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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
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**Folder Title:**  
Friday, August 14, 1992 [2]

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| Stack:   | Row:      | Section: | Shelf:   | Position: |
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MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT  
August 14, 1992  
(to Camp David)

ACTION

1. Disaster Declaration/Denial for Indiana (sent on Friday a.m. run)

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. Yeutter memo re Minivans Tariff Reclassification (sent on Friday a.m. Run)

REMARKS

1. Veterans of Foreign Wars 93rd Annual Convention. (faxed)

SELECTED ISSUES TO RESOLVE

*Speech  
meeting  
David  
8/14/92*

(1) Should the speech include a section providing "The Plan" by which is meant:

(a) a concise, simple, comprehensible, popular statement of the President's domestic/economic agenda for the future; and/or

(b) a five or six point version of the same; and/or

(c) a label for the same -- such as "The President's Plan for:

o "a safer, stronger America"; or

o "America, safe and strong"; or "New American Agenda - safe

o "America's Economic Security?" - strong at Home - Abroad"

*Dorman  
Zachary  
Tetter*

(2) Should the speech include any of the following new initiatives -- all of which would have appeal, but none of which would meet the boldness test:

(a) spending "freeze"/veto strategy;

(b) streamline government/cut number of Cabinet departments in half/cut Congressional staff/term limits/gridlock reform;

(c) extension/expansion of regulatory "moratorium";

(d) Youth Training Corps (and related Junior ROTC, Treat, and Train initiatives); *work description*

(e) worker retraining initiative;

(f) small business initiative(s)?

*Price  
Shelton  
we*

(3) Should the "bold play" test (which seems to amount to a tax policy test) be met with:

(a) nothing on this subject (other than standard contrast lines); or

(b) an outline of bold objectives for the direction of future tax change -- without a specific proposal, and without endorsing a consumption tax; or

(c) that [(b)] plus

- o somewhat more specificity; or
- o a commitment to provide specifics later; or

(d) statement of a bold general objective to "abolish the income tax and replace it with a progressive consumption tax"?

(4) Should any of the above be complemented by a debt and spending reduction initiative that would:

- allow any taxpayer to check off up to 10% of his or her tax liability to be dedicated to a trust fund guaranteed to reduce the debt . . . because it would be linked with:
- a legal requirement that for every tax dollar checked off, a dollar of debt would be reduced, and a dollar of spending would be cut (enforced by automatically lowering the spending caps)?

GOVERNMENT RESTRUCTURING LANGUAGE

We all know -- although our opponents do not -- that government has grown too big, and it spends too much.

In the 1980s, corporate America began a process of quality improvement and restructuring to make America more competitive. That process of restructuring accounts for part of our current difficulty -- although it is clearly good for the longer term. But the federal government has escaped restructuring. It lacks the disciplinary force of competition. So we must provide the discipline.

That is why, with a brand new Congress, we must give the President line-item veto. We must give the government enforceable caps on the growth of federal spending. And we must give the American people a balanced budget Constitutional amendment.

I have asked the current Congress for each of these. And they have blocked action. So now, as this Congress winds to its unproductive close, I am left with only the routine spending bills through which to enforce a degree of discipline.

We are already cutting defense. But now I mean to impose a freeze on overall domestic appropriations. To do so, I will veto any individual spending bill that is higher than I requested in my budget. And I will veto any bill which, in combination with other bills, would cause total domestic discretionary spending to be one dime more than we spent last year.

This will help for the short term. But for the longer term we need more. We need the Constitutional amendments I have proposed. And we need to force the Federal government to restructure. Bureaucracy feeds on bureaucracy and compounds the problems of spending, waste, resistance to reform, and gridlock.

Therefore, I will cut out whole layers of waste in the bureaucracy. I will ask the Congressional reformers in the brand new Congress to cut in half the bloated personal staffs of the current Congress. I will ask the brand new Congress to cut the number of Cabinet departments in half. Then, we should pass the amendment to limit Congressional terms -- in the same way that a President's term is limited. This, at last, will do what the American people want: cut the government and end the deadlock.

plan.scr

8/14/92

So what is the plan?

(re Bob Teeter's finding that the threshold question poll respondents want answered with regard to a candidate is "what's his 'plan'")

The plan is to focus both tax and regulatory policies on economic growth and job creation, with central emphasis on encouraging new business formation and small business development.

The plan is also to take maximum advantage of the extraordinary new opportunities opened up by the rapidly changing global economy, so that the world's prosperity will help drive America's prosperity and vice versa.

We're going to free America's energies and ingenuity. We're going to free the world's markets. We're going to lead the world in keeping the peace, so its people and our people can pursue prosperity free from the scourge of war and fear of destruction.

It's not new "programs" we need, it's new policies.

The country already is suffering a severe case of program-itis, brought on by a Congressional addiction to "new programs" as a way to get news attention by giving an appearance of action.

Programs are no substitute for policy.

America's strength is not in its public sector, but in its private sector. The key to unlocking those strengths in the private sector lies in policies that set the strengths free.

Why now? If our policies are wrong, why haven't we changed them?

Because the wrong policies have been written into law by this Congress, and this Congress keeps rolling determinedly down the wrong track.

We're going to have a new Congress come January. with the voters' help, we'll have a Congress that will take the blinkers off and look up and see where it's going.

We're determined to sieze the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity this year's Congressional turnover offers.

The day after the election we'll send out invitations to every new member, Republican and Democratic, to a meeting in \_\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_, There we'll lay out what we see as the nation's central needs in the 1990s. We'll explain the key role a new Congress can play in meeting those needs. We'll lay out the changes in policy that are needed to do what has to be done. We'll invite them to be the agents of change. We'll provide the same information, the same background materials, to all the new members, whatever their party. We'll ask no commitments at that time. But we will ask them to study, to think, to come to their swearing-in in January with open minds and an eagerness to get on with the job, and to put the country first.

And when the new Congress meets, we'll go into action. We'll work with Congress to the extent that Congress will work with us -- to that full extent, but not one inch more. To the extent Congress is not willing to work with us, we'll fight the Congress. We'll fight in the halls and the committee-rooms of Congress, and we'll take our case to the people to bring their pressure on Congress.

We will have change.

We will have the right change.

These last two Congresses have been so hidebound in their determination to go the old ways that they were not going to move no matter what, as we learned from bitter experience. We also had to get their cooperation on a wide range of issues vital to the historic transitions from cold war to the post-cold war world. And in dealing with Congress, it's often unfortunately true that cooperation doesn't come cheap. Its members often exact a heavy price for doing what's right.

But now we're in a new era. Now we've negotiated that transition. Now we can focus, not all of our energies and political capital but most of them, on freeing America's energies and strengthening its economy here at home.

Abroad, we've been shepherding a transition from the failed socialist policies of the past to the proven free-market policies of the future. With a new Congress, we'll finally have a real opportunity to make that same transition here in the U.S. Our number one priority in the second term will be to seize that opportunity, to set America free, and by so doing to usher in a new Golden Age of prosperity and opportunity for all.

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Saily*

Dr. William H. Mobley  
President  
Texas A&M University  
Office of the President  
801 Rudder Tower  
College Station, Texas 77843-1246



CAMP DAVID

8-14-92

B:11

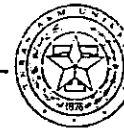
"Docent's" = teacher  
You are a docent 'cause  
you sent me Oxford page 909.  
Wanted regards from  
this now more learned POTUS -  
An 13

cc; (in/out)

R. Zamaria ✓

1 copy

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS 77843-1246  
(409) 845-2217



William H. Mobley  
President

3 August 1992

The President and Mrs. Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President and Mrs. Bush:

During our recent meeting to discuss the Bush Presidential Library, we discussed docents and their space requirements. As you recall we speculated regarding the origin of the term "docents".

Enclosed is the Oxford English Dictionary notation on the origin of the term "docent", from the Latin term docentem, to teach. The contemporary use, those who give guided tours, is noted in Webster's International.

We all are now better equipped for a future game of "trivial pursuits". Seriously, unlike other presidential libraries, the Bush Presidential Library Center will have adequate space for the docents.

Best personal regards and I look forward to seeing you in Houston later this month.

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Mobley

WHM:eg

literal sense of "possess" in standard British English — used with full stress with the infinitive without to to form periphrastic present and past tenses expressing greater emphasis than the corresponding simple tenses (just as I expected, you did forget my birthday); not used with be in American English or in standard British English, nor with have in the literal sense of "possess" in standard British English. 2 a — used with full stress with the infinitive without to to form a periphrastic imperative expressing greater emphasis than the simple imperative (~ be careful). b — used with the infinitive without to to form a periphrastic imperative now used to the exclusion of the simple imperative in negative sentences (please ~ not enter) (don't be foolish) — do by; to deal with — Katharine T. Kinkead — do one's block Austral: to lose one's head; become flustered, excited, or angry — do proud; to give cause for pride or gratification (look magnificent

person suffering from or suffering from  
doch-an-dor-rach or doch-an-dor-ris \dɔ(y)ʃən'dɔrɪs, -dɔrɪs/ n [ScGael & IrGael] dooch an dorais, lit., drink of the door] Scot & Irish: a parting drink: STRRUP, CUP  
doch-mi-ac \ˈdɔkmiːək/ adj [Gk dochmiakos, fr. dochmiol] : of, relating to, or composed of the dochmius  
dochmiac \ˈdɔkmiːək/ n -s DOCHMIUS  
doch-mi-a-cal \ˈdɔkmiːəkəl, ˈdɔkmiːəkəl/ adj [Gk dochmiakos + E -al] : of or relating to dochmiac verse  
doch-mi-us \ˈdɔkmiːəs/ n, pl doch-mi-i \-i/ [L, fr. Gk dochmus, fr. dochmus, dochmos slanted, oblique; akin to Skt dhṛma slanted, oblique] prosody: a foot of five syllables typically having the first and fourth short and the rest long  
doch-ter \ˈdɔktər, ˈdɔk- / n -s [ME dochter, daughter — more at DAUGHTER] Scot: DAUGHTER  
doc-i-bil-i-ty \ˈdɔsəˈbɪləti, ˈdɔs- / n -es [LL docibilitas, fr. docibilis + L -itas -ity] archaic: TEACHABLENESS, OBEYABILITY

England b: an abridged entry of a judgement or proceeding in an action at law c Brit: a form accompanying merchandise and containing data relevant to its disposal (as owner's name or date, time, and place of delivery): LABEL, TICKET; also: a British customhouse warrant certifying payment of duties or facts entitling the holder to a delivery order d: a memorandum or identifying statement about a document e: a list of one's outer surface or cover 2 a: a body or a session of one dockets of a court or quasi-judicial entries kept by the clerk of a court or quasi-judicial body and containing a formal list of the names of parties and minutes of proceedings in each case in that court or body (3) a record containing a list of causes waiting to be tried in a court or quasi-judicial body b: a calendar of matters to be acted on by any formally organized body (as a board of directors or a legislative assembly) c: a sequence of things to be presented, dealt with,



FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*daily*

The Honorable Leonard Garment  
Senior Partner  
Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin  
2101 "L" Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037



CAMP DAVID

8.14.92

Len -

Give "the wife" a warm  
abrazo and my profound  
thanks - Her paper is right  
on. Love to you both

*Ag*

cc: (in/out)  
R. Zamaria ✓  
1 copy

DICKSTEIN, SHAPIRO & MORIN

2101 L STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

LEONARD GARMENT

Fri.

Dear G. B.,

You may find the attachment,  
prepared by The Wife, useful. I  
discussed it with Ray and sent him  
a copy.

It's just that I know all  
these smart people. Both correctly  
see the issue of values and character,  
with large, as the epicenter of both  
your strength and your opponents'  
vulnerability. Happy Houston. Len

It is immensely cheering to hear the President begin to talk about the fakery in the Clinton economic program and about the importance of moral values to our national life. The two topics are not unconnected. Both of them give answers to the question of why trustworthiness is the issue at the center of this year's presidential race.

The present contest, despite what the Democrats say, is not a choice between voting for change and opting for the status quo. No matter who gets elected president, change is upon us in international politics, in the global marketplace, and in the struggle over our culture and values. The only thing we know for sure about our future is that it will present us with puzzles and dilemmas we have never faced before. So in choosing a president, voters must decide above all what sort of human being this country wants to meet the coming challenges, not only the known but the unknown.

~~(This file)~~  
This question of character pervades the substantive issues in this campaign. In foreign policy, we need to know not which candidate prescribed the proper timing for air raids on Serbia but which candidate will approach such choices with a demonstrated strength, calm, and consistency. When it comes to economic policy, we want to know not whose estimate of second-quarter GNP is more accurate but who has the honesty to own up to his own mistakes and limits and the courage not to sell the American people a bill of goods. On issues like the environment, we want not the specifics of the global warming debate but the candidate who we know will make choices without hysteria and with fidelity to the principle of economic growth. For cultur-

al matters, we need not a candidate who signs on to all the contradictory slogans filling the air but one who is easy with himself and ready to say that he can not be all things to all people.

Clinton's character problem in the eyes of the American ~~people~~ <sup>(public)</sup> has sunk from public view. His allies dismiss all talk of the character issue as "tired cliches" or "the old politics of division." The press, having attacked Clinton on this ground and then drawn back in embarrassment with itself, has its own reasons for keeping the topic submerged. But mistrust of Clinton remains very close to the surface of voter consciousness; questions of character and value, after all, matter much more to America as a whole than they do to the country's journalists or liberal politicians. If the President's campaign can successfully turn voters' attention to the character questions underlying current issues of policy, citizens will almost surely grow increasingly uncomfortable with the ~~man~~ <sup>(Democrat)</sup> into whose hands they are being asked to place their well being and that of their children.

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*daily*

Mr. Anthony Dolan  
American Enterprise Institute  
for Public Policy Research  
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036



CAMP DAVID

8-14-92

Tony,  
I "liked the last  
one" and this new one.  
Working away up  
here on my opus.  
Warm Regards, GB

cc: (in/out)  
R. Zamaria ✓  
1 copy



Pete,

Thanks -- he  
seemed to like the  
last one.

Best

Tony

- the fighter who  
also thought you  
and saying you

I was out in  
out and went to a  
They laughed when  
letter about your  
who laughs last.

Dolan  
olar



August 7, 1992

The Honorable George Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

What a great week. On the attack -- the fighter who finishes the job he began. Yeah. Also thought you handled that sleaze thing beautifully and saying you kinda like the challenger was wonderful.

Thanks for your recent note. I was out in California when the 34 point poll came out and went to a bunch of dinners with Hollywood types. They laughed when I made the points I made in my recent letter about your potential for winning big. We'll see who laughs last.

Some further thoughts attached.

Best,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tay' or 'Dolan', is positioned above the typed name.

Anthony R. Dolan  
Adjunct Scholar

ARD/glc

1. Have you noticed our opponents spent the last four weeks giving us campaign advice? No kidding. In what was a carefully planned series of speeches and media events they publicly explained that it would be a terrible, terrible mistake if George Bush and the Republicans started talking about the Democratic Party as the party of tax and spend. Then they said it would be a terrible, terrible mistake if George Bush and the Republicans tried to saddle the current Democratic ticket with their party's record on crime and defense and foreign policy. Just terrible, terrible mistakes.

Now I'm always grateful for advice even from the opposition. Really I am. Part of being president is thinking things over -- weighing all sorts of views and trying to see issues from every angle. And, you know, they did sound so convincing -- as if they were really worried that I might get a reputation for saying unpleasant things or sounding rude. So let me tell you, I've thought over what they've said and come to a decision.

My friends, the issue of tax-and-spend liberals, the issue of lenient-on-crime liberals, the issue of weak-on-national-defense liberals are all issues I intend to talk about in this campaign -- again, and again, and again. We are going to get out the facts that some editorial writers and some in the national media don't want to tell. Instead of giving the opposition a free ride we're going to give the people the real story, the truth behind the headlines. We are going to reveal why right now, every elitist liberal in America is hoping and praying (some of them do pray) and working with all their energy to defeat me and elect this Democratic ticket. The reason is this: my opponent and his running mate are stalking horses for the liberal Democrats and elitist special interests who run their party. They are the pin-up boys of the Big Government crowd, the entrenched incumbents in Congress, the cultural and elitist liberals. Just like the competence vs. ideology line in 1988 all this talk about change and reform and a new covenant is a disguise, an attempt to hide what's really there: the same, tired-out, big-government, lenient-on-crime, weak-on-defense liberalism.

So, yes, despite all the advice from my opponents I intend to use the dreaded L-word. The Democratic Party and its two national candidates are liberal, liberal, liberal. The same liberal Democrats who have been running the Congress and causing gridlock in Washington.

2. So They've been giving me advice. Now let me return the favor. If they think my charges are unfair my opponents can dispose of them very simply and quickly. Let the challenger tell the American people what he has in mind for his government. Let him name his cabinet and chief staff members now.

The American people have a right to know:

Will he be faithful to his promise to put the most liberal governor in America, one who opposes the death penalty, on the Supreme Court?

And who would be Secretary of Defense? Pat Schroeder, who has as bad an anti-defense voting record as exists? Or is the job reserved for the last candidate the liberal Democrats tried to tell us was tough on defense -- you remember, tank commander Dukakis?

And how about Jesse Jackson? What's his role going to be? Undersecretary of State? And how much influence will Ralph Nader and the injury lawyers who finance him have in the new administration? Will Nader and his protégés and his ambulance-chasing financial backers be running the federal regulatory agencies? Because, friends, if you want to see the American economy collapse and jobs disappear just wait till that group gets the power the liberal Democrats want to give them.

3. If I'm wrong -- if the Clinton administration will not be one of the most liberal administrations in American history -- they can end all these charges by simply answering a few questions:

Will the challenger disavow the liberal Democrats, the cultural liberals who run his party in the Congress? Will he tell them tonight to stop holding up the amendment to allow school prayer and prevent desecration of the American flag?

Will my opponent disavow the liberal Democrats he embraced on that platform in New York right after his convention speech -- the entrenched incumbents who have dominated the Congress and who year after year after year push for higher taxes and spending, hold up the crime bills, stop the prayer and flag amendments and vote to weaken our national defenses?

Will the challenger disavow the liberal Democrats in Congress who . . . vouchers, housing, defense spending, etc.?

4. A little history is in order here. The last time the Democrats gave us a candidate who tried to sound like an authentic Southern conservative we got an administration full of elitist liberals, we also got skyrocketing unemployment, 18 percent interest rates, double-digit inflation two years in a row, the hollow army, the invasion of Afghanistan and the hostages in Iran. We don't need another four year like that, we don't need any more Southern fried surprises. I know the people of the South who really are conservatives join me in saying to the liberal Democrats: Americans are not interested in a president who is beholden to the Eastern elitist liberal establishment that runs the Democratic Party. I repeat: Let the challenger come clean with the American people, let him name his cabinet. Let him publicly

reject the liberal agenda. Let him disavow the liberal Democrats who run the Congress.

5. By the way, I've been reading all about what regular guys our two opponents are. Well, you know, they do seem like nice fellas, no dispute there at all. But let's understand something else too. These are two young men who were not only brought up in the party of government -- the party of high taxes and more spending and larger bureaucracy -- they also grew up with a government job as their greatest personal ambition. When they were young, they dreamed about government work. And when they got older their lives were consumed by that work. So you see they really do like government, they just love policy; they love to go to meetings. As one Washington wag put it "you get the feeling if you invited these two guys over to watch a baseball game they'd want to turn on C-Span." You also get the feeling when they go to sleep at night they dream about writing a new law or opening up a new bureau or having everybody in Washington think well of them.

Now my experiences and those of most Americans of my generation were a little different. You see when I was 19 or 20 or 21 like millions of other of those Americans from my generation I didn't just dream about one day holding a government job; I actually had one. And you know what all of us found out? Government work just isn't all that it's cracked up to be. Oh it's exciting sometimes, believe me, the South Pacific was always exciting. But, you know, I've got to admit the job security and safety standards were just about as bad as they can get.

But that's one of the fundamental differences between the candidates and the Parties. Our attitudes towards government. The other party is the party of big government and entrenched incumbents, the party of higher taxes, more spending, more regulations, larger bureaucracies. While the other party -- our party -- knows what that other party can never know but what our Founding Fathers believed -- that government that governs least governs best. Our party knows my predecessor was right when he used to say: government isn't the solution, it's the problem." Our party knows the truth of what I said in my last State of the Union: the government is too big and it spends too much. Our party knows what average Americans know -- what the entrepreneur understands who is trying to start business that will create jobs, what the farmer understands who is trying to get in his crops and make a living, what working men and women understand who are trying to keep greedy bureaucrats from taking more and more of their take-home pay; that the ten most dangerous words in the English language are "I'm from the government and I'm here to help."

7. Look at the language they use. "The new covenant." Why they talk about government as if it were something that was handed down from Mt. Sinai or some kind of new religious movement. So, let me assure my scripture-quoting opponent; when God decided to set

things right again after the fall of Adam and made his covenant with the children of Israel, he did not have in mind the federal bureaucracy, the IRS or Big Brother, liberal, elitist agenda of the Democratic Party.

8. You know you get all sorts of concern and advice from worried friends and supporters as soon as the polls start to go down, but I've learned something in these last remarkable decades, something our Founding Fathers believed but most of the elites in the 18th century sneered at: that popular government works because it gives the people the final word. And that for all the confusion and misrepresentations the people have within them a remarkable capacity for sifting through the chaos and falsehoods and getting at the truth.

And that's what I've told my worried friends and supporters. There's a simple way to win this election, to keep the government out of the hands of the liberal Democrats and accomplish an historic, realignment victory that throws the gridlockers and entrenched incumbents out of Congress. And that simple step is what I'm going to do tonight and every day throughout the rest of this campaign: just trust the people, get up there and tell the truth about the elitist liberals who want power again. I promise you no matter what the opposition or the media says if we show our trust in the American people and simply tell the truth our victory is certain and we will drive elitist liberalism into the sea. America deserves a better Congress. We will give it to her.

9. I hope my conservative brethren will forgive me for quoting the New Republic and not National Review, but here's what one of their economic writers said: "A liberal is willing to use the government's power to regulate, to tax and to spend, in order to advance the well-being of people who are not independently wealthy, and who are vulnerable to reverses in the private marketplace that are beyond their control. Liberals are also less wary of public deficits than conservatives. Based on this standard, Clinton is rather more liberal than either Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, or Michael Dukakis."

And he's right, a Clinton administration will be more liberal than any Carter, Mondale, or Dukakis administration ever could be.

10. I mentioned a moment ago that like the competence vs. ideology line in '88 the moment of truth at that other convention was when the challenger was embraced by all the gridlockers in Congress on the platform right after his acceptance speech. (See former submission.)

11. Might want to use the term "challenger" to describe Clinton. Nixon did it with McGovern.

daily



THE PRESIDENT

August 14, 1992

Dear Oscar,

Friends sure do count!

Thanks for that constructive and warm letter of July 29th. I am feeling more determined than ever. The press has been vicious and ugly; but I am convinced when I take my case to the people ~~in the~~ Fall they will put their trust in me.

Thanks for that wonderfully uplifting letter. Most Sincerely,

Ly B

Determined NOT to be  
National Security Classified Marking  
By MC (NLGB) on 6/20/24

*Oscar Diaz de Villegas*

From JEB BUSH

424 Castania Avenue  
Coral Gables, FL 33146  
July 29, 1992

**PERSONAL &  
CONFIDENTIAL**

**COPY to:  
MR. JEB BUSH**

My dear Mr. President,

Kuchy, my wife, complains that I do not write you frequently, -and she is right! The reason behind my silence is because I do not want that you loss your valuable time replying me, as you inevitable use to do. But now I want to cover with you the following informations and comments:

1- We are going to contact with Jeb immediately in order to deliver to him the maximum funds contribution that a couple can legally make, -that we have been saving for sometime purposely for your reelection campaign. Our joy in doing so has no parallel in our souls.

2- With the same frankness that we both talked in the Banker's Club of Miami on March 21, 1978, with regard to your then-undecided "future political plans" -as you termed it in your long and letter to me dated on next day after our meeting-, I have now the duty to express to you (as a devoted and loyal friend that have you in my heart second only to my beloved Kuchy) these thoughts:

\* You are confronting a difficult reelection campaign because, basically, there is a psychological factor that is unexpectedly prevailing, in a negative form, in matters concerning with the state of the Union. You know better than myself that there is no extreme factual basis for such negative attitude, but, nevertheless, that apprehension is going riskily beyond logical parameters. I believe that *mass psychologists* must be consulted by your reelection team in order to find a scientifically-based political response. Empirism is not enough.

\* You are instinctively an uppermost humane gentleman. Perhaps for such attribute you tend to be colloquial and extremely accesible during your public appearances. While such humane behavior has great merits, I believe that during a *presidential campaign* like the present one, such attitude has to be mixed with the supposed demeanor ascribed to the supreme stature of the **Commander-in-Chief**, who is taking care of "the crisis" (?) that our society could be confronting at the present -and will continue **expertly** doing so- and, concurrently, will seek to avert national and international contingencies in the foreseeable future.

\* Your serene but firm commanding pressence during the "Gulf War", for instance, brought you unparalleled recognition, admiration, and support. The assumption of similar consummated-statement *presence* -**you are a consummated statement!**- will do a lot, I think, to help reversing that negative *impression* now being exploited by that "pair of ephebus". They both are intending to tarnish **your accomplished personality and successful history** during a time of mass psychological apprehension. They are hiding the fact that it was a **stubborn Democratic Congress** who forced you into a **compromise to accept a tax increase**.

Finally, my respected and dear friend, let me assure you that we do trust in your seasoned and successful fighter traits. Nevertheless, as you know well, since history is not necessarily repetitive, every challenge is a completely new, different spectacle that force us to keep the guard up always. That is the ancient lesson conveyed by Michellangelo in his acclaimed sculpture of David.

So Kuchy and I only pray now to God for your excellent health during the hectic days awaiting you ahead. **God bless you and yours forever!**

As ever, unconditionally yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Barack", with a long, sweeping underline that curves around the bottom of the signature.

*The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.*

*Oscar Diaz de Villegas*

28 de julio de 1992

Mr. John E. Bush  
Miami, Fla.

Mi querido Teo,

Te adjunto -con igual sentido de confidencialidad- la carta que acabo de dirigir a tu muy querido padre y que se explica por sí misma.

Por favor, avísanos, cómo debemos girar el cheque y a dónde tenemos que enviártelo.

Nosotros saldremos en un breve viaje de negocios el próximo martes 4, regresando a Miami en la noche del jueves 6.

*Saludos muy cariñosos para Columba e hijos.*

Te abraza con el más grande afecto,

*Oscar*

P.S. Sigo tan *energetic* como siempre, trabajando muchísimo, como nunca.  
Mis *bypasses* -"conectados" hace ya dos años- están O.K..

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**WASHINGTON**

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
**SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD**

August 14, 1992

|      | TIME     |    | DISC  | NAME                                                                                    | ACTION                                                  |
|------|----------|----|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
|      | PLACED   |    |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| XXXT | 7:55 AM  |    | 8:33  | Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher<br>Residence, Houston, Texas<br>713-521-9898              | LW with Major Cancilla<br>7:56 AM<br>Tlkd-ok<br>8:19 AM |
| INC  |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| XXXT | 7:58 AM  |    | 8:18  | Secretary Samuel K. Skinner<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>White House Signal 7-2287    | LW with Major Cancilla<br>7:59 AM<br>Tlkd-ok<br>8:13 AM |
| INC  |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| XXXT | 8:34 AM  |    | 8:47  | Secretary Nicholas F. Brady<br>Residence, Washington, D.C.<br>White House Signal 7-3105 | Tlkd-ok<br>8:40 AM                                      |
| INC  |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  | 9:03 AM  |    | 9:08  | Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt<br>Residence, Arlington, Virginia<br>703-524-8039   | Tlkd-ok<br>9:06 AM                                      |
| XXNC |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  | 9:20 AM  |    |       | Mr. Jonathan Rose<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>879-3939                               | LW with Ms. Leach<br>9:20 AM                            |
| XXNC |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  | 9:29 AM  |    |       | Ms. Susan Porter Rose<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>456-2957                           | LW with Ms. Runion<br>9:32 AM                           |
| XXNC |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| XXXT | 9:42 AM  |    | 9:46  | Conference Call:<br>Mr. Jonathan Rose<br>Ms. Rose's Residence                           | Tlkd-ok<br>9:42 AM                                      |
| INC  |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  |          | AM |       | Alexandria, Virginia<br>703-683-2931                                                    |                                                         |
| INC  |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  |          | AM |       | Ms. Susan Porter Rose<br>Residence, Alexandria, Virginia<br>703-683-2931                |                                                         |
| INC  |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  | 9:53 AM  |    | 10:00 | Ms. Rose M. Zamaria<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>456-6508                             | Tlkd-ok<br>9:55 AM                                      |
| XXNC |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |
| OUT  | 10:30 AM |    | 10:35 | Mr. Harry Grove<br>Residence, Thurmont, Maryland<br>301-662-8441                        | Tlkd-ok<br>10:30 AM                                     |
| XXNC |          | PM |       |                                                                                         |                                                         |

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

## TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

August 14, 1992

|     | TIME     |       | NAME                                                                                    | ACTION                                           |
|-----|----------|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|     | PLACED   | DISC  |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | 10:41 AM | 10:43 | Mr. C. Boyden Gray<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>White House Signal 7-2258             | Tlkd-ok<br>10:42 AM                              |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | 10:42 AM | 10:56 | Mr. Robert M. Teeter<br>Mr. Darman's Office, Washington, D.C.<br>395-4840               | Tlkd-ok<br>10:46 AM                              |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | 11:20 AM | 11:21 | MSCM Ariel P. Deguzman<br>Aspen Lodge, Camp David, Maryland<br>Camp David Signal 4-1630 | Tlkd-ok<br>11:21 AM                              |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | 11:24 AM | 11:25 | Mrs. Barbara Bush<br>Aspen Lodge, Camp David, Maryland<br>Camp David Signal 4-1612      | Tlkd-ok<br>11:24 AM                              |
| INC | PM       |       |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. Richard N. Bond<br>Hyatt Regency Hotel, Houston, Texas<br>713-654-1234              | Tlkd-ok<br>12:34 PM                              |
| INC | 12:31 PM | 12:46 |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. Jim Oberwetter<br>Office, Dallas, Texas<br>214-978-8534                             | Tlkd-ok<br>12:56 PM                              |
| INC | 12:54 PM | 1:04  |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. C. Boyden Gray<br>Metropolitan Club, Washington, D.C.<br>835-2500                   | Tlkd-ok<br>1:06 PM                               |
| INC | 1:00 PM  | 1:11  |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>225-4301             | Tlkd with<br>Major Wissler<br>Tlkd-ok<br>4:57 PM |
| INC | 2:05 PM  | 4:59  |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. Edward R. Madigan<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>White House Signal 7-2134          | Tlkd-ok<br>5:02 PM                               |
| INC | 5:00 PM  | 5:08  |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | Mr. Ray Price<br>Red Oak Cabin, Camp David, Maryland<br>Camp David Signal 4-1722        | Tlkd-ok<br>5:09 PM                               |
| INC | 5:09 PM  | 5:11  |                                                                                         |                                                  |
| OUT | AM       |       | General Brent Scowcroft<br>Office, Washington, D.C.<br>White House Signal 7-2260        | Tlkd-ok<br>5:12 PM                               |
| INC | 5:09 PM  | 5:18  |                                                                                         |                                                  |

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**  
**SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD**

[illegible]

## PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Camp David, Maryland

DATE 14 August 1992

[illegible]

## PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Camp David, MD

DATE August 14, 1992

[illegible]

**TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM**

PRESIDENT BUSH

[illegible]

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 14, 1992

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: PARTICIPANTS ATTENDING THE FINAL WALK THROUGH  
FOR THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT THE  
HOUSTON ASTRODOME

DATE: SUNDAY, AUGUST 16  
5:00 P.M.

RECOMMENDED BY: Ronald C. Kaufman *RCK*

PURPOSE: To thank the participants for their work in  
preparation for the Convention.

BACKGROUND: The phone call will be broadcast over the  
public address system. Approximately 800  
people will be participating including staff  
and volunteers from the White House, the  
Houston Host Committee, the Convention, the  
RNC and the Bush/Quayle campaign.

TOPICS OF  
DISCUSSION:

1. Thanks for all of your hard work over these  
past weeks and months.
2. When all is said and done, it's your work  
that will make a difference in the success of  
the Convention.
3. I look forward to being back in Houston  
tomorrow evening and to the nomination on  
Thursday.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: August 14, 1992

Action: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

*daily*

Ms. Susan Elizabeth Watkins  
149 Vernon Avenue  
Apartment 4  
Louisville, Kentucky 40206



THE PRESIDENT

August 14, 1992

Dear Susan,

I was thrilled to hear that you and your family had a great reunion at Camp David. It is a beautiful place and I am happy to share it with friends. Thanks for the video tapes. I look forward to watching them the next time I go up to Camp David.

Your kind words of support really mean a lot to me and Barbara. Many thanks!

With best wishes,

*your Dad  
is terrific !!*

Sincerely,

*Bob*

CC: ROBIN MACLEAN ✓  
(DAILY FILE)

Susan Elizabeth Watkins

July 8, 1992

Dear President and Mrs. Bush,

Wow! How about setting  
up Camp David as a retirement  
camp after your next term!  
Our family had a blast and  
I'm sure the best reunion  
ever! Thank you so much  
for thinking of offering it  
to us. I even had my own  
cabin (Linden).

It was obvious to me that  
your zest and love of family  
has boosted the morale of

Jill

the staff 100x, and that does  
more good than we can imagine.  
Everything was excellent and I  
shall treasure the memory and  
unique opportunity.

In small thanks, I send  
a few tapes of country artists  
from the music series I help  
produce for PBS. I hope you  
enjoy them.

You are in my prayers.  
Best of luck to you and your  
family.

Sincerely,  
Susan Watkins

0 1 1884  
Chairman of Energy Secretary

President and Mrs. Bush

daily

Mr. Joe Ramirez  
Lynwood Area Sheriff's Youth  
Athletic League  
11330 Bullis Road  
Lynwood, California 90262



CAMP DAVID

Aug 14, 1992

Dear Joe -

I loved that July 29<sup>th</sup>  
letter you sent me.

I was truly inspired by  
what I saw there. Your  
enthusiasm is contagious

Good Luck to all  
those great kids. You're  
truly giving them a shot  
at the American Dream.

Best Wishes to you  
and all the kids.

Bob

cc: ROBIN MACLEAN ✓  
(for DAILY FILE)

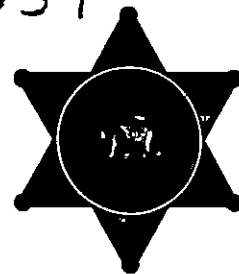


**JOE RAMIREZ**  
LYNWOOD STATION  
BOXING COACH  
SHERIFF ATHLETIC LEAGUE

**LYNWOOD AREA SHERIFF'S  
YOUTH ATHLETIC LEAGUE**

1330 BULLIS ROAD  
LYNWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90262  
PHONE (213) 537-6111

Reading File  
789759



3100 E. IMPERIAL HWY. LYNWOOD, CA 90262  
LYNWOOD, CA 90262 (310) 608-2239

SHERMAN BLOCK  
SHERIFF  
COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES

July 29, 1992



FID No. 95-4092541

Margaret Araujo  
Josie Arrey  
Joe Battle  
Rick Castro  
Bert J. Cueva  
Ralph Davis  
Cynthia Green-Geter  
Louis J. Heine  
Robert Henning  
Errick R. Lee  
Mike Patel  
Dr. Orlando Pile  
Armando Rea  
Paul H. Richards II  
Marcine Shaw  
Evelyn Wells  
Larry Willis  
Greg Woodson

**ASSOCIATE MEMBERS**

Joe Benaron  
Taylor Billingslea  
Willie Davis  
Dr. Armando Islas  
Ira Jones

Dear President Bush,

I'm writing this letter to thank you  
for your visit. The kids are still talking  
about it, and our gym hasn't been the same since  
your visit. Our kids are working harder than  
ever. Mr. President the words you used that day  
were quite inspiring and motivating to the kids  
and myself. I tell the kids, " Yes, there is  
money in this sport, but things can happen;  
therefore, you have to have a college education."  
I know you agree with me Mr. President. My goal  
is to push education in the sport of boxing so  
that the kids have something to fall back on.

Mr. President, if you need my assistance  
or advice don't hesitate to call me, and if  
you ever come through Los Angeles again please  
stop by Lynwood and visit us again. The kids and  
I wish you lots of luck this November and again  
thank you.

  
Joe Ramirez  
Head Boxing Coach  
Lynwood Sheriffs Youth  
Athletic League

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily

The Honorable Justin Dart  
Chairman  
The President's Committee on  
Employment of People with Disabilities  
1331 F Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20004-1107



CAMP DAVID

8-14-92

Dear Justin

Thanks for yours on  
Oregon. A tough call because  
there's a lot of good things  
in their approach; but you're  
right. Maybe we can connect

to ADA part

Sincerely,

C. B.

cc: ROBIN MACLEAN ✓  
(FOR DAILY FILE)

343417



THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON  
EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

1331 F STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-1107  
(202) 376-6200 VOICE (202) 376-6205 TDD (202) 376-6219 FAX

CHAIRMAN  
JUSTIN DART

Aug 4 1992

Dear President Bush:

Congratulations on your  
courageous Reagan health care  
decision. Every American with  
disabilities  
applauds this triumph of  
human values over rampant  
benevolence. Good job!

DIGNITY, EQUALITY, INDEPENDENCE THROUGH EMPLOYMENT

# Clinton and the deficit

**On another subject, USA TODAY argues Clinton's plan is a toothless approach to economic woes.**

Sorry, governor, but this hound won't hunt.

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton is showing off a budget plan these days that offers some scrappy solutions to the nation's woes.

But as a plan for closing the deficit, it's a pretty lame mongrel.

In an interview Wednesday with USA TODAY, Clinton was asked whether the middle class would have to sacrifice anything — taxes or benefits — to plug the nation's yawning \$330 billion budget deficit. His answer: No. Tax the rich, and increase investment.

