Hall Show," which featured Magic Johnson, and a 4.0/12 for a half-hour of ABC's "Nightline"...

In Washington, it was Arsenio (and Magic) on top with a 7.6/26 on Channel 9, compared with a 5.4/18 for Leno and Clint on Four, a 3.6/11 for "Nightline" on Seven and a 4.0/14 for an hour of "M*A*S*H" on Five...

According to NBC, "The Tonight Show" has averaged a 4.9/16 since Leno replaced Johnny Carson as of May 25 (and that's not even including the 6.6/26 for the premiere week) and has finished ahead of Hall every single week they've competed...

Locally, Hall outdistanced Leno in the first two weeks of the July ratings book, 6.0/19 to 4.0/13, while "Nightline" was a very close second at 5.9/16 before the Olympics began...

Nielsen's syndication figures show Hall is the top-ranked nighttime host, averaging a 3.3 rating (representing slightly more than 3 million TV homes a night) since the 1991-92 season began last August...

As for this week's Enquirer article suggesting NBC executives already have a secret plan to dump Jay by the end of the year (replacing him with David Letterman, who will be replaced by Dana Carvey), a network spokeswoman said yesterday:

"Oh, please! It's ridiculous." Sue Binford, vice president of corporate and media relations, added: "No. Make that absurd. Yes. That's better. It's like Jay said in Time magazine this week: 'But just shut up! Wasn't that great?'"

Mr. Tomato contributed to this item...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rank	Rating	Program	Share	Network
1	15.6	Summer Olympics (Thurs.)	32	NBC
2	16.5	Summer Olympics (Mon.)	31	NBC
3	15.8	Summer Olympics (Wed.)	31	NBC
4	15.4	Summer Olympics (Tues.)	29	NBC
5	14.5	Roseanne	24	ABC
6	14.2	Summer Olympics (Fri.)	30	NBC
7	14.2	Summer Olympics (Sun.)	26	NBC
8	13.8	Summer Olympics (Sat.)	30	NBC
9	13.3	Home Improvement	23	ABC
10	13.3	Cheers	22	ABC
11	12.8	60 Minutes	27	CBS
12	11.5	20/20	20	ABC
13	11.4	Murder, She Wrote	21	CBS
14	11.3	U2	19	CBS
15	11.1	Full House	21	ABC
16	11.0	R.I.I.	18	ABC
17	10.5	Jewel of the Nile	18	ABC
18	10.4	Murphy Brown	17	CBS
19	10.0	Northern Exposure	17	CBS
20	9.6	Major Dad	17	CBS

The final week of the XXV Olympiad ensured an easy win for NBC, which averaged a 16.1/30 for the week ending Aug. 9, compared with an 8.5/16 for CBS, an 8.4/15 for ABC and a 6.1/11 for FOX...

Fifty-six of the 69 non-Olympic shows in primetime last week were repeats. Among the originals, Fox's "Melrose Place" was 34th, "Rachel Gunn, R.N." was 60th and "Down the Shore" 66th, and ABC's "Human Target" 71st...

"Target" led the Final and Fatal Five Plus One last week. The other programs in the FAFPO all belonged to FOX, including, in order, "True Colors," "Sightings," "Bill & Ted's Excellent Adventure," "Vinnie & Bobby" and "Hidden Video," 76th and last in the weekly standings...

The repeat of "The Best of the Ed Sullivan Show" on CBS on Friday night managed a 22nd-place finish. A repeat of the "Mary Tyler Moore 20th Anniversary" show, which preceded it on the network that night, finished 56th...

The TV Column

HIGHLIGHTS

- "Seinfeld" returns and "Law & Order" is at a new time on WRC.
- "White Fang" on WUSA.

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. With Pluria Marshall of the National Black Media Coalition and Laurence Jarvic from the Heritage Foundation (Channel 32 at 7).

American Playhouse: All the Vermeers in New York (1990) (CC). Jon Jost's film focuses on the unusual relationship between a French actress and a stockbroker who meet at New York's Metropolitan Museum. 90 minutes (Channel 26 at 9).

Primetime Movies

Car Wash (1976). George Carlin and Richard Pryor in a day in the life of a Los Angeles car wash (Channel 32 at 8).

Backfield in Motion (1991) (CC). Roseanne Arnold portrays a recent widow who organizes a mother-son football game to get closer to her son. Two hours (Channel 7 at 8).

White Fang (1991) (CC). A young man attempts to survive in the Alaskan wilderness and befriends a wolf-dog. Two hours (Channel 9 at 8).

Series Return

Seinfeld (CC). In Part I of two, Jerry and George travel to Los Angeles to search for Kramer, who mysteriously appeared on "Murphy Brown" (Channel 4 at 9).

Series

Unsolved Mysteries (CC) (R). The story of a failed bank heist that left three guards dead, a woman's search for a baby she was forced to give up 27 years ago, and a discovery of skeletal remains (Channel 4 at 8).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC). Dylan and Kelly become intimate, while the romance of Brenda's Paris trip begins to affect her (Channel 5 at 8).

Melrose Place (CC). Alison helps Jake study for his high school equivalency exam, while Rhonda auditions for a traveling dance company (Channel 5 at 9).

Wings (CC) (R). Joe and Brian are obliged to take a cranky old man cross-country, but their plane may not finish the trip (Channel 4, 9:30).

Law & Order (CC) (R). A woman is arrested for the murder of her estranged husband and his girlfriend (Channel 4 at 10).

Civil Wars (CC) (R). Married lawyers bicker over their own property settlement, while Charlie and Sydney plan a weekend together (Channel 7 at 10).

48 Hours (CC) examines this nation's obsession with Elvis Presley (Channel 9 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show. With Louis Gossett Jr. and singer Rodney Crowell (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With actor Brandon Lee and singer Joe Cocker (Channel 4, 11:35).

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

'I'd stand by her'

Bush gets what-if abortion question

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

President Bush said yesterday he'd try to dissuade a grandchild who was considering an abortion but would "stand by my child" no matter what her decision. He also said he would not turn away from a child who was a homosexual.

Mr. Bush said that in the end, the decision to have an abortion would be the girl's "and I'd stand by my child."

While saying he would still love a child who was a homosexual, Mr. Bush said he hoped the child would not try to convince others "that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be."

Mr. Bush's comments, in a television interview for the program "Dateline NBC," came as Republican platform writers stood firm on the GOP's call for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. The politically explosive issue promises to be a major topic in the fall presidential race.

Mr. Bush has said he opposes abortion except in cases where the mother's life is at stake or in cases of rape or incest. He favors the constitutional amendment to ban abortion and opposes the use of federal funds to pay for abortions.

"I think his answer is absolutely wrong," said Angela Bay Buchanan, chairman of her brother Pat Buchanan's unsuccessful primary challenge to Mr. Bush. "He started talking honestly (and) it just interfered with his clear thinking prior to this."

Pro-life Republicans have thwarted the efforts of pro-choice Republicans to amend the party's platform plank calling for a constitutional amendment banning abortion. They have outmaneuvered the pro-choice forces and defended the president's support of the platform plank every step of the way.

"It does undermine the efforts of these good people here," Miss Buchanan said of the president's more tolerant abortion stance. "It does muddy the waters."

"That's the George Bush everybody knows," said Ann Stone, president of Republicans for Choice. "He has not produced any legislation [to outlaw abortion]. He's personally opposed to abortion. So am I."

In the interview, Mr. Bush also said he was sure that Vice President Dan Quayle would step aside if he felt it would help. But the president added, "I'm not even considering that." Asked if Mr. Quayle had offered to step aside, Mr. Bush said, "We had discussions but it never got to that, because I told him, 'You have my confidence.'"

The question on abortion was similar to one posed last month to Mr. Quayle when asked what he would do if his daughter told him she chose to have an abortion. Mr. Quayle created a political controversy by saying, "I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

Mr. Bush, whose only daughter is a grown woman, was asked by NBC correspondent Stone Phillips what he would do if one of his young granddaughters told him some day that she was pregnant and wanted to have an abortion.

"I would talk her out of it, try to," Mr. Bush replied. Offering a hypothetical case, Mr. Bush said, "If my granddaughter said I've done something terrible, I've robbed, I've stolen something, I'd stand by her. I think that's what the vice president was saying, didn't mean he condoned the act but he said he'd stand by his child."

"Of course I'd do that," Mr. Bush said.

"Would I support my child?" Mr. Bush said. "I'd put my arm around her ... encourage her to not do that, but of course I'd stand by my child. I'd love her and help her, lift her up, wipe the tears away and we'd get back in the game."

Asked if the ultimate decision would be hers, Mr. Bush said, "Whose else's could it be. ... If she went ahead and did it, what would I do? ... I'd love her or I'd hold out my hand to her, put my arm around her."

Asked what he would do if a boy or girl in his family were a homosexual, Mr. Bush said, "I'd love that child. I would put my arm around him and I would hope he wouldn't go out and try to ... convince people that this was the normal lifestyle, that this was an appropriate lifestyle, that this was the way it ought to be."

Mr. Bush said that the Bible "teaches compassion and love. But I would say I hope you wouldn't become an advocate for a lifestyle that is not normal."

The president said that "there's a difference between approving every step of the way and loving and treating with compassion."

• Staff writer Major Garrett contributed to this report in Houston.

Bush cites strategic role in urging loans to Israel

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — U.S. guarantees for \$10 billion in loans to resettle Russian Jews are linked to Israel's assurance of a safe port for American forces in some future military storm, President Bush said yesterday.

"There's enough specifics here for me to recommend enthusiastically to the United States Congress and to the American people that this is in not only the interest of Israel, but it is in our interest," Mr. Bush said at a news conference with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Mr. Bush said the issue of strategic alliance is coupled with humanitarian concerns for 1 million Jews from the former Soviet Union who exercise the Zionist Law of Return to Israel.

He urged other countries to follow the U.S. example of guaranteeing loans to assist Jewish resettlement.

Mr. Rabin commended the United States and the president for support in "opening the gates of the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia for the immigration of our brethren who so wished to return to their homeland, Israel."

American Jewish Congress leaders also praised Mr. Bush for his warmth toward Mr. Rabin and approval of the guarantees.

"President Bush personally played a significant role in enabling Jews from the Soviet Union and from Ethiopia to emigrate to Israel. The loan guarantees will assist Israel in its herculean efforts to absorb these immigrants," said a statement issued by the organization.

"Israel is not only important as a friend, but they have demonstrated strategic reliability," Mr. Bush said, adding that the arrangement also guarantees continuation of Israel's "military qualitative edge."

"Israel is a democracy surrounded by countries that aren't and they have been loyal and staunch friends," he said, saying U.S. strategic interests are a basic principle of the agreement along with humanitarian concerns.

Advisers who confirmed the role of a strategic military relationship as central to the agreement said details would be discussed at the Pentagon between Mr. Rabin and Defense Secretary Richard Cheney.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Rabin agreed to disagree on the touchy issue of so-called "security settlements" for the defense of Israel. Mr. Rabin's government will continue building them while halting so-called "political settlements" in disputed territory.

The United States sought an outright end to building on lands taken by Israel in the 1967 war. It won't announce reversal of that stance al-

though Mr. Bush said Washington accepts Israel's new distinction between the settlements.

"Obviously, we would not be going forward with this loan guarantee if we did not salute the change, so I'd just leave it right there," Mr. Bush said, adding that there also are divisions in Israel on the issue.

The two men spoke with cautious optimism about Arab-Israeli peace talks that resume Aug. 24 in Washington and Mr. Bush called on Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and a Palestinian delegation to match what he called Mr. Rabin's commitment to succeed.

"I call upon the Arab parties to respond in kind. The time has come to make peace, not simply to talk of it," Mr. Bush said.

"We shall do so as much as we can on a continued basis while, of course, scrupulously preserving Israel's security against all threats," Mr. Rabin said, portraying himself as a peacemaker in search of Arab partners.

"In the Middle East, there is a saying that for war, one side is enough; for peace, you need two. We hope we'll have the second partner," he said.

Mr. Bush stressed in the news conference at his seaside home that he is convinced Mr. Rabin's new Labor government, which replaced the hard-line coalition of Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir last month, is com-



President Bush and Yitzhak Rabin talk to the press in Kennebunkport.

mitted to peace.

Noting the "warm" and "special" U.S.-Israeli relationship, the president spoke of his personal regard for Mr. Rabin and said he would ask Congress for "swift action" on the request for guarantees.

Mr. Bush said the goal of the talks

is "real peace, codified by treaties, characterized by reconciliation and openness, including trade and tourism."

In answer to direct questions, both Mr. Bush and Mr. Rabin denied timing their actions to assist the president's re-election.

Stars for Clinton

MCA Chairman Lew Wasserman will be host to a private dinner party tomorrow night in Beverly Hills where about 150 Hollywood glitterati will pop \$5,000 each to rub shoulders with Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton. According to the Los Angeles Times, the guest list includes media mogul David Geffen, Sony Pictures Entertainment Chairman Peter Guber, Walt Disney Studios Chairman Jeffrey Katzenberg and Columbia Pictures Chairman Mark Canton. "Disaffected Democrat" Norman Lear is even scheduled to attend with his wife, Lyn.

That's just one of a whole bevy of culturally elite events being orchestrated on behalf of good ol' boy Bill and his trusty sidekick, Tennessee Al.

John F. Cooke, president of the Disney Channel, will be a dinner host soon to raise funds for special guest Al Gore, and about the middle of next month the Hollywood Women's Political Caucus plans a \$1,000-a-plate soiree featuring performances by Barbra Streisand, Whoopi Goldberg, and Mike Nichols and Elaine May. Also making appearances will be Geena Davis, Warren Beatty and Annette Bening.

Danny Goldberg, vice president of Atlantic Records and chairman of the ACLU in Southern California, is helping plan a benefit concert for the Democrats because of his "revulsion against George Bush and Dan Quayle."

There's lots of political excitement these days in Tinseltown. "Not only has the entertainment community become engaged in this election, but the excitement and enthusiasm is the highest I've ever experienced in any campaign," a Clinton fund-raiser told the newspaper.

But Mr. Clinton isn't the only presidential contender getting a boost from the "entertainment community." Mike Love of the Beach Boys is promoting the can-

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

didacy of John Hagelin, the Natural Law Party candidate. "The Natural Law Party will reduce social stress, reduce crime, clean up the environment, improve education, curb health care costs, and infuse creativity and productivity into the economy," Mr. Love observed.

Bird dog Walsh

Oliver North isn't exactly turning the other cheek with regard to special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh. Mr. North says Mr. Walsh has never filed an audit and his expenses "have never been looked at by anybody."

"In fact, for the folks who chased poor old John Sununu all over the country in his limousine, I'm a little amazed that the great investigative journalists of America haven't looked into some of these charges," he said on ABC's "Good Morning America" yesterday.

All choked up

House Speaker Tom Foley spent several hours in a hospital emergency room after he ate some pieces of plastic from a TV dinner. He was released after treatment Saturday, but on Monday he said he was still suffering from "a raging sore throat."

The speaker said he ate the pieces of black plastic in a Salisbury steak that he had put into a hamburger bun. It must have been a tough chunk of meat, because Mr. Foley said he didn't even notice the plastic until later, when he spotted some in the mashed potatoes.

Doctors say the plastic would



Oliver North wonders why the media aren't hounding his old antagonist.

likely pass through Mr. Foley's system without doing any damage.

Who has time?

One of our Irregulars who monitors communications among members of ACT-UP, the homosexual activist group, says they have been circulating a warning to those who are heading for Houston to look out for right-wing nuts. Specifically, the memo warns that they should be on the alert for attacks by members of the Young Americans for Freedom, a group they equate with "Nazis," as well as Operation Rescue demonstrators and even the Ku Klux Klan.

One battle-scarred veteran of YAF doubted that the homosexual lobby has anything to worry about. "The groups they're so afraid of will be far too busy fighting among

themselves to go after the gays," he said.

Left speechless

Some conservative leaders remain convinced that the transfer of four White House speech writers to less sensitive positions in the administration is the work of the archdemon, Richard Darman. They are convinced that a Darman aide concocted and orchestrated the coup and will be doing much of the speech writing.

Both in activist circles and on Capitol Hill, conservatives remain adamant about ousting Mr. Darman, whom they blame for opposing current conservative economic advice to President Bush, as well as for the tax increase of 1990.

The writers who were relocated were "the best," according to one conservative leader, who termed the situation "Darman's Purge." Other sources familiar with the situation say the group didn't measure up in the eyes of the new honcho of the speech shop, Steve Provost.

Bo marches on

Bo Gritz's followers are continuing their march toward Washington while their candidate is taking to the stump to call for deregulation of the drug industry. He says treatments for AIDS and cancer are available cheap in Europe and should be available in America as well. "Tests show that Ozone O is highly effective in treating these problems," according to Mr. Gritz.

"In combat, we used ozone to treat gangrene and other infections," said Mr. Gritz, who received more than 62 citations for valor while serving as a Special Forces officer.

Mr. Gritz is calling for fasting and prayer this weekend, to be followed by a call-in campaign to the White House switchboard to protest the administration's POW-MIA position.

— John Elvin

Bush denies affair

'Sleaze' question angers president

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine — President Bush vehemently denied yesterday that he committed adultery with longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald, finally confronting a rumor that had resisted years of Democratic efforts to make it public.

"It's a lie," the president said angrily when asked about yesterday's front-page New York Post story headlined "The Bush Affair" and alleging a 1984 tryst at a Swiss chalet.

The president later refused to tell NBC in an Oval Office interview whether he has ever had an affair, resuming his policy of declining what he calls "sleaze" questions.

The Bush campaign blamed Bill Clinton's campaign for reviving the story, which was floated without much success by the Dukakis camp in 1988 and by Hillary Clinton in a Vanity Fair interview this spring.

Several reporters said their newspapers received faxes outlining the allegations but did not use them. One reporter said a Democratic operative boasted, "We'll send them to somebody every day until someone bites."

"It's the Clinton campaign, the Clinton backers and the Clinton supporters. That's one thing we all know for certain now," Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said. "The New York Post has succumbed to what has been an all-out effort to get someone to print this trash."

George Stephanopoulos, communications director for the Clinton campaign, disputed her statement as "simply not true," and Mr. Clinton, campaigning in Miami, distanced himself from the episode.

"I didn't like it when it was done to me. I don't like it when it is done to him," Mr. Clinton said.

The media siege Mr. Clinton

see BUSH, page A8

● President Bush says he would "stand by" a grandchild considering an abortion. Page A3.

BUSH

From page A1

weathered during the primaries featured Arkansas lounge singer Jennifer Flowers telling of an affair with the governor, along with tapes of their telephone conversations. She said Mr. Clinton helped get her the minor state job she was fired from after her allegations.

The faxes sent to newspapers reproduced a few pages from Susan B. Trento's book "The Power House" referring to what it calls "Bush's sexual indiscretions" and citing footnotes quoting an interview with former Ambassador Louis Glenn Fields Jr. in which he said he arranged in April 1984 for Vice President Bush and Miss Fitzgerald to use a Lake Geneva chateau where they had adjoining bedrooms.

"It became clear to me that the vice president and Ms. Fitzgerald were romantically involved and this was not a business visit," Mr. Fields is quoted as saying in 1986. "I am not a prude ... but I know Barbara [Bush] and I like her. It was just so heavy-handed."

The occasion was a U.N. disarmament

conference at which the vice president presented a draft treaty to ban chemical weapons. Mr. Fields died May 18, 1988, of cancer at age 58.

His story was told to Joe Trento, then a CNN reporter and husband of the book's author, and repeated by former CNN reporter Jay Gourley and by William Joyce, who was Mr. Fields' law partner.

Mr. Gourley told The Washington Times yesterday that he reinterviewed Mr. Fields at Mr. Trento's urging to have an independent witness and heard the same story, although Mr. Fields told both men he didn't want it made public.

"He felt it probably should come out, but it was a silly little thing. It wasn't worth it to him to bring it out," Mr. Gourley said.

Both Mr. Trento and Mr. Gourley emphasized that they vouched only for the fact that Mr. Fields made the statements, not that they were true.

Barbara Bush stood with her daughter and grandchildren and scowled at CNN reporter Mary Tillotson's question yesterday while her husband of 47 years gave his first direct response to reports of a long-running affair with the deputy chief of protocol, who is 59.

Several reporters said their newspapers received faxes outlining the allegations of the tryst but did not use them.

Miss Fitzgerald, who has worked for Mr. Bush in public and private life since joining his staff at the Liaison Office in China in 1975, was out of the country on a State Department trip yesterday and unavailable for comment. She often traveled with Mr. Bush, and it was routine for them to use adjoining hotel rooms.

She is scheduled to escort diplomatic observers to the GOP convention in Houston next week.

The question came at a globally televised news conference from the lawn of Mr. Bush's Walker's Point estate, which he had just described as "this very special place for me and for my family." After taking a number of questions on his talks with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak

Rabin, who stood beside him, he listened stone-faced as Miss Tillotson asked:

"Mr. Bush, uncomfortable as the subject is, I would think it's one in which you feel a necessity to respond because you've said that family values and character are likely to be important in the presidential campaign. There is an extensive series of reports in today's New York Post alleging that a former U.S. ambassador, now deceased, told several persons that he arranged for a sexual tryst involving you and one of your female staffers in Geneva in 1984."

Mr. Bush replied in a burst of words, showing emotion and his voice shaking a bit: "I'm not going to take any sleazy questions like that from CNN. I'm very disappointed that you would ask such a question of me and I will not respond to it. I haven't responded in the past. And I think it's a, I'm outraged, but nevertheless in this kind of screwy climate we're in, I expect it. But I don't like it and I'm not going to respond other than to say it's a lie."

Press secretary Marlin Fitzwater told reporters before the news conference that Mr. Bush was not prepped to answer questions about

the story, but no one would say whether he learned of its contents in other ways.

Campaign officials working on damage control included deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin, whose own words were challenged as "sleaze" little more than a week ago.

"These accounts have been checked out for 12 years by every reputable news organization in the country and have been found unfounded, ungrounded. They're total trash," Miss Matalin said on "CBS This Morning."

Last night Mr. Bush refused to answer the broader question "Have you ever had an affair?" posed by NBC correspondent Stone Phillips in an interview for "Dateline NBC."

"I'm not going to take any sleaze questions," Mr. Bush snapped. "You're perpetuating the sleaze by even asking the question, to say nothing of asking it in the Oval Office."

On Oct. 19, 1988, the New York Stock Exchange dropped 43 points in a move attributed to rumors that The Washington Post was about to report a story about a Bush affair. The market rebounded after Executive Editor Ben Bradlee denied such a story was planned.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

Top women on Bush's team aim to lift 'ceiling'

By Elisa Williams
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Three of the top women in the Bush administration yesterday vowed to use their influence to shatter the "glass ceiling" that prevents women and minorities from rising to top-level company management positions.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin and Patricia Saiki, head of the Small Business Administration, agreed to link their agencies to heighten awareness of business practices that act as barriers to women and minorities. Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin endorsed the plan and pledged her department's support.

Yesterday's announcement follows the Labor Department's initial study of "artificial" barriers, released last year, in which it reviewed the employment practices of nine Fortune 500 companies that held federal contracts. This year the study was expanded to include 12 Fortune 500 firms.

"We continue to find a general absence of minorities and women at the highest levels of the corporate work force," Mrs. Martin said.

A broad analysis of the nation's 90,000 federal contractors found that although

BOARDROOM BREAKTHROUGH

Women hold 99, or 7.5 percent, of the 1,315 seats on 100 largest U.S. corporate boards of directors. Number of women directors on the 10 biggest companies.

Number of women	Company	Total on board
2	General Motors Corp.	17
1	Exxon Corp.	14
1	Ford Motor Co.	18
1	IBM Corp.	18
2	General Electric Co.	15
1	Mobil Corp.	15
1	Phillip Morris Cos. Inc.	19
2	E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.	20
1	Texaco Inc.	16
1	Chevron Corp.	13

Source:
Labor Department

Note: The 10 biggest companies according to 1991 sales, as reported by Fortune magazine. Directors counted from the Corporate Yellow Book.

Chart by Paul Compton / The Washington Times

some progress has been made, barriers have resulted in a scarcity of women and minorities in management.

Of the 90,000 federal contractors that employ about 4.7 million people, 10 percent of the managers and officials were minorities — a slight increase from 8 percent in 1981. Twenty-five percent of the officials and managers were women, up from 18 percent a decade earlier.