Asked to name any federal programs he'd eliminate, not just keep and trim, Clinton could cite only one: a \$20 million a year subsidy to beekeepers.

Increasing taxes on the wealthy can

help. So can investment.

But both — taken alone — have far more chance of winning votes than bringing fiscal sanity.

For instance, all of Clinton's soak-the-rich tax plans — raising the top tax rate from 31% to 36%, adding a 10% surcharge on millionaires' tax bills and decreasing tax benefits of itemized deductions — would raise less than \$20 billion a year, not even a tenth of the deficit.

The price of failure: declining living standards, soaring interest rates and paralyzed government.

The chief victim? You guessed it: the middle class.

Surely, Clinton can find programs worth killing. Any taxpayer could.

Surely, he or President Bush can find ways of raising taxes both fairly and effectively.

Instead, they offer plans with lots of bark and little deficit bite. And that is a pity, most of all for the middle class.

Today's debate is on **FREE TRADE** and whether the new agreement will help or hurt the U.S. economy.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Free-trade agreement can be net gain for USA

## **OUR VIEW** Stop the rhetoric and let this trade agreement benefit all of North America.

Will the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico announced this week create 400,000 U.S. jobs or cause massive unemployment?

With the whoppers being told by politicians, voters may need a lie detector to find out the truth about this and other consequences of the proposed pact.

President Bush and other proponents have exaggerated the number of jobs that will be created.

Worse, some Democrats, labor leaders and paranoid protectionists sound as if they favor the Smoot-Hawley tariff that plunged the nation into the Great Depression. Their distortions about job losses and environmental damage from free trade are outrageous.

Here are some straight facts:

► Mexico's tariff cuts will be 250% more than the USA's because its present average tariff is 10% to the USA's 4%.

► Mexico will protect patents, trademarks and copyrights for U.S. consum-

er, entertainment and high-tech goods.

► Mexico will let in U.S. telecommunications equipment and financial services for the first time.

► Mexico will harmonize its environmental standards with the USA's.

According to the non-partisan Institute for International Economics, the USA by 1995 will add up to 175,000 more jobs than it loses.

As Mexico grows richer, the gains should increase as Mexicans spend 10% of their income on U.S. imports.

Economists also say the USA should add \$10 billion a year to its current \$2 billion trade surplus with Mexico.

These gains, though, aren't painless.

Up to 150,000 workers in industries from household glass to sneakers could lose jobs. And pollution along the Mexican border could temporarily worsen.

The answer, though, isn't protectionism. It's to create a generous retraining program that prepares displaced workers for good-paying jobs with a future. And it's to enforce pollution cleanup, with polluters paying the tab.

Politicians should cut the hyperbole — and the tariffs.

## This agreement is a loser

## **OPPOSING VIEW** The touted economic benefits are modest when compared to the enormous risks.

President Bush is touting the North American Free Trade Agreement as a jobs package. It might be a jobs package, all right — a jobs package for Mexico.

In announcing the treaty, the president claimed NAFTA will create 130,000 new jobs. Even if that's correct, the U.S. economy gains or loses that many jobs in a single month. That's a modest benefit, especially when factoring in the enormous risks.

It's true that during the first few years after the treaty, we will continue to run a trade surplus with Mexico as we export capital goods (i.e., factories) across the border. But we can't go on doing that forever. These new Mexican factories will crank out consumer products headed for the U.S. market.



By John P. Cregan, president, U.S. Business and Industrial Council.

Moreover, economic superpowers like Japan and Germany are likely to greatly increase their foreign investment in Mexico after NAFTA. Nissan and Volkswagen already are building car plants in Mexico. With no Mexican middle class, these plants won't be churning out cars for Mexicans. Rather, these and other foreign producers see NAFTA as their meal ticket to both cheap Mexican labor and increased access to the U.S. market.

Since the USA and Canada signed a free-trade treaty in 1988, Canada has lost 500,000 manufacturing jobs, and 87 Canadian firms moved to Buffalo, N.Y., in 1991 alone. The reason: Wages in Canada are 2% higher than in the USA. It doesn't take an economist to venture that the USA will lose many times more jobs and factories to Mexico with Mexican wages one-tenth those in the USA.

This treaty is a winner for multinational corporations that have the resources to relocate in Mexico. But smaller manufacturers created nearly all the new jobs in the USA in the 1980s. And the political test for NAFTA is whether Americans view this treaty to be about jobs or job losses.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

**IN QUOTES**

**"H**es been asked to it, but he's golfing with Jerry Ford in Vail."  
— *Spokesman Ward Grant on why Bob Hope will not be attending the Republican convention*

**"O**ver the weekend, we had another mild earthquake here in Los Angeles. Actually, scientists at Cal Tech say it was not an earthquake at all — rather, Gov. Pete Wilson has written so many bad IOUs that the whole state bounced."  
— *Jay Leno*

**"I** don't really stay up to watch it."  
— *Johanny Carson on Tonight Show, in Variety*

**"If they're moderates, then I am a world-champion speller!"**  
— *Vice President Dan Quayle, on the Democratic ticket*

**"J**udge of the women's gymnastics."  
— *Rep. Bill Danneremeyer, R-Calif., when asked by Roll Call which Olympic event he would participate in if allowed*

**"I** don't want anything I never did want anything. I'm just a businessman and citizen."  
— *Ross Perot, when asked about his political*

plans, given that his volunteers were still trying to keep his name on the ballots

**"M**y grandfather only spent 10."  
— *Rep. Joe Kennedy, D-Mass., noting Perot had said he'd spend \$100 million to win the presidency*

**"H**is a season-ticket holder, and he's tough on these cases."  
— *Paul Fautner, lawyer for Jody O'Reilly, who ran onto the field at Detroit's Tiger Stadium and stripped off his clothes, after Judge John R. Perry raised his client's bond and lectured him harshly*

**IN OTHER WORDS**

Fidel Castro spoke at the Earth Summit. . . . According to *Jornal do Brasil*, Castro was "the most heavily applauded" of all the world leaders. . . . The official UNCED newspaper, *Earth Summit Times* . . . went on to point out that U.N. delegates inside the conference hall applauded Castro "all the way from the podium to his seat," and the reaction of rank-and-file earth lovers . . . was even more enthusiastic. . . .

You throw these bastards out the door of human liberty and back they come through the window of ecological concern. Here is old Busy Whiskers — puffy, aging, abandoned at the altar of Marxism, a back-number tyrant and ideological bug case who has reduced the citizens of his own country to boiling the soles of their shoes for dinner. And now he's a friend of the earth.

The people who came to the Earth Summit cheered the likes of Fidel Castro. Then they wondered why we won't give them money.

— *P.J. O'Rourke in Rolling Stone*

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Risk-taking women create own ceilings

Further frustrations for career women this week, news reports headlined.

Labor Secretary Lynn Martin confessed that a year after she promised to help pop the glass ceiling so women could climb the corporate ladder, nothing much has happened.

But there's an inspiring flip side to the story. Hundreds of thousands of women who have tired of trying to break the boss' sex barriers have become their own boss.

So many that 1992 may be the year when women-owned businesses provide more jobs than do the mostly male-run Fortune 500 companies. Figures from the National Foundation for Women Business Owners:

► Women are starting new businesses at twice the rate of men.

► Women now own 5.4 million businesses, employing 11 million and growing.

► Fortune 500 companies employ 12 million, but reductions are announced regularly.

Small Business Administrator Patricia Saiki says the growth of gutsy women in business for themselves "has been, in many cases, the direct result



**AL NEUHARTH**  
USA TODAY FOUNDER

of facing glass-ceiling barriers."

I know dozens of women who have taken the risk of starting their own businesses. In effect, they create their own ceilings, as high as they want them to be.

Sure, some are struggling and a few may fail. But the vast majority are happier and healthier, and many may ultimately be wealthier than their corporate counterparts.

The messages:

► To corporate CEOs — Unless you start practicing the equal opportunity you preach, you'll lose more and more of that 51% (women) of your most precious resource, people.

► To corporate career women — If you're unhappy or mistreated, go for it. Life's too short. Take that risk. Failure is not fatal, especially if you're having fun.

The real headlines of this week's Labor Department report: "More women thumb their noses at corporate glass ceilings."

### FEEDBACK

Other views on the glass ceiling

"Laws designed to protect women in the workplace are not enforced. Less than 20% of all women have money to file a discrimination case, much less to start a business."

— Barbara Otto, 9to5, Nat'l Assn. of Working Women

"We're seeing a lot of the best and brightest women leaving corporations and moving into their own businesses. Many have said: 'I can do this, and I can do it well.'"

— Sharon Hadary, Nat'l Found. for Women Bus. Owners

"Corporate leaders are beginning to realize that the cost of responding to women pales beside the cost of failing to capture their talent."

— Felice N. Schwartz, president, Catalyst research org.

## Color can't dictate USA's response to suffering

A 2-year-old dying of starvation fit into the palm of my hand, and exhausted women in tattered dresses made from grain sacks dropped dead in their tracks.

That was Ethiopia in 1985. Of all the flashbacks of hollow eyes and emaciated bodies, there was one woman I'll never forget. Unable to help her, I turned away, but when I looked back she pleaded with her eyes: "For God's sake, do something."

Now there are two images of skeletal figures: one white European in Bosnia, the other black African in Somalia.

World response to both crises is shameful when you recall how quickly President



**BARBARA REYNOLDS**  
COLUMNIST

Bush rallied world leaders to aid oil-rich Kuwait. U.N. troops are in Bosnia, but to protect food shipments,

not the besieged population.

In Somalia, the response has been even worse. Trapped by famine and civil war, 2 million Somalis — equal to the entire population of Arkansas — are in danger of starving to death. Meanwhile, tons of food sit in warehouses nearby, unable to be delivered because of the danger of guerrilla attack.

U.N. troops should have gone in to protect food shipments and stop the slaughter of innocents months ago. The delay has prompted U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to berate the Security Council for worrying more about the "rich" Europeans in Yugoslavia than the

poor Africans in Somalia.

Democratic candidate Bill Clinton and President Bush are in a tug of war to see who can sound the loudest alarm on Bosnia. But Somalia and Haiti appear to be afterthoughts, addressed only if the media happen to inquire, which they seldom do.

The reasoning is simple: In this race between two white politicians covered mostly by white, middle-class reporters, issues not centered on white suburban, middle-class values often don't fit.

Thus, much of the media is not sending reporters to Somalia or making it the BIG STORY on the evening news. How many Somalis have you

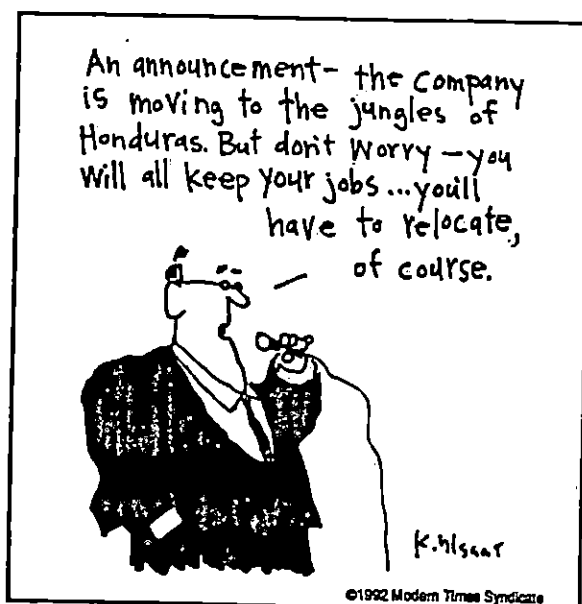
seen quoted in news stories, in contrast to Yugoslavians, whose suffering is made vivid in print and on TV?

On Wednesday, I raised the question of Somalia with Clinton. "There ought not to be a double standard on Bosnia because it is in Europe and the media are there," he said.

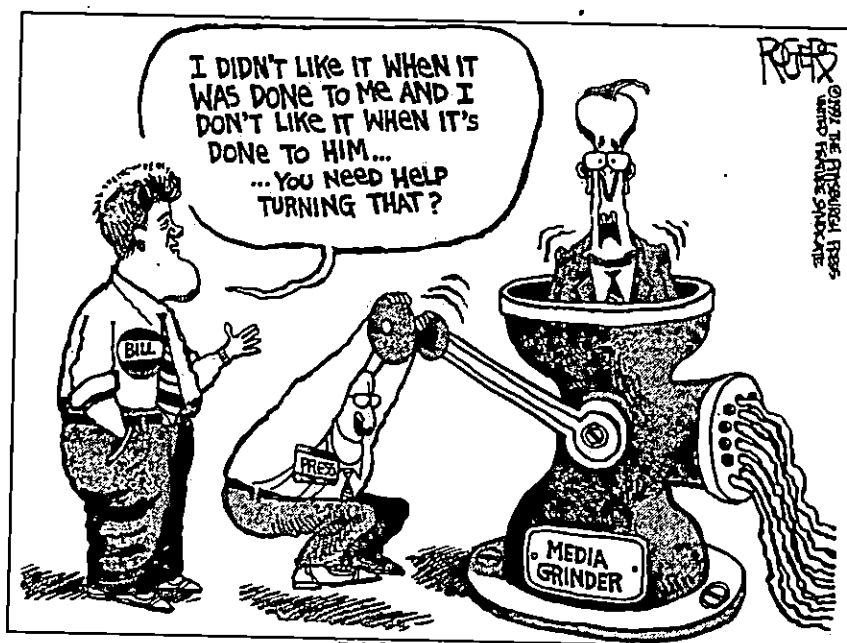
On Sept. 9, TransAfrica and the NAACP will begin national protests to change U.S. policy toward the Haitians. Action is planned for Somalia.

The press and the politicians must be convinced that the New World Order can't be just about Europe. Neither color, nor race, nor oil should determine the U.S. response to the cries of the dying.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992



Peter Kohlsaat, Modern Times Syndicate



Rob Rogers, The Pittsburgh Press, United Feature Syndicate

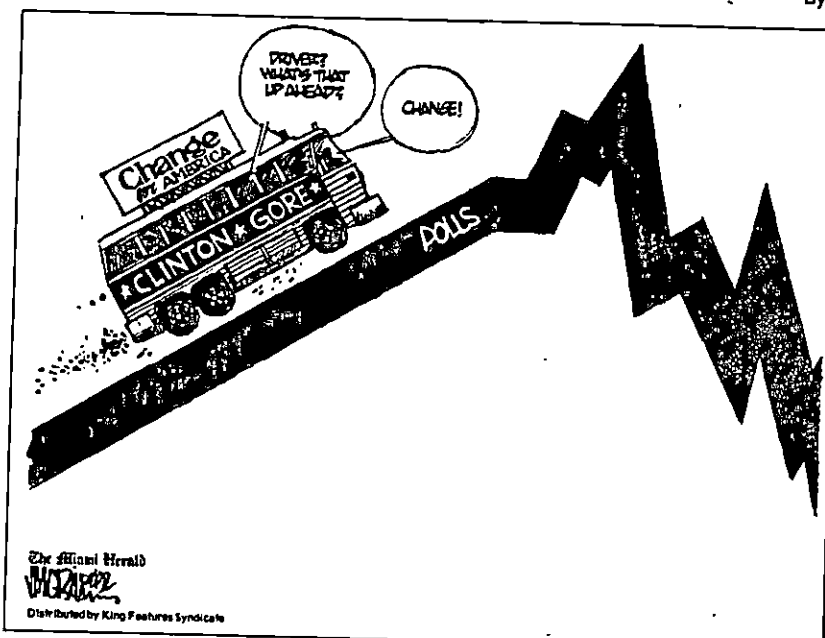


Ed Gamble, The Florida Times-Union, King Features Syndicate

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By Nick Galifianakis, USA TODAY



Jim Morin, The Miami Herald, King Features Syndicate



Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer

# Los Angeles Times

## Stop Bosnia Aggression With Military Cleansing

■ **Balkans:** The rationale is clear-cut for the use of Western force in Bosnia. It's time to tackle causes, not symptoms.

By JANUSZ BUGAJSKI

Western leaders are looking for attainable objectives to justify U.N. military involvement to end the slaughter of innocent civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The European Community has already wasted three months in pointless "peace negotiations" while the U.N. effort has been confined to supplying food to terrorized residents of Sarajevo.

It is time that the causes, not the symptoms, of the crisis be tackled head-on with the full moral and military weight of the United Nations. Only Washington can assemble the necessary multinational resources to help stifle the Serbian guns and rescue thousands of Muslims, Croats and Serbs from further massacres.

If the Administration needs a rationale

**'The oft-repeated warning about the dangers of using Western ground troops is a smoke screen for inaction. The Bosnian authorities . . . simply demand the means to defend themselves and to thwart the aggressor.'**

for military involvement, at least four spring to mind:

— Without military action, the scale of human suffering will accelerate: extermination, torture, deportation, millions of refugees swarming across Europe and destabilizing neighboring countries.

— Inaction will mean that the world has appeased aggression and the partition of an independent state and U.N. member.

— The partition of Bosnia will set a precedent for other multiethnic countries at the mercy of predatory expansionist powers hellbent on creating racist states.

— The conflict and butchery will not end with partition. There will be an inevitable spillover of warfare, terrorism, sabotage and self-perpetuating vendettas. Western Europe will not be immune to the mayhem as Muslims and Croats seek retribution against Serbian targets and sympathizers. Hostile Arab states and other radical powers would welcome the opportunity to cause mischief in Western capitals and preoccupy Washington.

The rationale is clear-cut for military engagement in Bosnia; the goals can also be readily specified:

First, the chief aggressor and instigator of conflict has to be pinpointed—the Serb-Yugoslav army consisting of militant local guerrillas, military recruits and irregulars from Serbia and Montenegro. These forces engage in the most ruthless and systematic atrocities and have manufactured ethnic strife on a scale not witnessed since World War II. They have captured nearly three-quarters of Bosnian territory, and must be neutralized if the conflict is to subside and the partition of Bosnia is to be reversed.

Second, the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has to be restored in all its prewar territories. An important strategic and political objective must be the liberation of Sarajevo through a policy of "military cleansing" around the capital to stop the murder of unarmed civilians. With Sarajevo liberated, other regional and municipal capitals can be tackled to re-establish Bosnian authority.

Third, "ethnic cleansing" must be stopped. The U.N. mandate in Serb-occupied areas of Croatia has to be extended to occupied Bosnian zones. Although the prewar demographic structure cannot be re-created, conditions must be met for the return of evicted Muslim families to their home villages. An orderly departure of Serb colonists has to be implemented, with international monitors ensuring that legalism and human rights are respected by all sides. Only in this way will pressures for revenge be defused and a credible multi-ethnic government re-established.

A short ultimatum must be declared for the cessation of Serb hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If the ultimatum fails, several military steps must be pursued without delay. First, the Yugoslav air force can be quickly grounded. Yugo MIGs can be rapidly intercepted and shot out of the sky by planes from U.S. carriers in the Adriatic. Second, large arms-production and storage facilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia itself can be quickly destroyed from the air; the locations are well known. Third, supply lines of war matériel from Serbia to Bosnia should be paralyzed by a severing of road and rail arteries across the border.

In Bosnia itself, once Sarajevo is sufficiently secured and Serbian mortars are blasted out of the hills, Serb-held corridors across the republic can be severed at certain key points. Serbian forces are trying to secure permanent land bridges to the Adriatic and to occupied territories of Croatia. The disruption of lines of communication, war supplies and manpower will steadily weaken Belgrade's hold and isolate local paramilitary units.

The oft-repeated warning about the dangers of using Western ground troops is a smoke screen for inaction. The Bosnian authorities are not calling for U.N. ground forces, they simply demand the means to defend themselves and to thwart the aggressor. Once the arms embargo is lifted for all forces under Sarajevo's authority, the government could swiftly arm thousands of fighters to regain its lost territories. The infusion of highly motivated local troops and the availability of necessary firepower would help deflate Serbian morale and restore the credibility of the central government.

The *quagmire* scenario has been touted uncritically in the West. Despite some similarities in terrain and the methods of war, Bosnia is not Vietnam. There is no superpower behind Serbia that the West must beware of provoking. Moreover, the vast majority of the Bosnian population would welcome U.N. military support. Bosnians, unlike Kuwaitis, are willing to fight against the occupation forces, given sufficient weaponry and logistical support. There is no need for long-term Western military entanglement, only for consistent engagement in a political settlement.

*Janusz Bugajski, associate director of East European Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, has just returned from Bosnia-Herzegovina.*

# Los Angeles Times

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## Bad on the Street, Worse on Capitol Hill

*Gridlock is paralyzing the nation's legislative system*

**G**ridlock is what people call a traffic jam in which everybody is in somebody's way and nobody is getting anywhere. Gridlock is also what, lately, everyone has been calling the jam that the federal government is in with its executive and legislative branches controlled by opposed and increasingly embittered parties.

To some extent, this gridlock is designed in. The Founding Fathers wanted a strong executive, but they also wanted clearly limited government. The division of powers in the U.S. Constitution, the system of "checks and balances," is, to a point, a recipe for gridlock. But the designed system has been overlaid by an undesigned, unplanned-for system—the two-party system, which, in the eyes of some, no longer serves the nation as well as it once did. Vice President Dan Quayle recently said: "If you're going to vote for Bill Clinton, I'd say vote for your Democratic congressman. It's a controversial viewpoint and it's not shared by all the people in my party, but I think we must end the divided government." Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), revealing his frustration as he announced that he won't run for reelection, wondered aloud whether this nation would not be well-advised to try parliamentary democracy.

Under the parliamentary system, the chief executive is always chosen by the majority party (or coalition). Government as a whole is unified, its powers not nearly so divided as they are in the cherished U.S. way. The executive, however—even as formidable a prime minister as Margaret Thatcher was in Britain—is weak, subject to recall whenever the party so chooses.

Under such a system, the United States might have Democratic presidents, but the presidency, as such, would no longer exist.

Counsels of desperation? Perhaps.

But some of the best minds and spirits in both parties are being driven to despair. The Republicans' Rudman is matched by the Democrats' Sen. Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.), who also is not running for reelection. These are not men who give up lightly.

But something is clearly wrong when Congress adjourns without authorizing money for the national defense. That's what happened as a result of a dispute Monday over \$1 billion for the "Star Wars" missile

defense program. The President had reduced his request by \$1 billion already; the Democrats wanted him to cut a billion more, to \$3.3 billion in an overall defense budget of \$274.5 billion. Bush said he would veto the authorization bill rather than lose that \$1 billion. Senate Republicans blocked the Democratic proposal from even coming to a vote.

Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Me.) and Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) then pulled the measure from the floor altogether. And now they have all left on holiday.

That's a hard-to-top example of gridlock at its worst. Victory for either side would have been better than this stalemate at a time of volatility from Bosnia to Armenia to Iraq and beyond. A Russian aid bill, equally modest in size but as crucial a component of the de facto U.S. defense as any weapons system, has now passed both houses but only after crippling, politically motivated delay, with further delay in store. To a drowning man, a slow rescue is as good as none; and there's little that could be worse for world stability than for Russian reform to go down for the third time.

Given a little goodwill on both sides, the U.S. system can obviously be made to work well. Without it, people in both parties will continue to talk ever so tentatively about tinkering with the system.



Sen. Rudman

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# Los Angeles Times

## Comment

ON THE NATION

### The Reelection of Bush Could Destroy GOP

*Conservatives will revive, however, with a Democrat in the White House—as they did under Jimmy Carter.*

By TOM BETHELL

Some conservatives seem to expect that President Bush will not seek reelection. And they wax enthusiastic about an ensuing Republican free-for-all in Houston, in which their own favorites somehow get nominated. It's all wishful thinking, of course. It may even be the best move that Bush could make if he were simply thinking about his place in the history books. But it won't happen. Unless there are health problems we don't know about, he won't quit.

But it is likely that he will lose in November. Such predictions are risky; newspaper clippings only a few weeks old contain solemn pronouncements about Ross Perot's permanent impact on presidential campaigns. Yet it's undeniable that Bush is in serious trouble. It's also difficult to see what Bush can do about his predicament.

Conservatives are inclined to say that Bush lacks convictions. It's not true. Like Richard Nixon, he seems to have visualized himself as the "foreign policy President," hobnobbing with heads of state and laying the groundwork for a new world order (details unclear). He never did aim to get into messy domestic fights with Congress. It has been reported that Budget Director Richard G. Darman early on assured Bush that all would be plain sailing on the domestic front if only he took Darman's economic advice. This would leave him free to concentrate on foreign affairs. He took the advice, broke his no new taxes pledge and has been plagued by domestic problems ever since.

The last four years will probably be remembered as the time when the Cold War unexpectedly came to an end. Bush, then, will be remembered in a context of foreign affairs. But his own party is now imperiled by the change. We are told that Bill Clinton's character is "untried and untested," and this might have been something to worry about when Soviet missiles were aimed our way. Given the Democrats' irresoluteness on defense, the GOP for 12 years had a strong issue. Not so today.

This wouldn't have mattered, if only Bush had differentiated himself from the Democrats on the domestic front. He not only failed to do this but seemed to go out of his way to enact their agenda. Can anyone confidently say that a President Dukakis would have been able to sign into law: the Americans with Disabilities Act; quotas dressed up as "civil rights"; the Clean Air Act; hate-crimes legislation; most-favored-nation status for Red China, a big tax increase, massive spending increases and (coming soon) an aid package for the former Soviet Union? Yes, Bush believes in something, and it's liberalism.

Michael Kinsley of the New Republic pointed out that Bush scoffs at liberals but is one himself. Bush's criticism of liberals is expressed at four-year intervals, in campaign speeches. He doesn't really mean it. Someone may have told him it's what you have to do to get elected.

Recently Bush has tried using the job-creating potential of the government to "stimulate" the economy: Keynesianism he was taught at Yale. Bush helped revive the \$8-billion supercollider in Texas, which the House had sensibly killed. And he has opposed defense cuts with the Democratic argument that jobs would be lost. Now Congress—of all institutions—has been put in the unaccustomed position of restraining the spending habits of the executive.

Many conservatives are now reconciled to Bush's defeat. They do not look forward to Hillary Clinton in the White House. But Clinton himself can be viewed as the avenging angel who sweeps away the one who betrayed his supporters. What will conservatives lose by Bush's defeat? The President has made good judicial appointments, but that alone is not enough to recommend him.

As Conservative Caucus chairman and presidential candidate Howard Phillips points out, a liberal Republican in the White House has the odd effect of creating two liberal parties in Washington. Republicans in general tend to put loyalty ahead of all other principles, supporting the President come what may. The result has been a moribund conservative movement.

"Four more years," then, hardly bear thinking about. Phillips believes that if Bush is reelected, the Republican Party—a decade ago contemplating "realignment"—will be utterly destroyed by 1996. But conservatives will revive with a Democrat in the White House, as they did under Jimmy Carter.

*Tom Bethell is a media fellow at the Hoover Institution.*

# Los Angeles Times

## What Now for U.S. Foreign Policy

*Secretary of State Baker's departure isn't expected to impede the government's ability to handle crises abroad.*

BY ART PINE

WASHINGTON  
The resignation of James A. Baker III as secretary of state is likely to have some impact on the Bush Administration's foreign policy-making operations, but it will not impede the government's ability to handle crises abroad, analysts here said Thursday.

Although Democrats have suggested that Baker's departure from the State Department will leave the Administration in a lurch—both in guiding the Middle East peace talks and in reacting to events in Iraq, Yugoslavia and Russia—private analysts say the situation isn't that simple.

To begin with, for all the new signs of hope in the Middle East talks, no breakthroughs were expected until after the November election. Neither the Israelis nor the Arabs wants the negotiations to fail, but neither wants to deal with a lame-duck Administration.

Robert B. Satloff, deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, said Israel's new prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, wants "action" on the peace talks, "and isn't about to let the departure of Jim Baker ruin his prospects. That's what he was elected for."

Satloff predicts that if anything, Baker's departure may prod both the Arabs and the Israelis to work harder to keep the momentum of the talks going. "This is bigger than just Jim Baker," he said. "It's not catastrophic, by any means."

Similarly, any new U.S. actions affecting Iraq or Yugoslavia doubtless would be decided in the White House anyway, leaving Baker even better positioned in the process now as chief of staff. And the situation in the Soviet Union has been quiet recently.

Some analysts suggest that Baker's move to take the reins on the Bush campaign bandwagon could bolster the United States' position internationally—by countering a growing conviction among some governments that Bush is so weak he may be about to lose.

Administration officials concede that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's recent increased defiance of U.N. cease-fire resolutions has been at least partly a result of Hussein's perception of Bush's weakened political standing at home.

If the campaign continues to founder, one private analyst speculated, foreign governments could begin to "gang up" to take advantage of the Administration's weakness. Baker's move to head the campaign effort could "neutralize" some of that sentiment, he said.

The Administration moved Thursday to allay some of the fears that Baker's departure would leave the nation's foreign-policy apparatus leaderless.

In a session with reporters, senior officials asserted that the outgoing secretary and his chief State Department Middle East expert, Dennis Ross, will continue to direct the U.S.-led peace process, and said Baker will attend meetings of the National Security Council.

"The fact that we are going to the White House does not mean that we are in any way precluded from being actively involved to the extent that we have time to be or want to be," one official insisted. He said Baker would be involved "as the need arises."

What Washington will lose is Baker's uncanny ability as a negotiator and deal maker, and it remains to be seen how much difference that will make.

Geoffrey Kemp, a former National Security Council staffer now at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, suggested that one place that could make a difference would be if the peace talks reach a critical impasse "and Baker isn't available to shuttle back and forth."

"One presumes that he's keeping his fingers crossed that the Arabs and Israelis can keep the momentum going," Kemp said.

Few doubt that Baker is capable of handling both his domestic assignments and at least some broad oversight of foreign policy at the same time. The Administration had not been expected to launch any major new foreign policy initiatives until after the November election.

Foreign policy analysts agree that Baker's replacement at the State Department, Deputy Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger, is an experienced diplomat. If anything, Eagleburger will be even "more plugged-in to day-to-day operations" than the sometimes-alloof Baker, one insider said.

Still, not everyone is convinced that the secretary's departure will be

Please see POLICY, A8

## POLICY: No Changes Expected

Continued from A2  
problem-free.

Robert Hunter, a former Democratic foreign policy adviser who is now a vice president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said the secretary's resignation "reduces the chances of an effective U.S. foreign policy for the balance of the year."

Hunter also raised fears that Baker's move to head the campaign risks "politicizing" U.S. foreign policy.

"To have the man who really is running the President's campaign also running foreign policy will raise questions about everything

he does," Hunter said. "Every time he makes a decision, people will ask, did he do that for political reasons or foreign policy concerns?"

Another problem is that Baker is taking with him virtually all of his so-called "inner circle"—Ross and a handful of other high-level aides who have assisted on most of his foreign policy initiatives—leaving Eagleburger with relatively few insiders to whom he can turn.

But Alan J. Stoga, managing director of Kissinger Associates, a New York-based foreign policy consulting firm, contended that in many ways, the Texan's departure

"does not change things" much at all. "It would be a rare election year in which a government undertakes new initiatives, and there was no reason to believe that 1992 was going to be that rare year," Stoga said.

"Arab and Israeli participants [in the Middle East peace talks] must sooner or later begin wondering if this Administration is not replaced, what kind of deal it might get from its successors."

"That would have slowed the pace of the negotiations in any case," Stoga said. "It was hard to be optimistic that much was going to be accomplished."

# Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON EDITION / LOS ANGELES TIMES

## Panel Puts Last Touches on Platform

■ **GOP:** Abortion rights forces are offered a separate resolution respecting 'honest differences of opinion.' But lobbyists reject it.

By ROBERT SHOGAN  
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

**H**OUSTON—A party platform that provoked outrage among abortion rights advocates but won cheers from conservative activists was given its finishing touches Thursday by a Republican drafting committee.

In the past, the platform has taken a hard line against abortion. Dissenters had hoped that this year's manifesto would at least acknowledge room for diversity on the issue. They cited the Republican "big tent," an expression used by Lee Atwater, the late party chairman, to imply that the party wanted the support of those on both sides of the abortion controversy.

Instead, the drafting committee offered abortion rights backers nothing more than a separate resolution, authored by Illinois Rep. Henry J. Hyde, which expressed respect "for honest differences of opinion." The resolution also invited "all Americans" to "join our party, to support our candidates and consider our platform, which represents the views of mainstream Americans."

That was good enough for one member of the panel, Charles Summers of Maine.

**S**ummers, who had joined in the futile effort earlier in the week to delete or amend the 1988 platform's strict ban on abortion, endorsed the platform committee's resolution, saying: "I do believe this resolution will serve to begin some sort of healing within the party. The underlying strength of the party is the fact that we as Americans, as Republicans, can have a disagreement but at the same time can be members of the same party."

But in the corridors of the George R. Brown convention center here, abortion rights lobbyists rejected the peace offering

as inadequate and pledged that they will try to carry their fight to the convention floor.

"Why would something that isn't even in the document be a sop to me?" asked Nancy Sternoff, executive director of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, one of the organizations that has been striving to modify or delete the abortion plank.

"This makes pro-choice Republicans like a mistress," said Ann Stone, head of another abortion rights group, Republicans for Choice. "We disappear whenever it's convenient."

Warning that the platform would cost Bush the votes of supporters of abortion rights in November, Stone said: "This document is political suicide. It's out of touch with the political mainstream."

But there are real questions whether the abortion rights forces can carry on their fight at the convention, which is expected to approve the platform Monday. To get a minority plank reported to the floor, they would need support from 25% of the 107-member platform committee. And the most they were able to muster for their side on a roll call vote on the abortion issue earlier in the week was 16 votes.

**M**eanwhile on the right, conservative forces who have been equally active but more successful in lobbying the drafting committee sounded a very different tune.

"Conservatives are very pleased," said Floyd Brown, head of Citizens United, a 60,000-member grass-roots lobbying organization. "All our issues were covered from tax cuts to spending cuts to pro-life."

Conservatives also contended that the platform would energize their rank and file for the November election. "I think you can count on our people giving the President their full support," said William von Raab, co-chair of conservative columnist Patrick J. Buchanan's unsuccessful challenge to Bush's renomination.

Among the successes cited by the Buchanan backers Thursday, as the drafting committee completed its work on the platform by vetting the foreign policy section, was an amendment on trade, which sounded a refrain made familiar by Buchanan himself on the stump against Bush: "In all negotiations concerning trade we will put the interest of America first."

Buchanan forces also took satisfaction from another amendment that called for "an ongoing review" of foreign aid programs to ensure their effectiveness.

But not everything went the way Buchanan and other conservatives wanted them to go. An attempt to insert language calling for denial of most favored national trading status to China, in contravention of Bush's own policy, failed.

And a conservative proposal calling for a constitutional test case of the President's line item veto power was not approved, as The Times incorrectly reported Thursday. But the platform as approved by the drafting committee does give Republican support for the principle of a line item veto and pledges that a Republican Congress would approve it.

**'This makes pro-choice Republicans like a mistress. We disappear whenever it's convenient.'**

ANN STONE  
Head of Republicans for Choice

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Ques Annel's Times

## Bush's Doctor Dismisses Reports Questioning the President's Health

■ **Medical:** The President has 'small ups and downs' and faces great pressures, but he is in good condition, his physician says.

By JACK NELSON  
TIMES WASHINGTON BUREAU CHIEF

WASHINGTON—President Bush's personal physician on Thursday dismissed increasingly pointed reports questioning the state of Bush's health, but said the President has his "small ups and downs on the job like anyone else" and is under pressures more intense than any foreign leader must endure—especially from the press.

Dr. Burton J. Lee III said he had been "playing around with the drug dosage" to control Bush's chronic thyroid condition, Graves' disease, and that the effort has proved successful. He said the President still occasionally uses the controversial sleep-inducing drug Halcion when he is on long, arduous trips. Overall, Lee said, his health is good.

Faced with potentially unsettling reports about the issue of his health, Bush himself, as well as another White House physician, the President's wife, Barbara, and White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater also addressed the issue Thursday.

"My health is good," Bush declared in a pep talk to Republican congressional candidates. "I am blessed with a strong family and good health."

Mrs. Bush called the rumors "nutty," saying of her husband, "He's the strongest man in the world."

The immediate cause of their remarks was news stories in the Wall Street Journal and Time magazine in recent days. But the published reports only brought into the open an issue that had been swirling beneath the surface for months among Washington officials and political operatives.

Close associates and even some foreign leaders have talked privately about episodes in which Bush looked bad and seemed distracted, nervous or not entirely focused on the subject at hand. A senior Bush official recently told the Los Angeles Times that the President seemed to be "disengaged." Another prominent Republican who has observed Bush up close said: "Something's happened to the man in the past year, he just doesn't seem to be on top of things. Some of the time he's pretty good, but sometimes his reactions are difficult to explain."

This week Time reported that several Western leaders had noted that in telephone conversations with Bush "he vacillates and loses his train of thought in mid-sentence." The Wall Street Journal article quoted "a prominent conservative who is a Bush supporter" as saying, "there is almost a disconnect between the president and reality sometimes."

The White House moved forcefully Thursday to counter such reports, with Dr. Lawrence C. Mohr, a Lee associate, issuing a statement calling Bush's health "excellent overall" and reporting that each day he continues to take 0.15 milligram of 1-thyroxine, "the standard regimen for individuals who have received radioactive iodine treatment for Graves' disease."

"He also takes one baby aspirin each day, which is a standard measure for individuals who have had a previous episode of atrial fibrillation," Mohr's statement said.

Mohr, responding to rumors that Bush was using an experimental drug for his thyroid condition, said, "the President has never taken any experimental drug and has never received experimental treatment of any kind."

Asked about his treatment of Bush's thyroid condition, Lee said: "I've juggled his medicine, I have fooled with it, I have played with it in concert with his thyroid physicians," and "the normal thyroid replacement seems to have brought this man back to a steady normal state."

"And believe me, we have tested it in very great detail."

The Journal said Lee had come under fire for giving Bush Halcion, "which can cause nervousness and short-term memory impairment," the newspaper said, and is banned in Britain and a number of other countries.

But Lee pointed out that Halcion has been endorsed as safe and effective by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and said Britain is in the process of legalizing its use. The President, he said, "uses it only rarely, like if he's going on one of these long trips with a major jet lag and he has a heavy schedule the following day."