Mrs. Martin also compiled statistics showing that only 99 of the 1,315 board members of the nation's 100 largest companies are women. And of the nation's 25 largest labor unions, women held only 27 of the 235 top leadership positions.

The Labor Department's review uncovered several common forms of "glass ceiling" barriers that include:

- Recruiting practices that do not make an effort to attract a broad, diverse pool of talent to fill job openings but instead rely on informal word-of-mouth re-

ferrals.

- Corporate training and educational programs that are not monitored to ensure access for qualified minorities and women.

- Performance appraisals that hold women and minorities to different standards.

- Corporatewide transfer systems that assume women are not willing to move for a job that grooms them for a higher position.

The Labor Department has the authority to take federal contracts from companies that systematically deny advancement opportunities and do not comply with government requirements. The removal process, however, provides companies with an opportunity to make the necessary changes before a contract is revoked.

"Ultimately we aren't looking to punish, but to change," Mrs. Martin said.

On June 25, Bill Clinton told the New York Times it would be fine by him if a multilateral military force had to "shoot its way into" the Sarajevo airport in order to provide safety for a steady airlift of relief supplies. Note Mr. Clinton's use of the verb "shoot": That could not have been accidental. Democratic presidential nominees in years past did not much approve of any kind of shooting abroad. They're loath to shoot, which is to say they're loath to engage militarily, if necessary, and thus their candidate's lack of credibility as a commander in chief, contributed to their party's landslide defeats on Election Day.

Mr. Clinton knows that ousting President Bush will depend in part upon persuading voters that as president he would be the different Democrat, one willing to order troops into battle. Unwilling to allow Mr. Bush any hawkish advantage during the campaign, Mr. Clinton thus has been issuing pre-emptive rhetorical strikes.

Terry Eastland, a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, is author of "Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Presidency," published this month by the Free Press.

Pre-emptive hawkish rhetoric

Mr. Clinton's ambiguous position on the Gulf war, and his later false statements about it, present Mr. Bush some fat targets.

So he has done on the conflict in Bosnia. Going beyond his previous remark to the Times, Mr. Clinton last week criticized the president for failing to provide leadership and said the United States should pursue U.N. authorization for airstrikes (and thus some shooting) in support of the relief effort.

Thus Mr. Clinton sought to ensure that he could not be accused by Republicans of failing to endorse the use of force at least through the United Nations, a position Defense Secretary Dick Cheney previously had advocated. When White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater

blasted the Democrat for reckless advocacy of American armed forces, some political history was written: Since when have Republicans accused a Democratic presidential nominee of being too hawkish? Soon Mr. Bush embraced the idea of going to the United Nations, for which he won condescending congratulations from Mr. Clinton, who now, again outflanking the president, is talking about also using force to open Serbian detention camps.

As the campaign continues, Mr. Clinton doubtless will try to sound at least as hawkish as the president. This is relatively easy, since the Democrat does not have responsibility for actually committing U.S. troops. But already, in his quests for hawkish appearances, he has spoken foreign policy words that deserve to haunt his candidacy.

Last week Mr. Clinton said: "I supported the Gulf war." Earlier this year, he described himself as "an early and unambiguous supporter of the president's use of force against the Iraqi army." If lies made by presidential candidates to the American people could be prosecuted, the Ar-

kansas governor would be in court today.

The record shows Mr. Clinton was neither an early nor an unambiguous supporter of the war. And if he was a supporter, he became one very late — on Jan. 15, when he made his earliest comments on the subject. While voicing his support of the resolution authorizing the use of force (passed on Jan. 12), Mr. Clinton nonetheless remarked on his own personal agreement with the arguments of most congressional Democrats that economic sanctions should be given more time to work.

Mr. Clinton's position on the Gulf war, and his later false statements about it, present Mr. Bush some fat targets. Yet the most important question arising from the Gulf war is not how Mr. Clinton might have voted, had he been a member of Congress in January 1991, but how he would have responded when Iraq invaded Kuwait, on Aug. 2, 1990.

Given Mr. Clinton's very late and quite ambiguous support of the use of force, and his persisting belief in economic sanctions, there is good reason to doubt that he would have used the formal power of office as variously or effectively as did Mr.

Bush, who, chief among other things, froze assets, conducted diplomacy of various kinds, deployed (and doubled the deployment of) troops, and brought up the reserves.

Through these unilateral acts, the president created the circumstance in which Congress could not fail to pass the resolution it did. President Bush, during the strongest period of an often weak presidency, thus demonstrated the truth of Alexander Hamilton's insight that the president's "exercise of its constitutional powers may establish an antecedent state of things" that influences "the legislative decision" to approve the use of force. Had Mr. Bush not exercised his powers as he did, Congress probably would not have voted for war, and Saddam Hussein might still be in Kuwait.

The president's policies concerning Iraq prior to Aug. 2, 1990, deserve severe criticism (though not criminalization). But there can be no taking away from Mr. Bush his strong performance against Iraq, from the moment Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait until his army's eviction seven months later. George Bush is a demonstrated commander in chief. However hawkish Bill Clinton tries to be on the conflict in Bosnia, or whatever else he says about himself and his position on the Gulf war, he cannot claim that.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

**BEN
WATTENBERG**

Betting on the M-word

It is a heavy burden: Pundits must help all those in need. Having offered advice to wiseguy Democrats, I now proffer guidance to boring Republicans:

- Of course, be negative. Stress the values issues, attack the Democrats as "L-Word" liberals. Force Bill Clinton to prove he's not one. Ignore those who say "labels don't matter." They do. Labels stand for ideas. Only about 20 percent of Americans call themselves "liberal," 30 percent say "conservative" and 40 percent "moderate."

- Add "ic" to your vocabulary. It is juvenile to call your opponents "the Democrat Party." They are "the Democratic Party." You need Democratic voters; pay them respect. Perhaps they should call your party "the Publican Party." Or "the Public Party." Message to GOP: Grow up!

- Of course, be positive. It's true: George Bush must define himself. Put him in an isolation booth until he produces a short statement about his political philosophy. (Everyone has one; it's about as common as a nose.)

Mr. Bush should start with an obvious fact: He is not Ronald Reagan. He is a "moderate conservative." Now, not many people have mounted barricades in the cause of moderate conservatism. No one has proclaimed "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Moderate Conservatism!" Nor "Fifty-Four Forty or Moderate Conservatism!" Too bad, Publicans.

But polls do show that a plurality of Americans regard themselves as moderate conservatives. That is important when the votes are counted.

Moderate conservative might be defined thusly: following conservative market precepts, amending

them when government action is needed, and trying to make those actions conform to American values, which honor personal responsibility. The menu includes public-private school choice, workfare not welfare, enterprise zones and lots more.

MC is good stuff: Bill Clinton calls it "The New Covenant." In Mr. Bush's administration, James Pinkerton calls it "The New Paradigm." The saintly Jack Kemp calls it "bleeding heart conservatism."

- Put a label on it, no more than three words. Sorry, "New Deal," "Square Deal" and "New Frontier" have been used. Run a contest within the campaign staff. At worst, use "Moderate Conservative." Or try a jingle: "Live, live, live / Be a moderate conservative."

- Moderation itself is not a bad guideline. Republicans will use the hot-button issue of homosexuality. When it touches public policy, as with gays in the military, it is a fair issue. But Republicans will harm themselves if they countenance gay-bashing. The moderate, partisan, GOP formulation should be: "There are three positions, gay-bashing, civil rights and gay glorification. We Republicans, the party of Lincoln, are pro-civil rights. What happened at the Democratic Convention in New York was gay glorification."

Moderation about abortion seems impossible. Neither party has accepted the position that most Americans want: legal abortion with an option for reasonable state restrictions. If Republicans can control their pro-life and pro-choice activists, they can make a mild case that they allowed a reasonable debate, while the Democrats—pressured by feminists—muzzled discussion.

- Use the phrase "New World Order," even if it's hard to define. It's Mr. Bush's. It's visionary. It's true.

- Use foreign policy. Voters want to know how a president, and a party, will handle big issues, even those that aren't yet visible. The central issue of our era was the Cold War. America won it. Both parties deserve credit. But in the last 25 years a key part of the Democratic Party was laggard in some important aspects of the effort. That is fair game.

- Bash Congress. Also bash the press. They bought the Clinton-Gore case, whole-hog. Press-bashing makes them rethink. Stay off the Clinton personal stuff. The press will do it. Unleash Dan Quayle; an ongoing Quayle-Gore debate about the environment may yield a bonus.

- Blame the economy on (a) the Congress, (b) the business cycle, (c) the global slump and (d) George Bush. A "Who-me?" position will not be credible.

One Republican problem remains. They are seen as boring. I have no solution.

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

KEN ADELMAN

Campaigns coming clean?

"It's going to be an awfully dirty campaign."

So goes the buzz in Washington, and so goes the Clinton camp cry. Democrats are assiduously warning of the dreadful fate, as their candidate is clearly vulnerable, negative campaigns are effective, and the Republicans are nimble at this sort of thing.

My own fear is not that the 1992 campaign will be "dirty," but that it won't be sufficiently negative against Bill Clinton to inform the people adequately.

For now the definition of a "dirty campaign" is one alluding to Bill Clinton's past behavior — especially with marriage, military and marijuana. Somehow his own, and running mate Al Gore's, constant barrage against President Bush's past behavior does not constitute a "a dirty campaign."

Besides, negative campaigning is as American as apple pie. It has been part of our political system practically from the start.

And, no, it hasn't gotten worse over time. As Eileen Shields West concluded in Smithsonian magazine in the fall of 1988: "Whatever is wrong with American political campaigns, they have not become more salacious or more savage. Quite the reverse."

Unlike whatever George Bush or Bill Clinton now say, past nominees did not pussyfoot around with indirect innuendo or subtle slur. They attacked opponents with a 2-by-4, one even calling his foe for the White House "a carbuncle-faced old drunkard," another a "howling atheist," or a "pickpocket, thief, traitor, lecher, syphilitic, gorilla, anarchist, murderer."

Real dirty campaigns — not the pale imitation done in 1988 with the Willie Horton ads, or those feared today — began when our second president, John Adams, called our first secretary of the treasury, Alex-

My own fear is not that the 1992 presidential campaign will be "dirty," but that it won't be sufficiently negative against Bill Clinton to inform the people adequately.

ander Hamilton, a "bastard brat of a Scotch peddler."

Then things really got rough. Our third president, Thomas Jefferson, was pelted mercilessly. One negative ad of its day, a campaign-time biography, called the Sage of Monticello "a mean-spirited, low-lived fellow, the son of a half-breed Indian squaw, sired by a Virginia mulatto father... raised wholly on hoecake made of coarse-ground Southern corn... with an occasional... friscasseed bullfrog."

Now how's that for letting an opponent have it?

Jefferson won, but the assaults did not abate. One opposition newspaper editorialized that under Jefferson's presidency, "murder, robbery, rape, adultery and incest will be openly taught and practiced" throughout America.

Soon thereafter, candidate Martin Van Buren was castigated for wearing a corset and taking more baths than a real man should.

Andrew Jackson's negative campaigning sounds like something from "The Music Man." For his folks attacked hard-working John Quincy Adams for buying a used billiard table for the White House. "When we find the fathers and mothers of our country... persuading young men from practices which lead to destruction," one newspaper put it, "we greatly fear that the too frequent an-

swer will be, 'Why, the president plays billiards!'"

Foreigners were startled by this new-breed New World negative campaigning. Lord Bryce called U.S. presidential campaigns a "tempest of invective and calumny" and placed the phenomenon in terms his readers could grasp: "Imagine all the accusations, brought against all the candidates for the 670 seats in the English Parliament concentrated on one man... daily for three months."

Politicians didn't become more genteel as the nation became more mature. Candidates sought to discredit rivals any way they could. Even the wholly decent Abraham Lincoln, when running for the Illinois state legislature, ripped open his opponent's cloth coat to reveal the ruffled silk shirt and velvet vest worn underneath.

Even when the bitterness of the Civil War receded, the bitterness of presidential campaigns remained. The 1888 race between the philandering Grover Cleveland and sleazy James G. Blaine was then deemed a contest between the "copulative habits of one and the prevaricative habits of the other."

Cleveland, who won, was a beefy and hardy soul who downed massive meals with mugs of beer and relieved himself out a nearby window. Once an unappreciative passer-by sued Cleveland for the offense.

And, as Eileen West also points out, the candidates' hustle-bustle of jet campaigning and bus tours is nothing new. While in 1896 William McKinley rocked on the porch of his Canton, Ohio, home with his mother and received delegations coming to call, his opponent, William Jennings Bryan, scurried like mad. Bryan racked up 18,000 miles delivering more than 600 addresses to 5 million folks. Some days he gave 30 separate speeches, both inspiring and scathing.

So, to grade on the historical curve, recent presidential campaigns — despite all the talk about dirty campaigns — have been relatively ginger.

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

JOSEPH SOBRAN

A few days ago, George Will made news by suggesting in his column that George Bush withdraw from the presidential race. This, he said, would turn the Republican Convention into a "deliberative body." You know, like Congress.

Yeah, sure. Mr. Bush's retirement at this point would throw the convention into a mad scramble. Where was Mr. Will in January, when there was still time to replace the president with a plausible Republican? The proposal now comes as a midsummer's daydream. It serves no purpose but the superfluous one of embarrassing Mr. Bush, a peerless self-embarrasser who needs no help.

Mr. Bush has conducted his presidency on the assumption that conservatives would have "nowhere else to go" in 1992, and that is exactly what some conservatives are saying now. The conservative habit of backing the ever-so-slightly lesser evil every leap year has allowed the president to cut deal after deal with the Democrats whose philosophical antipode he intermittently pretends to be. As another columnist, Michael Kinsley, observed the other day, Bill Clinton is a liberal — but so is George Bush, who has never tried to chip the pillars of liberalism, the trillion-dollar entitlement programs.

Conservatives could make a point, and maybe even make a difference, by throwing their support to Howard Phillips, who is running for president this year on the U.S. Tax-

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for National Review, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

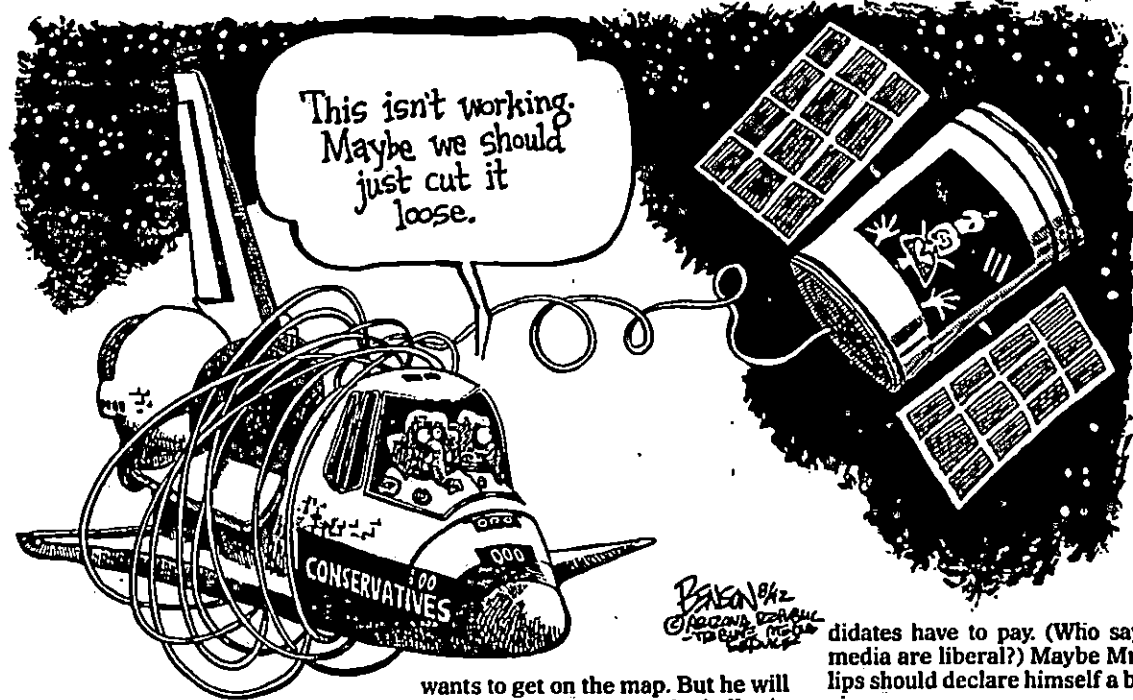
Eager for a place on the map

payers Party ticket. Mr. Phillips has an agenda that ought to attract conservatives. He opposes legal abortion and gun control. He wants to do away with the personal income tax, racial quotas, foreign aid and Great Society programs. He proposes to slash the federal deficit by the unheard-of stratagem of slashing federal spending — by a half-trillion dollars, twice. This would set the federal budget back to the level of the mid-1970s, eliminating the need for a personal income tax.

"When you have a liberal Republican in the White House," he points out, "you get two liberal parties in Congress" — the reason being that otherwise conservative Republicans will support their party's leader on measures they would otherwise spill blood to block.

Mr. Phillips thinks conservatives could reclaim the Republican Party, but shouldn't. They would just have to spend their energy fighting liberal Republicans. Instead, he says, they should break with the party, let it die, and start a new one. Which is just what he is trying to do.

Most conservatives won't follow him this year, because, having tasted power, they are afraid of losing. It hasn't sunk in with them yet that they lost when George Bush won in 1988, and that they will lose again by backing him again. If he wins, they will spend four more years complaining of his betrayals, as if his "betrayals" were not foreseeable now. If he is defeated, as seems likely, their association with him will itself help discredit conservatism.



But such thoughts don't occur to people who think you become a winner by voting for a winner, no matter what the winner then does to you.

Such conservatives have an amusing phrase: They don't want to "waste their votes" on a third-party candidate. But a vote for George Bush is already wasted, and would be essentially wasted even if it made any difference to the outcome.

Mr. Phillips knows he has no chance of winning in 1992. He just

wants to get on the map. But he will be doing well to get on the ballot in 25 states, thanks to the two-party lock on ballot access, a combination in restraint of democracy.

He also needs to get on TV, the one and only way to become a "serious" candidate nowadays. The vacuous Ross Perot was thought a "serious" candidate simply because he could offer (or threaten) to spend \$100 million buying his own TV time. This meant the networks couldn't freeze him out. As soon as they realized this, they gave him all the air time he wanted, free. Poorer can-

didates have to pay. (Who says the media are liberal?) Maybe Mr. Phillips should declare himself a billionaire.

Conservatives now probably have less clout than organized homosexuals. They had far more influence in the days when they were more interested in leading than in winning (or seeming to win) in the short run.

The Perot frenzy showed how hungry the country is for a real choice. This should be the year for genuine political change to begin. It can happen, too, if conservatives forget about "serious" candidates and support a serious conservative.

Bill's unpaid leave for family affairs challenges Bush values

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Senate yesterday approved a bill in the face of a presidential veto requiring unpaid leave for many workers in family emergencies.

The voice vote to approve a House-Senate conference report sets the stage for a campaign-season veto battle and a challenge to President Bush's claim to be the defender of family values.

The House is expected to send the bill to the White House after Labor Day.

The bill would require big employers to provide workers with up to 12 weeks of unpaid, job-protected leave per year for the birth or adop-

tion of a child, or in the case of serious illness of the employee or a close family member.

Employers with 50 or fewer employees would be exempted.

The latest bill, resolving differences between versions passed last year by the House and Senate, is similar to one Mr. Bush vetoed in 1990. The House sustained that veto.

Supporters of the bill had delayed final action this year until the presidential campaign season to increase pressure on Mr. Bush, who has clung to "family values" as a campaign theme.

If he follows through with a second veto, Democrats hope they will

have a popular campaign issue to use against him. Democrat Bill Clinton supports the bill.

"The president's signature would indeed promote family values," said a House supporter, Rep. Romano Mazzoli, Kentucky Democrat. "A veto of that bill would disparage family values."

This time, supporters say they may have enough votes to override a veto in the Senate and are closer in the House than before — though Congress has failed to override Mr. Bush on anything during his presidency.

The bill has considerable bi-

partisan support, particularly in the Senate.

The chief Republican supporter, Sen. Christopher Bond, Missouri Republican, said the president had shunned efforts to compromise on the bill. He said Mr. Bush had missed "an opportunity to show a sensitivity and willingness to lead on a matter of concern to families."

"I think the president is just plain wrong on this," Mr. Bond said.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, Kansas Republican, opposed the bill on the floor, saying it was a "hidden tax" on businesses.

Echoing Mr. Bush's position, Mr. Dole said he supports the idea of

granting family leave to employees in family emergencies but opposes writing it into law.

"There is no controversy about whether family leave is good or not," Mr. Dole said. "But this is not the issue. Instead, what we are really deciding is whether the government knows best."

Sen. Christopher Dodd, Connecticut Democrat and sponsor of the bill, said the United States is the only industrialized nation without a job-protected-leave law.

He pointed to Mr. Bush's comments in September 1988, while campaigning for president in Rockford, Ill., when he seemed to endorse

the family-leave bill.

Mr. Dodd quoted the president as saying: "We need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their job back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness."

The bill also would:

- Restrict employee eligibility to those who have worked at least 1,250 hours, or 25 hours per week, through the previous year.

- Permit employers to exempt key employees — the highest-paid 10 percent of their work force.

- Require an employee to provide 30 days' notice for foreseeable leaves.

ELIZABETH WHELAN

Judging from the rhetoric at the Democratic National Convention and International Conference on AIDS in Amsterdam, it appears that Ronald Reagan and George Bush are now being held responsible for the fact that there is still no cure for AIDS.

Efforts to find a cure, the critics claim, have been hampered by a lack of high-level leadership — and by insufficient funds. As the authors of a paid obituary in the July 13 New York Times put it, the deceased had succumbed to "complications due to AIDS and the lack of care and funding for AIDS research by the Reagan-Bush mis-administration."

"AIDS is a disease of the Reagan-Bush years," Clinton adviser Bob Hattoy told the Democrats in New York City. "We're dying, and you President Bush are doing nothing

Dr. Elizabeth M. Whelan is president of the American Council on Science and Health, a New York public health education association. Distributed by Scripps Howard News Service.

How much spending for AIDS?

For those afflicted with AIDS, no amount of spending will ever be enough; anything short of an immediate cure is failure.

about it," he told the crowd. A homosexual, Mr. Hattoy has tested positive for the AIDS virus.

AIDS patient Elizabeth Glaser, who lost one child to the disease and has another suffering from it, told the Democrats: "My daughter did not survive the Reagan administration." The wife of Hollywood actor Michael Glaser, she contracted the

disease as a result of a blood transfusion.

Even actress Elizabeth Taylor has joined the chorus. Speaking at the International AIDS Conference in Amsterdam, Miss Taylor charged that President Bush "couldn't even spell AIDS" and was ignoring this deadly health crisis.

That's the rhetoric. But what's the reality?

The reality is that AIDS is primarily a self-inflicted disease associated with voluntary lifestyle factors: generally, heterosexual and/or homosexual contact with an infected person and the sharing of contaminated needles. A smaller number of patients, such as Elizabeth Glaser and her children, have been infected by contaminated blood products, or during pregnancy or breastfeeding.

The charge that federal spending on AIDS during the past 11 years has been "inadequate" is blatantly false.

The federal government spends more money on AIDS research than on any disease other than cancer.

During this year alone, Washington will spend \$1.2 billion on AIDS research. By comparison, it will spend \$1.9 billion on cancer research. Cancer is the second-leading cause of death in the United States; heart disease, the leading cause of death, comes in a distant third in research spending. By way of further comparison, AIDS has claimed 120,000 lives during the past decade while cancer has resulted in some 5 million deaths.

Why, then, are AIDS activists so critical of the Reagan and Bush administrations? There are several explanations.

First, most of the critics are people with AIDS or members of high-risk groups, and they are all well aware of their impending mortality.

"I'm here," Mrs. Glaser told the

crowd in her emotional address, "because my son and I may not survive four more years of leaders who say they care, but do nothing. I am in a race with the clock."

For these people, no amount of spending is enough; anything short of an immediate cure is failure.

Second, AIDS is an emotionally appealing topic that is easy to use as part of a general attack on an incumbent president by those who hope to replace him in the White House.