The White House refused reporters' requests to release Bush's medical records. Dr. Lee said: "Once you start with that, there's no end to it. If you give out Aug. 28 records, they want July 21. Give out 1991 and they say now we want the 1981 stuff.

There's no end to it."

Bush, often hyperactive in the past, has followed a schedule that Lee described as "killing." The physician has several times urged the President to relax, including an occasion last year when Bush told reporters at the end of a press conference at Andrews Air Force Base:

"I've got to run now and relax. The doctor told me to relax. . . . He said, 'relax, take it easy, don't answer any questions.'"

Fitzwater, calling the reports about Bush's health "dirty tricks," said: "My advice to the President is you shouldn't release anything. You just keep going and don't worry about it. The people of America see how active he is and see he is in good health."

"These rumors won't die, and I don't think there's anything you can say to make them die," Fitzwater said. "Here's a guy who runs miles every day. His health is documented in every form."

Republican sources said the rumors have persisted because Bush does not appear as energetic or as focused as he was earlier in his presidency.

Mrs. Bush said she "was really amused when I heard the rumors," including one suggesting the President would undergo open heart surgery after the campaign. "Do you think I would let the person I love more than life run for public office when he has open heart surgery after the campaign?"

"But the one I really loved, was when they said he had lupus. The dog has lupus, not the President. The President is in great physical shape."

Like Fitzwater, Dr. Lee said stories and rumors questioning Bush's health are the result of "dirty tricks" or irresponsible reporting. In a 40-minute telephone interview with The Times, he attributed "a big part of the pressure" on Bush to the press.

"I think you people have got a lot nastier in the past 20 years," he declared. "I don't think [President John F.] Kennedy was exposed to this kind of stuff. Lyndon Johnson or Harry Truman weren't done that way. People respected people's privacy then."

Bush has been bothered by news reports on subjects he considers an invasion of his privacy, Lee said.

While recent unsubstantiated reports that Bush had an affair with a former aide did not upset the President, he said, Bush was distressed by reports questioning the business practices of his sons.

Asked why he thought Bush appeared so grim at his press conference Thursday announcing Secretary of State James A. Baker III's appointment as chief of staff, Lee said: "The press has been on his case very severely and very extensively over the last several months. You can't ask this guy to turn the other cheek indefinitely and say, 'Gee whiz, I'm glad to see you.' The reporting is not helpful to his attitude toward the press."

"President Bush is not Superman. He's got to have small ups and downs on the job like anyone else. Some days he feels better than other ones. The pressure of the job is great and you have to give him a little respect and back off a little bit."

When people say Bush seems distracted or disengaged, he said, "it can be he's thinking about something else, maybe wrapped up in a problem he's having trouble solving."

"That's the court of last resort in that Oval Office," Lee said. "And the guy is owed a little respect for having to think about things, for not being in a great mood or thinking of something else. Over-interpretation of every move and every gesture and every expression doesn't get you anywhere."

The Wall Street Journal article questioning Bush's health also raised questions about Lee's drinking and personal conduct at social functions and reported that some doctors and people close to the President question whether Lee has the judgment and professional experience to serve as chief White House physician.

The article, said Lee, a 62-year-old cancer specialist who is a personal friend of the President, "obviously slandered and insulted" him and made no mention of the positive aspects of a medical career that has included 30 years service at New York City's Memorial Hospital.

"I don't know why he did it," he said, speaking of the reporter who wrote the article. "You think that a guy just sat his desk and thought it up: 'Gee whiz, I'll trash the President's doctor today.' Is that how his mind works? I don't think so. I'd like to do a little investigative journalism on why he did that article and who told him to do it. Where did he get his M.D. to qualify me as either good or bad for crying out loud?"

Times staff writer James Gerstenzang contributed to this story.

**'These rumors won't die, and I don't think there's anything you can say to make them die. Here's a guy who runs miles every day. His health is documented in every form.'**

MARLIN FITZWATER  
President Bush's press secretary

# Los Angeles Times

## ABORTION: Mrs. Bush Speaks Out

Continued from A1  
problems with the draft; he had a lot to overcome there. And I think . . . well if he lied, he said one thing and did another, [then] I'm not sure that wasn't legitimate."

Mrs. Bush has seldom spoken out on policy matters and almost never at variance with her husband. She is extremely careful in her public statements, making it highly unlikely that her remarks on abortion and Bond were not cleared in advance at least with President Bush.

Mrs. Bush's comments suggest that the President and top GOP strategists realize that the party's anti-abortion stance will cost them votes in November—particularly from women and GOP moderates—and are trying to reclaim Republicans who support abortion rights.

Some political strategists have also suggested that harsh personal attacks on the Democrats—while effective in appealing to some voters—could offend others at a time of intense public dissatisfaction with the state of the nation. Mrs. Bush's criticism of Bond has the effect of distancing the White House from the assaults.

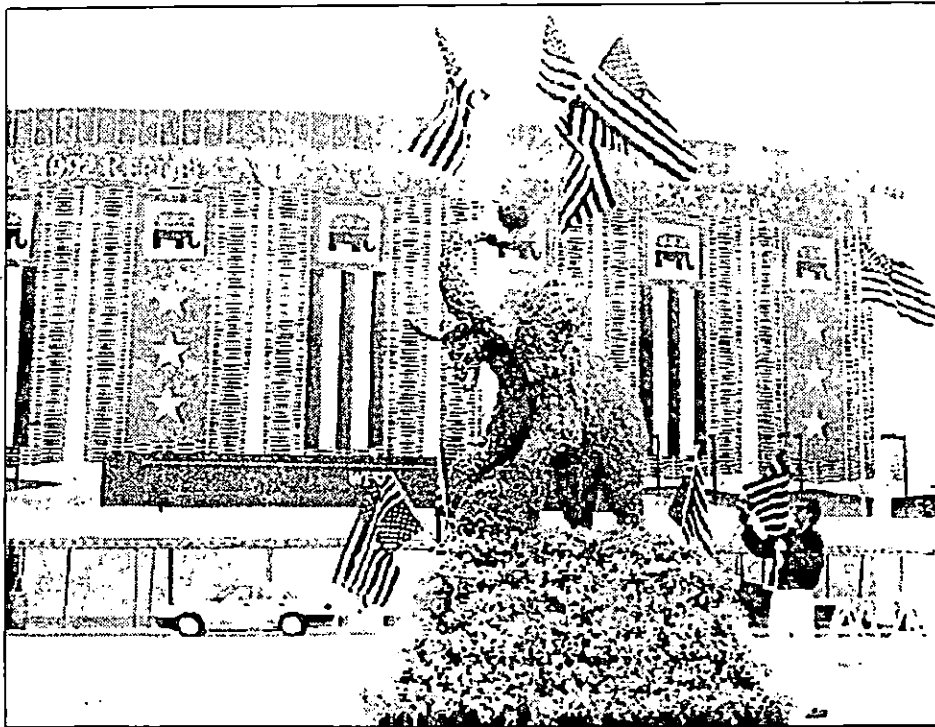
In that context, Mrs. Bush's remarks may be part of an emerging pattern. They mark the second time in nearly two weeks that attacks by a Bush campaign official on the opposition have later been repudiated by the White House. On Aug. 2, campaign political director Mary Matalin called attention to Bill Clinton's acknowledged marijuana use and alleged adultery, only to be reprimanded for the remarks by Bush the next day.

A Clinton campaign official said Thursday that it appeared to be a cynical gambit to put a damaging charge out and then claim it was not authorized a day or so later. "It's obvious a game is being played," said Clinton-Gore campaign spokeswoman Avis LaVelle. "It's like good cop/bad cop."

In Houston, Jean Sullivan, an Alabama delegate to the GOP convention who has been taking part in the platform deliberations, said of Mrs. Bush's remarks: "I'm sure she spoke from the heart, not out of politics."

But whether from heart or mind, the First Lady's comments, combined with her husband's answer to a hypothetical question earlier in the week, in which he said that he would stand by his granddaughter if she chose to have an abortion, appear to have at least the potential for defusing the explosive issue and shielding the President's beleaguered candidacy from harm.

"There's a difference between talking about this as an abstraction and talking about it in reality," said abortion rights activist Mary Crisp when told of the President's supportive comments about his granddaughter.



HAROLD CRAWFORD Los Angeles Times

Daniel Saporzadeh puts finishing touches on elephant sculpture outside Houston's Astrodome Thursday.

Commenting on abortion in the interview Wednesday with the magazine writers, Mrs. Bush said the subject should not be part of the GOP platform "either pro or con."

The First Lady declined to discuss her views on the controversial subject in Thursday's interview with *The Times* and other papers. "I've had it with abortion," she said testily, declaring she wished it were not a topic in the current campaign.

She criticized zealots on both sides of the abortion debate, saying that neither was entitled to claim a monopoly on morality. "Any moral superiority bothers me on either side and I've certainly seen it on both," she said. "Both sides yell at me . . . I don't think that's healthy for the country when anyone thinks their morals are better than anyone else's."

"The major issues ought to be peace, security, economy, health care, [the President's] crime package, schools . . . those ought to be the major issues," the First Lady said.

Abortion rights advocates applauded Mrs. Bush's remarks. Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, said in a statement, "Most Americans believe that abortion is a personal choice. Unfortunately, the radical anti-choice plank in the Republican Party platform is entirely consistent with President Bush's extreme anti-choice actions as President."

President Bush held abortion rights views as a candidate for President in 1980, switching sides only after former President Ronald Reagan, who is against abortion, tapped him as running-mate.

A draft of the Republican Party platform approved Thursday in Houston by the 107-member plat-

form committee calls for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. An attempt by Republicans who are abortion advocates to delete all references to abortion was defeated 84 to 16. A Washington Post-ABC poll this week found that 55% of the 2,210 delegates do not support a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

Mrs. Bush told the magazine writers that she was neither "pro or con abortion," noting that the President had supporters on both sides of the divide.

"We should be working on the commonness underneath this umbrella," she said. "And, fine, you're pro-choice. I understand that. Great, you're pro-life. I understand that, too. And I know that you can argue yourself blue in the face, and you're not going to change each other's minds, and it's a waste of your time and my time to try to change minds. People feel very strongly both ways."

She was then asked whether she thought abortion and homosexuality were issues of personal preference. "Indeed they are," she said.

Mrs. Bush's position is identical to that taken by "Unity Platform '92," a group of moderate Republicans who tried, without success, to persuade the GOP platform committee to drop all mention of abortion.

Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.), who favors abortion rights and faces an uphill race this November against Democratic Senate candidate Dianne Feinstein, is a member of the national advisory board of the newly formed group.

Mrs. Bush's criticism of GOP leader Bond referred to a speech he gave Wednesday asserting that Hillary Clinton, an attorney, advises her husband on his every move. Bond said she "believes kids should be able to sue their parents" and "has likened marriage and the

family to slavery."

He drew the conclusions—the Democrats say unfairly—from legal analyses Hillary Clinton wrote in 1974.

Even as she criticized Bond, Mrs. Bush said she "adores" the GOP chief and had not discussed the matter with him.

Mrs. Bush was also asked Thursday how she would respond if one of her granddaughters became pregnant. The First Lady gave an answer similar to her husband's, when he was asked the same question in a television interview earlier this week. He said he would counsel the young woman against abortion, but would not reject her no matter what choice she made.

Mrs. Bush answered in terms of breaking the law or using drugs, saying she wouldn't condone the behavior but wouldn't disown the child. "I'd hate it and expect them to take their punishment . . . [but] I would always put my arms around my child, no matter how wrong they were."

Previewing her prime-time convention appearance next week in which the First Lady will speak on the Republican theme of family values, Mrs. Bush preached a message of sexual abstinence, saying, "Promiscuous sex is a death threat. There's no such thing as safe sex."

The First Lady angrily dismissed questions about her husband's alleged affair with a longtime aide as "sleaze," "ugly" and "a lie in every way, shape and form." She told the reporters "you all ought to be ashamed of yourselves for printing those things or asking those things."

Times staff writers William J. Eaton and Robert Shogan contributed to this story.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Los Angeles Times

## Mrs. Bush Contends Abortion Is 'a Personal Choice'

■ **First Lady:** View is at odds with her husband's stance. She says issue should be dropped from GOP platform.

By JOHN M. BRODER  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Barbara Bush, in stunning contrast with the position her husband has maintained for the last 12 years, contends that abortion is "a personal choice" and that Republicans should drop the rigid anti-abortion plank from the current Republican Party platform.

In a White House interview with representatives of three news magazines released Thursday, Mrs. Bush described abortion and homosexuality as "a personal choice . . . [a] personal thing." She said "The personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, out of platforms and conventions."

And, in an interview with The Times and other newspapers on Thursday, Mrs. Bush leveled a

blast at Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond for his recent attacks on Hillary Clinton, wife of Democratic standard-bearer Bill Clinton. "I don't like it," Mrs. Bush said of Bond's allegation that Hillary Clinton is anti-family.

"I'm not going to lie to you about that," the First Lady said. "I don't like attacking. . . . She's not running for office."

Mrs. Bush also accused the media of bringing a negative tone to the campaign, and of being biased against her husband. Reminded that coverage of Democratic nominee Bill Clinton had been quite harsh earlier this year, she retorted: "Well, Mr. Clinton had some problems, though, and Mr. Bush doesn't. I mean, I didn't like it, I told you that, but he had a few

Please see ABORTION, A5



AL STEPHENSON For The Times

Barbara Bush in family quarters of White House before interview.



# Los Angeles Times

said. "If we're not strong at home, we cannot be strong abroad, and if we can't compete in the global economy, we will surely pay for it here at home."

That problem has been acutely on display in California, he noted, saying the state's economy "has been terribly hurt by the lack of a national economic strategy, especially the lack of a conversion plan to convert defense cuts into domestic economic investment."

"The currency of national strength in this new era will be denominated not only in ships and tanks and planes but in diplomas and patents and paychecks," he said. "My first foreign policy priority will be to restore America's economic vitality."

One particular area in which Bush has followed the wrong path, Clinton argued, is in global environmental policy. Germany and Japan, he argued, have seen environmental improvements as a spur to development of new products while the Administration has seen environmentalism as an enemy of economic growth. The result so far has been for America's rivals to capture the lion's share of the world market for new environmental technologies.

Development of new environmental technologies could be of particular help to areas such as California where defense cutbacks have left many high technology workers, engineers and scientists unemployed, Clinton argued. Democratic strategists hope that line of argument will help rebut Republican claims that Clinton's environmental policies will hurt industry and cost American jobs.

"We believe that sound environmental policies are a precondition of economic growth, not a brake on it," Clinton said, citing both his views and those of his running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore. "That is one of the major decisions facing the American people in this election," he added.

Clinton also maintained his criticism of those in his own party who have deprecated the need for a large military budget.

"There are those, some in my party, who see defense cuts as largely a piggy-bank to fund domestic wish lists, with our defense structures and missions as a mere afterthought rather than a starting premise," Clinton said.

"While the Soviet Union is gone, a President must still be ready to defy and to defeat those who threaten us.

"The world remains a dangerous place, though the dangers are now different and less apparent than in the Cold War," he said. "Whatever else we expect of our presidents, we still need a resolute leader who will wield America's might and marshal all our resources and the resources of our allies to defend our most fundamental interests."

Clinton repeated his call for deeper cuts in the defense budget but for keeping several major military programs that he argues are needed to provide the military with the flexibility and capacity for

rapid response it will need.

And he declared his support for a controversial idea proposed by Senate Armed Service Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.)—reviewing the overlapping responsibilities of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force with an eye toward eliminating costly redundancies. Although the idea of eliminating some of the overlaps among the services has been around for decades, Presidents consistently have shied away from it ever since fierce opposition from military leaders scuttled Harry S. Truman's effort at the problem in 1948.

## Gore Hails Inner-City Housing Rehab Project

By EDWIN CHEN  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CHICAGO—Capping a week of solo campaigning, Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore toured a South Side Chicago housing rehabilitation project on Thursday, hailing it as model for the nation.

The tour was the Tennessee senator's first campaign foray into an inner-city neighborhood and it set the stage for further appearances designed to underscore the Democratic ticket's concern about urban issues, Gore aides said.

Such issues also will be highlighted during the third joint bus tour by presidential nominee Bill Clinton and Gore, this one from Detroit to Buffalo, N.Y., set to begin the day after the GOP Convention ends.

Visiting a four-story apartment building undergoing rehabilitation, Gore was told that it had been abandoned for nearly eight years, until the South Shorebank stepped in to provide local developers with rehabilitation loans.

The 54-unit building is one of 400 in the community that the bank has helped to rehabilitate, said Dorris Pickens, president of a South Shorebank subsidiary called the Neighborhood Institute.

She said the building, whose 54 units are being remodeled to accommodate larger families, also will be used to teach nearby elementary school students about urban renewal and entrepreneurship.

Pickens said the project also has provided jobs in the community, from architects to carpenters.

She also noted that the default rate on the bank's loans for the project is 1.5%—far below the national or state average.

"You are showing here how it can be a fantastic program for a whole community," Gore said. "We need to learn from success stories like this."

Gore's visit to a Chicago housing project contrasted sharply with a recent visit by Vice President Dan Quayle to a posh suburban Chicago housing development being built around a golf course, with houses selling for \$180,000 and up.

On an unrelated issue, Gore called Secretary of State James Baker's move to the White House "a sign of extraordinary political panic" on the part of President Bush and his reelection campaign, adding that Baker's talents "could be better used" to concentrate on the Middle East peace talks.

Later, Gore flew home to Carthage, Tenn., for a long weekend of rest.

# Clinton Blasts Bush's Foreign Policy Record

By DAVID LAUTER  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Bill Clinton, delivering his most comprehensive attack on what polls show to be his opponent's greatest strength, sharply criticized President Bush's record in foreign affairs and laid out a comprehensive outline of his own foreign policy centered around an emphasis on economic competitiveness.

Later, in an interview with reporters and editors of The Times, Clinton expanded on the theme, saying that the Bush Administration had failed to understand that "there isn't the clear dividing line between domestic and foreign policy that there once was. It seems to me that is the ultimate lesson we need to learn: If you're not strong at home you don't have the power to be involved abroad."

His experience as a governor for the last 11 years has given him substantial experience in the area of international economic policy, Clinton said.

In the interview Clinton also strongly defended his economic plan against suggestions that he has not called for enough sacrifice from average American families to bring down the nation's huge deficit. Such criticism, he said, is voiced only by those—including many members of the press—whose own incomes did well over the last decade. By contrast, he said, "the people who have not sacrificed in this country are people at the upper incomes, at the income levels, whose incomes went up and tax burdens went down."

"Because we have a huge deficit occasioned by Reaganomics and trickle-down economics, there is this assumption abroad in the land that the only way we can fix it is to punish the middle class and lower-middle-class just a little more," he

Please see CLINTON, A6

Continued from A1  
said. "And I don't believe that."

Clinton cautioned that he has been careful not to repeat President Bush's "read my lips" statements on taxes and admitted that further tax increases might be needed in years to come if his plans—particularly his hope to control the rapidly escalating costs of health care—fail to work.

"If we don't control health care costs, it's going to be almost impossible" to make the rest of his program work, Clinton said. But, he added, the fact that other major industrial nations have been able to provide universal health care and control costs makes him confident that the United States can do so.

On foreign policy, Clinton often during the campaign has tried to neutralize what polls indicate is a strong Bush advantage by emphasizing points of agreement with the Administration. But as his support has grown in recent weeks, Clinton has become more assertive in challenging Bush on the President's presumed area of greatest strength.

In recent days he has taken to reminding people who ask about his foreign policy experience that two of the country's greatest leaders on the world stage—Franklin D. Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson—came to the presidency as governors with no prior experience in foreign affairs.

"The issue in foreign policy is how much do you understand about the world, what are your values, what is your judgment, do you have the personal strength to make the right decisions," Clinton told reporters Thursday morning. Before the presidential campaign ends, he added, he hopes to convince American voters that he can pass that test.

"Every President in the last half century has had to confront the fateful decision to send Americans into combat," he said in Thursday's speech to a crowd of some 2,200 at a forum sponsored by the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. "I do not relish this prospect, but neither do I shrink from it."

Clinton used his speech, the first event of a three-day campaign swing through California, to press his case by launching an unusually blunt and direct assault on Bush's record. Bush, he charged, had wrongly favored stability over democracy in his dealings with regimes overseas.

"It is always a hazardous enterprise to discuss foreign policy in the midst of a presidential election," he said. But "it is important that a candidate for President, especially in a time of great change, set forth his or her views and distinguish them from the views of the opponent."

"From the Baltics to Beijing, from Sarajevo to South Africa, time after time, this President has sided with the status quo rather than democratic change—with familiar tyrants rather than those who would overthrow them—with the old geography of repression rather than a new map of freedom," Clinton said.

Bush, he said, had "failed to stand up for our values" when China's government attacked demonstrators in Tien An Men Square. The Administration "initially snubbed Boris Yeltsin" in Russia and publicly opposed efforts by Ukrainian leaders to break away from the Soviet Union and establish their independence.

And in Iraq, Bush "appeased" and "coddled" Saddam Hussein's regime, Clinton said. "Even after the conclusion of the Iran-Iraq

War, after Saddam had gassed his own people, his own Kurdish population, this administration continued to coddle Iraq with economic credits, licensed military useful technology and offered an obliging silence about Iraq's savage human rights record."

"A Clinton-Gore administration will not permit American firms again to sell key technologies to outlaw states like Iraq," he said.

"My Administration will stand up for democracy," Clinton said, pledging to offer assistance to the emerging democracies of eastern Europe, to "keep the pressure on South Africa until the day of true democracy has dawned" and to "link China's trading privileges to its human rights record and its conduct on trade and weapons sales."

Clinton also said he would support efforts to establish a new Radio Free Asia to provide the sort of news programming for China that Radio Free Europe provided for the people under communist regimes in Eastern Europe during the Cold War. And he said he would seek to "buttress democratic forces in Haiti, Peru, Cuba and throughout the Western Hemisphere."

In Washington, Bush campaign press secretary Torie Clarke accused Clinton of having "stretched the outer edge of the envelope on credibility" with his criticisms. Clinton, she argued, supports military cuts that would be "reckless and irresponsible and endanger the national security of this country."

But Clinton's emphasis on promoting democratic values overseas tracks the analysis of party strategists who believe Bush to be vulnerable to the accusation that his foreign policy lacks a moral content. Democratic strategists believe that argument fits into an overall picture that many voters

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have of Bush as a man motivated more by short-term calculation than by long-term principle.

Clinton has also tried to enter into the area of foreign policy the basic attack the Democrats have made against Bush as a President lacking in vigor and vision.

"I have agreed with President Bush on a number of foreign policy issues," Clinton said in his speech, "but I do not believe he has complete vision of this new era. I see a world of change, security flow from initiative, not from inertia."

Bush's lack of vision has served the nation badly in the areas where foreign policy intersects economic policy, Clinton argued.

"Foreign and domestic policy are now two sides of the same coin," he



Reuters

**'From the Baltics to Beijing, from Sarajevo to South Africa, time after time, this President has sided with the status quo rather than democratic change—with familiar tyrants rather than those who would overthrow them—with the old geography of repression rather than a new map of freedom.'**

not have been in nearly as much trouble if there had not been more tax fairness in his 1990 tax package, and if instead of just sort of signing it in the middle of the night on a weekend, if he had gone before the American people on the front end and said: "Here's what happened: The circumstances were worse than I thought, and I was wrong, I shouldn't have said this." I think he'd be in better shape today if he'd done that.

**Q:** One could characterize pumping investment into the economy as taking the risk of running a greater deficit, with things not working out on any kind of timetable. If the investments don't work out as you envision, if the transportation and communications investments don't yield this greater wealth we're looking for, you're saying then you would go to the American people and say . . .

**A:** We've got to try something else. . . . Keep in mind there are two plans that are more extreme than mine. There's the Bush plan, which is sort of incrementally more of the same. There's the Perot plan, which is let's go in and balance the budget now, have eight slow years and then it'll get good at the year 2000; and I think that plan has some integrity in the sense that it's very forthright and properly analyzed in terms of what the impact is.

Then there are the 100 economists, including the Nobel Prize winners, who said invest \$50 billion now and add it to the deficit because you'll get enough growth, net growth, that you'll actually reduce the deficit by getting growth. Then there's the private sector version of the same argument, which is the Jack Kemp-[Rep.] Vin Weber argument, which as you know, adds \$400-something billion in tax cuts over the next five years to the deficit because that will give you growth.

I have taken a more moderate position than either one of those, which is to increase public investment, increase private investment but do it in the context that will still enable us to bring down the deficit in a modest way. I look at the other high-productivity, high-growth countries, and if you compare, for example, what we spend on research and development, what we spend on infrastructure, the percentage of our income we spend on education and training, the efforts we make to develop new technologies and turn them into jobs . . . we are way behind them. And there is every reason to believe that appropriate and competitive levels of investment in those areas will produce the same high-wage jobs and the same growth in this economy that they produced in those economies.

There is no reason to believe you could possibly generate high levels of growth without high levels of investment both on the public side and in private investment, which is why I've called [for] the new venture capital gains tax for five-year holding periods and a permanent investment tax credit.

**Q:** The responsibility of the press—in this campaign . . . this issue has surfaced, and I know it troubles many people . . . if our leaders are going to be talking about family values, where does the press draw the line? In other words, we have responsibility not to get involved in sleaziness, but also we have a responsibility to the American public to help them evaluate the candidates and their character. So where should we stop? Where do we go too far?

**A:** I don't know. I think it's a difficult issue in terms of the times in which we live. But I think that for one thing, you need to make sure you are never driven by commerce . . . Don't ever write a story on this stuff to beat the competition or because you think the Republican National Committee will beat you to it or because the tabloids are doing it, or whatever. I don't know. I can't answer your question, but I would ask you always to remember that somehow, miraculously, the Republic survived without knowing about Franklin Roosevelt and Lucy Mercer. Somehow we made it. He did a pretty good job. Somehow the Republic survived without knowing the enormous behavioral problems his wife had. We are still around. . . . I know it's a new and different age. I have to tell you that I just don't feel confident giving you advice. . . . ask me after the election, or after I'm retired from public life, when I have no dog in this hunt. . . .

lot of fanfare, at least, initiated the beginnings of a free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada. Everyone knows that Congress isn't going to get around to this until next year, by which point you might be President. So what happens then? Would you in any way try to stop this agreement? . . .

**A:** I was strongly supportive of giving the Administration the authority to conduct the negotiations. And I was for it for philosophical and practical reasons. A great country like ours only grows wealthier by increasing the value of trade. And it has to be in some measure a two-way street. . . .

My own view is that we really ought to be very sensitive to people who lose their jobs, in terms of their retraining. We ought to have a manufacturing strategy that saves as many of the jobs as we can. And we ought to have environmental guarantees . . . to clean up the atrocious environmental problems that exist on the other side of the border. . . .

I can't say that I approve of this specific agreement because I haven't seen it. . . . If it doesn't deal with the issues of labor conditions and retraining and the environmental issues, then the next question is, is there some way that by unilateral or joint action outside the treaty itself we can deal with those issues so that the treaty is negotiated and can go forward, and we don't have to just send people back to the drawing board? I very much want an agreement, but I want it to be one that would generate more jobs and more income for both our people.

**Q:** In a not unrelated issue, you can't really talk much about free trade in Southern California without people [considering] immigration . . . That issue cuts across ideological lines. On the one hand, you have got President Bush saying that free trade will help reduce illegal immigration. One of his compatriots, Pat Buchanan, talks about putting the military on the

**I am convinced one of the biggest problems we have is that people do not talk to each other in America across lines of race and income. And I think one of the things we have to find a way to do . . . is find some permanent forum that is kind of an ongoing town meeting for Los Angeles.**

borders . . . . Where along that rather wide spectrum do you think you fall?

**A:** I wish I knew what to do about the immigration issue. . . . My own belief is that if there is a substantial increase in the per-capita income of the Mexican people as a result of increased trade and market policies and the kinds of things that President Salinas has really tried to do, that that will clearly reduce illegal immigration.

So I think that we have to say: "Do we need immigration laws with quotas and limits?" I think we do. And do we need to try to enforce them? Yes, we must because a lot of people live by those laws and wait for a long time to come to this country just because they live a long way away and they can't get here on a boat or crossing a border. Will we always have an imperfect system as long as there are these vast inequalities in economic opportunity and as long as we're a fairly open society? I think so. For those immigrants who are here, who are going to be able to stay here, we need to try to make citizenship more available. We need to try to make sure that they can be better integrated into the flow of life in America, with education, with economic opportunity.

On the whole, immigration has been a source of strength for this country. Diversity has built us, not torn us down. And as

not is, if you look at what is going on in Bosnia today, if you look at what's going on in Nagorno-Karabakh, if you look at what's going on in Somalia, we've have managed to live together remarkably, given the differences of ethnicity and income in the country.

**Q:** Do you support Gov. Wilson's welfare initiative?

**A:** No. I like some parts of it but I think this cut in the benefits after six months because somebody is still on it . . . that assumes that everybody can rationally be required to find work after six months. And you've got Ph.D's in this state that have been out of work for a year and a half. . . . So that part of it I have real problems with.

**Q:** Do you have any special observations on California, on where the state is going?

**A:** California is going to be a great test for America, because this has been a place of unbridled opportunity for growth . . . but now it is in trouble. California really benefited from America having a national economic strategy as it related to defense and space and when we stopped having the other strategy we had and didn't find one to put in its place, California paid the price.

We are going to have to create in Silicon Valley in the area of technology and here in the area of aerospace the kind of partnerships between the government, business and labor and education that will turn this situation around. . . .

The second great challenge I see here is since this is the most diverse part of America is that we are going to have to prove that we can educate people from over 100 different cultures speaking 100 different languages and find a way for people to move from modest incomes and poverty into the middle class by reversing the increasing inequality of America.

**Q:** Governor, you've suggested the U.N. should consider anything that's necessary to stop the slaughter [in Bosnia] and the United States ought to be part of that effort; you've even suggested using air power as a start. What do you see as the American interests in such action? And in the long run how do we get back to peace and stability in that region?

**A:** If the slaughter continues there it may spread beyond the borders, it may create all kinds of obligations on European countries and eventually the United States to take a lot of refugees, to try to resettle people. We may be dealing with a tyrant who may be able to threaten his neighbors in [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic. Our main interests is in trying to make sure that somebody we have reason to believe is violating international law—in the detention camps and in other things that he is doing—does not become a bigger threat to the peace and security of Europe in ways that affect our interest.

I have not called for any commitment of ground troops, or even for the use of air power . . . but if we want to lead a world in which we try to work through the United Nations with multinational forces, one of the things we are going to have to resign ourselves to is on occasion participating in peacekeeping operations or relief operations where we might suffer some loss of life.

**Q:** Apart from the overriding goal of reviving the economy, what would be the two or three things that you would have to accomplish in a first term so that in your own mind you could view it as a success?

**A:** I would have to believe that I moved America to a point where the American people really believed they had to work together to increase productivity, and they all had to be willing to change, so that we could make the changes going on in the world our friend instead of our enemy. I would have to make real progress on the health care front . . . because if I can't control health care costs and provide a basic health care package then it is going to be almost impossible to avoid going back to [ask] more sacrifice from the middle class to deal with the budget crisis.

The third thing I would like to do is pass a number of these initiatives which I think would recreate a sense of personal responsibility, empowerment and community in the United States. I would like people to believe that their government was working again. . . . I would have to do something in the first term, not only to revitalize the economy and to deal with the health care crisis but to make this whole government accessible to people again in ways that are consistent with their values and interests.

# Los Angeles Times

## Clinton Outlines Ideas for Inner City to Persian Gulf

Following is an edited transcript of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton's meeting Thursday at The Times:

**QUESTION:** Using Los Angeles as an example of urban America, what specifically would a Clinton Administration offer . . . to improve the quality of life in the nation's cities?

**ANSWER:** First, I would offer a completely different economic approach than this Administration does, which would increase public investment in our nation's cities—in transportation, communications, environmental technology and cleanup.

Second, I would seek to increase the private sector economic activity. I support the initiative of urban enterprise zones that [Housing and Urban Development Secretary] Jack Kemp has championed, but I think more needs to be done. In particular, I think you need a banking network that actually makes loans to people who live in these cities, and so I have called for two things: One is the establishment of a network of community development banks in all major urban areas . . . and secondly, a major effort to get the traditional banks themselves to make such loans.

Then I think there has to be a whole sort of personal mobility initiative, which would include intensive efforts at providing for summer jobs and mentorships and other things of that kind for our young people. . . .

I strongly support some very specific educational initiatives, which I think would be very helpful to the bigger cities in particular. This includes smaller classes in the earlier grades, full funding of Head Start, and then the ability to tell young people all along their school lives that if they stay in school they can either go to a two-year apprenticeship program . . . or they can have a chance to finance a college education through the national service trust that I recommend. . . .

The third thing that I think we need is a whole response to the problem of poverty itself. The two things that I have emphasized are, first, raising substantially the earned-income tax credit so that anybody who works 40 hours a week and is the head of a household that has a kid in it is lifted above poverty. . . . And secondly, a real welfare reform initiative that would intensify our efforts at education and training and job placement for people on public assistance.

[Next], I think we need is a safe-streets initiative. My plan among other things would place 100,000 new police officers on the streets in the next couple of years.

I am convinced that one of the biggest problems that we have is that people do not talk to each other in America across lines of race and income. And I think one of the things we have to find a way to do . . . is find some permanent forum that is kind of an ongoing town meeting for Los Angeles. The President would have to use the bully pulpit to make sure that every major area in our country has that kind of forum for airing these disputes before they get out of hand.

**Q:** In the campaign questions have been raised about your foreign policy experience. You have argued essentially that President Bush's experience hasn't prevented him from making mistakes. Nonetheless, would you please describe your personal foreign policy credentials?

**A:** I have also argued more to the point that our presidents have succeeded in foreign policy not based on the experience in foreign policy they had when they came to the White House but based on their understanding of America's interests and America's values . . . and their judgment and their ability to respond to a crisis. . . .

Our countries fought two world wars in this century, both under the direction of presidents who came to the presidency from governors' offices. In some ways being a governor and having experience in the global economy . . . is as good a preparation for the presidency, if not better, than being in the United States Congress.

**Q:** What would President Clinton do to get rid of Saddam Hussein or deal with China?

**A:** Well, we don't have the opportunities that we had right after the Gulf War, when it was obvious that the United States wanted desperately to keep Iraq intact, even if it meant Iraq was governed by Saddam Hussein . . . . The options are more difficult; he is much more firmly entrenched now than he was at the end of the Gulf War.

I essentially support what the Administration is now doing through the United Nations, trying to turn up the heat on Saddam to comply with at least those portions of the cease-fire agreements which affect the rest of us: That is his efforts to develop weapons of mass destruction. But I think that dealing with him and with some of the other dictators in the world who are rushing to develop the capacity to have weapons of mass destruction will be a monthly trial for the next President, whether it is George Bush or Bill Clinton, and I wouldn't rule out military action.

But I don't think that we should discuss specifics in a hypothetical context. I think the United States will have to continue to lead a U.N. effort to be very tough with him, or he will do things we will all pay for in the years ahead.

**Q:** One of the issues the President has stressed quite a bit in the last weeks is his support for private-school choice. You usually pose your opposition to it in terms of financial strain, that we can't afford to do this now while our public schools are underfunded. If the resources were available, would you be willing to experiment with this, or is there a deeper principle involved?

**A:** Let's put this in proper context. Over 90% of all the money for public education comes from state and local revenue, a much higher percentage now than in 1980.

. . . So basically what you've got is a President out there advocating something that is supposed to stand for a whole set of values and issues that has very little to do with the job a President does all day every day.

I do not believe that the choice issue is a silver bullet for education under any circumstances. Number two, I think kids ought to have choices in schools, and I have supported wider public-school choice.

I support private schools; I think we have a lot to learn from them. . . .

But I am philosophically opposed to taking the tax money under present circumstances, when our public schools need it and there are other avenues to reform available, and devoting it to private schools. . . .

**Q:** Governor, you have said repeatedly in the last several weeks that it will require courage for Americans to change presidents and embark on a recovery program. But the scenario you sketch out seems remarkably free of sacrifice for everyday Americans. What sort of sacrifices do you see Americans having to make so that the country can regain its footing economically. If you could be specific on that . . .

**A:** First of all, you know, the only people who ask me these questions are reporters whose incomes didn't go down in the 1980s. And their bosses, whose incomes went up in the 1980s. And I hate to be sort of aggressive about this, but there is an astonishing lack of awareness in these questions about what really happened to most Americans in the 1980s. Most of your fellow citizens are working harder today for lower incomes than they were making 12 years ago. Their tax burdens are higher, they're paying more for health care, more for housing, more for education. They have sacrificed. They are bleeding. They are hurting.

Bush is going to stand up and tell them that Al Gore and I have crazy ideas, we don't represent family values, we're going

Most of your fellow citizens are working harder today for lower incomes than they were making 12 years ago, their tax burdens are higher, they're paying more for health care, more for housing, more for education. They have sacrificed. They are bleeding. They are hurting.

to tax all their income away, and we're going to take their guns away, and they're going to raise all these red flags and scare everybody to death. And it always takes courage to change.

But middle-class people's main challenge is going to be the challenge of lifetime education, redefining security in terms of being employable rather than having a particular job and making a major commitment to recreate the workplace in every place in America. They may have to pay more in the future for specific benefits, and I think they are willing to do that. All the polls show, for example, that if we can't finance a national health program through cost savings, that people would be willing to pay more if it were for a specific benefit.

**Q:** If you have the large bulk of the population convinced that there's going to be no financial outlay for them to solve the nation's problems, if your plan doesn't work and you have to go to plan B, you have a populace that essentially has to be convinced anew that they're going to have to be a partner in this recovery.

**A:** No, because I have never said "Read my lips." I've gone out of my way not to say that. You know, I still think that Mr. Bush would not have gotten in nearly as much trouble—I mean nearly everybody, a lot of thinking people knew that this "Read my lips" pledge he made was an improvi-

# Los Angeles Times

## Eagleburger, the Pragmatist, Takes Over at State Dept.

By PAUL HOUSTON  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Lawrence S. Eagleburger, who moved up to become acting secretary of state Thursday, is one of the country's most-experienced and best-liked diplomats, a barrel-waisted, chain-smoking, wisecracking workaholic who has been a longtime sidekick of Henry A. Kissinger.

Eagleburger's pragmatic erudition, combined with his unpretentious, direct and informal style, have gained him widespread friendship and respect in the State Department, on Capitol Hill and in international diplomatic circles.

As deputy secretary of state under James A. Baker III for the last three years, Eagleburger, 61, managed most of the day-to-day business as well as handled tricky diplomatic assignments.

A memorable newspaper photo during the Persian Gulf War showed Eagleburger surveying bombed-out rubble in Tel Aviv, supporting his portly frame (and bum knee) with a cane. He was on a successful mission to persuade the Israelis not to retaliate against Iraqi Scud missile attacks, a response that could have shattered the U.S.-led coalition against Saddam Hussein.

Eagleburger, a 30-year veteran of diplomatic life, has been the point man in defending controversial Administration policies on Iraq and Yugoslavia. He also has monitored ambassadorial appointments, smoothed over rocky relations with congressional leaders and served as the State Department's lead negotiator in Administration-wide policy disputes.

"Larry doesn't have the political clout" that Baker has with Bush, "but I think he has a solid grasp of policy issues," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, who, like Eagleburger, was an aide to Kissinger, the former national security adviser and secretary of state under former Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford.

While Eagleburger was not in Baker's inner circle, Sonnenfeldt said, "he was very often relied on to conduct policy because of Baker's preoccupations."

Recently, Eagleburger has been subjected to Democratic charges of conflict of interest in U.S. policy on Iraq and Yugoslavia, stemming from his days as head of Kissinger's Washington consulting firm, which has international clients.

But his reservoir of goodwill is so deep in Congress that one committee chairman decided not to call Eagleburger as a witness in further hearings on the Administration's pre-Persian Gulf War policy of seeking friendship with Iraq's Hussein. The reason, an aide said, was that the chairman "likes him too much."

"I've always been impressed with him," Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told the National Journal recently. "He is Kissinger without his warts, in my view. Kissinger with a clearer moral compass."

Biden vividly recalls a luncheon party he attended in the late 1970s at the Adriatic villa of Marshall Josip Broz Tito, the late president of Yugoslavia. Tito and American elder statesman W. Averill Harriman were seated at a table, discussing dramatic events during and after World War II. Eagleburger, a career Foreign Service officer serving as U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, was the translator—and also interjected his own ideas into the conversation.

"What impressed me was Eagleburger's absolute command of the political situation, as well as his command of the language," said Biden.

Since then, the senator has helped guide Eagleburger past Senate confirmation obstacles thrown up by one of his only congressional enemies, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), a conservative ideologue who distrusts Eagleburger's pragmatism.

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), another member of the Senate foreign policy panel, attributes Eagleburger's bipartisan popularity to "his great experience, his great wisdom and his very pleasant personality in dealing with difficult situations."

Occasionally, Eagleburger's wry hyperbole goes awry. In a speech at Georgetown University following the collapse of communism in Europe, he suggested that the world might some day be nostalgic for the Cold War because in a bipolar world it was easier to understand where nations stood. The point was made for effect with a degree of humor, but some critics hammered him for it.

# Dates and Sites of 3 Bush-Clinton Debates Due Today

By JAMES BORNEMEIER  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The dates and sites of three proposed debates between President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton, including one in San Diego on Oct. 4, will be announced today by the bipartisan group planning for the nationally televised forums.

The first debate would take place Sept. 22 at Michigan State University in East Lansing, and the final debate is scheduled for Oct. 15 at the University of Richmond in Virginia, according to Janet Brown, executive director of the Commission on Presidential Debates.

The San Diego site is the University of San Diego, which will announce its selection at a press conference this morning.

The Clinton campaign has sent a letter accepting the debating sites, Brown said. The commission has not yet received a formal commitment from the Bush camp.

"We are looking forward to hearing from the Bush campaign," Brown said, "but in the past they have waited until after the Repub-

lican convention to officially agree to the sites."

The arrival of James A. Baker III as Bush's chief of staff might change the plans, according to another commission source.

"He's a less-not-more guy," the source said, "and may want to drop a debate. Anything's possible."

In 1988, a debate planned for Annapolis was scratched because it was scheduled too early, the source said.

A debate between Vice President Dan Quayle and Democratic contender Sen. Al Gore is scheduled for Louisville, Ky., on Sept. 29, but the specific site has not yet been selected, Brown said.

In a significant change from previous debate formats, the 90-minute sessions will have a moderator but no media panel—the first time since 1976 that the candidates will not face media questions.

"We wanted to minimize the intrusion of questioners and maximize the role of the candidates," said Brown.

Other format details—length of opening and closing statements, how long the candi-

dates will have to talk, and whether they will ask questions of each other—are still being worked out. Also under consideration by the commission is whether to have a live audience.

Earlier in the year, negotiations between the commission and the four major TV networks broke down over who would control the debates. One sticking point was the moderators. The networks wanted their anchors, but the commission also wanted to consider print journalists.

Whoever the commission recommends will be someone "with broadcast experience," Brown said. "They won't be making their debut at the debates."

Some network officials feel that the failed talks merely confirm that political parties want to maintain as much control as possible over the production of debates in order to give maximum advantage to their candidates—or to prevent embarrassment.

The nonprofit commission was formed in 1987 and has 10 directors, all politically savvy. The co-chairs are Frank J. Fahrenkoph Jr., a former Republican Party chair-

man, and Paul G. Kirk Jr., a former Democratic Party chairman.

The commission did considerable research on how to structure the most effective format, said Brown, by interviewing candidates, academics and media experts.

On the issue of debate audiences, the arguments cut both ways, Brown said.

"We heard some complaints about the audience noise interfering with people hearing what the candidates said," Brown said. "But without an audience the candidates can lapse into 'inside baseball' language. With people in the studio, the candidates are reminded they are talking to a television audience too."

The first televised presidential debate, between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon, was produced by the networks in 1960. The League of Women Voters sponsored the next debate in 1976 and also organized subsequent debates in '80 and '84.

The commission took over for the 1988 debates.

For various political reasons, no debates were held in 1964, 1968 or 1972.

# President's Alter Ego to the Rescue

■ Few modern Presidents have relied as heavily on someone as George Bush has on James Baker. The bond is like that between brothers. As secretary of state, Baker seemed effectively prime minister.

By SARA FRITZ  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—When George Bush's bid for the Republican presidential nomination was faltering in 1980, his campaign manager, James A. Baker III, called a press conference and—without Bush's consent—announced that the candidate would soon withdraw.

Although Bush was not quite prepared to quit the campaign at that moment, Baker effectively forced his boss out of the race. After Baker's press conference, Bush had no choice but to accept the inevitable. He promptly withdrew.

Years later, Baker took credit for securing the 1980 vice presidential nomination for Bush by pressuring him to withdraw from the presidential race. If Bush had not quit when he did before the California primary, Baker reasoned, GOP nominee Ronald Reagan would not have chosen Bush as his running mate.

As that tale of unusual chutzpah vividly demonstrates, Baker is far from the ordinary Washington political operative. With a reputation for true political savvy, a resume of policy achievements and an unusually close relationship with the President, Baker was the obvious person to be chosen by Bush at this moment to lead his presidential reelection campaign.

For many years, Baker, who will step down as secretary of state on Aug. 23 to become White House chief of staff, has been Bush's alter ego. Beginning in 1970 when Bush ran for the Senate, Baker has always been deeply involved in Bush's political campaigns and has served twice previously as the presidential campaign manager, always holding as much sway over the decision-making as the candidate himself.

And as secretary of state for the last four years, Baker has been the equivalent of prime minister. On matters of policy as well as politics, White House insiders say, the President frequently has deferred to the judgment of his old friend "Jimmy."

Few modern presidents have relied so heavily on a single appointee. And few have had as genuine a personal friendship with their top political adviser—a relationship that many observers have likened to the bond between brothers.

"There's a special chemistry between them," said Ken M. Duberstein, former White House chief of staff who has observed Bush and Baker together many times. "Sometimes, one is the older brother and one is the younger brother. Sometimes, they play the opposite roles."

Like Eisenhower, Budget Com-

Continued from A1

mittee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Carmel Valley), who has witnessed the Bush-Baker alliance in budget negotiations with members of Congress, also views the relationship as a fraternal one. But as Panetta sees it, even though Baker is the younger of the two, he more often plays the role of older brother. "Baker gives him 'duberstein,'" Panetta said.

Duberstein added: "Jim is willing to tell his old friend, the President, 'You are wrong. You need to go in another direction.' That is why George Bush respects him so much."

Historians say the Baker-Bush relationship is unusual, but not unique. Most modern presidents have relied on professionals—not friends—to run their administrations.

Dwight D. Eisenhower had Sherman Adams. Richard M. Nixon had H.R. (Bob) Haldeman. Jimmy Carter had Hamilton Jordan. But while Nixon employed friends such as Robert Finch and William P. Rogers and Lyndon B. Johnson included Clark Clifford in his inner circle, neither of them depended upon a single confidant such as Baker.

Clearly, Bush's bond with Baker more closely resembles the ties between President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

In fact, there are so many similarities between Baker and Bush that they could easily be brothers.

Like Bush, who is 68, Baker, 62, was born into a wealthy, influential family and attended the finest schools. His great-grandfather helped found the Houston law firm of Baker & Botts, the second-oldest firm west of the Mississippi River. He attended the Hill School in Philadelphia, where he was captain of the tennis team, and then went to Princeton, where he joined the college's most prestigious eating club.

Even now, there is a prep school-style chumminess and competitiveness in the way Bush and Baker relate to each other. Stephen Hess, political scientist at the Brookings Institution, noted the pair adhere to the "old fashioned style of male bonding" as portrayed in John Knowles' "A Separate Peace."

When they are together, close observers say, Bush and Baker communicate in a shorthand banter that tends to exclude other people in the room. Bush sometimes needles Baker about eclipsing him in the international arena. Baker gently chides Bush for letting him do all the work. There is almost no pretense between them and little recognition that one is leader of the Free World. Jokes—often slightly off-color—are a staple of the give and take.

Not surprisingly, the Bush-Baker alliance began as a social relationship—a tennis partnership in Houston in the early 1950s that successfully combined Baker's strong forehand with a good Bush backhand. It was not until Baker's first wife died of cancer at the age of 38 in 1970, that he consented to join Bush in politics, apparently to help cope with his grief.

Since then, Baker, who remarried in 1973, has always been there to serve as Bush's loyal second. And while his efforts have sometimes eclipsed those of the boss, he has strongly resisted speculation that he himself wishes to be President someday.

Even during periods of his political career when he was not working directly for Bush, the bond between them remained strong. Bush is credited with helping Baker get most of the jobs that moved him up the political ladder—assistant secretary of commerce in the Nixon Administration, delegate-counter for President Gerald R. Ford's 1976 presidential campaign, manager for Reagan's 1980 campaign, White House chief of staff under Reagan and Treasury secretary in the second Reagan Administration.

Baker's history of Bush-inspired appointments and promotions appears to have created in him a strong sense of loyalty and obligation, as well as a clear-eyed understanding that his own political fortunes rise and fall with those of the President. Obviously, that is what persuaded him, despite his strong personal misgivings, to leave Cabinet posts he enjoyed to run Bush's campaigns in 1988 and to rejoin the White House staff this year.

Just as he has relied on his friendship with Bush to climb the ladder of success, Baker tames his political adversaries by forming alliances with them too. Visitors to his immaculate, well-ordered office are often disarmed by his imphic sense of humor and personal directness. Political meetings and press interviews routinely begin with a good-natured joke.

By forming mutual bonds with Democratic leaders and foreign diplomats, Baker has succeeded in building a reputation as a master negotiator for the Bush Administration.

But policy built on personal relations has its limitations. In negotiations with the former Soviet Union, critics say, Baker developed such a strong identification with Mikhail S. Gorbachev that he was slow to recognize that Gorbachev's days were numbered.

When it comes to formulating policy, both Baker and Bush are more tacticians than strategists. Baker has even admitted that he lacks "the vision thing," as Bush once termed it. And because neither the President nor his top adviser is credited with having that quality, the Administration sometimes appears to lack direction.

"Boldness without Vision" is the phrase that Time

of state—a judgment shared by critics of the Administration as well as many high-ranking career diplomats at the State Department.

Still, for all of their shared attributes, Baker clearly is a more instinctive politician than his boss. As the story of Bush's withdrawal from the 1980 presidential race proves, Baker seems to be able to smell a political disaster in the making and to steer clear of it.

Yet Baker's detractors charge that he has been known to use his sensitive political early-warning system to divorce himself from failures of the Bush Administration, leaving the President to take the blame.

It was no coincidence, according to State Department officials who declined to be identified, that Baker, who usually travels with Bush when the President goes overseas, did not accompany him on a politically disastrous trip to Japan last January. That was the trip in which Bush, overcome with the flu, vomited on the Japanese prime minister during an official dinner.

In part, Baker's ability to steer a course around these political disasters is based on a good personal relationship with members of the press. Political analysts in Washington continue to marvel at the way Baker avoided being identified in the press with the negative campaign waged by Bush in 1988, even though he was chairman of the campaign.

Unlike most natural politicians, Baker was not drawn to politics at an early age. When he first met Bush, he was living the quiet life of a socially prominent corporate lawyer in Houston and practicing with the firm of Andrews, Kurth, Campbell & Jones.

Although Baker grew up with a father he has described as authoritarian and who demanded achievement, he showed no unusual ability to excel before entering politics. He was a better-than-average student, but impressed his fellow students as more of a party boy than a scholar. He failed by one point to finish in the top 10% of his class at the University of Texas.

Yet even though politics ultimately proved to be his strength, Baker seems to have retained some of the disdain for politics that he learned from his upper-crust relatives. Since he first came to Washington, he has struggled to be recognized more for his policy achievements than for his political acumen.

In 1988, when Bush asked him to resign as Treasury secretary to take over the reigns of his foundering campaign for President, Baker let it be known that he was disappointed to be valued more for his political skill than his policy achievements. Again this year, when Bush began pressuring Baker to step down as secretary of state, his aides confided that Baker felt the move would diminish his record of statesmanship.

Baker first established his national reputation as Reagan's first chief of staff. Although Baker technically shared power in that job with two longtime Reagan aides, Edwin Meese III and Michael K. Deaver, he was frequently described in the press as the "first among equals." In fact, he was the only member of the trio to emerge unscathed from the bitter, internecine war among them.

As chief of staff, Baker shepherded Reagan's 1981 tax and spending cuts through Congress and played a leading role in negotiating a 1983 agreement that preserved the long-term health of the Social Security system.

But Baker yearned for a high-profile Cabinet job and he engineered an unusual job swap with Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan in 1985. At Treasury, he helped to persuade Congress to enact a sweeping overhaul of the tax code, negotiated a free trade agreement with Canada and struck accords with the major industrial countries that helped to improve America's competitive position by bringing down the dollar.

Bush was trailing Democrat Michael S. Dukakis in the polls in August, 1988, when Baker agreed to leave Treasury to head Bush's presidential campaign. After helping Bush achieve a stunning, comeback victory, he had earned the top Cabinet spot: secretary of state.

His desire to be secretary of state was born by his acquaintances at the time as an outgrowth of his ambition, not as the result of any genuine interest in diplomacy. Yet Baker proved himself to be an excellent diplomat as he negotiated an arms treaty with the Soviets, built an allied coalition in advance of the Persian Gulf War and encouraged the reunification of Germany.

Baker's shortcomings were clearly apparent at the State Department, however.

Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-Panorama City), a leading member of the House Foreign Relations Committee, said that Baker proved to be "a pretty cautious guy with a high sense of expediency, devoid of vision of where he wanted the world to go." Inside the State Department, Baker was criticized for talking only to his top aides and failing to consult with the high-ranking career diplomats who work there.

Baker's steady climb up the government ladder has frequently led to speculation that he will someday make a bid for the presidency himself. But those who know him best are skeptical that he will ever seek elective office. Baker, they say, has bad memories of losing his only bid for elective office when he ran for attorney general of Texas in 1978.

Despite his passion for politics, Baker—unlike Bush—has always seemed happy to remain slightly

**Baker's detractors charge that he has been known to use his sensitive political early warning system to divorce himself from Administration failures, leaving the President to take the blame.**

# Los Angeles Times

## BUSH: Baker Named Chief of Staff

**Continued from A1**  
Chairman Robert M. Teeter will report to Baker, who four years ago abandoned his position as secretary of the Treasury to become chairman of Bush's campaign just as it was turning a corner and overtaking the lead held by Democratic candidate Michael S. Dukakis.

His political record, however, is not flawless: He ran Gerald R. Ford's unsuccessful election campaign in 1976, and Bush's unsuccessful effort to gain the Republican presidential nomination in 1980.

For Baker, 62, the move to the White House brings him full circle: He served in the same office in the southwest corner of the White House from 1981 to 1985, as Ronald Reagan's first chief of staff, a position in which he was highly regarded for imposing discipline among the warring conservative factions that arrived in Washington with Reagan.

More recently, his control of foreign policy has been described by those in competing positions as the reason that differences between the Pentagon, the State Department and the National Security Council staff have not blown up into public disputes, as they did in the Reagan Administration. And, by contrast, the lack of any such firm hand in the domestic arena has been blamed by some on the President's failure to install any senior official with similar authority over economic and social policy.

There had been little doubt over the past month that Baker would be called upon to help revive the Bush campaign—and, although he said Thursday the decision to leave the State Department was "one of the most difficult of his life"—that he would respond. The only question was his title. In an interview with a group of reporters on Thursday, the President's wife, Barbara, said Skinner and Baker had known about the shift for "weeks."

The changes will take place on Aug. 23, one day before the scheduled resumption in Washington of the Middle East peace talks that Baker was instrumental in getting started.

The announcement that Baker would return to the White House brought expressions of delight from Republican partisans gathering in Houston for the party's nominating convention, which begins Monday.

Clark Reed, the veteran chairman of the party in Mississippi, said Baker "can speak with authority for the President."

Jack Kemp, the secretary of housing and urban development and a maverick whose espousal of conservative causes has often been a thorn in the political side of the White House, said Baker would "bring fresh new ideas and management skill and a decisiveness that I think personally was lacking in the campaign."

"He's a quarterback, and he'll call the plays," said Kemp, himself a former professional football quarterback in San Diego and Buffalo.

"They're bringing in the first team," Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) said.

Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), who with Kemp has pressed Bush publicly to adopt a new program of tax cuts to spur economic growth, referred to Baker's past role as Treasury secretary, and said that his departure from the State Department signaled a shift of White House attention from foreign policy to the domestic matters around which the election is expected to revolve.

Democrats were less enthusiastic.

Clinton, offering a form of backhanded praise, said Baker was "one

**For Baker, 62, the move to the White House brings him full circle: He served in the same office in the southwest corner of the White House from 1981 to 1985, as Ronald Reagan's first chief of staff, a position in which he was highly regarded for imposing discipline among the warring conservative factions.**

of the best politicians, deal makers and political handlers they've got."

With Baker at the helm, he told reporters in Los Angeles, the Bush campaign "will still be very negative, but it will be more cleverly negative. They will know how to cover it up a little or paper it over."

Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, said the change was "a sign of extraordinary political panic."

Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic Party chairman, said the assignment of Baker "to salvage a troubled and directionless campaign reveals just how desperate President Bush and the Republican Party really are."

And Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said Baker was "doing such an excellent job as secretary of state that I believe this move is a mistake and not in the national interest."

**B**ut Bush allies were in unanimous agreement that the step was in the President's interest.

"One of the main problems we had was we couldn't get anyone to make a decision," said a senior White House staff member. "The White House attracts strong intellects, highly competitive people who want power and know how to use power. You have got to have someone at the top who can command those kinds of people."

The senior official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said it was recognized at the White House and campaign that the arrangement under which Skinner and Teeter played equal roles "was not working."

He said that on Thursday, Bush summoned his senior staff—several of them closely tied to Skinner—to a meeting in the Roosevelt Room, across a corridor from the Oval Office, at 10 a.m., 15 minutes before he announced the shift himself in the White House press briefing room, and told them that Skinner was out and Baker was in.

"Jim Baker has been with me in every campaign I've been involved in for 35 years and I just want him with me in this one," said Bush, reflecting on "our unique personal background together," according to the senior aide.

When Bush finished his five- to 10-minute remarks, there was no applause, out of deference to those who were likely to be leaving, the official said.

Among those expected to leave with Skinner was one of the senior aides he brought into the White House, counselor Clayton K. Yeutter. A future role for deputy chief of staff Henson W. Moore was under consideration, the official said.

Baker will bring with him the core of his State Department team: spokeswoman Margaret D. Tutwiler; Robert Zoellick, the undersecretary of state for economic affairs; Dennis Ross, director of policy planning; and Janet G. Mullins, assistant secretary for legislative affairs.

Tutwiler will become assistant to the President for communications. Zoellick will be deputy chief of staff. Ross will be assistant to the President for policy planning and Mullins will be assistant to the President for political affairs.

At the Bush headquarters a few blocks from the White House, campaign manager Frederic V. Malek summoned the entire staff to report the shift.

"It has given a sense of excitement [to the campaign staff] that has been missing," a senior campaign aide said. "There is a real sense of relief that a strong political team will be in the White House, where it's really been needed."

Campaign officials have complained in recent weeks that after Republicans have won three consecutive presidential campaigns, they have lost the hunger for victory and that those at the top were running the campaign more as a hobby than with the fervor that has characterized the Clinton effort.

By 7 p.m. each night, they have complained, Teeter, Malek and the general campaign chairman, Robert A. Mosbacher, have quit their offices, and one official angrily tells the story of the day in July when June's unemployment figures were being publicized, showing a sudden increase, and each of the three had already left Washington for the Independence Day weekend.

"There was no adult supervision," one campaign aide said, characterizing the campaign as adrift.

Times staff writers Robert Shogan in Houston, and John M. Broder and Douglas Jehl in Washington contributed to this story.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Los Angeles Times

## Baker Named Chief of Staff at White House

■ **Presidency:** Bush's appointment is seen also as an effort to give direction to his reelection campaign office.

By JAMES GERSTENZANG  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—In a dramatic maneuver that underscores the depth of his political difficulties, President Bush named Secretary of State James A. Baker III as his chief of staff Thursday, shaking up the top of the nation's diplomatic hierarchy and, for the second time in eight months, imposing a new team at the upper reaches of the White House.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, a career diplomat, will be named acting secretary, a position that does not require Senate confirmation. Samuel K. Skinner, the former transportation secretary who replaced John H. Sununu as White House chief of staff last December, will become general chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Announcing that he had asked Baker to leave the State Department "to join me as chief of staff and senior counselor," Bush said of his friend of 35 years: "He will help me build on what we started by developing an integrated second-

be presented as early as next week at the Republican National Convention in Houston.

Baker, said one senior Republican who has worked closely with him for more than a decade, will bring "focus, discipline and decision-making to a White House used to having decisions made, reversed and re-reversed. When Jim Baker makes a decision, it will stick."

"For the White House and the campaign, there is one boss, and his name is Jim Baker," the senior Republican said.

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said campaign  
Please see BUSH, A8

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term program of domestic, economic and foreign policy."

But underlying that optimistic approach, said sources in the White House and the Bush reelection campaign organization, as well as other Republican sources, was a deepening concern that both the White House and the campaign office, struggling to overcome Bill Clinton's lead in the presidential race, were desperately in need of firm, experienced leadership and new ideas.

One of his first tasks, a senior White House official said, will be to oversee the preparation of "new initiatives and to lay out ideas for a second term," some of which may



Agence France-Presse

James A. Baker III waves to associates at the State Department before announcing his resignation.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Los Angeles Times

## U.S., Serbs Trade 'Fascist' Charges

■ **Human rights:** A U.N. commission opens a session on reported atrocities in Bosnia. It may vote to investigate abuses.

By RONE TEMPEST  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

**GENEVA**—The United Nations Human Rights Commission on Thursday opened a two-day emergency session to investigate atrocity reports in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with U.S. and Serbian envoys trading accusations of "fascist" behavior by their respective countries.

Assistant Secretary of State John R. Bolton, terming the Serbian regime in Belgrade "the last fascist state in Europe," predicted that a Bush Administration proposal for a probe into human rights abuses in Bosnia will be approved by the commission today. Infuriated Serbian Ambassador Branko Brankovic reacted by calling for the rights commission to "label the United States as a fascist country for what it did in Vietnam."

"In this resolution we will be discussing," said Brankovic, "you have something that is contrary to basic Roman law—that someone is innocent until proven guilty."

The meeting in the U.N. Palais des Nations here opened with several hours of procedural debate among the delegates, some of whom wanted to specifically name Serbia and Montenegro as the aggressors in the fighting that has claimed thousands of lives and left an estimated 2 million people homeless. The American-written draft proposal does not designate any nationality as being at fault in the conflict.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic, speaking at the emergency session, presented a gruesome picture of conditions in his country.

"People are decapitated and men are castrated," Ganic announced solemnly. "Women are raped and mutilated. Serbian symbols are carved on their bodies. Mass executions are routine. There are hundreds of mass graves."

Such blood-drenched rhetoric is common on all sides of the war raging in the region. However, some of Ganic's strident claims were backed up Thursday by an unusually critical report from the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross, the organization charged in the

Geneva Conventions with inspecting refugee and prisoner-of-war camps.

Normally apolitical and extremely careful to avoid making partisan judgments, the Red Cross, without naming Serbia, described what it termed "a policy of forced population transfers carried out on a massive scale and marked by the systematic use of brutality."

After touring several Serbian-run detention centers in Bosnia, the Red Cross representatives said they had "access to only a very limited number of prisoners of war, while the places of detention are crowded with innocent and terrified civilians."

Bolton said he had been assured of the support of at least 27 members of the 53-member Human Rights Commission for a U.S.-sponsored proposal to send a special human rights investigator to Bosnia, one of the former Yugoslav republics. By appealing to the Human Rights Commission, a former Cold War propaganda battleground, the Bush government opened another front in its diplomatic battle with the Belgrade regime that governs Serbia and Montenegro, all that is left of the Yugoslav federation.

According to diplomatic sources, two leading candidates for the human rights job are former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez and Irish Foreign Minister Gerry Collins. U.S. and British officials are hoping to dispatch an investigative team to Bosnia and have it return with a report before a scheduled Aug. 26-28 London conference on the Balkans crisis.

Bolton, who is assistant secretary of state for international organizations, enraged the Serbian delegation at the meeting with a tough speech warning that Serbia and Montenegro were in danger of becoming "an international pariah, an outlaw state."

"We ask the people of Serbia-Montenegro this simple question: Do they wish to go down in history as citizens of the last fascist state in Europe?" Bolton said.

Serbs and Montenegrins are fiercely proud of their anti-fascist guerrilla combat on the side of the Americans during World War II. "There is nothing that is more emotional to a Serb than to be called a fascist," said Serbian delegate Olga Spasik.

Later in the meeting, Bolton held up a Time magazine cover depicting a Bosnian Muslim in a Serbian detention camp and showed it to the Serbian delegation.

"A picture is worth a thousand words," Bolton said.



**'We ask the people of Serbia-Montenegro this simple question: Do they wish to go down in history as citizens of the last fascist state in Europe?'**

JOHN R. BOLTON  
Assistant secretary of state

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Los Angeles Times

## U.N. OKs Force for Bosnia Relief

■ **Balkans:** Security Council resolution authorizes 'all measures necessary' to aid battered Sarajevo. But there's no hint yet about the form military action may take.

By STANLEY MEISLER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

UNITED NATIONS—The U.N. Security Council, appalled at Serbian "ethnic cleansing" and detention camps, overwhelmingly approved a resolution Thursday authorizing the use of "all measures necessary," including military force, to ensure the supply of humanitarian relief to Sarajevo and the other beleaguered communities of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There was no hint, however, about the kind of force, if any, envisioned by the United States, Britain and France, the main proponents of the Security Council action. British Ambassador David Hannay, in fact, told reporters that the resolution was "not a resolution prescribing the use of force. It is merely a resolution authorizing it as a last resort."

Nevertheless, in an echo of the resolutions that powered American action in the Persian Gulf War, the Security Council handed individual nations like the United States and regional organizations like NATO the right to intervene militarily in Bosnia in the name of the United Nations.

This appeared to trouble Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who sent a letter expressing fears for the safety of the more than 14,000 U.N. peacekeepers now monitoring the cease-fire line in Croatia and protecting the airport at Sarajevo.

Boutros-Ghali asked any country planning to use force in Bosnia to give him "adequate advance warning of its intentions" so that he could "minimize the dangers" to the U.N. personnel. Although he did not say so, this presumably could entail withdrawal of his peacekeepers.

The U.N. action failed to satisfy Bosnian Ambassador Mohammed Sacirbey, who chided the Security Council for dealing with the symptoms of "a disease called *cis-cenje*"—the Serbian word for ethnic cleansing—and not with the disease itself. The Serbs have been forcing Muslims, the largest ethnic group in Bosnia, out of many

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## BALKANS: U.N. OKs Force

Continued from A1

communities in an obvious attempt to make most of Bosnia a part of a Greater Serbia.

The council, wary of an open debate in the chamber between Serb and Bosnian leaders, refused a request by Sacirbey to address the session. Instead, he submitted a written statement in which he lamented what he called "a wide gap between the words and the deeds of the international community."

"We have become the modern world's Warsaw Ghetto of 50 years ago, abandoned by many, deprived but together . . . resisting a fascist philosophy. . . ." the Bosnian ambassador said.

By a vote of 12 to 0 with three abstentions, the Security Council passed the use-of-force resolution that called upon all nations "to take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements all measures necessary to facilitate in coordination with the United Nations the delivery . . . of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina."

The three abstainers—India, Zimbabwe and China—did so mainly on the grounds that they believed that the Security Council was giving individual countries a blank check to intervene in Bosnia.

"This empowers any state which feels able and so inclined to use military force in any part of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the name of the United Nations without any control from the United Nations," said Zimbabwean Ambassador S. S. Mumbengegwi.

The abstention by China enabled the resolution to pass, for China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, could have vetoed the resolution by voting against it.

In a second resolution, which was passed by a 15-0 vote, the Security Council condemned "ethnic cleansing," demanded complete access to detention camps by the International Committee of the Red Cross and called on all nations and humanitarian agencies to collect material about "grave breaches" of international law. This presumably could lead to war crimes trials in the future.

In their official statements before and after the debates, the ambassadors were harsh in their condemnation of the government in Belgrade, once the capital of Yugoslavia and now the capital of what is left of the Yugoslav federation—the republics of Serbia and Montenegro. "My government," said American Ambassador Edward J. Perkins, "is appalled by the continuing deterioration of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The destruction of vil-

es, executions and indiscriminate killings continue apace. Belgrade's vile policy of 'ethnic cleansing'—actually ethnic extermination—is only intensifying.

"We are witnessing some of the most egregious abuses of human rights that Europe has seen since World War II."

The prospects for military action, however, were confused. In Washington, a senior Administration official said, "Our hope is that having this resolution will mean that we will not have to use it."

But he noted that the United States, NATO and the Western European Union were making contingency plans. NATO ambassadors planned to meet in Brussels today to discuss their options.

There is a possibility, the Administration official said, that American air power could come from an aircraft carrier in the Adriatic Sea and from air bases in Aviano in northern Italy. He added, however, that the British were unenthusiastic about committing combat forces, although the French were more open to the idea.

But there was no hesitation in Turkey. In Ankara, military officials announced that they were forming a

mechanized battalion with 480 troops to be ready to join any multinational force in Bosnia. Turkey, a Muslim nation, has been calling for military action for some time to halt the Serbian attacks against the Bosnian Muslims.

The senior Administration official in Washington acknowledged that it is possible military intervention might come too late to prevent the Serbs from controlling as much of Bosnia as they want. But he also said that the United States could never accept ethnic cleansing.

Boutros-Ghali's letter to the Security Council reflected a growing concern among U.N. officials that any military intervention would convince the Serbs that the U.N. peacekeepers are not a neutral force and thus provoke a backlash against them.

In a hint that he might feel forced to withdraw them, the secretary general wrote that a number of governments that had contributed troops to the U.N. operation at the Sarajevo airport "have recently communicated to me their growing concerns about the security of their personnel."

Times staff writer Art Pine, in Washington, contributed to this story.

# Los Angeles Times

## U.S. Warns of New Iraqi Offensive Against Shiites

By MELISSA HEALY  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Bush Administration officials warned Thursday that the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein appears poised to launch a new offensive against Shiite Muslim civilians and insurgent forces in southern Iraq and said Washington may take military steps to stop the internal repression.

Officials at the State and Defense departments Thursday reported a steep rise in Iraqi air activity in the south and a steady increase in the concentration of tanks, troops and weapons near Shiite population centers.

"They could potentially start in the next few days," said a senior Bush Administration official. "They have the capability to start a major portion at any time now.

They've got all the assets in place."

Any U.S. military action would come under authority of U.N. Security Council Resolution 687, which permits members of the allied coalition that launched Operation Desert Storm in 1991 to

### ■ REFUGEES MAROONED

Iraqis complain about treatment in Saudi camps. A2

enforce the cease-fire accords signed with Iraq. U.N. Resolution 688 prohibits Iraq from engaging in "repression" of its civilian population.

Hussein's moves in the south—and the Bush Administration's escalating rhetoric against his regime—come against the backdrop of persistent Iraqi harassment of international efforts to aid Iraq's Kurds in the north. Before the

Please see IRAQ, A3

## IRAQ: U.S. Warns of Hussein Offensive

Continued from A1

Security Council earlier this week, a Dutch diplomat detailed Baghdad's "cruel treatment" of the Kurds in the north and said that in the south, Iraqi commanders have been ordered to destroy Shiite villages and kill their occupants.

Since late June, U.S. officials added, Iraqi helicopter gunships have been strafing villagers as they flee into the marshes near the border with Iran, and combat aircraft are conducting maneuvers "virtually every day."

Baghdad's resumed repression in the south has revived consideration of a U.S. military response. A senior Bush Administration official said a significant Iraqi misstep "might be useful" for the United States to launch a sharp response.

Bush Administration officials have warned that Washington could use warplanes to shoot down Iraqi aircraft involved in the attacks on the south. The United States has maintained more than a hundred combat aircraft at bases throughout Saudi Arabia, and the aircraft carrier Independence, with several dozen strike planes on its decks, is currently steaming inside the Persian Gulf.

At the same time, 2,400 U.S. Army troops are preparing to land in Kuwait for exercises over the next week, joining 2,760 Marines already on maneuvers there. The exercises would bring American combat troops to within 120 miles of the Shiite populations centers being attacked by Iraqi forces.

State Department officials said the United States could act alone to punish the Iraqi repressions and added that Washington believes that no further U.N. resolutions are needed to authorize the action. Officials observed that Washington's allies have expressed particular outrage at the latest pattern of Iraqi defiance and would probably back a limited U.S. military move against Iraq.

Britain and France, along with other North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies, most likely would join in any air strikes, U.S. officials said.

On Tuesday, Russia's representative to the Security Council reportedly warned that Iraq "should be prepared for grave consequen-

es" if it continues its defiance of U.N. cease-fire terms.

Bush Administration officials said Hussein's regime appears to be under increasing pressure at home. In recent weeks, Hussein has ordered the execution of many merchants accused of price-gouging—including fellow members of the Sunni Muslim sect, who have supported his regime.

The executions have prompted what one official called a "shut-down" by those merchants, whose activities were keeping the Iraqi economy moving. Such moves, said one State Department expert, are a measure of the Iraqi leader's increasing political troubles as continued economic sanctions intensify the pain and frustration of the Iraqi population.

"I don't think this is good economics, and it's pretty desperate politics," said the official.

Several knowledgeable Bush Administration officials said Hussein's flagging support among his traditional Sunni constituency may be fueling his increasingly defiant stance against the United Nations and his harsh actions against Shiite insurgents. But they added that Hussein's apparent desperation—and especially the erosion of support among longtime allies—has encouraged hopes within the Administration that he may finally be ousted.

A Bush Administration official said American policy toward Iraq continues to be aimed at enforcing full compliance with U.N. resolutions, as well as encouraging "a government [in Baghdad] that is at peace, not only with its neighbors but with its people."

Asked whether such a goal could be realized with Hussein in power, the official repeated longstanding calls for his ouster. "He'd have to change an awful lot," the official said.

"Repression and police state methods have been very much his stock-in-trade, and I personally have serious doubts he's going to change at this time and that he'll ever tolerate implementation of the resolutions."

Times staff writer Art Pine contributed to this story.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Los Angeles Times

## 'Free' Doesn't Apply to Trade Pact, Critics Say

By JAMES RISEN  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—As more of the closely held details of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement trickled out here Thursday, many critics expressed fears that the pact could turn out to be the first step toward the creation of a North American trade citadel.

The draft agreement, unveiled on Wednesday by the United States, Mexico and Canada, is full of special provisions designed to benefit some American industries that lobbied long and hard to

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influence the outcome, while erecting barriers to competitors from Europe and Asia.

"I am concerned that this agreement has something of a fortress mentality to it," said William Niskanen, a conservative economist and free trade advocate at the Cato Institute, a Washington think tank. "I would expect that we will get complaints from the Third World and Japan that we are trying to shut them out of things like textiles and auto parts."

Please see TRADE, A3

## TRADE: 'Fortress Mentality'

Continued from A1

The Bush Administration and major business groups are touting the proposed accord as a bold step toward unfettered markets.

But examples of the opposite are plentiful. For Chrysler, the agreement would open new opportunities in Mexico; for Toyota, it may close them. For Zenith, the pact would be a boon because it limits Asian access to the North American television tube market.

For overseas yarn manufacturers, the agreement would raise new walls to the American apparel market. For U.S.-owned banks, the pact would provide a new edge in the Mexican financial market over European and Asian banks—even those that now have large U.S. operations.

In some critical industries, the agreement appears to limit the ability of Japanese and other Asian firms to use low-cost Mexican plants as a way of gaining easy access to the huge U.S. market.

Japanese officials told reporters in Tokyo on Thursday that they are, indeed, concerned about what they termed a protectionist tinge to the North American trade pact.