Third, AIDS activists are using the war against AIDS to promote a broader agenda — an agenda Mr. Bush, and Ronald Reagan before him, have refused to accept: the demands for national health insurance, the full acceptance and endorsement of homosexuality as a morally equal alternative lifestyle and "sexual freedom" unfettered by ethical or moral concerns.

We need a president who isn't ter-

rified of the word "condom," Mr. Hattoy told the convention. "If there is any honor in having this disease, it is the honor of being part of the gay and lesbian community in America."

Finally, the critics are angry with the administration because it has proposed using classic public health protocol for dealing with the epidemic. The administration has endorsed a recommendation to require the reporting of AIDS infections — as a means of notifying the AIDS patients' sexual partners and others who may be at risk of infection.

Such "case-contact follow-up" is a classic form of public health intervention used to stop the spread of infectious disease, yet AIDS advocates object on the grounds that it could foster "discrimination."

The sad fact is: If every American with a degree in medicine, biochemistry, virology and pharmacology was to work 24 hours a day on AIDS research, we probably would still be no closer to finding a cure for the disease. Science has never found a cure for any other viral infection. Not one!

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

RICHARD GRENIER

Olympics for the tender-hearted

Harriet Martineau, long before Baron Pierre de Coubertin invented the modern Olympics, wrote that those best suited for success in life had a good digestion and a hard heart.

This would seem particularly true for an Olympic athlete, but the Barcelona Games, or the view of them we got on NBC, seemed designed for those of soft heart. Rarely has mankind seen such a parade of suffering.

Who was Harriet Martineau? Having already called on George Orwell for his view that sport, particularly international sport, creates nothing but ill will, bad blood and sore losers (being "war minus the shooting"), I felt I should give an early feminist a crack at the subject of American morality.

Harriet Martineau was a 19th century English social reformer who, in contrast to Alexis de Tocqueville's exhilarating view of "American Democracy," concluded after a two-year visit to America, also in the age of Andrew Jackson, that we were running a kind of scuzzy operation here, and that certain aspects of our society were positively inhumane.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

And NBC seemed to be trying to make it up to old Harriet. Graves disease, bone fractures, pins in arms and legs, two-day comas, four-day comas, near blindness, feet almost amputated, coaches who committed suicide after the games, Israelis remembering their athletes massacred in 1972....

Oscar de la Hoya, America's lightweight boxer, had to "bring back the gold" for his mother, who'd sadly died of cancer two years before but who, constantly invoked, was apparently destined to spend years in purgatory if her son didn't win a gold medal. Mrs. de la Hoya is a very sad case, I admit, but doubly so, it seems, because she wouldn't have rested happy in heaven unless her son — as he did fortunately — "brought back the gold."

But overcoming adversity, often really heroic, is old stuff. And NBC wanted to give us something new here. America, which had its gritty spots when Harriet Martineau visited our shores, is now a compassionate country. And the men and women of the news media, in case this has escaped you, are among its most compassionate people.

Fair enough. But the way NBC Sports presented these Olympics was as if it felt uncomfortable worshipping these "Gods of the Stadium"

(the title under which Leni Riefenstahl's documentary on Hitler's Berlin Olympics of 1936 is sometimes known) unless these gods were shown to have suffered. And if they hadn't competed with broken bones or nearly died or gone blind before the games, they could always, in the series "Where Are They Now?" suffer later.

One of the saddest tales of an Olympic aftermath was of a bronze medalist in judo at the Montreal

Games, who, after a stint as a bar-room bouncer, and now 50, is a professional wrestler, Bad Man Brown. He travels the world, wrestling some 300 nights a year, so tired between matches that he does little else beside wrestle and sleep in an endless series of hotel rooms. His life? He says, "boredom and loneliness."

And many of the winners interviewed by NBC (its reporters rarely interviewed losers) have confessed, if they hadn't managed to win their

medal, that all their years of training would have been just "wasted."

Our question: is this what sports are for? To waste the lives of hundreds of thousands of young people — of whom only the tiniest handful will be successful enough to feel their training was worthwhile? Would Harriet Martineau, carried away by NBC's Olympics of Compassion, be satisfied with us now?

I pass over the terrific ill will provoked at the games by all the bitterly

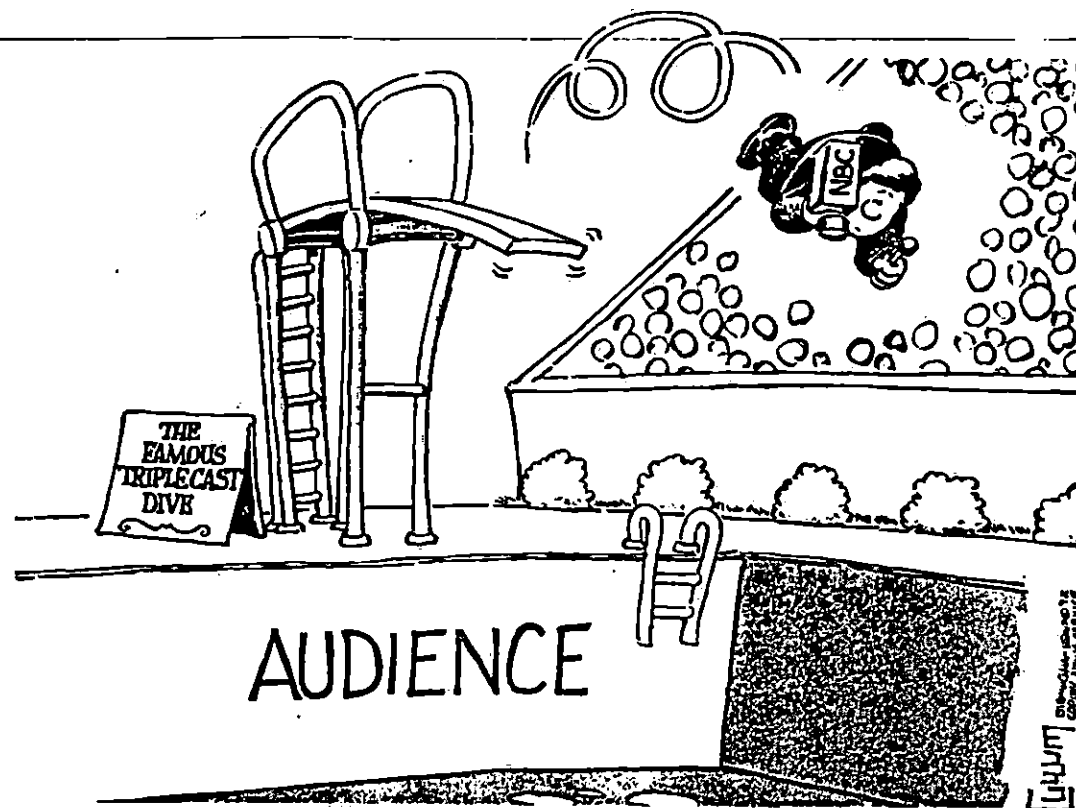
contested calls, the lunatic "computer scoring" (in boxing), and the Pandora's box of venom opened by the whole invention of science's gift to sport, anabolic steroids, which will apparently be with us forever.

The bitter suggestion launched by American sprinter Gwen Torrence, who finished out of the money in the 100 meter dash; that three of her more successful competitors were "not clean," gives us some idea of the bright shining future sports hold for us. Nor did Miss Torrence, even after her own compensatory victory in the 200 meters, seem very contrite.

And what ever happened to the notion that sports "build character"?

Old-fashioned now, once upon a time this idea had something in it. But in our present age, when many successful athletes have barely integrated personalities and seem rather less able to deal with the reverses of life than ordinary people, it seems hard to remember that the original lesson of sport was learning how to deal with just such reverses.

Even the most successful people suffer defeats, sometimes many defeats, but they learn to pick themselves up and keep trying. This was what Pierre de Coubertin thought sport was supposed to teach. But in an age when only "the gold" counts, and all else is outer darkness, sport as a character-builder seems virtually dead. Corrupted in our age by the enormous audience of spectators it now attracts, big-time sport bears a strong resemblance to show business: hero worship for the stars, but for all other participants, who finish out of the money — nothing. And Harriet Martineau, who took the side of the losers of this world, wouldn't have liked it at all.



The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

THOMAS SOWELL

What is George Bush's problem?

A year ago, his favorable ratings in the polls were so high that most of the heavy-weight Democrats made no effort to become candidates for their party's presidential nomination. This year Mr. Bush has fallen so low that some wags are wondering if Dan Quayle will try to dump him off the ticket.

How did the president manage to make such a mess of things?

One of his basic problems is that, instead of fighting his political enemies, and rallying the American people to his side, President Bush has followed the old Washington formula of "go along to get along." He makes deals with the Democrats in Congress. The most disastrous of his deals with Congress was of course his blithe disregard of the "no new taxes" pledge that was the hallmark of his candidacy.

Mr. Bush also went along with Congress in creating all sorts of economically crippling new government regulations. In contrast with Ronald Reagan's cutback on regulatory red tape, as part of a general freeing up of the economy to promote growth, Mr. Bush went along with Congress' creation of ever more regulations to appease all sorts of vocal special interest groups.

The net result is that today the hidden costs of federal regulations run into so many billions of dollars that they rival the visible costs of federal taxes, according to a scholar at the Heritage Foundation. Hiding costs is one of the great political games, but hidden costs get paid just as surely as visible costs.

They get paid in higher product prices and in the loss of jobs as smaller businesses, especially, have to cut back or go out of business as they try to cope with more bureaucrats, more forms to file, more delays to get permission to do their work, and more lawsuits made possible by congressional legislation. Last year, while many firms and industries were struggling to make ends meet during the recession, American law firms took in their largest revenues in history.

The notion that you can pass any new high-sounding law you like and sock it to business has long been one of the operating principles of the liberals. With all the organized interest groups spreading hysteria over everything from the environment to demands for Utopian levels of "safety," the political path of least resistance is to throw each barking dog a bone and pass a law requiring business to "do something."

Ronald Reagan stood up to these interest groups and to Congress. For the first time in years, the number of pages of government regulations in the official Federal Register declined during the Reagan administration. All the shrill special interest groups howled like stuck pigs, and they and their friends in the media depicted President Reagan as callous and uncaring.

But American workers had jobs. In fact, the number of jobs kept growing during an unprecedented period of economic expansion that raised incomes all across the spectrum, not just for "the rich," as the political propaganda tried to say.

Enter George Bush, trying for an image of being "kinder and gentler" — which is to say, being willing to throw some more bones to the barking dogs. As Congress began passing more regulations, with the president

Tracing Bush's slippage

signing them, the number of pages in the Federal Register started growing again. The number of federal employees enforcing regulations rose by nearly 20 percent in just three years.

Eventually, Mr. Bush realized that the economy could not take all the crippling government regulations. He declared a moratorium on enforcement of some of these regulations — and reaped the same kind of criticism he would have received if he had stood up to the noisy interest groups and vetoed this legislation in the first place.

The real tragedy of Mr. Bush is that he finds it easier to make deals with his political enemies than to take his case to the American people. This may reflect his own inadequacies as a communicator. But it may also reflect the Bush administration's lack of confidence in the public's ability to understand.

It was very revealing when Secretary of State James Baker re-

The question for the voters is: Do you want a second-class fireman or a first-class arsonist?

cently expressed his surprise and relief at the favorable reaction to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's frank and open statement that American prisoners of war had been kept in the Soviet Union. Mr. Baker confessed that he had been worried before Mr. Yeltsin went public so candidly.

Instead of being so surprised that the public appreciates candor, perhaps Mr. Baker should have told his boss: "Go thou and do likewise." But this would have been wholly out of character for either Mr. Bush or Mr. Baker, or perhaps for that whole group known as the "country club Republicans."

Some years ago, Mr. Baker commented on the problem of discussing issues in a way that would bring them "down to the level of the average American." Maybe these people who don't get out of their country clubs enough ought to realize that the public understands plain talk very well — and also understands when it is not getting it.

Uninspiring as the Bush administration has been in many ways, the real question this election year is: Compared to what? Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore are solidly on the side of those who are pushing the disastrous policies that Mr. Bush should have been resisting more effectively.

Hidden costs mandated on business are at the heart of the Clinton programs in health insurance, family leave, and other benefits. Mr. Gore has written a book full of environmental hysteria and proposals for more costs, red tape and bureaucrats.