"Some of our concerns about the trade agreement have not been satisfied," a spokesman for Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry said. "I feel some disappointment."

To be sure, the Bush Administration's overall objective of gradually eliminating tariffs and other trade barriers among the United States, Canada and Mexico was largely achieved in the 14-month negotiations among the three nations. By century early in the 21st Century, most of the 20,000 existing duties and tariffs will have been phased out.

Limitations on foreign ownership of financial institutions and other corporations in Mexico and the other nations will have been lifted, and the integration of the North American continent into a single market now populated by 360 million consumers will become a reality.

But, meantime, the three governments have cut a bewildering array of special deals to protect many of the largest American, Canadian and Mexican corporations from the harshest aspects of the transition to free market status.

Negotiators have had to set aside a separate category of tariffs and other trade barriers involving sensitive industries that will not be phased out as quickly as others—and will instead last as long as 15 years.

What is more, many key industries have exploited the free trade talks to gain an advantage—mainly through new North American product content requirements—over their Asian and European rivals in long-simmering trade disputes. Many of those American firms have, as a result, hailed the agreement as a step toward reviving long-suffering industries.

"This is the first thing of a proactive nature that the government has done to help the television industry in a long time," said Tim Regan, vice president and director of public policy for Corning Inc., which supplies glass for television picture tubes.

In fact, companies that manufacture televisions in the United States—even those that are Japanese-owned—would be among the big

Under current law, Asian and other foreign television set makers can skirt high American import tariffs by assembling sets in Mexico made from Asian tubes and other parts. But the new agreement would close that loophole, benefiting the eight American, European and Japanese companies that now manufacture picture tubes in North America.

The agreement would impose tough new duties and quotas on tubes for television screens larger than 13 inches that are made outside North America. In the future, it would even extend those barriers to such leading-edge products as high-definition television and flat panel television tubes. "This has got all kinds of things in it to revive the North American television industry," Regan said.

Another big winner would be the American auto industry. The Big Three U.S. auto makers fought hard—and successfully—to impose domestic content rules on the free trade talks to protect them from more open competition with the Japanese.

The agreement says that only cars built with 62.5% of its parts and labor from North America will qualify for duty-free status in the three nations.

Such domestic content rules were designed to prevent Detroit's worst nightmare: a scenario in which the Japanese would build low-cost Mexican plants to assemble cars mostly with Japanese parts.

But the trade pact goes even further to help Detroit. The agreement would limit, at least temporarily, the duty-free advantages of Mexican auto production only to firms that already have assembly plants there.

That means that General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Nissan and Volkswagen would be able to ship cars from their existing plants in Mexico to the United States without paying duties. But if Toyota or Honda or other foreign firms build new assembly plants there in the future, they cannot—at least not for several years.

"Chrysler is pleased that the agreement will confer trade benefits only to the three participating countries," a Chrysler spokesman said Thursday.

"We will review the agreement to see if Toyota will be treated fairly and equitably," Toyota responded tersely.

The nation's textile industry—politically powerful in Washington with a strong base of support among Southern members of Congress—obtained even more stringent protection under the agreement that already has come in for strong criticism from free trade advocates.

The new agreement would grant duty-free status only to apparel and other goods made with yarn and fabric produced in America, Mexico or Canada. That means that clothes made in Los Angeles but using fabric from Italy would not be able to avoid duties in Mexico or Canada.

A wide range of special arrangements cover agricultural products, which have deeply entrenched political constituencies in all three nations. Many of the specific provisions covering individual farm products were among the most difficult to resolve for the trade negotiators, and were only wrapped up in the closing



U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills briefs business leaders on trade agreement.

The farm products that represented the biggest political problems would continue to fall under some form of tariff or quota protection for 15 years. Among the most contentious agricultural issues, for example, were American exports of corn into Mexico, which would fall under the 15-year limit.

Millions of poor Mexican farmers depend on small plots of corn crops for their livelihood, and the Mexican government was fearful that an unchecked flood of cheap American corn from the highly efficient farms of the Midwest would result in a vast displacement of rural Mexicans into the cities of Mexico and the American border region.

In banking and financial services, the agreement would also provide an edge to North American-based firms over their overseas rivals. The trade agreement would for the first time open up the Mexican banking market to foreign firms. Commercial banks from the United States and Canada—as well as the American or Canadian arms of European and Asian banks—would be allowed to set up shop there. But the agreement sets limits on how much of the Mexican banking market can be controlled by non-Mexican banks.

And despite the special provisions, supporters argue the agreement represents a huge advance over the status quo by destroying barriers that many thought would never come down.

"This agreement is not pure free trade," said Willard Workman, international vice president for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. "But with the possible exception of Hong Kong, I'm not sure pure free trade exists anywhere in the world."

Times staff writer. Los Angeles contributed to this

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Mr. Baker Back From State

**J**AMES BAKER'S return to the White House as chief of staff and the president's reelection campaign—same thing for the next 11 weeks—is likely to help George Bush. It's a strong move whose starting point is a confession of weakness. It has to embarrass the president and his partisans as much as it comforts them that he is calling on his friend for help.

Mr. Baker and the president both described his job as helping to develop a second-term agenda. They might have added, a salable agenda as well. You might think that's what the president himself was supposed to do; that's the real embarrassment. The Baker appointment reflects not just the president's sunken approval rating in the polls, but the seeming lack of ideas and absence even of enthusiasm which have helped to produce that rating.

The president's good friend put the best possible gloss on it. If domestic problems are now uppermost in people's minds, well, the president has been busy elsewhere. He "saw a chance to take on the two central problems of our age, the struggle for freedom and the threat of nuclear war, and he seized it," said the departing secretary of state. "No apologies for that. It's time now

to turn to new challenges. . . . And that's exactly what President Bush intends to do."

The argument is partly that the president should not be held to full account for the first term because he wasn't paying full attention. Maybe that'll wash; we doubt it.

Mr. Baker was an altogether competent secretary of state. If not a great conceptualizer—that is not his strength—he was as skilled a tactician and negotiator as he has always been in the domestic field. At the White House he can be expected to set out clear lines of communication and command, to have clear goals and to be forceful in achieving them. Sometimes more than forceful; the campaign that he ran for Mr. Bush in 1988 got pretty seamy on occasion.

This time the greater question may be not what kind of portrait can the Bush campaign produce of Bill Clinton, but what kind can it produce of George Bush. In equipping Mr. Bush with a philosophy and an agenda on such short notice, Mr. Baker has his work cut out for him. The sales force is new, but the product is not. Mr. Bush was likely to regain some lost standing in the polls in any case, but the Republicans still have the same basic problems as before—same ticket, same record, same economy.

## Sen. Hatfield's Misjudgment

**T**HE SENATE Ethics Committee spent 15 months reviewing certain allegations against Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), and this week it issued a mild criticism of his conduct. Its decision to "rebuken" the senator, but not to recommend expulsion or even censure, brings this investigation to a close. While these recent charges involve failure to report receipt of valuable gifts, and not actual bribery or other criminal conduct, they are part of a pattern. His powerful position as ranking member of the Senate Appropriations Committee makes him an automatic target of those seeking favors. Yet he was slipshod in his assessment of how a public official should respond when valuable gifts, fees and perks are offered, ostensibly without strings attached.

Between 1983 and 1989, the senator accepted and failed to report gifts with a value of \$43,000 and travel expenses for three trips to South Carolina. Most of these came from the University of South Carolina and its then-president, James Holderman. The gifts included works of art and a compact disc player. He was forgiven interest totaling about \$9,500 on personal loans from a friend, former Rep. John Dellenback. Other friends gave \$17,000 in home repairs, sculpture and jewelry.

The gifts from the university and Mr. Dellenback

pose a special problem because both had substantial interest in matters before Congress. While the committee made no connection between the gifts and any favors sought, its resolution noted that accepting and failing to disclose such gifts (particularly from the university) "over a period of years when he was being asked to take routine official actions which affected" the donors was "inappropriate and cannot be condoned."

In 1984 the ethics committee studied the possibility of a link between a \$55,000 payment to Sen. Hatfield's wife by a Greek financier and the senator's promotion, on Senate stationery citing his position in the government, of the financier's private ventures in Africa. The probe did not result in a sanction, but his intervention was certainly ill advised.

Sen. Hatfield has accomplished much in his quarter-century in the Senate, but his record is blemished by repeated lapses in judgment. A public servant should think twice when people for whom he can do favors present personal gifts worth tens of thousands of dollars. It is at the least naive to assume they are simply admiring fans. Failure to report such gifts compounds the error. Sen. Hatfield won't face the voters in Oregon again until 1996. He has given them a lot to think about.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## *A Reserved Hispanic Seat?*

**A** DISPUTE HAS arisen in the New York Democratic Party that should be familiar to residents of this area who followed Maryland's last redistricting. When the new, majority-black 4th Congressional District was created containing most of Prince George's and part of Montgomery counties, at least one community group took the position that no white candidates should enter the race. Now, Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) is being criticized by some politicians and Hispanic leaders in New York because he has decided to run in a district that is predominantly Hispanic.

An outline of the 12th Congressional District of New York looks like Popeye's girl friend, Olive Oyl, at full gallop: A small head juts out of a long, gangly neck. Arms are flung out behind. Two spindly legs extend in different directions from a billowing skirt and are anchored by a pair of huge clodhoppers. One knee has a spectacular bump.

No cartoonist drew these lines, however. They were carefully crafted by the state legislature to create a majority-Hispanic district and thereby avoid potential trouble from the Justice Department, which oversees compliance with the Voting Rights Act. At the same time, the legislature carved Mr. Solarz's present district in Brooklyn into six pieces. Instead of choosing to run against another incumbent Democrat, he elected to run in the new district, which contains a small piece of his old one. Because four Puerto Rican Ameri-

can candidates and an Asian American have entered that contest, Mr. Solarz may win the Sept. 15 primary and go on to represent this 55 percent Hispanic district in Congress.

This does not mean there was some kind of dirty trick or breach of faith. The point of the Voting Rights Act was to remove barriers to the exercise of the franchise and to facilitate the representation of certain ethnic and racial minorities by promoting creation of districts where they have a good opportunity to be elected. But the law contains no guarantees, nor should it. Views differ on the wisdom of creating minority districts and on the long-range political effect of separating minority voters and thus creating strong all-white surrounding districts. But that is as far as the law goes. Voters are free to ignore the racial and ethnic credentials of candidates—as Rep. Ron Dellums and former senator Edward Brooke, both elected by constituencies in which African Americans were not the majority, can attest. Candidates can choose to run in any district without regard to its ethnic or racial makeup.

Mr. Solarz is now speaking Spanish on the stump and stressing his Jewish family's ancient roots on the Iberian Peninsula. His critics can mobilize their troops, contest him fiercely and appeal to the ethnic loyalties of the constituency. But they cannot expect him to leave the field to those who believe that by accident of birth only they are entitled to the seat.

## *An Explosive Issue in Montgomery*

**T**HE SPECTACULAR explosion of an underground Navy storage bunker in Montgomery County turns out to have had a positive impact. Since the incident at the Naval Surface Weapons Center—no one was injured, damage to adjacent buildings was minor, and there was no need to evacuate residents—officials at most of the 18 federal installations in the county have begun to outgrow their unconscionable and frankly ludicrous reluctance to inform local fire and rescue officials about hazardous materials at these sites.

Federal agencies do not have to disclose information about hazardous substances stored on their grounds. Still, the county has a mutual aid agreement with these installations, which in the event of serious accident must depend upon Montgomery's emergency response resources. County and federal officials share a responsibility to calm residents and avert panic and to move quickly in the event that evacuation becomes necessary. This is not possible without accurate and timely information.

At the time of the explosion, officials at just one

of the installations had filed a memorandum of understanding with the county's emergency services coordinator: The National Institute of Standards and Technology had given county officials a detailed list of chemicals at its site and specific procedures to be followed in an emergency.

Now, county officials report that two other federal facilities have sent in memorandums of understanding and that many others have written letters of their intent to work out problems with county officials. They ought to get on with it. According to county officials, three facilities have not gone even this far—the Food and Drug Administration, the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration and the U.S. Postal Service training academy.

"We need to know if there are hazardous materials there, and if so, what they are," said Bob Nemchin, manager of the county's hazardous material regulation program. "We need a standardized agreement and other safety information that would help us prepare in advance for an emergency." What could be more reasonable?

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

David S. Broder

## Baker's Move

*Good for the campaign, but what about the country?*

The return of James A. Baker III to the White House and the domestic political wars is good news for President Bush. It may not be such a blessing for the country.

Years ago, when he was President Reagan's chief of staff, Baker was described in this column as "the most capable unelected official Washington has seen in years." Nothing in his later service in the Treasury and State departments would cause me to revise that judgment. There is no one in either party I'd rather see working for the U.S. government than Jim Baker.

His return to the White House will improve morale in the administration and the Republican Party. His masterful speech at the State Department yesterday was the most coherent and persuasive case for Bush's presidency that anyone—including the president—has offered.

Baker's return doesn't by any means guarantee Bush a comeback victory over Bill Clinton, but it does mean that White House and campaign activities will be directed now by a man who has the credentials, the confidence and the authority to get everyone pulling in the same direction. That alone would be a vast improvement over the past year of floundering.

Still, there are reasons to wonder—from the country's point of view—about the costs and benefits of this shift. It takes Baker away from day-to-day diplomacy at a time when his personal efforts, particularly in the Middle East, seem on the verge of bearing fruit. That is clearly a loss.

One can also question whether Baker brings to the task an understanding of how much America has changed in the past four years and why the voters are so sour on Bush. Baker is as much an Establishment man as the president, a polished Princetonian, a

wealthy lawyer whose skill lies in dealing with other power-brokers, domestic and foreign.

Although he referred in his speech to the "anxiety and anger" in the American people, he has not heard the voices of the jobless engineers and construction workers or the complaints of taxpayers who see all too clearly the costs of paralysis in Washington. He can read the polls, but I wonder if he can feel the fear and frustration that Bush so far has failed to address.

In his speech, Baker said all the right things about the coming campaign. He said it would offer the voters "fundamental choices" and, if successful, would give Bush a second-term "mandate" for his domestic program. A clear choice is what voters deserve, and a mandate for action is what Washington desperately needs. But Baker's history suggests that he has little inclination to run the kind of campaign he described so well yesterday. The four campaigns in which he has played a prominent role have been long on slogans and short on substance, denying voters the chance to hear their concerns seriously debated and denying the Republican Party a chance to gain a governing mandate.

As Bush's campaign chairman in 1988, Baker sanctioned—but let others such as the late Lee Atwater take the blame for—the ads and attacks that demonized Michael Dukakis and made Willie Horton a national figure. Bush won, but Republicans lost strength everywhere else on the ballot. The only memorable promise of the campaign—"no new taxes"—became the source of a budget policy fiasco that plagues Bush even today.

In 1976 when Baker emerged as a strategist for President Ford's election effort, the same tendency to fuzz the issues was apparent. After a rough first year as an unelected president, Ford actually had assembled

a highly talented administration. But he was unable to communicate any clear sense of what he would do if voters gave him a full term as chief executive.

In 1980, when Baker managed Bush's bid for the presidential nomination, Bush won a surprise victory over Reagan in the leadoff Iowa caucuses and headed into New Hampshire as the favorite. But beyond his claim to having "Big Mo" (for momentum) and being "Up for the '80s," it turned out he had nothing of substance to say to the voters.

But it was really 1984 that showed Baker's determination to separate campaign politics from the serious work of government. As Reagan's chief of staff, he converted a president who had talked issues and even ideology all his political life into the national cheerleader. All challenges facing the country were buried beneath a three-word slogan, "Morning in America."

In talking to reporters back then, Baker rationalized the empty-headed 1984 campaign by saying that the only agenda available for the reelection effort was a right-wing wish list of social issues, which the country might have rejected and which Baker did not consider a sound premise for governing. But yesterday's speech notwithstanding, there's no evidence that Baker ever thinks it a good idea to use campaigns to create mandates or even to give voters a peek at what the candidate intends to do.

Bush will judge Baker's performance by the rate at which Bill Clinton's lead evaporates. But the country has another standard it will apply, the one Baker himself laid down on yesterday: Will he deliver a campaign that clarifies the choices facing America and creates a mandate for governing? Nothing less will meet the nation's needs.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

Charles Krauthammer

## The King Is Back—Or Is He?

EAST HAMPTON, N.Y.—Millions await the return of Elvis. I've been waiting for Bobby Fischer, that is. The king of chess. The greatest player who ever lived. The man who 20 years ago won the world championship, then vanished.

We know he is alive. Fischer sightings, though less frequent than Elvis sightings, are somewhat more reliable. He has been spotted among the alcoholics and homeless in rundown parts of Los Angeles. He talks to almost no one. And if anyone he does talk to talks to the press, he never hears from Bobby again.

Twenty years of total withdrawal. Twenty years of silence. Twenty years without a single recorded game of chess (that we know of). Then late last month, the electrifying news: Bobby's back. A Yugoslav promoter announces that Fischer has agreed to play again, a \$5 million rematch with Boris Spassky, the world champion he dethroned in 1972.

Where does Bobby surface? In Belgrade, capital of an outlaw state. The match will be played in Serbia in defiance of international sanctions. This, of course, fits Fischer perfectly. He has hated every authority he has ever dealt with, starting with the international chess authorities whom he saw (sometimes not without reason) as plotting against him.

When I told a journalist friend that Bobby's second coming was scheduled for Belgrade, he replied, "Why didn't he go all the way and make it Sarajevo?" Belgrade is, shall we say, an eccentric choice for a coming out. But

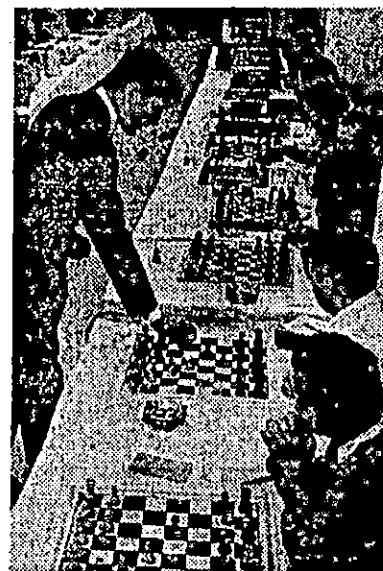
in Fischer, eccentricity and genius are hard to separate.

His genius is undeniable. As a boy he was called the Mozart of chess. At 13, he played a game of such brilliance (against Donald Byrne) that it became known as the "Game of the Century." At 15, he became the youngest grandmaster in history.

Twelve years later he turned what is still the most astonishing feat in chess history: In the run-up to the championship, he played a series of matches against the strongest grandmasters in the world. He won 20 straight games. No losses. No draws. (At this level of play, wins are hard to come by. Most grandmaster games end in draws.) It was the equivalent, it has been said, of winning Wimbledon without losing a single game.

Fischer's legend, however, has as much to do with his eccentricity as his genius. Eccentricity, though, is too mild a word. Fischer has walked the line of madness about as closely as any other genius of our time. He is said to have removed the fillings from his teeth to prevent enemy radio transmissions. He is seized with conspiracy theories, principally that of a communist-capitalist-Jewish plot to run the world.

He has the stamp of a man who played chess too long, too hard and too deeply. A man who has sunk, in Vladimir Nabokov's phrase, into "the abysmal depths of chess." After all, it is Fischer who said, "Chess is life," and in chess you are always being pursued. Every action that occurs on the board is designed to encircle, entrap and destroy you.



THE WASHINGTON POST

A century ago, the inmates of the Bedlam Insane Asylum played Cambridge University in a correspondence chess match. Bedlam won. The association of chess with madness is long and venerable. It is a feature of the popular imagination, of literary fiction (Nabokov's "The Defense," Stefan Zweig's "The Royal Game") and, with Fischer, of real life.

Not many men have given up glory at the height of their powers. And few have done so as mysteriously, as madly, as Fischer. He has spent much of the past 20 years in a netherworld of extreme, conspiratorial Southern California sects. Refusing to be seen. Obsessed with secret plots. Self-publishing a pamphlet "I Was Tor-

tured in the Pasadena Jailhouse" (his account of two days spent arrested, mistakenly, for bank robbery).

Fischer's life eerily recapitulates that of the only other American world champion, Paul Morphy. Morphy too had a meteoric rise and fall. In 1858-59, with a triumphant tour of Europe, he swept the chess world. He then returned home and abruptly quit the game. He refused ever to play again and descended into a psychosis from which he never emerged.

A hint of the darkness still haunting Fischer came with press reports from Belgrade of his acceptance of the rematch. The promoter said that for a year and a half Fischer had been studying the Karpov-Kasparov matches (his successors in the world championship) and had come to the conclusion that they were fixed.

Then within a week of the initial announcement, Bobby was issuing demands and complaints about conditions in the prospective playing hall. This is his customary prelude to backing out. It makes sense. Chess players, like baseball players, age. Fischer would surely beat Spassky, who is far past his prime. But then there would be irresistible pressure to play the real champion, the young Gary Kasparov. Fischer could not possibly win.

I'm still waiting for Bobby. I would love to see him play again. But if he slips away again, I'll understand. There is something to be said for dying—or disappearing—young.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

*Stephen S. Rosenfeld*

## Merits of The Half-Measure

It is a standing rebuke to the foreign policy gang that it was so slow to identify the peculiar difficulties of dealing with post-Cold War national convulsions that do not meet the standard definition of cross-border aggression—in Yugoslavia, post-Kuwait Iraq and Somalia, for instance.

In a new age when consensus in support of a principled and effective American policy was supposedly going to be easier to attain, we are left improvising madly and stewing about the inadequacy, to say nothing of the inconsistency, of the result.

The school that emphasizes the driving force of national interest in foreign policy has been confounded to observe that the spectacle of untended brutality, struggle and suffering sends shock waves around the globe and contributes to a real sort of instability.

The school that focuses on ideology, morality, human rights and democracy as the fount of policy has been no less fazed to learn that other and darker ideas—tribalism, ethnicity, religious belief and sectarianism, gross personal ambition—seem capable of generating terrible passions and overwhelming hopes for enlightened governance.

The widespread dismay over the way things are going is already chipping away at George Bush's claim to be a foreign policy whiz. It may end up nourishing an extra readiness to turn these grizzly conundrums over to the United Nations or some other regional or international body. This might or might not solve the foreign policy problem, but at least it could take it off America's back and ease the acute personal discomfort that so many Americans now feel.

There are still other ways to evade these relentless and painful issues. We could decide or simply declare that the outcome is not all that important to the United States. We could practice conditioning ourselves to live with a much higher degree of international restlessness and disorder than heralds of a new order had expected.

This is the face of the new isolationism. Its sources are flowing much stronger than they were a year ago when almost all of us were celebrating an American triumph in the war against Iraq. Then power and will seemed to matter. Now they are much harder to bring to bear.

Harder but not impossible. What seems most evident is that we are exaggerating our embarrassment and unnecessarily deepening our own dilemma by looking at the current crop of cases too much in all-or-nothing terms.

In Yugoslavia, for instance, people pose the policy choice as one between escalating to a hideously exorbitant extreme or abandoning the field. In Iraq, the choice is seen as resuming a grim war more difficult than the first or eventually facing a revived, even a nuclear, Saddam Hussein. In Somalia, it is asked whether there is any place to stop between ensuring the delivery of some relief and assuming responsibility for the whole stricken country for a generation.

Some of this tendency to pose stark choices flows from a conscientious effort to calculate the true risks and costs of what might be the several stages of escalation. But a second part simply comes from a strategy employed by skeptics to discourage intervention.

In Washington, the Bush administration has been tuned to the priority of the president's reelection. It has allowed the skeptics, especially those in the military, to elevate their understandable operational cautions and misgivings to the level of categorical political objections.

But it is absurd to depict these situations as though there were no options between garaging the car and speeding at 80 mph. It is absurd to suggest that the kind or scale of intervention undertaken in one place must match the pattern of intervention in another.

There is such a thing as doing one's best, acting in good faith and making calculated distinctions even when the effort may not appear sufficient to address the whole problem. Many foreign policy dilemmas—all of the above—have been allowed to fester to the point where incomplete emergency catch-up and salvage are all that there is left to do. The surgery has already been done on Yugoslavia, for instance, by the Serbs and Croats; policy from here on will have trouble amounting to much more than Band-Aids.

But this cannot be taken as reason to try nothing. Limiting the damage may be the only feasible goal, but it is a feasible goal. Staying engaged. Saving some lives. Redeeming a bit of honor. Heroism may be beyond us. A certain constancy should not be.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

*Jack Kemp*

## Passage Out of Poverty

Lawrence J. Vale's attack on the Bush administration's homeownership plans for public housing residents ["Jack Kemp's Pet Delusion," op-ed, Aug. 3] is a case study in the kind of elitism which has cut off low-income families from our mainstream economy and locked them out of the American Dream of owning property.

Vale correctly points out that "public housing tenants are very poor and getting poorer." Yet he draws the perverse conclusion that we should respond by giving them more of the same—more public ownership, more government bureaucrats, more suffocating paternalism. Instead he should be asking: Why are the residents getting poorer? What are we doing wrong?

For average Americans, the equity in their homes accounts for more than 41 percent of their net worth. No wonder public housing residents, who are denied access to homeownership, are getting poorer, not richer.

Vale proposes a HUD Special Unit on Severely Distressed Public Housing to hand out more taxpayer dollars to

housing authorities, which already have \$2.5 billion in unspent federal funds backed up in the pipeline. Doesn't it make more sense to figure out where these housing authorities

### Taking Exception

have gone wrong and then reform the system?

When President Bush and I visited Los Angeles after the riots, we found that where people owned or managed their own housing there was little or no violence. In public housing communities run by residents, people were patrolling the streets. The reasons should be obvious. When people are able to own homes and have a stake in their community and in their future, they will not only defend their property but defend a neighbor's property as well. Is that, as Vale suggests, "the Kempian fantasy of homeownership"? Or is that the American Dream?

This is not the first time "poverty

experts" have criticized homeownership for the poor, and it will surely not be the last. But let's get one thing straight. All these attacks have in common the underlying, if unstated, assumption that poor people do not share the same values as the rest of us, that they wouldn't know a good opportunity if it hit them in the face. But it's not the values of the poor that are in question, but the values of the welfare elitists who believe poverty is a perpetual condition.

Vale's article drips with cynicism when he asks whether I can "really be oblivious to the ways that such limited and idealized alternatives to public housing [i.e.—homeownership] are almost comically implausible notions for most public housing residents." Yet a recent survey by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies found that 91 percent of African Americans endorse homeownership in public housing.

President Bush's radical HOPE program—Homeownership and Op-

portunity for People Everywhere—gives public housing residents a chance to manage their communities and ultimately own their homes, if they choose. Because of delays by a status-quo Congress, we have only just made the first HOPE grants with drastically limited funds. But this year, across America, HOPE will begin to hand over control of public housing communities to the residents, while they train and prepare for eventual homeownership.

Abraham Lincoln, whose Homestead Act of 1862 gave poor black families 160 acres of land to create assets and wealth, inspired our HOPE program. Lincoln said the poor deserve "a fair chance in the race of life" to better their condition. With or without the support of "urbanologists" like Vale, we in the Bush administration are determined to give them that chance.

*The writer is secretary of Housing and Urban Development.*

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## Radio Free Asia: The California Echo

Sen. Joseph Biden's (D-Del.) sensible case for a new Radio Free Asia patterned on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty puts President Bush in a bind between coddling China's communist dictators and playing catch-up for that Nov. 3 prize of California's 54 electoral votes, one-fifth of those needed to win.

Biden's maneuvers to get pre-election congressional passage of his RFA bill is in for a major boost. The Commission on Broadcasting to the People's Republic of China is now ready to recommend government financing for RFA. Primed by Biden, Bill Clinton has publicly backed the proposal. Biden's cosponsors go from Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) on the right to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) on the left. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) is also in Biden's corner.

But Bush has acted coyly. Asked his position during a June 19 interview in Newport Beach, Calif., he said, "You're looking at a person who supports the idea of broadcasting the truth." The problem, he said, "strictly is on money." That may not cut ice with California's 9.6 percent Asian population.

Indeed, Biden told us the first-year cost could be as low as \$35 million for new radio transmission specializing not in world events, the core of Voice of America broadcasting, but in exposing the secret police-state world of China, North Vietnam and North Korea to their own citizens. RFA's sources would be largely indigenous: a network of clandestine informants who regularly travel to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Seoul and other free states.

In addition, the U.S. Asian population sees itself as a source of internal events that go unreported in target areas. They learn their facts from the family grapevine—and by mail and telephone abroad. The Nanjing air crash that killed 100 two

weeks ago was not officially mentioned in China for almost one day, and the terrible floods last year never did get fully reported," China-born American author Bette Bao Lord told us. She praised the VOA but called it "an American spokesman that can't afford to get on the wrong side of Beijing." The president's concern about Biden's bill is not money so much as worry that RFA would undermine his kid-glove treatment of Beijing.

Despite the risk of Bush losing Asian American voters, a powerful bureaucracy comprised of the State Department, the U.S. Information Agency and the VOA is fighting RFA and beseeching Bush and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft to help. They know the money for the new radio would come out of their pockets.

The money case was put bluntly in a report last month by the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, headed by Tom Korologos, a formidable Washington lobbyist. "Rather than build a costly new Radio Free China," the report states, "use enhanced VOA broadcasts to carry news and information about internal events in Asian countries."

Reflecting the tastes of the bureaucracy, this report ignored polls showing that even today in post-Soviet Russia almost 30 percent of the "Moscow elites" regularly tune in to Radio Liberty, while VOA and British Broadcasting get a combined audience of only 25 percent of those radio listeners.

Bush could still take the play from Clinton and Biden, and he has a built-in case to make: With the end of the Soviet empire, the United States no longer need worry about "anything that might push the Chinese back toward the Soviets," in the words of Ben Wattenberg's Reader's Digest article, "Time for Radio Free Asia." The cream on the top would be the enhancement of Bush's low estate with California voters.

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# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

*Jim Wooten*

## The Irresistible Story

Let us now praise a not-so-famous man named David Kaplan, a network television producer whose life and work were ended yesterday in Sarajevo, far from his home in the Virginia suburbs and his office next door to my own.

In a business devoted to familiar faces, his was never seen on the screen until last night. Nevertheless, literally hundreds of stories broadcast by ABC News during his career bore the distinct imprimatur of his good judgment and sound journalism. With skill and grace, he mixed and matched cameras and correspondents, pictures and words, blending sound and light into brief little movies seen by millions, night after night. He made mediocre reporters look good and good reporters look better. I called him "Allstate" Kaplan. We were all in good hands with David.

There were those at the network who regard-

ed him as a cynic. In fact, he was merely a skeptical man, a realist. Nothing more sinister than that. He knew his business and his network had changed over the years; he wasn't pleased with some of the changes, and he said so. But so long as he was in pursuit of the news, he was a happy camper.

Only one thing pleased him more professionally than to get his hands on an important story, and that was to get that story on the air. In network editing rooms, when pictures and script arrived too close for comfort to deadline, the producer is said to be "crashing," trying to make the broadcast rather than create a thing of beauty. Kaplan was a marvelous crasher, because he was a fine journalist; he understood the stories and knew what could be left on the floor without major damage to the truth.

He was usually direct, often brusque and

sometimes obstreperous, though you could hardly fault a fellow who spends years getting Sam Donaldson's stories on the air for being slightly aggressive in his approach.

As most everyone knows, Donaldson is a most difficult fellow, and in Kaplan, his close friend and longtime producer, he was blessed with a perfect match: an equally difficult colleague who worked just as hard and cared just as much about the story, any story, as long as it was news.

One evening a few years ago, when Donaldson was still covering the Reagan White House, and the president was in Santa Barbara for yet another vacation, Kaplan was struck by a car as he crossed a street there. His knee was nearly destroyed. There was much murmuring about how he'd never really walk again, about that being the end of his career as

a producer in the field, about how he'd probably have to take a disability pension and just hang it up. He threw himself into rehabilitation and therapy with the same passion he'd always given to the news, and within a year he was back with a bit of a limp but obstreperous as ever.

By then Donaldson was out of the White House, anchoring and reporting for "Prime Time Live," and Kaplan was assigned to produce some of his stories, which is what he was doing in Sarajevo yesterday, trying to get his hands on one more important story and get it on the air. As David would often say, quoting the Meyer Lansky in "Godfather II," "This is the business we have chosen."

I saw him last July. He was complaining that his broadcast was ignoring the slaughter in what was once Yugoslavia. "Jesus, what a sto-

ry," he said. And then, he said, "Oh, by the way, they're moving me out of this office and giving it to you, and after all I did for you, you ungrateful, no-talent has-been."

Several years ago with David at my side in the outskirts of San Salvador, all hell broke loose around us. We nearly bought it. Mortars and automatic fire from both sides. We survived without a scratch. When we came home, we both told our wives we wouldn't be going into any combat areas again.

So when I headed off to the Persian Gulf last year, Kaplan called to say goodbye and to remind me of the promise I was breaking. "But listen," he said. "I understand. It's the only story in town, and it's irresistible, right?"

*The writer is senior political correspondent for ABC News.*

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## President Names Baker Chief of Staff

### 4 Assistants to Assume Top White House Jobs

By Ann Devroy  
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush announced yesterday that Secretary of State James A. Baker III will become White House chief of staff as part of a major reorganization of his administration designed to end the political and policy drift that has plunged the president into a desperate struggle to win reelection.

Appearing in the White House press room to announce a move that had been urged on him for months by worried Republicans, Bush said he asked Baker to join him to "help me build on what we started by developing an integrated second-term program of domestic, economic and foreign policy."

Baker, whose resignation from the Cabinet will become effective Aug. 23, will replace Samuel K. Skinner in the top White House staff job. Baker will bring with him his four closest State Department aides and install them in pivotal roles overseeing domestic policy and communications. All four worked in Bush's 1988 campaign.

Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the No. 2 official at the State Department, will become acting secretary of state. Skinner, the former transportation secretary brought in only eight months ago to replace Chief of Staff John H. Sununu, will be moved to the Republican National Committee as general chairman. Clayton Yeutter, brought in less than six months ago to be the new domestic policy czar, will join the campaign as a "supersurrogate." Deputy chief of staff W. Henson Moore, another Skinner hire, will be moved to the lesser White House post of handling intergovernmental relations.

Although it is unprecedented for a secretary of state to give up the senior Cabinet post to move to a White House staff job, Republicans generally praised the move. They described it as the first solid evidence that Bush recognizes the political peril he faces and is willing to use whatever tools are at his disposal to try to catch Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, his Democratic opponent.

Clinton yesterday ridiculed the official rationale given for the switch but described Baker as the GOP's most talented political strategist and said he expected him to strengthen the faltering Bush campaign.

"He's a very able politician," Clinton said. "He's one of the best politicians, deal makers and political handlers they've got. He's their best. And I think he'll help them. But I think this argument that 'we

See PRESIDENT, A18, Col. 1

#### PRESIDENT, From A1

had to take care of the world in our first term and now we'll get around to America if you'll give us another term"—I don't think the American people are going to find that too persuasive."

Asked later what kind of campaign he expected Baker to run, Clinton replied, "Smart. Slick."

"Mean?" he was asked.

"It will be mean but it will be more cleverly mean. They haven't been very clever lately, they've been so overt in their meanness."

The four Baker aides joining him at the White House formed a closely knit team of loyalists that in effect has been running foreign policy for almost four years: political adviser and spokesman Margaret Tutwiler; counselor and undersecretary for economic affairs Robert B. Zoellick; head of policy planning Dennis Ross; and Janet G. Mullins, head of the congressional relations operation.

Their State Department jobs are expected to be taken by their deputies, and Eagleburger will run the department until January at least. Baker told his aides yesterday that "no arrangements" for his future beyond Election Day had been made.

In a sometimes-emotional farewell address to State Department employees, Baker called his move back to the White House, where he served as President Ronald Reagan's first chief of staff, "one of the most difficult decisions of my life." A friend and political adviser to Bush for more than three decades, Baker said after the brutal 1988 campaign, when he left the post of treasury secretary to become Bush campaign chairman, that he was out of the campaign business for good.

In contrast to Bush's brief remarks, Baker's speech amounted to a campaign speech, a recitation of the foreign policy successes of the past four years and a defense of Bush's concentration on them, combined with a pledge that Bush would use the same "resolve" he used in prosecuting the Persian Gulf War to build a better America.

"I know what he can accomplish when he directs his resolve toward a purpose," Baker said of Bush. "I think we saw it in the gulf . . . and I think we will see it again as President Bush targets America."

Bush, Baker said, had "no apologies" for seizing the "chance to take on the two central problems of our age, the struggle for freedom and the threat of nuclear war" but now would turn his energies to the challenges at home.

In a variation on the Bush campaign theme that he has changed the world and will now change America, Baker said, "America must have appropriate new approaches for the changes at home, just as we have launched new policies to manage the changes abroad." He described his new role as helping to devise and execute the new approaches.

Baker then moved into a broad discussion of domestic policy, using Republican rhetoric to speak of "empowering" individuals, not the government, of entrepreneurship and of limited government and of "breaking the cycle of poverty."

Bush described Baker as "the sort of man you want on your team," praised Skinner, and suggested that he had urged Bush to bring Baker back. Although Skinner went to the White House with broad support precisely because he was not Sununu, Skinner came to be seen as ineffectual, a good Cabinet officer miscast in a demanding job.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

Skinner had no strong personal relationship with Bush and no experience either in running the White House staff or a national campaign. He walked into a White House paralyzed by the drawn-out departure of the contentious Sununu, with the economy in the doldrums and a reelection campaign on the launch pad. White House and GOP insiders routinely referred to him as "without a clue" and "the wrong man for the wrong job."

By early summer, with campaign general chairman Robert A. Mosbacher taking the lead, many Bush associates began a major effort to persuade the president to bring Baker back to the White House. By the time of the Democratic National Convention last month, Bush was convinced, his aides now say, that he would have to turn again to his

longtime friend as he has for every campaign for three decades.

Baker's strength, GOP officials said yesterday, lies in his unique role as a friend and peer, as someone who can give even the most critical advice, and whose forte is running a tight, disciplined operation heavy on implementation and follow-through.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said that the changes announced yesterday produced a sense of "almost euphoria" there. "Everyone is happy to get these changes made and to get moving again."

Baker was to return today to his vacation retreat in Wyoming and go from there to the Republican National Convention next week in Houston.

Although Bush, Baker and Fitzwater all said the nation's foreign policy would be in experienced hands, Democrats used the departures to offer lavish praise for Baker as a diplomat, praise that was not immediately forthcoming when Bush named him to the post the day after the 1988 election.

Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) called the move "unwise . . . around the world, the U.S. secretary of state is seen as the personal embodiment of U.S. foreign policy. To have our secretary resign to run a political campaign would place a taint on the job which is unprecedented in recent times."

Baker, in fact, will not be running the campaign but will be in charge of a White House operation whose primary function in an election year is to get the president reelected. He will have broad powers over the White House and campaign and most believe his longtime friendship and support of Robert M. Teeter, the campaign chairman, will ensure

smooth coordination. Fitzwater said Teeter would run the reelection effort "under the direction" of Baker and Bush.

Baker performed a similar role in 1984, directing the reelection effort of then-President Reagan, which was run by campaign chairman Edward J. Rollins. Baker left the White House after Reagan's reelection to serve as treasury secretary until resigning in August 1988 to run Bush's campaign, another instance in which Bush went to a convention behind in the polls.

Baker and his aides, however, are said to see this effort as far more difficult because in 1988 Bush could emerge from Reagan's shadow to "redefine himself" in with a masterful acceptance speech and a new program. This time around, one Republican noted, "the American voters know what Bush is like as president. He's got a record and he can run, but he can't hide."

Some skeptical Republicans said yesterday they doubted Baker's arrival would make a major difference this late in the election process. "Jim Baker is good," said one adviser to the White House, "but it's a pretty tall order to take a virtually dysfunctional White House, a candidate who's 25 points behind in the polls, an opponent who is doing an error-free job, and a party establishment that is demoralized and panicked and turn it around in less than three months."

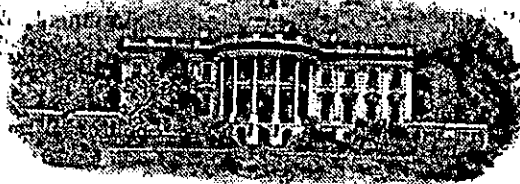
Another Republican who has written off Bush's chances this year commented on the aides leaving the White House or soon to leave and said, "Good for them. They'll just get a three-month jump on everyone else who will be looking for jobs."

*Staff writer Edward Walsh in Los Angeles contributed to this report.*

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## IN AND OUT



### ARRIVALS

**James A. Baker III**  
Secretary of State  
New title:  
Chief of staff



**Margaret Tutwiler**  
New title: Assistant  
to the president for  
communications



**Robert B. Zoellick**  
New title: Deputy  
chief of staff



**Dennis Ross**  
New title: Assistant  
to the president for  
policy planning



**Janet G. Mullins**  
New title: Assistant  
to the president for  
political affairs

■ Details of reassignments, Federal Page, A21.

### DEPARTURES



**Samuel K. Skinner**  
Chief of Staff  
To GOP post



**W. Henson Moore**  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
To lower rung



**Clayton Yeutter**  
Domestic Counselor  
To Bush campaign

THE WASHINGTON POST

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Baker Pressed for Mideast Peace, German Unification

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In moving to the White House to become chief of staff, Secretary of State James A. Baker III leaves behind major accomplishments in advancing Middle East peace negotiations, helping secure German unification and building the international coalition that went to war against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

But Baker's 3½-year record as America's chief diplomat is also marked by major crises that he failed to focus on until it was too late, including the civil war in Yugoslavia and Iraq's menacing behavior before its invasion of Kuwait.

Baker's foreign policy legacy can be divided into two periods: an initial one in which the United States took increasingly extroverted and aggressive stands abroad, extending through the Persian Gulf War; and a second phase when Americans generally showed less interest in world affairs and the administration adopted a more inward-looking posture.

Baker's tenure at the State Department coincided with the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe, one of this century's most important developments. Baker and his longtime friend and partner in foreign policy, President Bush, responded to the Soviet breakup with characteristic caution and reactive, step-by-step pragmatism.

After initial hesitation, they exploited improved relations with Moscow, sealing major agreements on reducing conventional and strategic arms and resolving regional conflicts from Nicaragua to Angola. Even after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Baker managed to negotiate still-deeper nuclear arms cuts.

But he and Bush were slow to recognize the devolution of power to the republics, and the eventual downfall of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, on whom they had placed their hopes.

Bush declared the advent of a New World Order at the zenith of the Persian Gulf crisis, but neither he nor Baker ever articulated much of a working philosophy to fill out the slogan. Rather, they have carried out foreign policy on a case-by-case basis. Although they went to war, for instance, to oppose "unprovoked aggression" against Kuwait, they have largely stood on the sidelines in the face of Serbia's bloody aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### Skillful Negotiator

Baker enjoys wide respect around the globe for his extraordinary negotiating talents and his steely perseverance. He brought to diplomacy the same lust for a winning strategy and crafty tactics that marked his earlier years as a political manager.

But he also has been criticized for applying these efforts to only a few high-priority issues, often to the exclusion of other problems vital to U.S. interests.

In the past two years, for example, Baker invested his energy heavily in the Middle East peace process and in Russia, while devoting almost no time to Asia, and particularly Japan. He was intensely involved in negotiations on German unification in the summer of 1990, but was so preoccupied with East-West affairs that he failed to grasp the trouble brewing in Iraq, and apparently did not see, or ignore, signs that the administration's policy of engaging the Iraqi dictator was going awry.

As a confidant of the president, Baker exercised commanding authority as the nation's chief diplomat. But he refused to delegate responsibility to more than a handful of his most trusted advisers. This management style enhanced his control over policy, but also left him vulnerable to missed opportunities.

It is impossible to separate Baker's record from that of Bush, a president who in his first three years was deeply and personally involved in foreign policy. From the start, Baker had little experience in diplomacy while Bush considered it his forte.

At times, such as crafting a response to the Tiananmen Square massacre of pro-democracy students in China, Bush seems to have virtually assumed control over the smallest details of policy-making, while Baker kept a low profile. At other times, such as negotiating the start of Middle East peace talks, Baker appears to have been the driving force and operated with a free hand.

The two have been in daily contact for years, and it is often difficult to separate their thinking. Baker tends to be more disciplined, Bush more avuncular. Baker seems to thrive on gamesmanship and backroom strategy; Bush enjoys—and dominates—summitry and the international spotlight.

### Attuned to Public Opinion

Throughout his tenure at Foggy Bottom, Baker never lost his appetite for the smallest details of domestic politics, including Bush's poll ratings and the president's performance, although in public Baker wanted to be viewed as a statesman, far removed from the nitty-gritty of partisan combat. Baker, a pragmatic politician with little patience for ideology or rigidity, was keenly attuned to both public opinion and congressional sentiment, and guided many decisions by what he judged could win approval on Capitol Hill.

During his first formal news conference at the State Department, Baker responded to Democratic congressional criticism of the administration's China policy by noting that the president "is rocking along with a 70 percent approval rating on his handling of foreign policy."

A high-ranking adviser to Baker said the best way to understand the chemistry between Baker and Bush was to look at their



BY GERALD MARTEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST  
Secretary of State James A. Baker III tells State Department employees of his departure.

respective roles in the gulf crisis. "The difference between Baker and Bush," he said, "is that Bush could not have built the coalition, and Baker could not have made the decision to go to war."

While Bush made the ultimate decision to use force against Iraq, Baker made it possible by assembling an international coalition that included Arab states and the Soviet Union.

In a furious, 166-day diplomatic blitz, Baker helped put in place an approach against Saddam known among specialists as "coercive diplomacy." By imposing sanctions on Iraq and also mounting a military buildup, the allies hoped to persuade Saddam to pull his forces out of Kuwait. Baker engineered approval of a key U.N. resolution authorizing the use of force if Saddam did not withdraw.

Both Baker and Bush sometimes had difficulty, however, articulating why the United States should use force to save Kuwait. Baker was widely criticized for a condescending tone at one point when he said the "economic lifeline" of the West was at stake and "to bring it down to the average American citizen, let me say that means jobs."

But as a diplomat, Baker proved extraordinarily agile, weaving together individual demands of the coalition partners. To bring Syria into the group, he went to Damascus, easing the sense of isolation of Syrian President Hafez Assad. Egypt won U.S. forgiveness for military debts. Turkey received textile concessions. And the Soviet Union, then still expecting to hold together, earned a long-sought place in regional diplomacy.

Baker's gulf crisis diplomacy ended in a climactic six-hour meeting with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Geneva, where the U.S. secretary warned that Iraq would be defeated, but Iraq refused to budge. Baker's coercive diplomacy failed to avert war,

# The Washington Post

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but the coalition he built held firm as the conflict began.

## Reviving the Peace Process

Baker's most challenging effort came in the months after the war when he attempted to restart the Middle East peace process, which had broken down in mid-1990. It was a gamble, particularly given the many false starts in the region since the Camp David accords that led to the 1978 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, and many were surprised that such a risk would be taken by Baker, who had earned the nickname "Mr. Caution" when in the White House.

But Baker made the gamble pay off with perseverance, clever tactics and the benefit of other international developments, including the collapse of Soviet communism, the weakened position of Arab rejectionists and the enhancement of U.S. prestige that followed the gulf war.

In particular, Baker pressured two of the Middle East's most cautious and mutually antagonistic parties, Israel and Syria, to come to the table for the first time. In one of his first meetings with Assad after the war, Baker appealed to him by saying the incipient peace process would pose no immediate risk to him.

"You can walk through that door any time you want," Baker said, according to an informed U.S. official. Assad stayed.

Likewise, Baker made the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, an offer he could not refuse: direct talks with Israel's Arab neighbors, which Israel had been seeking for four decades. And Baker impressed the Palestinians by his willingness to discuss, at great length, their role in the peace process.

The result was that the United States became a powerful catalyst for the Madrid peace conference, the beginning of a series of direct negotiations among the Middle East parties. The talks have so far been inconclusive, but they resume in Washington Aug. 24 with a new and presumably more flexible Israeli government at the table.

## Approach to Moscow

In dealing with the Soviet Union, Baker began cautiously, spending much of his first year as secretary testing Gorbachev. But as the Soviet leader's troubles deepened at home, Baker and then-foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze were able to strike numerous deals on arms control. They also moved to end superpower rivalry in Central America, Africa and Asia and, with the Europeans, fashioned an agreement for the unification of Germany that kept Germany in the North Atlantic military alliance.

But Baker's error—along with Bush's—may have been to underestimate the larger forces working against Gorbachev and tearing apart the Soviet Union. Bush and Baker had worked so long with Gorbachev, endorsing his attempts at a revolution from

above, that they failed to heed the grassroots revolution boiling up from below. Until the abortive August 1991 coup, senior U.S. officials had given little attention to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, whose strong stand against the plotters proved critical in defeating the coup.

Bush and Baker discovered "a stronger democratic movement inside Russia than they had expected, and in a way they were lucky that movement was in position to save their man Gorbachev, but not for long," said Stephen Sestanovich of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "They underestimated what that movement would be able to do."

Frederick Starr, president of Oberlin College and a Soviet specialist, said Bush and Baker should be given "full marks" for avoiding the many missteps they could have made in responding to the crumbling Soviet empire. "The moves they have made have been generally well considered and tending in the right direction," he said.

But, Starr added, "The price of this prudence has been a hypercaution. . . . They approached this fundamentally as a shift being brought about from above . . . and undervalued the extent to which this has been a kind of oceanic movement from below."

Bush and Baker retreated from their international leadership roles late in 1991 after the surprise election victory of Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.) signaled that U.S. voters were turning inward. When Bush made his troubled visit to Japan, Baker was not even at his side. When two influential Democrats, Rep. Les Aspin (Wis.) and Sen. Sam Nunn (Ga.), won approval of a bill providing \$500 million for the former Soviet republics, Baker and the administration were silent for months about whether and how they would spend the money.

Baker convened an international conference on Russian aid earlier this year, but many U.S. allies complained privately that the administration remained captive to the inward-looking sentiment at home. A bipartisan effort to aid Russia was mounted only after an appeal from former president Richard M. Nixon.

As the crisis in Yugoslavia deepened, the administration did not return to the aggressive internationalism of its early years. In a June 1991 visit to Yugoslavia, Baker warned of the "dangers of disintegration of this country" and declared the United States would not recognize the independence of the separatist republics. But Baker then left the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia to the European allies.

"Baker safely reflects the national mood," Starr said. "American foreign policy must stand muster with the public, and Baker and Bush were being extremely careful not to expose themselves to criticism down the line."

"This country has turned in on itself to a profound degree," Starr said, and Bush and Baker have acceded to a "domestic veto over their words and deeds."

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## Baker Due To Focus Campaign

*Operative Seen to Be Facing Supreme Test*

By Thomas B. Edsall  
Washington Post Staff Writer

If there is one thing James A. Baker III brings to President Bush's reelection drive, it is an absolute insistence on a level of discipline and focus that never would have permitted the damaging speculation that Vice President Quayle could be dropped from the ticket to run rampant for more than a week.

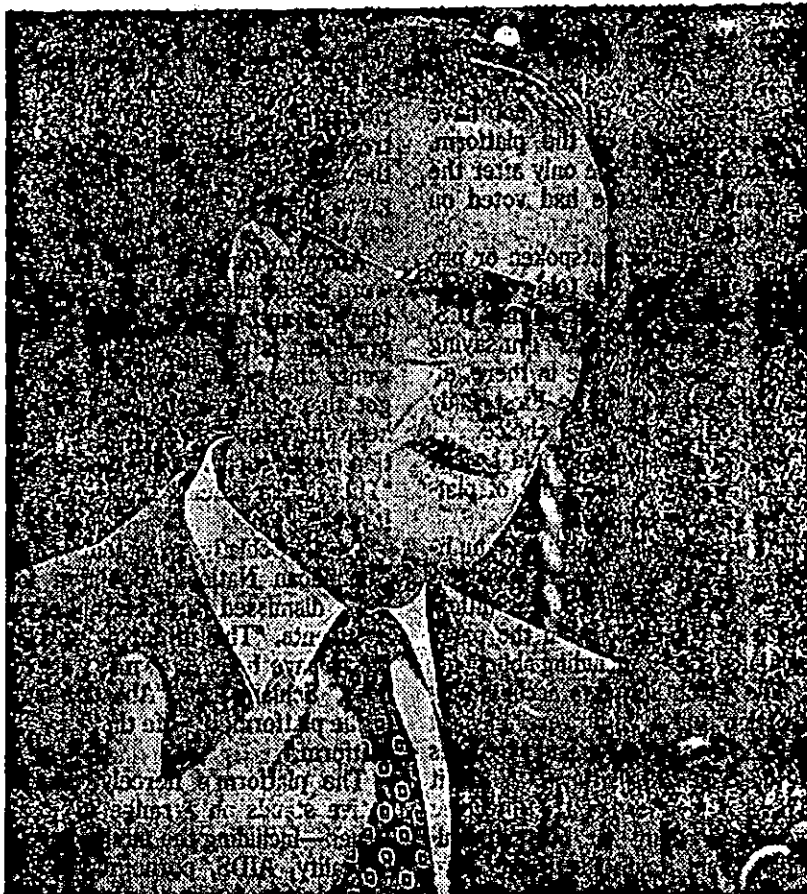
The experience of running four presidential campaigns has trained Baker to be a vigilant warrior against any interference with carefully defined messages and themes. A small, but revealing, example of this occurred in 1988 after Bush fumbled during his first debate when asked whether women who had abortions should face criminal penalty.

"I haven't sorted out the penalties, but I know that I oppose abortion and favor adoption," Bush said, raising the danger that he could be portrayed as calling for the jailing of the more than 1 million women who have abortions each year.

The sun was barely up the next morning before Baker had called a news conference to clarify what Bush had meant to say. Bush, Baker said, had thought about the issue during the night, and, "He thinks that a woman in a situation like that would more properly be considered an additional victim . . . that she would need help and love, and not punishment."

The smooth, Princeton-educated lawyer whose political career bridges the era from presidents Gerald R. Ford to Ronald Reagan to George Bush had, between the evening news and the morning television shows, quashed a controversy. "Jim Baker understands that every news cycle is a lifetime and has to be handled accordingly," said an admiring Stuart K. Spencer, who has worked with Baker in numerous campaigns.

Robert Beckel, who faced Baker



BY LUCIAN PERKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST

President Bush announces that he is bringing James Baker to the White House.

while serving as Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale's 1984 campaign manager, said Baker "brings confidence to the Bush campaign, and that is a very important commodity they need right now."

Beckel said Baker now faces the supreme test of a political operative "because he has a bad product to sell."

The selection of Baker, who has been criticized by some Republican conservatives in the past as failing to press campaign themes that give candidates a mandate for governing, was received with mixed but generally supportive reviews by conservatives interviewed yesterday.

Terry Eastland, who worked in the Reagan Justice Department and is now a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, said one of Baker's strengths is that he is one of the few people who can persuade Bush that his campaign is in serious trouble.

"Bush actually believes he has a record people think is good. He thinks this is like '84 and '88," Eastland said, and Baker's task is to turn around a "campaign that has been lousy so far. . . . Bush has not been able to persuade the voter at the margin, and I don't think an empty,

substanceless campaign can work. Bush is going to have to be a lot better than Reagan in 1984 and Bush in 1988." Baker ran both of those campaigns.

David Mason, director of executive branch liaison at the Heritage Foundation, said the Baker appointment "is a big plus. You have a situation [at the Bush campaign] where no one was in charge." Baker, Mason said, "brings skills that are more managerial than they are strategic," and in 1988 it was "the pairing of Baker with [now-deceased strategist] Lee Atwater that made it work. Who will play the Lee Atwater role this time is unclear."

Mason added, "You have to have great ideas, and you have to have the apparatus to communicate. . . . Up to this point, the campaign has had neither. Baker will at least bring some management rationality."

Far less ambivalent was Edward J. Rollins, who managed the 1984 Reagan-Bush campaign under Baker's supervision. "The appointment is all good. He brings central authority to the White House and the campaign, which historically have been at each other's throats. . . . And he brings his own smooth-riding, operating team to develop and drive a message and an agenda."

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## 'We Need a Safe and Strong America At Home to Be Safe and Strong Abroad'

Reuter

*Excerpts from comments at the State Department yesterday by Secretary of State James A. Baker III:*

... I remain absolutely certain that we need a safe and strong America at home to be safe and strong abroad. So I have decided to resign as secretary of state effective August 23, to work with the president to help develop a second-term agenda that builds on what has been achieved and that fully integrates our domestic, economic and foreign policies.

The president will be asking for the support of the American people, to give him a mandate for this agenda. I'm fully committed to this decision because I believe this year the people of the United States will be making fundamental choices and they'll be making fundamental choices at a pivotal time in America's journey. When you peel away the rhetoric, there are very, very different ideas in conflict out there.

We should build on the fundamentals of lower tax rates, limits on government spending, greater competition, less economic regulation and more open trade that can unleash tremendous private initiative and growth. But I think that in the '90s government can add to this growth program by building opportunity and hope for individuals, families and communities.

I think that there is a conservative agenda for helping people and for responding to their needs. We want to empower them to make their own choices, to break away from dependency. We want to give them economic security, a stake in society. Initiative should be unleashed. Success should be rewarded. Excellence obviously should be our goal.

Contrasting philosophies matter when it comes down to what each party really wants to do. We might discuss similar topics but there are sharp differences in approaches.

The president wants to offer the voters an integrated program to strengthen America and to give our people economic security, building from the ground up and not from the top down. We need schools where our kids will learn how to keep learning all their lives. Because the 21st century workplace will constantly be changing, and people need to be prepared to adapt to it.

We need a range of job training and placement services for young people, factory workers, white-collar employees and defense-industry workers. We need to support civilian R&D and leading-edge sectors, and a research extension network to make our discoveries available to entrepreneurial business.

We need social services for health and welfare that help the truly needy, but also enable others to break the cycle of poverty, to get back on their feet, to get back to work, and to take responsibility for their own choices.

We need to restore hope in the inner cities by clearing away the handicap of crime, building a core of property owners, creating business incentives and focusing our programs on work and on discipline.

We need to give people a real prospect of enjoying the rewards and fruits of their labors. That means safe neighborhoods so that families can concentrate on building something for themselves and not just protecting their homes, their property, and even their children.

That also means low taxes. It means low inflation. And it means of course affordable and competitive health care. And we need to streamline and overhaul the business of government so public servants will help the private sector be an engine of opportunity, competition, and achievement. I think that these actions will support one another, and they'll support one another to commit America to excellence, to competitiveness, to adaptability, to make it a society at work as well as the best place to live.

So if we move on all these fronts together, and if we ask people to pitch in and not just leave everything to the government, there's no doubt in my mind that America will be unquestionably safe and strong at home as well as safe and strong and in a leadership role abroad in the year 2000.

We should complement of course our work at home with continuing initiatives abroad, the key to America's growth, expansion, and innovation, has always been America's openness to trade, to investment, to ideas, and to people. Therefore, as we enact the North American Free Trade Agreement we should also wrap up the global trade negotiations.

Then we can build an expanding network of free trade agreements, with the market democracies of Latin America that are turning to us, with Eastern European democracies that want a special relationship with the United States, and with Pacific nations that want their future secure with America's.

We can use the attraction of America, which after all is the largest fully integrated market in the world, to assure strong economic ties across the Atlantic and the Pacific. America will be an export superpower, and a military superpower.

Now, some of these ideas that I mentioned may not be particularly revolutionary. Most of them are common sense, and we've been advocating a number of them over the past years. What is new, I think, is the commitment to press them together, as a package, to make America safe and strong, both at home and abroad. That's part of the mandate that the president will seek.

That's the kind of choice that he will be presenting to the American people.

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Washington Post Foreign Service

James A. Baker III's departure from the State Department was greeted around the world by a mixture of disappointment and bemusement yesterday.

In the Middle East and Europe, where Baker was deeply involved, his absence will be felt, officials said. But many diplomats and others saw the secretary of state's move to the White House as a surprising acknowledgment of the depth of President Bush's political troubles.

"Frankly, we always expect the Americans to vanish from the international stage for the last weeks of a presidential campaign," said a German Foreign Ministry official. "The sad thing this time is that it comes at such a crucial time, not only for Yugoslavia, but also for the Middle East peace process."

At think tanks, universities and newsrooms across Europe, those who watch U.S. policy for a living saw the Baker move as a sign that the president is in far more trouble than most Europeans realized.

Although German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has said that he hopes Bush will be re-elected, aides to Kohl seemed distressed at losing the partnership of Baker, who has been a favorite in Bonn since his active role in pushing for German unification.

Josef Joffe, foreign editor of Munich's *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, expressed reservations about the conduct of American foreign policy under Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Bush's choice to be acting secretary of state for the rest of this year.

"Compared to Baker, Larry Eagleburger, though much respected in Bonn, is a heavyweight only in the physical sense," Joffe said. "He was never in the inner circle, and most important, he's a lame duck, a four-month secretary who's already said he's retiring in January."

Manfred Stassen, an analyst at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies in Washington, described German officials as "stunned." Stassen said, "They don't understand how somebody of this stature would quit for purely political reasons in the middle of very complicated negotiations in the Middle East. There is consternation that domestic politics can have that kind of sway over a respected foreign-policy figure."

In the Middle East, policy makers have expected Baker's decision for



SHIMON PERES

... hopes peace process continues

some time; he told many leaders about the move when he visited the region recently. Arab negotiators and governments have lamented his imminent departure publicly, as have some Israeli officials, who said he had become the driving force in the peace talks and was dropping out just as a more flexible Israeli government was coming to the table.

Many of those who commented said they assume Baker will continue to be involved in the peace process. However, Palestinians said they were surprised to learn that Baker's top advisers are going with him.

Baker's decision led the day's news on state-owned Israel television last night.

"I understand the president is now fighting a political battle," said Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in a radio interview. "And surely I would like to see the peace process continued."

Arab observers, too, spoke highly of Baker's role.

In Jordan, an analyst close to official circles said, "Baker succeeded in bringing about a breakthrough in the peace process, so his departure is important and significant for everyone. Being in the White House, he will not be too far from events and he will be eager to see his policies continue."

"Baker was forthcoming towards the Arabs, specifically the Palestinians, and he knew them," another Arab official said. "His main significance was that he managed to win the confidence of the Palestinians."

Shift Regretted Abroad  
But Seen as Intrusion  
Of Politics, as Usual

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Eagleburger to Head 'Caretaker' State Department

By Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A caretaker-run State Department will be left to deal with the international crises of the next few months under the guidance of Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger and career officials who have had a back seat in policymaking for the past 3½ years.

The departure of Secretary of State James A. Baker III and his brain trust of close aides, announced yesterday, lops off with one stroke the tightly knit group of officials who have given direction to the State Department since January 1989.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

Those left in charge are principally career experts who often have not been involved in and sometimes not informed about some of the most important foreign policy decisions by the Baker team.

Eagleburger, a Foreign Service officer for 27 years before he returned to State as deputy secretary early in the Bush administration, is a diplomatic expert who is more of a strategic thinker than Baker and is well acquainted with the issues and personalities of global politics. He is well regarded in Congress, the executive branch and the news media.

His two main problems as interim leader of U.S. diplomacy are expected to be his health, which is so uncertain that even Baker has admitted being worried about it, and his inability to wield the political clout that a permanent secretary of state, confirmed by the Senate, can exert in national and international forums.

Eagleburger, just four months younger than Baker at age 62, is overweight and suffers from chronic asthma, knee problems (which force him to lean on a cane), a bad back and myasthenia gravis, a disease that causes muscle fatigue. Despite his afflictions, he still smokes (less than his previous three packs a day, according to an aide) and has been known to wield a cigarette in one hand and an oxygen inhaler in the other.

Eagleburger turned up for Baker's "swan song" speech at the State Department auditorium yesterday with his left arm in a sling, but characteristically refused to discuss his latest medical problem. It later was described by a spokesman as "a minor muscle operation of some sort."

When asked by a Washington Post Style section reporter about his various maladies in an interview early last year, Eagleburger shot back, "What are you writing for, some medical magazine?"

His health problems have not kept Eagleburger from traveling. He has undertaken many overseas missions for the administration, including two secret trips to China, a trip to Israel during the Persian Gulf War and, in the past five months, official visits to international conferences in the Caribbean, Europe and Asia as well as a strenuous two-week journey to Russia, Eastern Europe, Germany and Norway.

Baker, as an intimate friend of Bush for 35 years and manager of previous Bush campaigns, had more authority than any secretary of state in memory. Eagleburger lacks this unusual set of assets.

Moreover, he will have to deal with Baker and Baker's

aides as kibitzers and perhaps competitors at the White House, where Baker expects to play a continuing role in foreign policy as presidential chief of staff.

Dennis Ross, who has been State's policy planning director and is among those moving to the White House with Baker, will probably continue to give overall direction to the Middle East peace process, according to a senior official familiar with Baker's views. Other Baker

aides may take key roles in other foreign policy issues, while not seeking to direct day-to-day negotiations.

While Bush referred to Eagleburger yesterday as "a man to whom I feel exceptionally close personally," Baker made only a perfunctory reference to Eagleburger in his lengthy farewell speech at State, with a single mention of "my friend and loyal colleague." Eagleburger, who dealt with the issues and the diplomats that Baker chose to avoid, has been on good terms with his boss but at times appeared to be on the periphery of the most urgent policy issues.

At the same time, Eagleburger is considered to be exceptionally close to the presidential national security adviser, Gen. Brent Scowcroft. The two men worked closely together as aides to Henry Kissinger during his days in government and as officers of his private consulting firm, Kissinger Associates. Eagleburger was the firm's president in 1984-88 and Scowcroft a Washington-based representative.

Eagleburger's four years as a Foreign Service officer in Yugoslavia in 1961-65 and his three years as ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1977-80 led to business connections that initially prevented him from becoming deeply involved in Yugoslav affairs as deputy secretary of state. While working outside of government in the 1980s, Eagleburger was for a time president of Yugo America Inc., which imported an inexpensive Yugoslav-made automobile, and a board member of LBS Bank, a U.S.-based subsidiary of a Yugoslav bank.

An aide said Eagleburger later recused himself from any official dealings with these companies, but continues to be deeply involved in policy regarding the Balkans, now one of the major crisis points on the world scene.

In addition to the war in the Balkans and the Mideast peace process, Eagleburger's State Department will have to deal with a humanitarian disaster in Somalia, a drought in southern Africa, a continuing struggle with Iraq and a very perilous situation in Russia and other states of the former Soviet Union.

A senior official said Eagleburger's designation as acting secretary of state is limited by law to 120 days, which would take it well past the presidential election. There is little expectation that Eagleburger would be named secretary of state if Bush were reelected in view of his health and lack of a political base.

In the meantime, Eagleburger expects to name replacements for the transferred Baker aides as soon as he formally takes over from Baker Aug. 24. The new appointees will receive temporary, or "acting" titles, like Eagleburger's.

Baker and his close aides were "a plug-in unit" from the outside and are now being removed from Foggy Bottom, said a veteran State Department official. Eagleburger's team is likely to bring back the dominance, if only temporarily, of career professionals.

# The Washington Post

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## Pragmatists All, Top Staff Accompanying Baker

By Ruth Marcus  
Washington Post Staff Writer

At the start of the Bush administration nearly four years ago, Secretary of State James A. Baker III plucked a team of four top aides who had worked for him in the campaign and installed them in key State Department roles.

Yesterday, when Baker's long-awaited job switch finally became public, it was no surprise that he was bringing that same gang of four with him to the White House. "This is his true inner circle," said one administration official.

Like the man they work for, they are pragmatists rather than ideologues: two hard-core policy wonks—Robert B. Zoellick and Dennis Ross—and two hard-driving political operatives—Margaret Tutwiler and Janet G. Mullins. While Zoellick and Ross will work on the big picture, Tutwiler and Mullins will do the politics.

"If they're the manufacturing line, then we're the sales and marketing line," Mullins said yesterday. "Dennis and Bob can produce a widget but they would have no idea how to sell it. Janet and Margaret are the ones who go 'Okay, here's how you sell it. Here's your idea, but if you say it this way people are going to hate it, but if you say it this way, people are going to like it.'"

■ Zoellick, 39, who has been Baker's counselor and undersecretary for economic affairs, will serve as deputy chief of staff. Zoellick got his start in government as a protégé of budget director Richard G. Darman, for whom he had served as a teaching assistant while in the public policy and law program at Harvard.

Baker, then treasury secretary, quickly noticed Zoellick and promoted him three times before taking Zoellick with him four years ago when he resigned his Cabinet post to help Bush's ailing campaign. Zoellick, who was repeatedly described yesterday as "the ultimate policy wonk," served as issues director for that campaign.

"Put him in a room with numbers and adding machines and charts and 55 secretaries of the treasury and he would think he'd died and gone to heaven," said one person who knows him well.

At State, Zoellick played a key role on German reunification, the role of NATO after the cold war, and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

"It makes my commute much easier," he said of the job switch yesterday. "The White House is closer to the Red Line."

■ Ross, 43, Baker's policy planner, will become assistant to the president for policy planning. He has spent his working life in foreign policy, entering government as a Pentagon analyst during the Carter administration and moving through important policymaking jobs at Defense, the National Security Council and the State Department in the Reagan and Bush years. Ross, who will be working in the domestic policy arena for the first time, is known as liberal on domestic issues, and once participated in the presidential campaigns of Democrats Robert F. Kennedy and George McGovern.

A specialist on Middle East and Soviet affairs, Ross met Baker when he served as a foreign policy adviser in the 1988 campaign and then joined him at State. Some admin-

### THE WHITE HOUSE SHUFFLE

#### AT THE WHITE HOUSE

##### THOSE COMING FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT:

**James A. Baker III**

Secretary of state becomes White House chief of staff.

**Robert B. Zoellick**

State's assistant secretary for economic affairs becomes deputy chief of staff.

**Margaret Tutwiler**

State's spokesman becomes assistant to the president for communications.

**Dennis Ross**

State's policy director becomes assistant to the president for policy planning.

**Janet G. Mullins**

State's director of congressional relations becomes assistant to the president for political affairs.

##### THOSE LEAVING:

*To the Bush-Quayle Campaign*

**Clayton Yeutter**, who was White House counselor for domestic policy.

*To the Republican National Committee*

**Samuel K. Skinner**

Succeeded John H. Sununu as chief of staff.

##### THOSE WITH UNCERTAIN FUTURES:

Fate of several staffers brought by Skinner from Transportation Department to White House.

##### THOSE SWITCHING POSTS:

**W. Henson Moore**, deputy chief of staff, will go to a lower rung.

**Marlin Fitzwater** gives up the role as counselor to the president for communications and **Steven D. Provost** gives up the title of communications director. Fitzwater goes back to being press secretary; Provost to chief

speechwriter, and Tutwiler assumes the sole role as communications director.

**Ronald C. Kaufman**, the current political director, now reports to Mullins, the director of political affairs.

**Roger B. Porter** retains the title of domestic policy adviser but now reports to Ross, rather than Yeutter.

#### AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT



**Lawrence S. Eagleburger** moves from deputy secretary to acting secretary of state. It remains unclear whether a new deputy will be named.

A likely scenario is that the deputies to Mullins, Tutwiler, Zoellick and Ross will replace their departed bosses, but nothing formal will be announced before Aug. 24.

■ Mullins's deputy in congressional relations was **Steven K. Berry**.

■ Tutwiler's deputy as assistant secretary for public affairs was **Richard A. Boucher**.

■ Ross's deputy in policy planning was **William J. Burns**.

■ Zoellick's deputies in economic affairs were **Robert C. Fauver** and **Michael Young**.

SOURCE: Staff reports

THE WASHINGTON POST

istration officials speculated yesterday that Ross will remain deeply involved in the Middle East peace process and handling the former Soviet Union at the White House.

"If we had a label, we'd put 'wonk' on Zoellick," said one administration official. "On Dennis we'd put 'Buddha.' He's the thinker. . . . Bob's the guy with the facts and Dennis is the guy with the themes."

■ Tutwiler, 41, the closest to Baker of the four, will move from being his chief spokesman at State to be assistant to the president for communications at the White House, overseeing both the press operation and the communications office. She was one of Bush's first two paid political staff in 1978 and met Baker when he joined that campaign. Later, she accompanied him to the Reagan White House, the Treasury Department, and the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign.

"Talk about a Baker inner circle. There's one person in the inner circle—Margaret," one administration official said yesterday.

With her distinctive Alabama drawl, Tutwiler has become well-known as Baker's spokesman at State. But her influence goes far beyond that, serving as Baker's

distant early warning system for how policy matters could turn into political trouble.

■ Mullins, 42, Baker's congressional liaison, will serve as assistant to the president for political affairs, coordinating between the White House, the campaign and the Republican National Committee.

Raised as a Democrat in Kentucky, Mullins did not get her start in politics until she was nearly 30, when she parlayed a typing job for Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) into serving as his administrative assistant. After a stint in state government in Kentucky, she worked on the longshot—and successful—Senate campaign of Mitch McConnell.

Mullins was Bush's field director during the 1988 primaries and deputy national political director and media director in the general election.

For all the focus on the new team, one administration official said yesterday, "I feel bad for them because I think expectations are a little too high. The first misstep's going to be a big letdown. On the other hand, they're following such a poor show that it won't be that hard to look good."

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## 'Much Needs to Be Done' in Final Days of 102nd Congress

By Helen Dewar and Don Phillips  
Washington Post Staff Writers

It has not been one of Congress's better years, and members will be hard-pressed to give their legislative record an applause-winning finale when they return Sept. 8 for one frantic month of preelection lawmaking.

As they fled Washington Wednesday, bound for the Republican National Convention or for home-state politicking, lawmakers could look back on seven of their most frustrating months in memory, dominated by partisan bickering in Congress, surly relations between Congress and the White House, political embarrassments, broken promises, dreams dashed and agendas delayed.

Words used by House and Senate leaders at a news conference Wednesday to sum up the 102nd Congress's record so far were revealing.

"Productive, constructive and meaningful," said House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.). There

was "good progress" in some areas, but "we recognize much needs to be done" in September, said Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine).

The leaders' summary pointed to five major accomplishments, all but one of which were put in place last year: highway, civil rights, veterans and unemployment benefits legislation.

All that could be claimed so far this year were a higher education bill and a third extension of jobless benefits.

Most of a dozen other major bills on the leaders' list, on subjects ranging from abortion to urban aid, are under threat of a veto, a Republican filibuster in the Senate, some other hitch in Congress or have already been vetoed, with the vetoes sustained on Capitol Hill.

In the past, including the 100th and 101st Congresses, solid accomplishments came in the last few weeks before adjournment as months of legislative struggle finally

bore results. But this year most of the Democrats' major initiatives are on the president's veto list, and the stepped-up pace of presidential and congressional campaigns this fall is not expected to ease the partisan tensions.

On the plus side, the leaders noted that appropriations bills are on track for completion by the start of the new fiscal year Oct. 1, which is when they are supposed to be passed and signed by the president.

They are \$12.5 billion under President Bush's request, at least so far, and rescissions (cancellation of previous spending authority) are exceeding Bush's requests by \$8.2

Here is a rundown of the progress of legislation through the second session of this Congress and the outlook for enactment before it adjourns, presumably in early October.

■ **Higher education**—Congress last month passed and Bush signed a \$100 billion, five-year extension

of higher education loans and grants that makes more aid available to middle-income students.

■ **Elementary and secondary education**—The House and Senate have passed legislation aimed at spurring improvements in the nation's public schools, but the bill, headed for a House-Senate conference, faces a veto because it does not allow federal aid to students in private schools.

■ **Tax relief and urban aid**—Emergency aid to cities, prompted by the Los Angeles riots, was approved by Congress and Bush. A longer-term aid plan, including tax relief to prompt development in depressed "enterprise zones," has been broadened to include a wide array of tax breaks, some sought by Bush and some by the Democrats. But a veto has been threatened, in part because of the Senate's refusal to include a capital gains tax cut in the package.

■ **Unemployment benefits**—Congress approved and Bush signed the

third extension of jobless benefits since the recession began, including permanent changes in the program so further extensions will not be necessary.