The question for the voters is: Do you want a second-class fireman or a first-class arsonist?

Thomas Sowell, an economist and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

No hookers on wheels

If you think getting the boot on your car after ignoring those pesky parking tickets is a nuisance, wait until you find out what's in store if you try to solicit a prostitute. A couple of weeks ago, D.C. police started enforcing a new law that lets them confiscate the vehicles of men who try to pick up the ladies who ply their unlawful trade on Vermont Avenue and other hot spots in the city. To hear the cops tell it, the law's a bonanza for public finances as well as public morals.

On the night of July 29, D.C. police busted at least three men who solicited sex from women they took to be prostitutes. Actually, the girls were undercover police officers, and once their wannabe johns dropped their lines, the women directed them to a particular spot for the usual low-rent rendezvous. There, instead of sweet nothings in the ear, the johns got a pair of cuffs on the wrists and experienced the exquisite pleasure of watching the cops drive off in their cars, probably forever.

Earlier the same month, the D.C. City Council enacted an ordinance called the "Safe Streets Forfeiture Emergency Amendment Act of 1992," under which people who solicit prostitutes have the cars in which they solicited, the money with which they solicited and any other property in the car at the time confiscated. The law is based on a similar statute passed in Portland, Ore., where authorities say it has led to a 75 percent to 90 percent drop in prostitution. The Portland police kept about 25 percent of the cars they seized in the first year after the law went into effect, and now they retain 60 percent to 75 percent of the vehicles.

In the District, the new law is the most recent in a long string of police efforts to control the city's bur-

geoning hooker racket. Since anti-loitering laws are no longer permissible, cops can't control prostitution by simply nudging the hookers and their pimps with a nightstick and suggesting they might do better spending the evening in church. So far, nothing the police have tried seems to have worked very well, and even if it did, the authorities would have to contend with the civil libertarians loitering about trying to protect the rights of the hookers, the pimps and the patrons.

The new D.C. seizure law just might work, since it penalizes (heavily) the patrons themselves, most of whom, unlike the hookers and the pimps, are not regulars in courtrooms and jails and don't want to wind up there, and none of whom wants to lose his car and money. "Um, honey? About the station wagon? Well, um..." Not only severe financial sanctions but also fear of humiliation are likely to have a significant deterrent effect.

Nevertheless, there seem to be certain problems with the law and its enforcement. In the first place, it's a major deterrent only to those who are driving vehicles at the time of arrest. Those who prowl the red light regions on foot don't lose their cars if they get caught. At least the law has a chilling effect on the commuter trade, however.

In the second place, while the law properly penalizes lawbreakers who solicit illegal sex, it does nothing to interdict the main source of the sex traffic itself. The prostitutes and their pimps who ply the streets every night for the purpose of selling themselves or the women under their control lose nothing. If the authorities really want to stop the vice of prostitution and other forms of crime, they'll also have to figure out something that really stops those who make a living off them.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

Disappearing in the shadows

It looks as if the District's so-called "shadow" political posts have turned into a real ghost story. The Rev. Jesse Jackson and Charles J. Moreland have adopted so literal an interpretation of their roles that they sometimes simply dissolve into apparitions — especially when it comes to filing the requisite quarterly reports on the administrative and financial activities of their offices.

The pair, who serve respectively as shadow senator and shadow representative, probably figured no one would notice if they did not submit the reports required by law to the D.C. Office of Campaign Finance. Who pays attention to ghosts? And considering the slow, forgiving way OCF has responded, the two might be onto something.

According to files reviewed by The Washington Times, OCF has tried unsuccessfully to capture the attention of the two lobbyists. The office sent out a series of delinquency notices and scheduled hearings for both men in March. But the hearings were canceled and no new dates were set. In the interim, there have been no fines, sanctions or any other such actions that would convey to a flesh-and-blood mortal that the agency meant business — the way, say, a little note from the IRS gets the attention of taxpayers.

OCF lawyers blamed their inaction on time. General Counsel Billy King said that because the law was relatively new, his staff had to develop the reporting forms, establish regulations and formulate an administrative filing procedure for the statehood office. Excuses, excuses. The rules were finalized in April 1991. This is August 1992. Sixteen months is really more than enough time. After all, the shadows are entering their third year in office. Mr. Moreland is seeking nomination to a second term in the Sept. 15 Democratic primary.

Perhaps now is as good a time as any to ask how useful these posts really are and whether it is worthwhile to keep them going. In 1990, voters elected three

people to be their powerless, unpaid pitchmen for the cause of D.C. statehood. Essentially lobbyists, they were supposed to go out and use their oratorical skills and persuasive powers to maneuver Congress into the unlikely position of putting statehood for the District to a vote.

So far, only the choir of the faithful is listening to the message. Sometimes it also seems almost as if the shadows themselves have more than a few doubts about the message they are delivering. To wit: The three shadows have neither established Statehood Fund accounts or nor raised any money to finance the lobbying effort, let alone filed reports on their activities that would suggest they are serious about it.

Mr. Jackson can be heard out on the perimeter, dropping the statehood message into his speeches — though the reference is frequently dropped in apropos of nothing, a mere ritual incantation rather than a substantive point. Mr. Moreland can be heard talking about statehood a little and Florence Pendleton, the third shadow, even less.

If people want to designate themselves as official boosters to bring about statehood, that is as fine an activity as any. But residents should not have to foot the bill for electing cheerleaders, and despite the fact that the positions are unpaid, there are costs associated with them. The quasi-public character of positions explicitly designed to be powerless actually has the effect of obscuring more than it clears up.

Ironically, it is Mr. Moreland who unwittingly offers the best insight into what the future of these posts ought to be. When asked for a financial report, he said he was "confused about whether the reporting was necessary." He is half-right. Reporting on the activity of the statehood office is about as necessary as the office itself — which is to say, not at all. The occupants apparently want to be out of sight and out of mind when it comes to administrative duties. They should be accommodated.

Quotas in contracting

David Blessing might have been just another contractor trying to get work from the Maryland Department of Transportation. Instead, he became an Indian. Now he is a wealthy contractor.

According to records compiled by The Washington Post, Mr. Blessing's company, Interlock Steelworkers, is far and away the top recipient of agency contracts handed out under its minority set-aside program. Interlock has some \$16.6 million worth of work under way for the department. The next largest contractor has about \$9.5 million worth.

That has got some black contractors in the state worried, because they don't seem to be getting many of these contracts. Mr. Blessing is an Indian and the four biggest recipients following him are all white women. Altogether, there are five white women on the list. There is one Hispanic man, an Asian man and three black men.

What's a black contractor to do? For one thing, he can claim to be more victimized as a victim of bias than the other race or sex. One black contractor told The Post that, "the animus against blacks is so high," any other group gets better treatment at contract time. Method two, a variation of method one, is to claim the other guy really isn't a victim at all.

Take Mr. Blessing, for example. Despite a driver's license that listed him as white, despite not belonging to any tribe, despite lacking documentation of his heritage, Mr. Blessing claims to be five-eighths Indian. Such a background might be the stuff of mildly interesting cocktail party chatter, except that in Maryland it enables one to claim the state's official blessing as "victim" of discrimination — at least for purposes of getting state contracts. That makes mere heritage big business.

State officials weren't all that impressed with Mr. Blessing's credentials for victim status and initially refused to give it to him. So officials of the Baltimore American Indian Center lobbied federal officials to override the state on grounds that Mr. Blessing was a certified member of the center. The feds agreed in 1985, and Mr. Blessing got his contracts.

One need not be a minority to claim victim status. White male employees at the Lorton Correctional Complex are suing the District of Columbia on grounds that black city officials discriminate against them in terms of pay and promotions. Perhaps the men can bolster their case by paying their dues to that hitherto unknown Indian tribe called the Baltimore American Indian Center.

This is the sort of silliness that occurs in a world where people are judged on the color of their skin rather than the content of their character. Political bid-rigging means we are all Indians now. We are all victims now.

Taxpayers are only the most obvious losers in this game. State contracts cost them more when politicians ration benefits by race or sex rather than low bids. Less clear are the hazards of Balkanization such rationing generates. So long as it pays to have a nation of hypenized Americans — African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans and so on — Americans may lose sight of the common interests that have made this country something for which to fight and even die.

The people who landed in Jamestown in 1607 or at Plymouth Rock some years later didn't sail the seas for minority set-asides. The signers of the Declaration of Independence weren't after road contracts. They all wanted freedom, and it is perhaps a measure of the freedom this country has lost that race or sex or tribe could matter so much.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992

SNEPP

From page G1

Carter administration's sincerity or integrity."

"We suggested this was a matter for their judgment," Mr. Allen added, "but that in the context of the hostage matter we could not become active in the slightest."

Mr. Allen has told The Washington Times that he considered Mr. Mohammed's idea so crazy that he decided not to include its principal sponsor, Bud McFarlane, on his own National Security Council staff. As for the other sponsor, Mr. Allen said: "John Tower wasn't always wrapped very tightly."

Mr. Allen's version of the get-together strikes at one of Mr. Sick's principal allegations. In his book, "October Surprise," Mr. Sick cites two sources as saying that the Allen meeting took place with an Iranian or a "Middle Easterner" in late September or early October 1980. The timing is crucial to Mr. Sick's overall conspiracy theory because, by his reckoning, it was in early October that Iran began stalling Mr. Carter's hostage negotiations. The inference to be drawn from Mr. Sick's account is that GOP officials, including Mr. Allen, secretly persuaded Iran to delay a hostage release — an "October Surprise" — until after the presidential elections so Mr. Carter could not reap the political benefits.

If Mr. Allen's recollections are correct, however, the L'Enfant Plaza meeting occurred too early and with too insignificant a player to have been a turning point in the alleged conspiracy. Evaluating Mr. Sick's theories, Mr. Allen called the former Carter aide "a fellow of simplistic tendencies."

"Sick has become so slippery that it's not possible to get your hands on

him," Mr. Allen added. "He's made the whole thing much larger than himself."

Had Mr. Allen found his memo a year ago, much speculation about the scandal might have been averted. Explaining the belated discovery, Mr. Allen told The Times that the memo had been misfiled and had only recently been found in its "original" form with his secretary's doodlings in the margins. He said his companion at the meeting, Lawrence Silverman, had also recently

uncovered a restaurant chit that enabled him to pinpoint the date of the get-together. Using this clue, Mr. Allen said he had been able to isolate in his own phone logs the date on which Tower aide Mike Butler had called to set up the meeting. Discovery of the memo followed soon afterward.

Mr. Allen has turned his phone logs and memo over to the House committee and has provided backup testimony. Mr. Silverman, who is now a federal judge, reportedly confirmed Mr. Allen's version of the L'Enfant Plaza episode in a closed session with the panel last week. The panel is now looking into discrepancies between the Allen-Silverman account and Mr. McFarlane's. Mr. Allen told The Times that Mr. McFarlane is a "basket case," not to be trusted.

"As result of this meeting to which I was lured," said Mr. Allen, "I refused to hire him on the NSC staff and sent him over to the State Department, and [Secretary of State Alexander] Haig hired him. And there he worked full time to sort of discredit and undermine me in revenge for his failure to get on the NSC staff."

Background on L'Enfant Plaza:

Mr. Allen's memo and his comments to The Times provide previously unknown details about the L'Enfant Plaza meeting, but the former White House official has scarcely been cagey about it. Years ago, Mr. Allen told the Miami Herald about the session, though without being able to recall the precise date or the identity of his interlocutor. He also shared these early imperfect recollections with Gary Sick.

Mr. Sick included them in his book, but embellished them with comments from Iranian expatriate Housang Lavi and ex-Israeli intelligence officer Ari Ben-Menashe, both of whom — without agreeing with each other — claimed to have

attended the meeting. The Allen memo would seem to prove both men to be liars.

Much earlier, just after Mr. Reagan's inauguration in 1981, Mr. Allen allowed Mr. Sick to retain security clearances and office space at the National Security Council to complete research for his first book about the Iran crisis, "All Fall Down." Mr. Allen told The Times that his openness with Mr. Sick proves that the Reaganites had no October Surprise conspiracy to hide. "If we had

done a deal, why would I have allowed Gary Sick to stay on the premises of the National Security Council?" said Mr. Allen. "Wouldn't you have thought that I would have run the risk of his kicking our traces if we'd done a deal?"