■ **Energy**—Legislation intended to make the nation less dependent on foreign oil has been passed by both houses, and a conference must work out some contentious differences. This is one major bill that may escape a veto.

■ **Abortion**—Legislation to enact abortion rights guarantees was held up by Senate and House leaders because of fears that some restrictions, such as parental notification in the case of abortions for teenagers, would be approved. In any case, the bill is threatened with a veto. A veto also threatens legislation to lift restrictions on abortion counseling at federally funded family planning clinics; Congress lacks the votes to override.

See WRAPUP, A9, Col. 1

### WRAPUP, From A8

■ **Family leave**—The House is prepared to approve next month and send to the White House a Senate-passed bill to require employers to give workers up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for newborn infants or seriously ill family members. Bush has threatened a veto of any such government-mandated benefits.

■ **Health care**—Proposals to overhaul and cut costs of the nation's health care system are not expected to come to a head until next year, although some action may be possible this year on incremental steps such as changes in medical malpractice laws.

■ **Crime**—Anticrime legislation, including a proposed week-long waiting period for purchase of a handgun, was approved by both houses last year, but a conference agreement remains bogged down in the Senate, where filibustering Re-

publicans contend it is not sufficiently tough on criminals.

■ **Campaign finance reform**—Legislation authorizing taxpayer-financed subsidies and other incentives to encourage congressional candidates to comply with voluntary campaign spending limits was passed and vetoed by Bush. The veto was sustained by Congress.

■ **Savings and loans**—The House has balked at approving even a scaled-back version of Senate-passed legislation to replenish the Resolution Trust Corp.'s thrift cleanup funds, which ran out April 1. The administration estimates that losses total \$6 million a day from S&Ls that are failing but remain open. Action this year is questionable.

■ **Cable TV**—Both houses have passed bills authorizing some regulation of cable television rates and services, and Bush has indicated he will veto the legislation that is expected to come out of a House-Senate conference.

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■ **Balanced-budget amendment**—Both House and Senate fell short of the two-thirds vote necessary to enact a constitutional amendment aimed at balancing the federal budget—now totaling nearly \$400 billion in deficit annually—over the next five years.

■ **Voter registration**—Congress approved but Bush vetoed legislation that would have made it easier to vote by allowing people to register when they apply for driver's licenses or for unemployment, welfare or other benefits.

■ **Social Security**—The House and the Senate Finance Committee have approved legislation to raise the current \$10,200 limit on earnings before Social Security recipients begin to lose benefits, but the measure is bogged down over such issues as how to pay for it and whether to repeal the limit instead of raising it.

■ **Defense**—Legislation that includes a post-Cold War military

conversion program and a nuclear testing moratorium has bogged down in the Senate in a dispute over whether to scale back the "Star Wars" antimissile program in what appears to be a rebellion against expensive weaponry designed to fight the now-defunct Soviet Union.

■ **Aid to Russia**—Both chambers have approved wide-ranging packages of aid to Russia and other former Soviet republics, including a \$12 billion increase in the U.S. commitment to the International Monetary Fund for all its activities, although differences remain to be ironed out. Bush sought the legislation.

■ **China**—The House has approved legislation, now pending before the Senate, to restrict trade benefits (most-favored nation status) that Bush has approved for China. Bush has vowed to veto the legislation, which would condition aid on human rights and other reforms. Previous Bush vetoes of China MFN bills have been sustained.

■ **Trade**—The North American Free Trade Agreement negotiated by the United States, Canada and Mexico to reduce trade barriers among the three countries will not come up for ratification until next year, although battle lines are already being drawn. The House has approved legislation aimed at opening Japanese markets to autos and other American exports; its fate in the Senate is unclear, and Bush has threatened a veto.

■ **Reform of Congress**—Both chambers have approved resolutions creating a bipartisan, bicameral commission to make recommendations on how to improve Congress's operations, with a report due by December 1993.

■ **Appropriations**—The House has approved all 13 appropriations bills for the year beginning Oct. 1; the Senate has approved seven. The agriculture spending bill has been sent to Bush. Several others contain items that have drawn veto threats.

## Seasoned Political Captain Will Face Difficult Terrain

*Baker's 1988 Success Hard to Duplicate*

By Dan Balz  
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 13—Last winter, President Bush said he would do whatever it takes to win reelection, and today's announcement that Secretary of State James A. Baker III will move to the White House to oversee the campaign showed how seriously he meant it.

The shift was a concession to the political reality that unless Bush does something dramatically different, he could become a one-term president. Baker plays politics hard and tough and with considerable discipline, as the 1988 campaign proved, and his arrival will put Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and his campaign on notice that they cannot expect a waltz to the White House.

But Bush's action also is a politically risky acknowledgment of failure by a president who less than a year ago dumped chief of staff John

H. Sununu and hauled in Samuel K. Skinner to put his administration back on track.

Bush's decision to tap Baker once again to run his campaign is an extraordinary action by a sitting president, because of what it says about his political weakness and what it conveys about the White House team that has served him and the country for most of the past year.

Some Republicans may have privately hoped for something more, such as the dumping of Vice President Quayle. But even if Bush is unwilling to do that, the Baker announcement gave a jolt of optimism to disconsolate Republicans.

Rarely has the arrival of a new White House chief of staff been invested with such grandiose expectations, in part because of Baker's performance in the last campaign. But Baker, the smooth Texan, confronts a far more serious challenge this summer in reviving Bush's political standing than he did four

See CAMPAIGN, A20, Col. 1

■ **First Lady Barbara Bush lashes out at the news media.**

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## CAMPAIGN, From A1

years ago when asked to do the same.

Baker must quickly bring order and direction to the president's struggling reelection campaign. The more difficult task, perhaps, will be recasting Bush's image for the final 82 days of the battle.

There were already signs of a more coherent message in the statements Bush and Baker made today, but the ascent they face is steeper than anything they knew in 1988.

The sluggish economy—and public anxiety about it—are the most important reasons, but Bush's record on the entire domestic scene is also a significant factor as well. Four years ago, he could avoid blame for unpopular policies of then-President Ronald Reagan; this year he cannot escape his own.

Those conditions have created a much different backdrop—one that will not be easily pushed aside—to this year's campaign. Geoff Garin, a Democratic pollster, said recently the Republicans won in 1988 in part because then the voters did not share a consensus on the state of the country.

"You could really have a good debate about where America was at and where it needed

to go, and George Bush and the Republicans debated our pants off," he said. "They made a better argument that people ought to feel good about America than Michael Dukakis did about America needing change."

But in Garin's and other analysts' view, voters have reached a consensus this year that works against Bush, which is that the country is in trouble and change is needed.

"There's no debate about the condition of America," he said. "That's the playing field for this election, and you can't argue people out of it."

Baker faces one other difference from 1988. "The Democrats are ready to do anything to win this election," said Fred Meyer, Texas GOP chairman. "They're not going to help us. You're not going to get Clinton climbing into the equivalent of a tank. We're going to have to supply all of the momentum."

If the context of this campaign is different, so too is Bush's political health. The belief is that four years ago Baker came to the rescue of Bush's floundering candidacy around the time of the Republican convention and helped guide his longtime friend back to victory over Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts.

But four years ago at this time, Bush had a favorable-unfavorable rating of 48 percent to 34 percent. In a recent Washington Post-ABC News Poll, those ratings had undergone a flipflop, with 33 percent having a favorable impression of Bush, 64 percent unfavorable.

Also by this time four years ago, Bush had substantially erased a 17-point post-convention lead held by Dukakis and was in a dead heat by the time he came out of his own convention in New Orleans. This year, he has whittled only about 5 percentage points off Clinton's 30-point post-convention lead, trailing the Arkansas governor by 26 points in the Post-ABC poll released Wednesday.

Bringing order to the campaign will be easier than reshaping the president's image. For months the Bush campaign has been in turmoil, and the president's announcement today that he was bringing Baker aboard was welcome news to all elements of the Republican Party.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, who has prodded the White House to adopt his economic policies, said Baker would bring "fresh new ideas . . . and a sense of decisiveness that I personally believe was lacking" in the campaign. "As an old

quarterback," Kemp said, "he's a quarterback. He'll go into the huddle and call plays."

Angela "Bay" Buchanan, who managed the primary challenge to Bush by her brother Patrick J. Buchanan, also praised the Baker move. "I think Jim Baker has the ability to bring that kind of cohesiveness and direction to the campaign," she told reporters here.

Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), who will be one of the Bush-Quayle campaign's co-chairmen, said he and his fellow conservatives, who have often been at odds with the president on domestic policy, welcome the arrival of Baker at the White House.

Bush and Baker today established the themes for the fall campaign: that the president guided the world through one of its most dramatic periods of change in generations and that he will now turn his attention to solving America's problems with the same energy and commitment.

In his departure speech to State Department employees, Baker also laid out the conservative principles that will guide the president in a second term: lower tax rates, spending limits, less regulation, freer trade, empowerment and choice for individuals.

But these are themes Bush has sounded

for months and there is little evidence to date that the public has responded. The challenge may be to get voters to listen to Bush with a fresh ear—or to listen at all. Some Republicans fear that it will be more difficult for Bush to do this than it was for Clinton, and they say he needs not just a coherent message but a sharp message for the campaign.

Bush said today he was bringing Baker to the White House to help "seek a mandate" from the American people for a second-term agenda. That too would be a shift from 1988, when the Republicans avoided the specifics of issues in favor of more generalized promises and sharp attacks on Dukakis.

For most of this year, Bush has dealt clumsily with the central issue that now imperils his reelection, which is the revitalization of the economy and the restoration of people's confidence that their futures will be brighter. Baker has less than three months to reverse that course.

Party leaders are delighted he's aboard, likening his absence to keeping San Francisco 49ers quarterback Joe Montana on the bench for the Super Bowl. But the problems are the president's—the voters' perceptions of where he stands and what he has done.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Clinton Calls Bush's Foreign Policy Outdated

By Edward Walsh  
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 13—Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton said today that President Bush has failed the "new tests" of leadership in a rapidly changing world while clinging to outdated policies and trying to "prop up yesterday's status quo."

In his first foreign policy speech since he won his party's nomination last month, Clinton delivered a broad indictment of the Bush administration's record and the pres-

ident's global leadership on economic and environmental issues, human rights and the need to restructure the U.S. military in the post-Cold War era.

"I have agreed with President Bush on a number of foreign policy issues," Clinton told a luncheon of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. "But I do not believe he has a vision of our role in this new era. In a world of change, security flows from initiative, not inertia."

Accusing the administration of "a preference for the established order over constructive change," the

Arkansas governor directed some of his sharpest remarks at Bush's human rights record.

"From the Baltics to Beijing, from Sarajevo to South Africa, time after time this president has sided with the status quo over democratic change— with familiar tyrants rather than those who would overthrow them— with the old geography of repression rather than a new map of freedom."

In Washington, Bush campaign press secretary Torie Clarke said Clinton's speech "stretched the outer edge of the credibility envelope. He is trying to rewrite history, ignoring

President Bush's leadership of the historic changes that have made the world and the country much safer."

The speech was Clinton's most comprehensive and critical assessment of Bush's foreign policy record, which is thought to be the president's strong suit in the campaign. But making clear that he is prepared to go toe-to-toe with Bush on the issue of world leadership, Clinton challenged the president "to set his vision of our nation's purpose in a dramatically new era against the one I am presenting in this campaign."

See CLINTON, A20, Col. 1

## Bush Policy Outdated, Clinton Charges

CLINTON, From A1

"In this election, Mr. Bush will seek to establish his leadership by emphasizing the time he has spent, the calls he has placed and the trips he has taken in the conduct of foreign policy," he said. "But the measure of leadership in the new era is not the conversations held or the miles traveled. It is the new realities recognized, the crises averted, the opportunities seized."

Clinton's speech, which was interrupted several times by polite applause, covered a broad range of foreign policy and national security issues as the Democratic nominee sought to establish his credentials and set out his priorities for the U.S. role in the world.

Linking foreign policy to his central campaign theme—revival of the domestic economy—Clinton said Bush's "most glaring foreign policy failure" has been his inability to understand that "in this new era, our first priority in foreign policy and our first domestic priority are one and the same: We must revive our economy. America must regain its economic strength to play our proper role as leader of the world."

"Mr. Bush's economic neglect has invited foreign pity," Clinton said, adding:

"The currency of national strength in this new era will be denominated not only in ships, tanks and planes, but also in diplomas, patents and paychecks. My first foreign policy priority will be to restore America's economic vitality... I will elevate Economics in Foreign Policy, create an Economics Security Council similar to the National Security Council, and change the State Department's culture so that economics is no longer a poor cousin to old school diplomacy."

With California's economy in shambles in part because of layoffs in the state's large number of defense industries, Clinton took aim at the richest electoral prize in the election by accusing Bush of failing to produce a plan for conversion of defense industries to civilian purposes. "You wouldn't be in the fix you're in if we had that plan," he said.

Clarke responded by saying that Clinton "wants people to believe that he supports a strong defense. But he hides his true plans to cut an additional \$60 billion, which would decimate and destroy our defense."

Asserting that "sound environmen-

tal policies are a precondition of economic growth, not a brake on it," Clinton said Bush had "abdicated" world environmental leadership. On military issues, he said he agreed with Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) that "it is time to take a fresh look at the basic organization of our armed forces" and said he will order the Pentagon to convene a meeting "to hammer out a new understanding about consolidating and coordinating military roles and missions for the 1990s and beyond."

Clinton said there are "two wrong-headed, dangerous approaches" to adjusting the U.S. force structure for the post-Cold War era: the administration's policy that "simply shrinks the existing Cold War force structure" and the view of some fellow Democrats "who see defense cuts largely as a piggy bank to fund domestic wish lists." He said both approaches threaten to undermine key U.S. military advantages in personnel and technology.

Staff writer Maralee Schwartz in Washington contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Ex-CIA Official Charges He Was 'Set Up' by Hill 'Hypocrites'

By George Lardner Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former CIA spy chief Clair E. George, red-faced and pounding the witness stand, protested yesterday that he had been "set up" for criminal charges by "goddamn hypocrites" in Congress opposed to the Reagan administration's policy in Nicaragua.

Shouting so loud he could be heard in the hallway, George complained at his trial in federal court here that he was being prosecuted for trying to cover up what was common knowledge in Washington in the mid-1980s: White House aide Oliver L. North's involvement in arming the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

"Congress knew it," George declared. "Congress wanted to set somebody up ... and I walked right into it."

On trial for allegedly lying at congressional and grand jury investigations and obstructing their inquiries into the Iran-contra affair, George spent nearly six hours yesterday under cross-examination, portraying himself to the jurors as a man hounded into the dock.

He was at turns argumentative, angry, petulant, pedantic, beleaguered and bored. He quarreled constantly with his interrogator, prosecutor Craig A. Gillen. A few

jurors laughed at some of George's quips, but most sat stony-faced.

The high point came in early afternoon as Gillen questioned George about his testimony to the House intelligence committee on Oct. 14, 1986, that the CIA had no knowledge of who was behind covert resupply flights to the rebels. One such flight had been shot down over Nicaragua nine days earlier.

All the CIA knew at that point, George said then, "is from the press."

George conceded yesterday this was "a dumb remark" and he had known a "bit more" from CIA cable traffic. But he lost his temper as Gillen pressed on, reminding George that North had tried to sell aircraft from the resupply operation to the CIA in the summer of 1986, an offer that George has said he politely rejected.

Gillen recalled that the administration in 1985 and 1986 repeatedly denied North was involved in arming the rebels. At the time, Congress had banned military aid.

"Everybody was a goddamn hypocrite about this," said George, who served as the CIA's deputy director for operations from 1984 to 1987. He pointed out that Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.), then chairman of the House intelligence committee, had agreed with administration officials to flights with "mixed loads" of humanitarian supplies and

limited amounts of arms. "If you're going to sit around and nitpick and nitpick and nitpick every word I've said, I'm not going to go along with it," George said. He accused Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) and former senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.), both of whom have testified for the prosecution, of being among those who set him up.

But "you never gave them the knowledge you had," Gillen said.

"They never gave me the knowledge they had," George replied. "Not one of them had the guts to ask me the question they knew the answer to: What about Oliver North? They were waiting for me to say the wrong thing. God damn it, that's hypocrisy."

George, 62, has also been accused of obstruction and lying to Congress in October 1986 about the role played by Felix Rodriguez, a former CIA officer who helped run military supply flights out of El Salvador under the alias "Max Gomez."

Alan D. Fiers, the former CIA Central American Task Force chief who has been George's chief accuser at the trial, testified that George instructed him not to reveal that "Gomez" was actually Rodriguez at an Oct. 10, 1986, hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Fiers also testified that buttons popped up at the CIA around that time, saying "Who is Max Gomez," "I Am Maximo Gomez" and the like.

George disclosed yesterday that he got the buttons from the office of Donald Gregg, a longtime friend of Rodriguez who was then Vice President Bush's national security adviser and is now U.S. ambassador to South Korea.

"They were humorous buttons and people took them," George said. "It was a funny item for the White House. That's where I got 'em."

"What was funny about the buttons?" interrupted U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth.

"There was great debate in the press about who Gomez was," George replied.

At several other points, the judge intervened to order George to answer questions. More than once, George interrupted Gillen in mid-sentence to make points or try to ask questions.

George also accused Gillen of unfairly calling him before a federal grand jury last year without telling him he was "a subject" of the investigation. George kept pressing the point, finally asking the judge if he had "a right to be told."

"You did not," the judge told him curtly.

Throughout the day, George, a one-time chief of congressional relations for the CIA, made clear his view that members of Congress were entitled to know only what the CIA was willing to tell them.

For example, at the Oct. 14, 1986, hearing, George was asked about "the private [resupply] operation," but answered only in the context of the plane that was shot down Oct. 5.

"I went down to tell them [members of Congress] that the CIA was not involved in this particular flight," George said yesterday. "If they thought I was going to come down and tell them everything I suspected or heard by rumor, they were wrong."

As the CIA's deputy director for operations, George said all he knew was "hearsay" from around the world. He contended he had every right not to respond to questions from Congress when the information he had was just "hearsay" and not firsthand knowledge.

George also defended 1986 testimony in which he said he did not "know" Richard V. Secord, a middleman in the Iran-contra affair, even though George had met Secord in the White House Situation Room in January 1986 at a meeting called to discuss covert arms sales to Iran.

"I still don't know the man," George said of Secord.

"But you met him," Gillen pointed out.

"There's a big difference," George replied. "I have met you many times, Mr. Gillen. I don't know you."

Staff writer Walter Pincus contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# U.S. Companies Eager for Look at Tariff Changes in Free-Trade Pact

By Stuart Auerbach  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The hottest document in town yesterday was one that is not generally available yet: the detailed list of when individual products will lose their tariff protection under the North American Free Trade Agreement between the United States, Mexico and Canada that was concluded early Wednesday.

The phones at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative have been ringing steadily for the past two days with companies seeking the tariff details that would determine the conditions under which they could sell in Mexico or how much competition they could face at home.

Willard Workman, international vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, said his office had received more than 200 calls over the past two days seeking that information, which is crucial for companies setting up marketing plans in advance of the agreement, which would take effect Jan. 1, 1994, if it is ratified in all three countries.

Louis Santucci of the Cosmetics, Toiletry and Fragrance Association unsuccessfully sought detailed infor-

mation from U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills at a Chamber of Commerce forum yesterday. She said aides were still whipping the detailed tariff sheets, covering some 9,000 products, into shape.

"I've been trying to call over there for two days and I can't get any answers," Santucci said.

"The most intense interest is over tariffs," said Workman. "This is the part business people get very excited about. They can calculate their profits on that information."

Companies that want to sell in Mexico are seeking information on whether Mexican tariffs on their products will go off as soon as the pact, known as NAFTA, takes effect, or will be phased out over the next five, 10 or 15 years.

Similarly, U.S. companies protected from Mexican competition by tariffs want to know how long they

have before they face increased Mexican imports in their home market.

Mexican tariffs are on the average 250 percent higher than U.S. tariffs on the same products, so U.S. companies are likely to benefit more from a reduction. But a few U.S. industries—table glassware and some fruits and vegetables—were deemed especially sensitive to Mexican competition and gained a 15-year transition period.

While Hills reported that tariffs on half the products will go off when the agreement takes effect and 65 percent of all tariffs will end within five years, companies need specific information on their products.

Tariffs will drop immediately, for instance, on health care equipment, including advanced X-ray machines that are traded between the United States and Mexico. There is cur-

rently a 15 percent tariff on exports to Mexico while Mexican sales to the United States are assessed at a 5 percent rate.

In 1991, when two-way trade totaled \$838 million, U.S. and Mexican health equipment manufacturers would have saved \$81 million in tariffs if the free-trade accord had been in effect, said Edward M. Rozynski, international vice president of the Health Industry Manufacturing Association. With the expected growth in that trade, those savings would likely amount to as much as \$100 million by the time the pact takes effect in 1994, he estimated.

Rozynski said companies could pass those savings to their customers, add to their profit or invest in research and development of new products.

In answer to a question at the forum yesterday, Hills sought to insulate congressional ratification of the agreement from partisan politics and the presidential campaign, although she said President Bush will "speak loudly" during the campaign about the trade pact as an achievement of his administration.

"Trade is a bipartisan and shared responsibility," she said in answer to comments by Edward Black of the

Computer and Communications Industry Association that partisan politics could complicate ratification.

Hills's appearance before the Chamber of Commerce was one of a series of events staged yesterday by senior administration officials to beat the drums for the agreement as a way to create economic growth and jobs and as an achievement for Bush. Besides Hills, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly, Treasury Secretary Nicholas A. Brady and Deputy Agriculture Secretary Ann Veneman appeared at events boosting the trade accord.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Capitol Offices Will Begin to Recycle More of Their Daily Mountain of Trash

*Concern for Aesthetics Has Slowed Voluntary Use of Sorting Bins*

By Kenneth J. Cooper

Washington Post Staff Writer

Congress rates as one of the biggest waste paper mills in Washington, each day generating as much as 20 tons of trash, mostly paper. That amounts to three pounds per employee daily, more than twice the national average.

Like other federal facilities, congressional offices are exempted from a 1989 District law that mandates recycling in office buildings. But voluntary programs the House and Senate adopted in 1990 have resulted in 70 percent to 80 percent of congressional trash being recycled, according to the Architect of the Capitol's office.

Aides in House and Senate office buildings, where recycling has been phased in, have adjusted to sorting trash into as many as five different receptacles: for white paper, mixed paper, glass, cans and nonrecyclable waste.

"We do it all," said Kathryn Post, chief clerk for Republican members of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, located in the Hart Senate Office Building. "The Senate is very adamant about it."

It is the Capitol, where House and Senate leaders have offices, that has lagged behind a trend that has swept the nation and inundated many recycling centers.

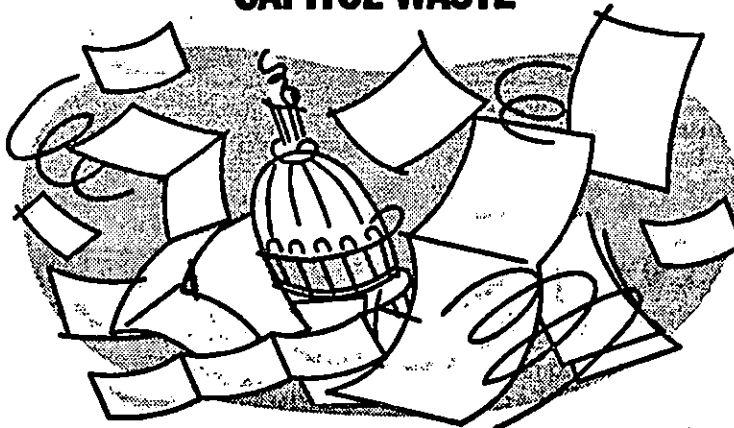
Next month, the House and Senate sides of the Capitol are scheduled to be the last to implement recycling because they produce little trash, compared with the office buildings, according to recycling coordinator Dan Hanlon of the architect's office.

A few congressional leaders already sort trash in their congressional offices. Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) have a full complement of recycling bins, while House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) recycle only newspapers.

Foley aides responded to an inquiry about recycling practices in his two Capitol offices with some embarrassment.

"We'll take the lead from progressive leaders in the Capitol, and we'll get on the train. It's a worthy ticket," said Jeffrey R. Biggs, Foley's spokesman.

### CAPITOL WASTE



- 20 tons a day of office trash.
- Three pounds per person per day, more than twice the national average.
- 70 to 80 percent of paper is recycled.
- In 1990, waste paper sold for up to \$40 a ton.
- In 1992, Congress is paying \$20 a ton for the same paper to be removed.
- Congress currently pays landfill fees of \$60 to \$75 per ton for the paper.
- If the paper were recycled, Congress could save \$55 per ton.
- Five bins will be used for recycling: for cans, bottles, white paper, mixed paper and unrecyclable trash.
- Percentage of congressional offices complying with voluntary recycling: 90.

BY PETER ALSBERG-THE WASHINGTON POST

"That's one of our programs for the [August] recess," said Diane Dewhirst, spokeswoman for Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine). "We are going to [start] shortly."

Tony Blankley, an aide to Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), suggested his Capitol office is too small for recycling. "We don't have room for five trash cans," Blankley said.

"We started late here in the Capitol," Bonior said. "I think there's a little reluctance to exhibit the bins."

Press galleries that reporters use when they cover House and Senate sessions do not sort trash either. Large amounts of newspapers, press releases, reports and other printed papers are discarded in the galleries.

Hanlon said maintaining the character of several "historic rooms" in the Capitol may require construction of enclosures for the bins. A Senate official, citing a related issue, said: "We want to have contain-

ers that are as aesthetically acceptable as we can."

Elsewhere in the Capitol complex, Hanlon estimated about 90 percent of congressional offices voluntarily recycle.

An informal survey of 10 offices in the Senate Dirksen and Hart office buildings yesterday found that all recycle, using blue-and-gray trash cans embossed with the Senate seal.

Compliance was not as complete among a similar sample of 10 offices in the Rayburn House Office Building, where the Foreign Affairs Committee recycles nothing and the Government Operations Committee sorts paper only.

Backing up the "source separation" done in offices are custodial workers who do additional sorting at night. Hanlon said Congress pays recycling centers \$20 a ton to take mixed paper, while receiving \$10-\$15 a ton for white paper. Those amounts compare with \$60-\$75 a ton it costs Congress to dump its trash in various landfills.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992



Republican platform delegate Gaddi Vasquez of California holds up a list described as Bill Clinton's record of tax and fee increases as governor in Arkansas. Vasquez received a standing ovation from fellow delegates yesterday in Houston. ASSOCIATED PRESS

## Conservative GOP Platform Approved

### *Barbara Bush Backs 'Personal Choice' on Abortion in Interview*

By E. J. Dionne Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 13—The Republican platform committee ratified a stoutly conservative statement of principles today, but GOP leaders sent conflicting signals about the document, especially its strong stand against abortion.

The most dramatic departure from the platform's commitments came from First Lady Barbara Bush, who said in an interview with three news magazines that she thought abortion should not have been mentioned in the platform. Her comments came only after the platform committee had voted on the issue.

"I'm not being outspoken or pro or con about," she told reporters from Newsweek, Time and U.S. News & World Report. "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, either pro or con." The First Lady added, "It's a personal choice. . . . The personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, out of platforms and conventions."

Meanwhile, the platform committee here passed a separate resolution acknowledging "honest differences of opinion" within the party on many issues, including abortion.

The resolution was accepted by abortion foes, who were pleased that no compromise language was included in the platform. "What it does is allow those of us . . . who've won everything to be magnanimous," said Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition.

But some moderate Republicans used the resolution to say that they had won something and to send a signal to middle-of-the-road voters. "We have at least demonstrated

that there is room in our party for different points of view on this issue," Gov. John McKernan Jr. (R-Maine) said in a telephone interview.

The First Lady's interview may have sent an even stronger signal, according to Nancy Sternoff, executive director of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, who noted that Barbara Bush had not in the past publicly expressed her views on abortion.

"It's clear that the president is feeling desperate about having to run on a platform that is so extreme," Sternoff said. "Obviously the campaign is panicked if they've given Barbara Bush permission to say this."

Abortion foes, in turn, said they were determined to see Bush maintain his antiabortion stance. "The president is pro-life, the president wants this plank," said Reed. "He got this plank. And he's going to keep this plank." Referring to abortion rights supporters, Reed added, "They were defeated, vanquished. It's over."

Phyllis Schlafly, president of the Republican National Coalition for Life, dismissed the First Lady's comments. "This is not news. Her views have been known for a long time," Schlafly said. "Abortion isn't in the platform; it's life that's in the platform."

The platform's fiercely conservative stands on a range of social issues—including the family, homosexuality, AIDS, pornography and federal arts funding—pleased the party's right, which has been critical of Bush.

"It is as conservative—or more so—than any since 1980," said Donald J. Devine, chairman of the

Committee for a Conservative Platform. But what pleased conservatives outraged moderates. Ann Stone, of Republicans for Choice, said the resolution acknowledging diversity of views was inadequate and called the platform an "abomination . . . out of sync with the mainstream of the party."

Stone vowed to try to force a floor fight on abortion next week when the national convention votes on the platform. But this move seemed to have little chance of success.

While partisans skirmished on social issues, platform writers ratified the final portions of the platform, including planks on foreign policy.

The platform argued that Bush's successes abroad—which loom so small in voters' calculations, according to the polls—should not be dismissed by an electorate obsessed with economic bad news.

"It might very well not have turned out this way," the platform declared of the end of the Cold War. "An American president led the free world to this great triumph. George Bush is that man."

To the end, the platform committee faced conflict within its ranks, notably over a platform amendment that would have rejected Bush's policy toward China. Bush forces on the committee managed to beat back the changes, but only after a passionate debate.

Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.), a critic of China, warned that the language could be read as a "retroactive rebuke to the president." When one platform committee member suggested that the committee should simply stand for "what's right," Hyde replied, "Helping Clinton is not right."

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## FBI Investigates Alleged Wiretapping, Attempted Sale of Perot Phone Tapes

By Michael Isikoff  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The FBI is investigating allegations that someone bugged Ross Perot's office telephones and then offered the tapes to President Bush's campaign chairman in Texas as part of a bizarre plot to embarrass the Bush-Quayle campaign.

Oliver B. Revell, special agent in charge of the FBI's Dallas office, said yesterday that his office had opened an investigation into whether "anybody had conducted a wiretap . . . or there was a conspiracy to wiretap" recent phone calls in Perot's office. He said the bureau yesterday questioned Perot about the matter and that both Perot and James Oberwetter, the chairman of the Bush-Quayle campaign in Texas, who brought the matter to the bureau's attention, are cooperating in the investigation.

A law enforcement official familiar with the case said Perot believes his phones may have been tapped, but declined to comment on whether the investigation has substantiated that.

A principal figure in the inquiry, the source said, is Scott Barnes, a controversial former Inglewood, Calif., police officer who has made

numerous claims to the news media about his involvement in efforts to rescue American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia. A book he wrote entitled "Bohica" contends that he participated in a secret military rescue mission in the early 1980s that was sabotaged by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Several Bush-Quayle campaign officials say they have received phone calls in recent months from a man identifying himself as Barnes offering them allegedly damaging documents or tape recordings involving Perot. They said they refused the information.

Oberwetter said yesterday that a man identifying himself as "Bob Watson" came to his office at the Hunt Oil Company in Dallas on Tuesday morning with a briefcase that the man claimed contained a recording of Perot and a tape recorder. When the man said he had come "to pick up his \$2,500" for delivering the tape, Oberwetter said that he and the Hunt Oil security chief who attended the meeting asked for identification, his phone number and other information—all of which the man refused to provide.

"I told the man, 'Have you ever heard of Watergate?'" Oberwetter said. "Do you know people's lives

were ruined for doing something you told us you did?"

Oberwetter said last week another man calling himself "Howard Parsons" had come to his office and asked to meet with him outside, where he offered "documents" about Perot that Oberwetter said he refused. After the visit from "Watson," Oberwetter said he called the FBI.

"Either someone is trying to injure me personally or . . . they are trying to damage the president's campaign and the president," Oberwetter said.

Perot did not respond to requests for comment.

Barnes, who was questioned by the FBI on Tuesday, claimed some Bush-Quayle campaign officials and other prominent Republicans expressed an interest in learning "what he [Perot] would be testifying about" at Senate hearings this week on the fate of missing troops from the Vietnam War. "They asked me for assistance and I gave it to them," he said.

"That is absolute hogwash," said Bobby Burchfield, general counsel of the Bush-Quayle campaign, when told about Barnes's allegations. "The campaign is adamant that these charges are absolutely baseless."

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Limelight Sours for President as Family Issues Intrude on Statecraft

By Howard Kurtz

Washington Post Staff Writer

If the evening news is any indication, President Bush cannot seem to catch a break.

In what should have been a week of foreign policy triumphs leading up to the Republican National Convention, Bush has been portrayed as a defensive incumbent presiding over a campaign in disarray. On program after program, images of Bush the statesman have been pushed aside by images of Bush being pressed about marital infidelity and a granddaughter's hypothetical abortion.

When the president announced agreement with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees Tuesday, his news conference was marred by a question about whether he had had an affair with a former aide.

When Bush announced agreement on a free trade pact with Mexico Wednesday, it was overshadowed

by word that Secretary of State James A. Baker III would be returning to the White House, a move widely depicted as a sign of weakness.

Last night, for example, CBS's Susan Spencer called Bush's shift of Baker "a desperate attempt to get himself reelected." NBC's John Cochran said that "the urgency is embarrassing." And ABC's Brit Hume said that, "Unless something is done to revive this campaign, Jim

### THE AIR WARS

Baker wouldn't be at the State Department after January anyway."

But the harsh tone of the coverage does not necessarily mean that the media are biased against Bush, as Vice President Quayle and Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond charged Wednesday. Bill Clinton was battered by the press for months during the Democratic primaries and at one point ran ads blaming "tabloids" and

"pundits" for his woes. Texas billionaire Ross Perot was buffeted by dozens of negative stories in the weeks before he declined to run for president as an independent.

On one level, the spate of bad-news reports simply reflects the troubled campaign of a president trailing by 18 to 26 points in the latest polls. Moreover, after all of the primary campaign coverage devoted to Gennifer Flowers's allegation that she had an affair with Clinton, many editors felt obligated to report a new book's charge that Bush had an affair with former aide Jennifer Fitzgerald.

If the president's campaign is being portrayed as unduly hapless, one reason may be that reporters now interpret Bush's every action through the prism of politics. It also is true that recent events, ranging from conservatives calling for the president to step aside to senior campaign aide Mary Matalin apologizing for her "bimbo eruptions" attack on Clinton, have hardly put Bush in a flattering light.

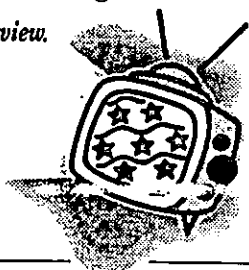
### ON TV

#### VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

■ CBS (Ch. 9), 7:10-7:30 a.m.

"CBS This Morning"

Live interview.



Even Iraq, site of Bush's greatest victory, now is depicted as an albatross. Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) was widely seen accusing the White House of "stonewalling" after Attorney General William P. Barr rejected a request to seek an independent counsel to investigate administration dealings with Saddam Hussein before the Persian Gulf War.

This week's scenes of Bush an-

nouncing diplomatic agreements did project the kind of stature that an Arkansas governor cannot hope to match. But the nightly pictures of starving prisoners in Bosnia also have underscored a foreign policy crisis on which the United States appears stymied.

One indelible image this week was of Bush angrily denouncing the report that he had an affair as "sleaze" and a "lie." Bush took the same tack in prime time, telling Stone Phillips of "Dateline NBC" that he should be "ashamed" of himself for asking such a question.

The GOP counterattack on the media, which included Barbara Bush calling the adultery charge "absolutely sick" and saying the author "ought to have their mouth washed out with soap," also had the effect of keeping the story in the news. Clinton was free to take the high road, telling reporters that he sympathized with Bush and that such questions are inappropriate.

In one sound bite replayed repeatedly, Bush told NBC's Phillips

that "of course, I'd stand by my child" if she had an abortion. "To some . . . that sounded like a pro-choice position," said ABC's Hume. This was followed by an interview with a disgruntled Republican convention delegate.

Earlier in the week, a GOP attack on Clinton's economic plan fell flat. There were repeated shots of men in suits standing in front of charts—White House officials saying Clinton would cost the country 2.6 million jobs, congressional Republicans claiming 1.8 million, Democrats charging distortion. But the blizzard of numbers was too complicated for TV.

Clinton offered what has become his all-purpose rebuttal: "They're going to tell you every reason in the world why you ought to be afraid of Al Gore and Bill Clinton."

On CNN's "Capital Gang," columnist Robert Novak pronounced the Bush effort "one of the most screwed-up campaigns I have ever seen." It has certainly looked that way on television.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## SHORT TAKES

### Postmaster General Cancels Toilet-Cleaning Robot Plan

There will not be any robots cleaning the toilets at the L'Enfant Plaza headquarters of the Postal Service.

That is one of the items that Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon is boasting that he has eliminated from the postal service budget in the face of a projected \$2 billion deficit.

In a speech in Louisville, this week the head of the Postal Service disclosed that he had rejected a \$2 million project that was listed as a "robotics applications program." Its aim was to produce "robots to clean bathrooms," Runyon said.

Runyon also said that he has saved another \$2 million by killing a program to produce designer clothing and other goods that would carry the Postal Service logo.

The service last year licensed the production of numerous items bearing postal and Olympic logos to promote its sponsorship of the 1992 Games, which he announced he would terminate.

### FEMA Personnel Chief Resigns

■ Katherine H. Shannon, head of personnel at the troubled Federal Emergency Management Agency for the past three years, said she is resigning the end of this month for "personal reasons."

Shannon said she will be replaced by William Tidball, an assistant inspector general. The agency likely faces a large number of personnel changes next year as a result of congressional cutbacks. FEMA spokesmen declined to comment on Shannon's departure.

### Compensation to Gas-Test Veterans

■ More than a year after it announced it would offer compensation to World War II veterans who were unknowingly subjected to mustard gas experiments, the Department of Veterans Affairs has published final regulations that should allow the department to begin paying the first claims.