Mr. Allen could not explain why he had never informed the Carter White House of the L'Enfant Plaza meeting. Even before his memo was found, Mr. Sick and others had condemned Mr. Allen for this omission, saying it smacked of an effort to deny Mr. Carter crucial information.

Mr. Allen did say, however, that he had earlier approached Carter National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski with a sensitive lead. In August 1980, Mr. Allen told the Times, Reagan supporter Bryce Harlow had alerted him through another individual that Mr. Carter was planning another hostage rescue operation. Mr. Allen, by his own account, went to Mr. Brzezinski, and told him: "I don't want you to say whether there's going to be another rescue attempt or not. I want you to know that if you succeed, we would applaud you. And if you fail, I will give you my word of honor we will not use it in any political way against you." Mr. Allen said Mr. Brzezinski thanked him without comment.

Soon afterward, on Aug. 15, 1980, various newspapers surfaced word of a possible hostage rescue, a disclosure that Mr. Sick and others have described as a Republican attempt to sabotage the operation in advance. No rescue, in any case, was attempted at the time.

The story of the Allen-Brzezinski meeting has been circulating for years, but till now no one has implicated Mr. Harlow. When questioned by Mr. Sick about the Allen visit, Mr. Brzezinski claimed he could not remember it. Mr. Allen told The Times that White House entry logs should bear out his own story.

Mr. Allen provided The Times with new detail on President-elect Reagan's hostage policy immediately after his electoral victory. While listening to Mr. Carter's men, said Mr. Allen, Mr. Reagan decided to "take no joint position, maintaining complete freedom of action for ourselves" so the Iranians would be kept off balance.

"It was our conscious strategy to convey to the Iranians that Reagan was slightly nuts," recalled Mr. Al-

len. "One of the sick jokes at the time was, 'What's flat and glows in the dark?' Remember that one? 'It's Tehran the day after Reagan's inauguration.' We deliberately, very consciously put out that notion."

Mr. Allen quoted Carter aide Lloyd Cutler as saying Mr. Reagan's bad-cop stance afforded Mr. Carter "maximum freedom of action" at the negotiating table during the closing days of the Democratic administration.

What next?

Together with Mr. Allen's memo, the recent House report narrows the list of credible October Surprise witnesses. Particularly tarnished is Israeli ex-agent Ari Ben-Menashe. Not only does Mr. Allen's memo refute Mr. Ben-Menashe's account of the L'Enfant Plaza meeting recorded in Mr. Sick's book; the congressional report itself demolishes another of Mr. Ben-Menashe's claims. Last month, Mr. Ben-Menashe swore to Senate investigators looking into the Surprise scandal that he had actually seen Mr. Bush at the alleged Paris meeting in October 1980. The House finding that Mr. Bush was never there has prompted speculation among congressional investigators that Mr. Ben-Menashe may be indicted for perjury.

With the Bush trip and the L'Enfant Plaza meeting now tentatively consigned to the October Surprise dustbin, congressional investigators are concentrating on another alleged conspirators' session, a meeting that Mr. Sick claims took place between Reagan campaign chief William Casey and Iranian representatives in Madrid in the summer of 1980. According to the preliminary House report, British authorities have been asked to provide information about charter and noncharter flights between London and Madrid between July and October 1980. Investigators are also reviewing 540 FBI tapes relating to intercepted conversations between

an Iranian arms merchant, Cyrus Hashemi, and contacts in Iran. Mr. Hashemi allegedly helped set up the Madrid sessions.

Mr. Allen told The Times that he would accept personal responsibility for anything Mr. Casey might have done. "Casey never took a position, a move of any type in the foreign realm during that campaign without checking with me or getting my advice," Mr. Allen said. But, he added that he was confident that the Madrid trip had never happened.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

FRANK SNEPP

Former White House aide Gary Sick once promised to apologize publicly to President Bush if proof could be found that Mr. Bush had not traveled to Paris in October 1980 to arrange a secret deal aimed at delaying the release of the 52 American hostages then being held by Tehran. Several weeks ago, a task force created by the House of Representatives to look into the so-called October Surprise scandal issued a preliminary finding that ruled out any such Bush trip. Mr. Sick, who served on Jimmy Carter's National Security Council staff, has yet to apologize.

Nor has he chosen to acknowledge another development that further undercuts the theories he and others have advanced to explain why Mr. Carter failed to pull off a pre-election hostage release in 1980. Just before the House panel announced its finding on July 1, former Reagan foreign policy aide Richard Allen found and turned over to Congress a memorandum he'd written in 1980 about another event that has figured centrally in the conspiratorialists' mantra. Based on the document, which has been ignored by most of the media, Mr. Sick got it wrong when he accused Mr. Allen in a recent book of having met with an Iranian agent in the fall of 1980 to discuss a GOP scheme for subverting Carter's hostage negotiations. The memo shows that the "agent" was simply a Muslim from Singapore who wanted to restore the Shah's son to the Peacock Throne of

Frank Snepp is free-lance writer based in Los Angeles who formerly served as a CIA officer.

October Surprise demise

Iran and that no deal was discussed, much less set in motion.

The House task force, headed by Rep. Lee Hamilton, Indiana Democrat, did not mention the Mr. Allen memo in its recent preliminary report. But it did say vice presidential candidate George Bush had attended no final conspirators' meeting in Paris in 1980. This finding reportedly was based on a review of Secret Service logs that show Mr. Bush did not leave the United States between Oct. 18 and 22, 1980, the alleged time for that session.

The House panel has reached no final conclusion about whether the 1980 Reagan campaign did sabotage Mr. Carter's hostage negotiations with a secret plan of its own involving arms sales to Iran — an allegation at the heart of the October Surprise debate. "The conclusion that Mr. Bush was not in Paris in October of 1980 does not resolve all of the many other allegations under investigation," said the report.

But the panel's finding does put a damper on an argument that Mr. Sick set out in a book he wrote about the October Surprise last year — and which he has since used to goad Congress into its current investigations. While Mr. Sick insisted in his book that he was "reserving judgment" about Mr. Bush's role in the alleged conspiracy, he nevertheless offered all sorts of disparate "evidence" that the vice presidential candidate had helped finalize a secret deal in Paris. The committee's report appears to foreclose this possibility.



The recently discovered Allen memo deals with a meeting that has been portrayed by Mr. Sick and others as a stepping stone to Mr. Bush's "trip" to Paris. According to the memo, Mr. Allen and another Reagan supporter, Lawrence Silberman, actually met on Sept. 10, 1980, with a Malaysian from Singapore, an "A.A. Mohammed," who was looking to restore the Pahlavi dynasty. The meeting — at Washington's L'Enfant Plaza Hotel — reportedly was arranged by Sen. John Tower and Bud McFarlane, later to become Mr. Reagan's national security adviser. Both Mr. McFarlane and a Tower aide, Mike Butler, also attended.

"Mr. Mohammed claims to have a scheme which has ostensibly received the approval of Ayatollah Khomeini to release the hostages once the son of the Shah's returned to Iran and installed as a figurehead monarch," Mr. Allen wrote in his memo. "Larry [Silberman] and I indicated our scepticism about the possibility of such an exercise, especially since it also involves the release of the hostages. We repeatedly stressed that we could [do] nothing to interfere in this matter."

According to the memo, Mr. Allen asked Mr. Mohammed to keep him informed of further developments and asked why the issue hadn't been taken up with the White House. "He indicated," said Mr. Allen, "that he and his group have no faith in the

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The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

JOHN LEO

A shove beyond tolerance

"Heather Has Two Mommies" is a children's book about a lesbian couple having a child through artificial insemination. It is one of many books listed in the first-grade teachers' guide for New York City public schools. So is "Daddy's Roommate," which features a happy youngster with two male parents who concludes that "Being gay is just one more kind of love."

New York Newsday had some sensible things to say about "Heather": It is "almost a parody of political correctness," but it shouldn't be used to discredit the city's entire multicultural curriculum, and no children should be made to feel ashamed because they come from "nontraditional" families. All true. So is the argument that gay-bashing is a serious problem in the schools. Surely the schools must do something about this.

Still, this does not explain why the curriculum is pushing stories like "Heather Has Two Mommies"

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John Leo is a contributing editor of U.S. News & World Report and a nationally syndicated columnist.

LEO

From page G1

and "Daddy's Roommate." These are not books about tolerance — letting people alone and not picking on others because of sexual orientation or family structure. They are books celebrating the wonders of double-mommy and double-daddy households. But surely schools can generate respect for Catholic children, let's say, without putting "Heather Finds Peace as a Nun" on the reading list. They can promote respect for all children without endorsing all the different beliefs, lifestyles or orientations found in their homes.

So how did these books make it onto the reading list?

The answer is tucked away on page 145 of the city's "Children of the Rainbow" first-grade curriculum: Teachers must "be aware of varied family structures — including gay or lesbian parent;" and "Children must be taught to acknowledge the positive aspects of each type of household." A line is being crossed here, in fact, a brand-new ethic is descending upon the city's public school system. The traditional civic virtue of tolerance (if gays want to live together, it's their own business) has been replaced with a new ethic requiring approval and endorsement (if gays want to live together, we must "acknowledge the positive aspects" of their way of life).

Four of the city's 32 school districts erupted over the issue and rejected the offending passage on page 145. With emotions running high, many people on both sides pumped out dubious arguments. The New York Civil Liberties Union, always the most eccentric of the ACLU chapters, professed to see censorship in the rejection of Heather's two-mommy book. Some protesters hid behind age-appropriateness, arguing that 5- and 6-year-olds are too young to learn about lesbian artificial insemination (which is surely true, but a side issue).

The key question goes something like this: Schools have a duty to promote decent behavior toward gays, but on what basis can a public school system insist that homosexuality must be approved? Under the traditional pluralism that New York City schools have now decided to reject, questions like this do not come up.

The system has always been agnostic, asking diverse groups to park their conflicting value systems at the door so education can proceed with some degree of peace.

A letter writer to Newsday had this to say: "If my wife and I choose to believe in what the Holy Scriptures say about homosexuality, it is not up to teachers, or any municipal or political group, public or private, to refute these teachings." His letter amounts to a case for traditional pluralism. He approves of banning religion from the schools; that is, he is willing to park his values at the schoolhouse door, but he wants the gays to park theirs outside, too.

But under the new city school curriculum, this sort of tolerance is gone. The letter-writer's beliefs are not just ignored by a value-neutral curriculum. They are overridden by newly imposed values. This touches off a destructive battle over public norms at a time when the schools desperately need to focus on academics, not intergroup warfare.

Journalist Richard Vigilante, writing in the City Journal, a conservative New York quarterly, says, "To ask people to accept in their own children's schools a curriculum that undermines or contradicts their own deeply held moral beliefs is to ask of them an enormous sacrifice. If Americans do not have the right to maintain, for themselves and their families, moral beliefs taught for millennia by the religions to which between 70 and 90 percent of the population subscribe, then a lot of us are living in the wrong country." To slough off the distress of parents who learn that their 6-year-olds "are to be taught the positive side of homosexuality," he says, "is not tolerance but moral and intellectual imperialism."

This is only one skirmish in the cultural war. The new multicultural ethic, shown clearly in doctrinal writings both inside and outside the school systems, is contemptuous of tolerance and "information-dominant" (i.e., neutral) teaching. The key words, "positive teaching" and "appreciating diversity," mean that certain sets of ideas are about to be "infused" as valuable, whether parents think so or not. If that happens, home schooling and the school choice movement will empty out many schools. Mary Cummins, president of a Queens school district that strongly resisted page 145, said, "If they try to impose it on us, they won't have any kids in the public schools."

The Washington Times

MONA CHAREN

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1992 *

Belated bellicosity

The sudden display of muscular interventionism by leading liberals and Democrats is intriguing. They are rattling swords at the Serbs, while loudly announcing to the president of the United States that to do nothing in the face of possible Serbian war crimes would amount to a moral outrage.

First things first. The Serbs are committing naked aggression. In keeping with the sorry practice of 20th century war-making, they are purposely targeting civilians, including children and the sick and elderly. The pictures broadcast around the world last week of suffering babies are wrenching and heartbreaking.

And yet, it need hardly be said that Bosnia is not the first human rights outrage to stain the history of the late 20th century. Why have liberals, like New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis and Democratic Sens. Carl Levin of Michigan and George Mitchell of Maine and Rep. Peter Kostmayer of Pennsylvania, found their voices on this crisis and so casually averted their gaze on others?

One understands that the image of camps is powerful and horrifying in a way that mere scenes of war are not. Those pictures of emaciated ribs and gaunt faces staring out from behind barbed wire awaken terrible memories of the Holocaust. Most of us grew up wondering, "How could the world have looked the other way while Hitler carried out the Final Solution?" Against that historical background, the urge to intervene is understandable.

But not from the Democrats. Liberals and Democrats have been able, without any difficulty, to ignore and sometimes even justify human rights atrocities far worse than anything alleged in Bosnia today.

During the 1970s, the Khmer Rouge, the communists in Cambodia, carried out a program of systematic starvation and slaughter of its political enemies (defined sometimes as anyone who knew a foreign language or wore glasses) that dwarfs the crimes of the Serbs. And yes, those killings took place in camps, behind barbed wire. Two million Cambodians were massacred.

Where were the bellicose liberals then? Anthony Lewis, today so burdened with the suffering of innocents, was a booster of the Khmer Rouge. He wrote flattering columns about their plans for reform. Later, when the slaughter was brought to a close by the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, liberals like Mr. Lewis managed to argue that the Cambodian Holocaust was actually America's fault.

During the 1980s, the communist government of Ethiopia engaged in a genocidal war against the Tigreans and Eritreans. Man-made famine, a trick learned from Stalin, was the principal weapon, but Ethiopia also engaged in forced resettlement of whole populations and bulldozed feeding centers set up by Western relief organizations.

Where were the liberals then? They were singing "We Are the World" and slyly blaming the famine on Western, but most specifically American, indifference.

More? Liberals sat silent through China's Cultural Revolution, an orgy of repression and persecution that caused the deaths of 400,000 people, just as they had been able to tolerate the massive Chinese famine of the early 1960s (caused by Mao Tse-tung), which killed millions of peasants.

When the United States does act, liberals can be counted upon to regard the action as wrong. The Vietnamese communists were guilty of their share of atrocities (remember the massacre at Hue?), and yet liberal conventional wisdom is that the U.S. role there was "immoral."

Most recently, liberal opinion was opposed to U.S. liberation of Kuwait, despite massive human rights violations by the invading and conquering Iraqis. In fact, liberals dismiss that effort as a mere war "for oil." USA Today writer Barbara Reynolds says she's sure we'd be more interested in Bosnia if it had oil.

Is that the liberal line — that it's immoral to intervene where our national interests are at stake but moral to ask our sons to die in a war where our interests are not affected?

Bosnia is an open wound. But it's strange that liberals feel the tug of conscience now, when they've so comfortably disregarded epidemics in the recent past.

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Wales Madden, Jr.
712 West Ninth Avenue
Amarillo, Texas 79101



THE PRESIDENT

8-12-92
re: yours of 8-4-92

Wales -

I got the message!

I'm ready. Thanks -

See you in Houston

[Handwritten signature]

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

Jan Burmeister

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

media

Mr. James Jackson Kilpatrick
Post Office Box 957
Charleston, South Carolina 29402-0957



THE PRESIDENT

8-12-92

Dear Jack -
I'm glad "somebody out
there still loves me" - Have you
ever seen such a year as
far as media share goes? I
sure haven't. Thanks and
warm regards, CJB/

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Marlin Fitzwater
(FYI)

Jan Burmeister



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Wednesday, August 12, 1992

7:30 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with NAFTA Negotiators</u> (Scowcroft)	(TAB A)	Oval Office
7:45 am (10 min)	<u>Announcement of NAFTA Agreement</u> (Scowcroft)	(TAB A)	Rose Garden
8:00 am (15 min)	<u>Domestic Update</u> (Darman)		Oval Office
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>Meeting with GOP Congressmen on Education</u> (Calio)	(TAB B)	Cabinet Room
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
8:45 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)		Oval Office
9:00 am (15 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)		Oval Office
9:15 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>		Oval Office
9:30 am (30 min)	<u>Pre-Brief for Interviews</u> (Fitzwater)	(TAB C)	Oval Office
10:00 am (30 min)	<u>Interview with Time Magazine</u> (Fitzwater)	(TAB D)	Oval Office
10:40 am (30 min)	<u>Interview with Newsweek Magazine</u> (Fitzwater)	(TAB E)	Oval Office
11:15 am (20 min)	<u>Interview with the Washington Times</u> (Fitzwater)	(TAB F)	Oval Office
11:35 am (25 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)		Oval Office

UNP 08/11/92
7:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	08/12/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, August 12, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 12/5/2024

OA/ID Number: 90706-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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



12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:20 pm (5 min)	<u>Photo with Congressman Hopkins</u> (Calio) (TAB G)	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Baker</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
2:15 pm (40 min)	<u>Meeting with Economists</u> (Boskin) (TAB H)	Oval Roosevelt Room Still
3:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
3:30 pm (60 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:30 pm (60 min)	<u>Photo Session for Major News</u> <u>Publications</u> (Fitzwater) (TAB I)	SoLawn, RGarden and W Wing

7:10 POTUS to Oval
7:24 Scowcroft in
7:25 Amb. Hills in
7:31 All Participants in
7:43 All out except Scowcroft
7:45 Add Amb. Hills + Fitzwater + Julius Katz
7:51 All to Rose Garden
7:57 All to oval w/ sec. Yeutter
7:58 Everyone out except
Yeutter, Scowcroft, Hills + Katz
7:59 Hills + Katz out
8:04 Skinner in
8:07 Scowcroft out, Darman in
8:18 Add Calio
8:20 All to Cabinet Room
8:50 POTUS to oval
add Scowcroft, Howe + (b)(3)
9:06 (b)(3) out
9:12 Scowcroft + Howe out
9:16 Scowcroft in
9:25 Scowcroft out
9:28 Skinner in
9:29 Fitzwater in
9:42 Add Scowcroft + Porter

9:47 Skinner out
9:50 Skinner in
10:03 Scowcroft + Porter out
10:05 Time people in
10:36 all out
10:38 Fitzwater in
10:43 Newsweek people in
10:46 Fitzwater out
10:47 Fitzwater in
10:59 Skinner in
11:09 Skinner out
11:12 Sean Walsh in to escort
people out - Judy Smith in
11:15 all out
11:17 Judy Smith out
11:19 Wash. Times person in
11:43 everyone out
11:51 Scowcroft in
UNP 08/11/92
7:00 pm
11:54 Skinner in
11:58 Scowcroft out
12:15 Skinner out

12:17 Potus to Residence
 1:30 Potus to Oval w/ sec. Baker
 1:31 Nick Calio in
 1:33 Add Long. Larry Hopkins
 1:35 Galio + Hopkins out
 1:35 Add chimney + stovetop (Baker still there)
 1:30 (- Baker was not in apt. w/ Calio + Hopkins)
 2:00 Skinner in
 2:11 Skinner out
 2:12 Skinner in
 2:16 all out except Skinner
 add Fitzwater
 2:25 Economist to Oval instead of Roos. Room
 2:27 Skinner in
 3:11 all out except Skinner
 3:45 Skinner out
 3:47 Borden Army in
 4:34 Fitzwater in
 4:36 Fitzwater out
 4:34 Potus to Roos. Room
 4:44 Potus to Oval
 add Jim Brown, Jim Schneider, Michael Skredynski + John Klind
 all out - Potus to Dining Room to change
 4:48 all out - Potus to Dining Room to change
 4:52 Potus to Oval for Washington photo
 5:03 Potus to Dining Room alone to change
 5:09 Potus to S. Grounds for Newsweek photo-ops
 5:25 Potus to Dining Room
 5:27 Potus to Colonnade for Wash. Times photo-ops
 5:35 Potus to Oval - alone
 5:37 Fitzwater in
 5:53 Fitzwater out
 6:13 Skinner in
 6:32 Potus to Residence

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Lenina

The Honorable John R. McKernan, Jr.
The Blaine House
192 State Street
Augusta, Maine 04330



THE PRESIDENT

8-12-92

Toch,

I was still licking my wounds
from Saturday's tennis defeat when
today's FAX came in.

Thanks for your comments
and up-beat assessment.
All Best - Cy

JAN 5

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

PTK

Mr. Heinz C. Prechter
Chairman and President
ASC Incorporated
Post Office Box 1186
Southgate, Missouri 48195



THE PRESIDENT

8-13-92

your FAX 8-12

Dear Heinz -

I got the message!

Heinz, I am confident
we will turn this all around -
your suggestions help —

All Best -

JAN'S

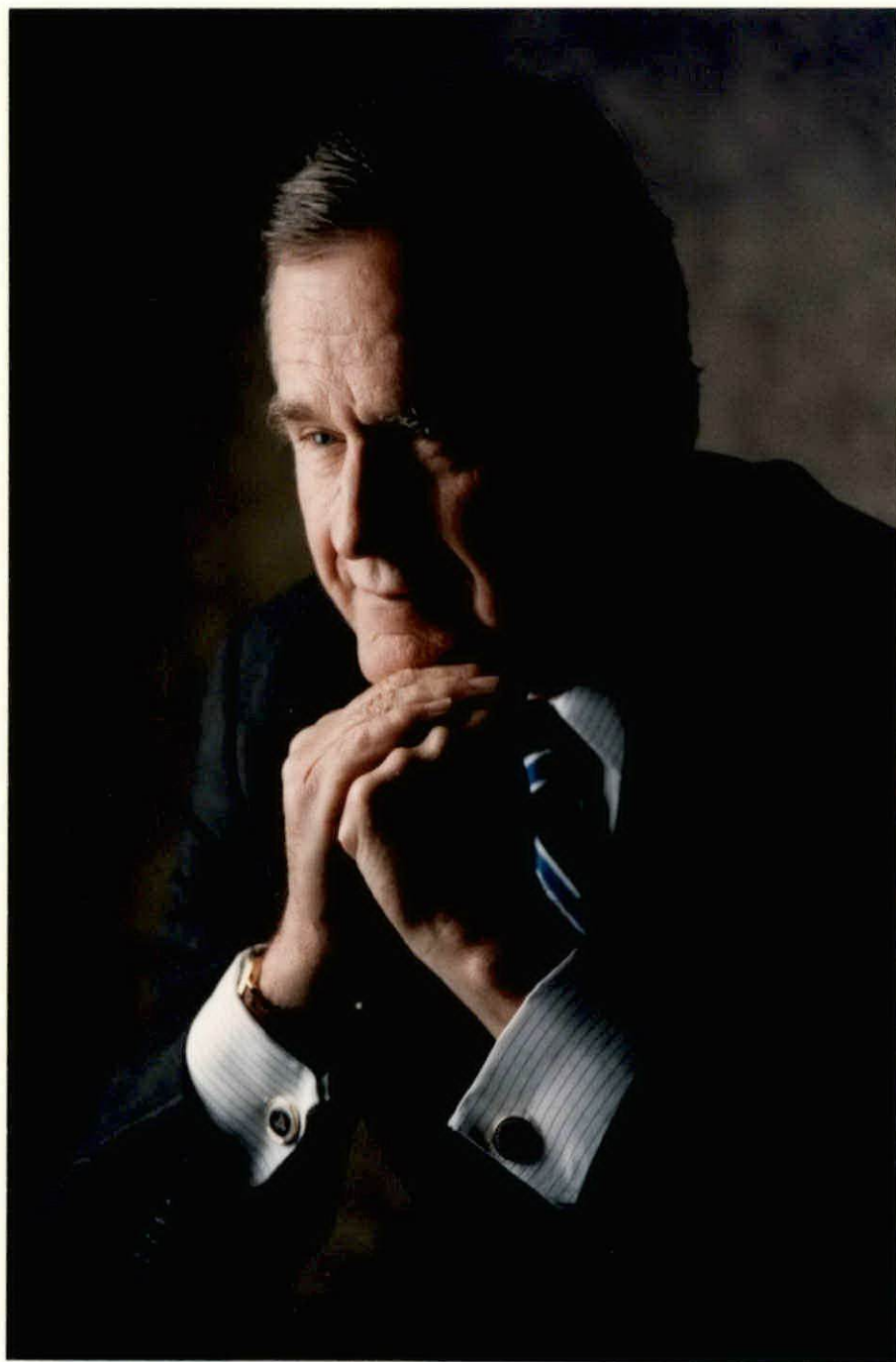


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