As many as 60,000 service personnel may have been exposed to the tests, including about 2,000 sailors who volunteered for what were later acknowledged to be "full-body exposure" tests conducted at the Naval Research Laboratory in Anacostia. The sailors were told only that they would be testing "summer clothing" and were offered weekend passes for their cooperation.

"This rule gives the benefit of the doubt to those veterans who were involved in mustard gas tests and couldn't document it because of the confidential nature of some of the testing during World War II," said VA Secretary Edward J. Derwinski. Veterans suffering from seven ailments—laryngitis, bronchitis, emphysema, asthma, conjunctivitis, keratitis and corneal opacities—are eligible for benefits under the rules.

—Bill McAllister



### NEWSMAN KILLED

ABC News producer David Kaplan, 45, was killed by sniper fire yesterday while covering fighting in Sarajevo. He was the first American journalist and 30th among all nationalities to die in the Balkan conflict. Story, Page A26. Obituary, Page D4.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Washington TV Newsman Killed by Sarajevo Sniper

### ABC Producer Is 30th Journalist to Die

By John Pomfret

Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia, Aug. 13—A Washington-based television producer was killed by sniper fire here today as he was riding in a motor convoy carrying Yugoslav Premier Milan Panic from Sarajevo airport to U.N. headquarters in the center of this war-battered city.

Local officials and colleagues said ABC News producer David Kaplan, 45, was struck in the back by a bullet that pierced the back of the van in which he was riding as the convoy passed along a dangerous stretch of road called "sniper alley." Panic and ABC correspondent Sam Donaldson, who were riding in an armored personnel carrier provided by U.N. relief officials, were unhurt.

Donaldson said that Kaplan, who was not wearing a flak jacket, was rushed to a U.N.-run hospital here but died on the operating table. "David probably never had a chance," Donaldson said in a quavering voice. "He had lost too much blood, and the bullet had done too much internal damage. David Kaplan was a good man. . . . He understood the risks here."

The bullet that killed Kaplan drilled a hole in the back of the van between two large taped-on letters reading "TV." It was impossible to determine which of Bosnia's warring factions fired the fatal shot, since both Serb and Slavic Muslim sharpshooters have long been active in the area.

Most reporters and photographers here tape or paint such identifying symbols on their vehicles, but many have found lately that it does little good and can, in fact, draw fire. In a recent report, the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists said that members of the press were being killed in the Balkan fighting at a greater rate than in any other conflict since World War II. "Some of the journalists killed . . . were deliberately targeted because of their professional affiliation," the report said.

Kaplan—a 20-year veteran of ABC whose broadcast career included a long stint as White House news producer—was the first American journalist killed here and at least the 30th among all nationalities. Scores more have been wounded, including Cable News Network camerawoman Margaret Muth, who was hit in the face by sniper fire three weeks ago along the same road where today's shooting occurred.

To try to avoid being shot, many journalists drive around Sarajevo at speeds of up to 100 miles an hour, often on the wrong side of the street if buildings there provide more shelter. Even flak jackets or bulletproof vests afford little protection here, experienced reporters say. If they are not stolen at gun-

point by predatory militiamen, they say, they identify their wearers as journalists, and thus targets of opportunity.

At the ABC News bureau in Washington—where Kaplan's wife Sally works—news of the shooting left staffers in shock, and moved some to tears. "He devoted his life to news and to this organization," said ABC News President Rooney Arledge, who called Kaplan "a wonderful friend and colleague."

At the White House, Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater described Kaplan as "an honest, fair, talented and creative" journalist. "This is a very difficult time for those of us who worked with him," said Fitzwater, who noted that Kaplan "was probably the only producer who could ever tell Sam Donaldson what to do and how to do it."

Premier Panic told reporters after the shooting that he was "deeply shocked" by the death of Kaplan, whom he called "my American friend." Panic, a Yugoslav-born American businessman who accepted the premiership of the new Serb-controlled Yugoslav state last month, appeared greatly distressed by the shooting and declared: "Criminals killed him . . . terrorists killed him. . . . These are crippled people mentally."

"Nobody's controlling these people," he told a group of reporters. "You are targets. You'd better save yourselves."

Panic, who has assumed leadership of a state that most Western governments believe responsible for fomenting Serb aggression in Bosnia, flew here today to meet with leaders of the republic's warring Muslim, Serb and Croat factions in advance of a new round of European Community-sponsored peace talks this Friday.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug reported, however, that Panic's concern for Kaplan disrupted his schedule and that he managed only a 20-minute telephone conversation with Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic.

On Wednesday, Panic declared that his two-republic Yugoslav state—composed of Serbia and its seaboard satellite, Montenegro—would recognize Bosnia within its prewar borders, but he is apparently opposed in this by more powerful Yugoslav officials. Among them is President Dobrica Cosic, who said in a recent interview that Bosnia's large Serb minority has a right to carve its own state out of Bosnian territory.

The Yugoslav government announced today that it has recognized Slovenia, which broke away from the old six-republic Yugoslav federation in June 1991 and was the scene of brief fighting between local defense forces and the Serb-led Yugoslav army. Slovenia has no major territorial disputes with either of the two republics that form the new Yugoslavia.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Infighting, Indiscipline Muddy Bosnian War

*Among Serb, Croat and Muslim Militia Forces, Today's Ally Is Often Tomorrow's Enemy*

By Peter Maass  
Special to The Washington Post

**BELGRADE, Aug. 13**—The four-month-old factional war in Bosnia is often portrayed abroad in black-and-white terms—outgunned Muslims and their local Croat allies fighting valiantly against Serb aggression.

But the situation is infinitely more complex, and that, in large part, is why Western nations have found it impossible to mediate a peaceful settlement and why they are so reluctant to intervene militarily. It is like working on a jigsaw puzzle whose pieces change shape from one moment to the next.

Viewing the conflict from afar, outsiders may imagine the three major Bosnian factions—Slavic Muslims, Roman Catholic Croats and Eastern Orthodox Serbs—as distinct, unified “sides.” But each community has multiple forces that may act outside central control. They form overt or tacit alliances that change from day to day and region to region, and sometimes find themselves in combat with rival forces from the same communal group.

“It’s utter chaos,” said Milos Vasic, a reporter with the independent Belgrade magazine *Vreme*. “The former territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is an open stomping ground for everyone.”

The situation in Sarajevo, Bosnia’s war-ravaged capital, illustrates the confusion. Canadian Maj. Gen. Lew MacKenzie, commander of U.N. humanitarian relief forces in the city until two weeks ago, has accused some members of the Muslim-led Bosnian government defense forces of firing at Muslim civilians and U.N. troops bringing food and medicine to them. Their hope, MacKenzie says, is that the international media will blame besieging Serb forces for the attacks, thus creating sympathy for their cause and putting pressure on the West to intervene on their side.

In fact, some senior Western military strategists have said that the gravest threat to an expanded international relief force authorized by the U.N. Security Council today may come from Muslim combatants. Desperate for military support in the face of overwhelming Serb firepower, Bosnian government forces could be tempted into covert action to provoke large-scale casualties among Western relief troops and force them into a combat role, these analysts say.

Some of the most tangled Bosnian relationships involve political structures and militia forces organized by the republic’s Croat minority. Officially, they are allied with the Muslim-led government against Serb militia units that now control about 70 percent of Bosnia. But most of the territory not under Serb control is held by well-armed Croat forces, whose chief allegiance is to a quasi-autonomous Croat jurisdiction in southwestern Bosnia, along the border with the neighboring republic of



Muslim prisoners line up for food Wednesday at Trnopolje camp in north Bosnia.

Croatia. Many local Croats would be happy to partition Bosnia along current battle lines—at the expense of the Muslims, who once accounted for 44 percent of the republic’s population and now control less than 15 percent of its territory.

In fact, Bosnian Croat and Serb leaders met secretly in Austria in May to agree on a division of the spoils. Still, they disagreed on control of some key areas, and it is in these areas that the Croats remain allies of the Muslims and fight bitterly against the Serbs. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic “have a common interest in partitioning Bosnia-Herzegovina,” said one Western diplomat here, “but they can’t agree on the borders.”

Away from disputed areas, the Croat and Serb militiamen get along suspiciously well. Along what is described as the front line between Serb and Croat forces 20 miles northwest of Sarajevo, for example, there is little fighting and traffic passes back and forth almost without a hitch.

And despite the supposed Muslim-

Croat alliance, powerful Croat forces within a day’s march of Sarajevo are not trying to break through Serb lines to relieve the 300,000 trapped civilians in Sarajevo, most of whom are Muslims. “When it comes to [Bosnian Serb and Croat leaders], there are no problems,” said Dushan Bukic, a top commander of Serb forces in the city of Bijeljina. “We have no trouble arranging cease-fires; we can arrange prisoner exchanges.” To buttress his point, Bukic showed a videotape of prisoner-exchange talks between a Serb delegation he led and some Croat militia commanders. The presumptive enemies sat comfortably around a table, chatting like respectful acquaintances.

One of the oddest examples of local shifting alliances reportedly took place two weeks ago near Bijeljina, in Bosnia’s northeasternmost corner near the Serbian border. According to Vasic, the Belgrade journalist, a Muslim militia unit tried to poach some territory from an adjoining—and allied—Croat unit. Caught off guard, the Croats turned for help—to the Serbs.

Waving a white flag, Croat commanders are said to have sprinted into Serb territory and asked militia leaders there if they could borrow a multiple-rocket launcher to drive the Muslims back. The Serbs agreed, and the rocket launcher switched sides for a few hours.

The greatest confusion in command and control seems to occur in Serb-occupied regions. Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the self-proclaimed autonomous Serb republic of Bosnia, is based at Pale, a small town just east of Sarajevo, and appears to exert only tenuous control over various Serb militia units around the republic. The military strength of the “republic” is concentrated primarily in a force of 80,000 well-trained, well-equipped Bosnian Serbs who were transferred this spring from the Serb-led Yugoslav army to Bosnian Serb control. But there are also a plethora of loosely organized territorial defense and police units and an undetermined number of paramilitary and vigilante groups whose allegiance is chiefly to the unit commander. In many areas, these militia commanders wield the powers of feudal warlords and have wrested local control from forces loyal to Karadzic or other prominent Bosnian Serb leaders.

In Bijeljina, Bukic, the commander, appears to be such a strongman, exercising more than strictly military command. The other day, he wished to show two American journalists a videotape, but the city was under one of its periodic blackouts. Bukic called a power company official and ordered him to turn the city’s power back on. It took five minutes.

Predictably, the local warlords do not always get along. Karadzic is not particularly welcome in Banja Luka, the largest city in his “republic,” and he rarely travels there. Banja Luka’s leadership—composed of four politicians whose outlooks vary from right-wing to fascist—resents Karadzic’s effort to extend his authority over them.

The strains among competing Serb leaders were clear last week when the Bosnian Serb military command arranged for journalists to visit the city of Prijedor, where they were to meet local officials and tour several detention camps. Almost immediately, the meeting erupted into a swearing match between Prijedor officials and the military commanders.

It is this diffusion of control that leads diplomats to despair of any quick end to the fighting, but the Serbs are not the only ones with such problems. There are at least three major Croat military organizations in Bosnia. The largest, the Croatian Defense Council, is made up of Bosnian Croats with largely local leadership. Operating in close cooperation with this group are regular army units from neighboring Croatia masquerading as local militia forces. The third group, called the Croatian Defense Forces, is the paramilitary wing of a Croatia-based neo-fascist party, the Croatian Party of Right.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## U.N. Approves Use of Military Force For Bosnia Aid, Seeks War Crime Data

By Trevor Rowe  
Special to The Washington Post

**UNITED NATIONS, Aug. 13—**The U.N. Security Council today authorized use of military force if needed to deliver humanitarian aid to war-torn Bosnia, a decision stemming in large measure from growing international outcry over civilian suffering there and mounting evidence of human rights abuses by the republic's powerful Serb militia faction.

The deliberately vague council resolution does not call for creation of a U.N.-led relief contingent but authorizes use of force by member nations acting in multilateral coalition—a mandate similar to, but not nearly as broad as for, the Persian Gulf crisis. Diplomats here said that operational planning for the relief support effort was already under-

way among NATO allies and members of the nine-nation Western European Union. It was unclear which countries would actually provide troops for the operation, but some military analysts said it could require a force of more than 100,000.

The 15-member Security Council also approved a related resolution that calls on all nations to supply the United Nations with any substantiated information they might have of war crimes in the Balkan fighting. Passed unanimously, it fell short of demands by many human rights activists that a war-crimes tribunal be created to investigate alleged atrocities. Instead, it called on Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to recommend "additional measures that might be appropriate."

The use-of-force resolution authorized "all measures necessary"

to deliver humanitarian relief "wherever needed" in Bosnia and was supported by 12 council members; China, India and Zimbabwe abstained. Russia, with historic ties to Serbia and Serb populations in Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics, insisted that the resolution make no reference to Serb aggression against other Bosnian peoples, diplomatic sources said. There also was concern that singling out Serb activities in Bosnia could complicate peace-keeping efforts in neighboring Croatia, where 15,000 U.N. troops are monitoring a ceasefire following a six-month Serb-Croat war there.

The Bosnian Serb forces' "vile policy of 'ethnic cleansing'—actually ethnic extermination—is only intensifying," said U.S. Ambassador Edward Perkins, referring to the Serb militia practice of expelling all non-Serbs from territory they con-

See NATIONS, A26, Col. 1

■ Each "side" in Bosnian war is fractious collection of forces. Page A26

### NATIONS, From A1

trol. Some of these have swelled the flood of more than 1.3 million Bosnian refugees, others have ended up in crowded detention camps. "We are witnessing some of the most egregious abuses of human rights that Europe has seen" since World War II, Perkins said. The force resolution also demands that "unimpeded and continuous access to all camps, prisons and detention centers" be granted to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Diplomats were unable to define precisely the ultimate scope and cost of any military aid operation in Bosnia, saying that would have to be left to military planners. So far, apart from a U.S. offer to provide air cover for relief deliveries, there have been no formal commitments.

"Everyone expects a very modest operation," said a Western official, and many diplomats expressed the

hope that the adoption of the two resolutions would of itself prompt Bosnian Serb leaders to halt their military campaign and permit international inspection of prisoner detention camps—images of which have galvanized demands for international intervention.

The Western official cautioned that, unlike Operation Desert Storm, which the Security Council authorized to free Kuwait, today's vote was not a "blank check" to use force. Instead, he said, the council vote represents a narrow but concerted effort to get humanitarian assistance to areas cut off by the fighting, such as the embattled Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

Diplomats said that any military involvement will be "incremental" and in response to specific efforts to deliver humanitarian relief. Relief agencies, such as the Red Cross, are expected to determine which sites require assistance.

Nevertheless, Boutros-Ghali reacted to the vote by warning that any use of military force could threaten the safety of the U.N. peace mission in Croatia, which has also supplied troops to coordinate the five-week-old humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo. U.N. officials here have warned that Serb forces may seek revenge for any clash with a multinational civilian-relief force by attacking members of the U.N. peace mission. Others have warned that such attacks could come as well from other factions in the Bosnian fighting, including Slavic Muslim-led Bosnian government forces.

In a letter to the president of the council, Boutros-Ghali called for advance warning of any forceful measures in Bosnia so he could "take the necessary steps to minimize the dangers to which such measures could expose" U.N. personnel. He added that the nations

that had supplied troops for the U.N. Balkan mission had recently communicated their "growing concern."

It was not clear today whether troops would be committed to escort relief convoys at the outset, or be called in only when those delivering aid were threatened. "I don't want to go into the details of how it will be done," said British Ambassador David Hannay. "Just remem-

ber this: This is not a resolution prescribing the use of force, it is merely a resolution that is authorizing it as a last resort."

Bosnia's ambassador, Muhammed Sacirbey, was sharply critical of the council action, describing it as "a Band-Aid" and "the minimum to appease public opinion." He has called for the council to lift its arms embargo on his republic, a step diplomats here appear loath to do for fear of prolonging and intensifying the conflict.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Senior U.S. Official, Yugoslav Diplomat Trade Accusations at U.N. Meeting

By John Parry  
Special to The Washington Post

GENEVA, Aug. 13—U.S. Assistant Secretary of State John R. Bolton clashed with a diplomat from Serb-controlled Yugoslavia at a U.N. Human Rights Commission meeting today after Bolton declared that Serbs risk going down in history as "citizens of the last fascist state in Europe."

Jumping to his feet, the new Yugoslav state's envoy to the United Nations in Geneva, Branko Brankovic, said that if the panel wants to condemn fascist regimes, it should first examine the U.S. role in Vietnam.

The confrontation occurred during an unprecedented emergency session of the 53-member commission to discuss alleged atrocities and other human rights abuses resulting from four months of factional warfare in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia.

Nation after nation spoke in favor of a U.S.-sponsored resolution calling for the appointment of a U.N. special envoy to investigate the situation in Bosnia, where fierce fighting has left more than 9,000 people dead and more than a million homeless—most of them Slavic Muslims. The resolution specifically

charges that Serb militia forces in Bosnia—supported by Yugoslav leaders—are holding Muslim and Croat prisoners in concentration camps. The commission plans to vote late Friday night on the U.S. resolution, which appears certain to be approved.

In a forceful speech, Bolton put the blame rights abuses firmly on Serbia and its satellite, Montenegro, the two republics that make up the new Yugoslav state. "To the perpetrators of the appalling acts now alleged, I say that the international community took a vow when it realized what had been committed by Nazism in Europe during the Second World War: 'Never again,'" he said. "We ask the people of Serbia-Montenegro this simple question: Do they wish to go down in history as citizens of the last fascist state in Europe?"

Brankovic jumped up, accused the United States of fascism and said that the real aggressors in the Bosnian conflict are those who decided to grant Bosnia political recognition before it could settle its internal problems. He also denied that the Serb faction is operating concentration camps.

In reply, Bolton waved a copy of Time magazine with a cover photograph of gaunt inmates at a Serb-run camp in Bosnia. "Pictures

speak louder than words," he said. "Is this fascism or is it not? I stand by my statement."

In introducing the resolution, Bolton said that the United States has independent evidence that Serb forces are transferring prisoners from some camps so that Red Cross delegates cannot visit them.

Also today, the International Committee of the Red Cross released a report here accusing all three Bosnian factions—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims—of using "systematic brutality" against civilians. It said that after visiting camps run by all three groups, it had found that all were flouting Geneva Conventions regulating the treatment of civilians and prisoners of war.

The report said that all three factions also were guilty of "ethnic cleansing"—evicting members of other communities from territory they control. Serb forces, which now hold 70 percent of the republic, have far more territory to "cleanse" than the other groups.

Meanwhile, the U.N. refugee agency dispatched a truck convoy from neighboring Croatia today to the Serb-held Bosnian city of Banja Luka with 66 tons of food and other relief supplies in an effort to stem a new flood of Muslim refugees from the area.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## The First Lady's Fighting

An Angry Mrs. Bush Lashes Out at Media 'Lies' and Attack Politics

# Words

By Donnie Radcliffe  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Barbara Bush gave a press preview of her 1992 campaign style yesterday.

Combative.

She sternly rebuked the media for printing "something that is a lie in every way, shape or form" about whether President Bush once had an extramarital affair.

"I'm through talking about that. I thought it was ugly," she said of a report published Wednesday by the

New York Post that linked Bush with longtime aide Jennifer Fitzgerald, now a protocol officer at the State Department. "I think you ought to be ashamed of yourself printing those things or asking them." The First Lady matched her words with action when she abruptly disinvited a New York Post reporter from one of several pre-convention group interviews she's given this week.

Though she made it clear that she wasn't defending Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, she said

she didn't have "a double standard" and had felt "the same way" earlier this year when the media reported that Clinton had carried on an affair. "A woman was paid to write that article," she said of the tabloid that first published the story. "I thought that was disgusting."

Saying at one point, "[Clinton] never denied having a fling, did he?" she went on to say that "doesn't mean George Bush should be smeared with the same brush when he didn't. I mean that's just dirty politics in my opinion. And to print

something by someone who is dead that neither one of us knew is ridiculous."

The accusation about Bush surfaced in a book called "The Power House," by Susan Trento, and was based on a reported interview with Louis Fields, a deceased government official.

In the 45-minute interview in the White House family quarters, Mrs. Bush also voiced disapproval of Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond's criticism of

See BUSH, C2, Col. 1

BUSH, From C1

Hillary Clinton in a speech he made Wednesday to the GOP governing body. "I don't square it, and I don't like it," she said. "I mean, I'm not going to lie to you about that. I don't like attacking." Bond said Hillary Clinton had written an article that "likened marriage and family to slavery." Later, Mrs. Bush said she did not know exactly what Bond had said. "So I may agree with him. . . . I just don't like attacking." Asked if that applied to her husband as well and whether she would ask him to refrain, she said she would not. The president, in an apparent reference to Hillary Clinton recently in New Jersey, said his opponents "even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court."

Her comments come on the eve of what promises to be a raising of Mrs. Bush's political profile. She is viewed by campaign strategists as perhaps the nation's most popular Republican and is expected to play a more significant role than she has in the past, beginning with a featured speech Wednesday at the convention in Houston.

During yesterday's interview, she echoed several campaign messages, including recent accusations of bias in the press.

"You take attacks from us as dirty and attacks from them [the Democrats] as okay," she said. "That just isn't the way that it really works. We've been under attack for almost 10 months, and you don't think that's dirty. But if one person says one thing

about Bill Clinton not running the state right, you say, 'Those Republicans, they're talking dirty again.'"

Reminded that in the case of Bond's and the president's attacks, the object of the attention was Hillary Clinton even though no Democrats had attacked Barbara Bush, she paused.

"Well, wait'll I do something to be attacked," she said.

Asked if she thought the media are biased against President Bush, she replied: "In all honesty, yes. But I'm used to it now. I mean, I accept it. I

think the American people will sort things out in their own mind. I don't mean all the media, but some."

Why did she think the media were biased?

"I'll be damned if I know unless they're just liberals," she said.

On the subject of abortion, Mrs. Bush said: "Any moral superiority bothers me on either side. And I feel it. Both sides yell at me. I mean I'm picketed on both sides. I don't think that's helpful to the country when anyone thinks their morals are better than others."

But she was adamant against addressing the issue. Asked how the Republican Party, which wants less government in people's lives, can support an issue that calls for government control of someone's life, she said: "I do not know the answer to this. I do not know the answer to your question, so in all honesty don't ask it. Pro or con. I just don't want to get into abortion. I've had it with abortion."

In an earlier interview with news-magazines, Mrs. Bush went further in saying the GOP should leave the question of abortion out of its platform. "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, pro or con," Mrs. Bush said. "It's a personal choice, is what I'm saying, personal thing. The personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, out of platforms and conventions."

The "major issues," she said, "ought to be peace, security, economy, health care, the crime package and school. That's what the Democrat-controlled Congress ought to do something about. . . . Instead, they're off on these tangents."

She said she was "really amused" at rumors about the president's health and that he might have to undergo open-heart surgery after the campaign.

"Do you think I would let the person I love more than life run for public office who's going to have open-heart surgery after the campaign?"

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## New Yorker Ousts D.C. Columnist

### Who Will Replace Elizabeth Drew?

By Charles Trueheart  
and Howard Kurtz  
*Washington Post Staff Writers*

Elizabeth Drew, relentless chronicler of Washington's political ways since the time of Eisenhower, is being removed after nearly 20 years as the New Yorker's Washington correspondent.

The magazine's just-appointed editor, Tina Brown, moved with dispatch to answer the question that sprang up in media circles here the day of the New Yorker announcement: Would Elizabeth Drew be retired?

In a Washington lunch conversation Tuesday, Brown told the 56-year-old Drew that the changes underway at the New Yorker would include a new regular voice from Washington. Drew will continue her

See DREW, C2, Col. 4



Elizabeth Drew, longtime Washington correspondent for the New Yorker.

## New Yorker Departure

DREW, From C1

periodic 1992 "Campaign Journals" until the election is over, and then become an irregular contributor to the magazine she joined in 1973.

"I've had a wonderful run for 19 years," Drew said in a statement.

"Tina wants to change the New Yorker and that of course is her right," Brown yesterday described the lunch as "very cordial and very civilized."

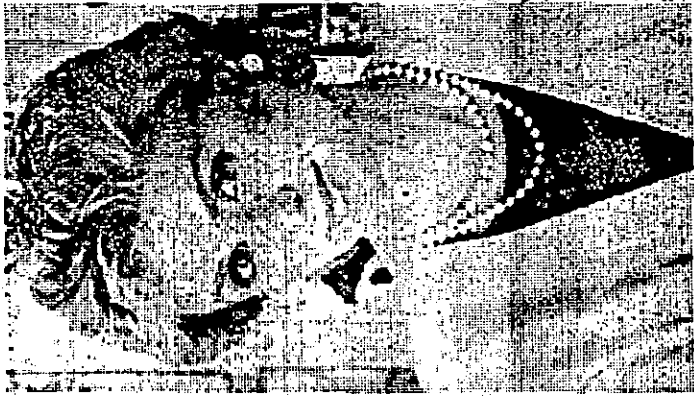
Brown's intentions toward coverage of the capital in the New Yorker, easy to surmise from the growing attention she gave Washington in Vanity Fair for the past eight years, were underscored by her early appointment of Hendrik Hertzberg as executive editor. Hertzberg, a former editor of the New Republic and a New Yorker alumnus, will be one of Brown's two top deputies.

Among the tide of rumors washing over the changes at the top of the New Yorker and Vanity Fair, the retirement of Drew has been prominent. There was no official word yesterday about her replacement, although sources at the New Yorker said there is a short list of at least two candidates, and the decision could come by the end of next week.

A New Yorker editor said Brown would be relying on this person to offer "a voice from Washington to follow events, as opposed to taking Washington subjects and wrestling them to the ground." For those assignments the magazine will turn to writers both on and outside the staff.

Drew is a veteran Washington writer known for highly placed sources—many of them, inevitably, her dinner party acquaintances—and for her dispassionate analysis and affection for completeness. Trained at Congressional Quarterly, she served as the Atlantic's Washington editor for six years before she succeeded the revered Richard Rovere as author of the New Yorker's "Letter From Washington."

In the course of her long and award-studded Washington career, she has collected much of her New Yorker work in books. She also has become a minor television personality from her frequent stints on NBC's "Meet the Press" and long-running appearances on "Agnonsky & Company," now "Inside Washington," the weekend Washington chat show. Her extemporaneous remarks on television have tended to be sharper than



Tina Brown, the New Yorker's new editor who ousted Elizabeth Drew.

her New Yorker prose, which is usually cool and cleansed of opinion.

The news Brown delivered this week caps a difficult period for Drew. Last fall she had a tumor removed from the back of her brain, and a few months later lost her permanent slot on "Inside Washington" after 18 years.

Drew's admirers, here and elsewhere, are legion.

"She has an incredible following among New Yorker readers," said a staffer at the magazine. "When she was ill last fall, we got hundreds of calls and letters saying 'Where is Elizabeth Drew? Why isn't she writing?'" This staffer added that Drew's audience is largely beyond the Beltway. "There's more resentment of Elizabeth in Washington," he said. "Maybe people resent her access."

Historian Michael Beschloss is among Drew's fans. "I really regard her as responsible for much of my political education," he said. "I've been reading her since I was a child."

Though she doesn't take over the New Yorker from Robert Gottlieb for another few weeks, Brown has already announced that she'll install a new team of top editors and critics, many of them from Vanity Fair. Norman Mailer, William Styron, Martin Amis and Robert Hughes will write for Brown's New Yorker, as will Vanity Fair's Stephen Schiff, Peter J. Boyer and James Wolcott.

A Brown spokeswoman said yesterday that arts critic Adam Gopnik, a Gottlieb hire, will assume additional duties as books editor of the New Yorker, replacing Edith Oliver, who is retiring.

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Names & Faces

### Woes for Woody and Mia

■ Funnyman Woody Allen and longtime love Mia Farrow have called it quits. Or so it would seem.

Rumors of a split have been afloat since early this summer, but yesterday Allen confirmed the reports when he began legal action to win custody of their children.

The mercurial couple—who had been an item for a decade but never married and kept separate homes—have one son together, Satchel, 4½; an adopted son, Moses, 14; and an adopted daughter, Dylan, 7.

"It would be fair" to say they are no longer romantically involved, one source who refused to be identified told the Associated Press.

Allen "has never discussed his private life in public, and he does not intend to do so now," read a statement from his PR firm. A spokesman for Farrow had no comment.

### The Best of Country Music

■ Vince Gill and Travis Tritt roped in five nominations each yesterday at the 26th annual Country Music Association awards.

Alan Jackson and Reba McEntire got four apiece, and million-selling singer Garth Brooks joined Mary-Chapin Carpenter, Wynonna Judd and Brooks & Dunn with three nominations each.

The finalists for Best Entertainer—the top category—are Brooks, Gill, Jackson, McEntire and Tritt.

Nominated for Male Vocalist of the Year are Brooks, Gill, Jackson, Tritt and Joe Diffie. For the female counterpart, it's McEntire, Carpenter, Judd, Tanya Tucker and Trisha Yearwood.

Brooks's "Ropin' the Wind," which has sold 7 million copies, topped the Best Album list, along with "Brand New Man" by Brooks & Dunn, "For My Broken Heart" by



Farrow and Allen: After their decade together, he's suing for custody of their kids.

McEntire, "What Do I Do With Me" by Tucker and "Wynonna" by Judd.

Winners will be announced Sept. 30 during a two-hour shindig televised from the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville.

### A Starr on the Horizon?

■ Maurice Starr, the record producer-impresario who hit the jackpot with New Kids on the Block, is still eyeballing Washington as his base of operations.

That was him at the Ritz nightclub downtown Tuesday night with Pamela Holt, head of the D.C. Arts Commission, and a representative of the mayor's new Office of Tourism and Promotions. And Wednesday,

Starr met with George Brown, deputy mayor for economic development.

### End Notes

■ Lawyer-to-the-stars Marvin Mitchelson, the palimony patriarch, is in a bit of a legal bind himself. He was indicted Wednesday on federal tax fraud charges. He says he didn't do it . . . Georgia Gov. Zell Miller won't be in Houston as part of the "Democratic truth squad" next week after all. But he was in Texas Wednesday, where he said the convention would feature "more bull in the Astrodome than they had since the Houston Livestock Show and Rodeo."

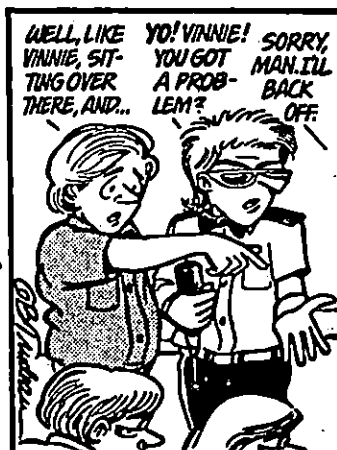
—Compiled from staff and wire reports by Mary Alma Welch

### THE RELIABLE SOURCE

Lois Romano is off. The Reliable Source will resume Monday from the Republican convention in Houston.

### DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

By John Carmody  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**A**BC News producer David Kaplan was shot and killed by sniper fire in Sarajevo, Bosnia, yesterday morning. He and "PrimeTime Live" co-anchor Sam Donaldson had flown to Yugoslavia earlier in the week to film stories for last night's edition of "PrimeTime Live"...

Yesterday, Nancy and Ronald Reagan called Mr. Kaplan's widow, Sally, to express their sympathy...

And while taping an interview with David Brinkley at the White House yesterday for this Sunday's edition of "This Week With David Brinkley," President Bush took time to "express my sincere regrets about the loss that I know means so much to you of Mr. Kaplan"—who had spent 10 years at the White House as Donaldson's producer...

During that assignment, Mr. Kaplan was seriously injured in a traffic accident in Santa Barbara, Calif. ...

At the time of his death, Mr. Kaplan, 45, was senior producer for "PrimeTime Live"—and Donaldson...

The ABC News bureau here first learned that their good friend and colleague had been grievously wounded in Sarajevo about 6:20 a.m. yesterday, when Donaldson called from the Bosnian capital to report that Mr. Kaplan had been shot and that a fine team of French doctors was working on him at the U.N. center...

But at 8:22, "Good Morning America" news anchor Aaron Brown broke into a Joan Lunden-John Ritter interview with an "update for what is a very tragic situation," and Donaldson, who had worked with Mr. Kaplan for 20 years in Washington, announced that "my friend David Kaplan never had a chance" and despite the doctors' efforts, had died at 7:15, Washington time...

Donaldson maintained his poise—but just barely—as he explained that "David would go where the story needed to go; David was brave and never thought of [the dangers] except to get the story. That's why he was here..."

"I wish we hadn't come for this story," said Donaldson. "But we did and he paid the awful price..."

"This is what reporters do... In trouble spots where fighting goes on, where people kill each other, you're always going to find brave reporters and cameramen and photographers and producers and the people who make these stories happen..."

"Of course, when people see me on the air, it's me. But I'm not the one who does the work. All the years I've worked with David Kaplan... David made me look good. David did the work and I got the credit and that's the way it sometimes happens in this business that the good people are also the ones who pay the price..."

Donaldson added in a later report that Mr. Kaplan was a "great producer, very brave, he went anywhere, he would do what was necessary to get the story on the air. He knew the risks of coming here [and today] he was not wearing a flak jacket... That was David..."

As "Good Morning America" wound down, White House correspondent Ann Compton, who attended high school with Mr. Kaplan in Illinois, added her memories—and spoke of him and of the role of a TV news producer in the present tense: "He's really the chef who puts it all together; you can do without us, you can't do it without David..."

He will be remembered, Compton said, as "Quick. Smart. Fast... and a lot of fun..."

A spokesman for ABC News said last evening that the entire Thursday night edition of "PrimeTime Live" would deal with the Yugoslavia crisis. "We decided we didn't want David to have gone there for naught..."

ABC News president Rooney Arledge called Sally Kaplan, who also works at the ABC bureau here, and Mr. Kaplan's parents to express his condolences, and staffers in Washington joined the family with offers to help during the day...

"PrimeTime Live" co-anchor Diane Sawyer reportedly flew down from New York yesterday for a brief visit with Sally Kaplan before returning to Manhattan for last night's broadcast...

Late yesterday, no plans had been made for services for Mr. Kaplan...

## Now This

Deborah Norville, who failed in the no-win

task of replacing Jane Pauley on an unhappy "Today" roster, is returning to network TV as a correspondent for CBS News's "Street Stories"...

Her assignment begins in the fall...

Most recently she has been host of the syndicated ABC Radio Network program "The Deborah Norville Show." She has also been a contributing editor for McCall's magazine...

From January 1990 to April 1991, Norville was co-host of the NBC morning show with Bryant Gumbel. Before that she had been news anchor on "Today" since September 1989 and sole anchor of "NBC News at Sunrise" from January 1987 to September 1989...

According to CBS News president Eric Ober, "Deborah will contribute to the very successful and fast-growing 'Street Stories' program. She will play an important role in the growth of this broadcast, which has quickly established itself as an extremely competitive newsmagazine..."

Meanwhile, at NBC News they confirmed that Rome-based correspondent Arthur Kent and his producer Joe Alicastro were suspended without pay as of Wednesday after refusing an Aug. 5 assignment to Zagreb, Croatia, to cover the Aug. 8 arrival of a U.N. team inspecting detention sites for possible civil rights violations...

Although a network spokeswoman said the assignment refusal was part of "a larger dispute between Arthur and NBC on his contract," she also pointed out that the State Department had reassured NBC that Zagreb is 200 miles from the considerably more dangerous Sarajevo...

"The bottom line is—we wouldn't jeopardize the safety of one of our employees by [sending him] to an unstable combat area; that has to be the call of the person on the site. The current problem is part of a larger, ongoing dispute..."

Stuart Witt, the agent for both Kent and Alicastro, said yesterday, "I can't comment officially at this point, it's a little too sensitive. Arthur doesn't want to go public just now..."

Kent, a handsome Canadian bachelor, enjoyed considerable fame during the Persian Gulf War in 1991 when his appearances on "Nightly News" drew bags of mail from female fans. NBC News executives later even gave him a trial on the "Today" show but the magic didn't seem to carry over...

Sources suggest that Kent's contract problems include the handling of his stories by news management and uncertainty over his assignments. He is currently foreign correspondent for "Dateline NBC" but also contributes to "Nightly News" and other NBC News programs...

Yesterday, Kent called from Rome to defend his position, pointing out that he had covered stories since 1980 in many danger spots...

He declined to spell out the contract differences but called the situation in Yugoslavia "a tragedy and a difficult situation that requires special skills..."

"I look forward soon to be in a position to join the wonderful men and women of all countries whose footage and newspaper columns and radio reports have been enlightening Americans to the tragedy of Yugoslavia..."

He said on Wednesday he was asked to hand in his keys "and denied access" to his NBC offices in Rome. "My lawyers are at this time trying to enlighten the legal representatives of NBC News and the management team as to the veracity of our position. I have every confidence that justice can be done..."

Kent said, "Today is a great tragedy for all of us in foreign news. David Kaplan dedicated his life to his work and today, tragically, things went wrong. He and his company, ABC News, deserve the highest salutations... We overseas are reminded by this tragedy of what is at stake in the former states of Yugoslavia..."

Kent said it was "improper for me to discuss my own predicament with the management team of NBC News, a company I love and have dedicated six years of my working life to. I'm constrained by law and also out of respect for the sacrifice of my colleague, a man I barely knew, David Kaplan..."

"But I wish to assure my friends, our viewers, even my rivals, that in the past days I have conducted myself according to the same ethics and standards and precautions that brought me and my colleagues home, unharmed, from Afghanistan, Tiananmen Square, Bucharest and the gulf war..."

"I feel a deep sense of uncleanness on a night when my colleagues are at risk..."

## The TV Column

## HIGHLIGHTS

- Orioles baseball on WDCA.
- "Moonstruck" and "Visitors From the Unknown" on WUSA.
- "Rachel Gunn, R.N." on a new night on WTTG.
- And on WJLA, "20/20" examines an ailment affecting Desert Storm troops.

## Sports

Baseball. Baltimore Orioles at Kansas City Royals (Channel 20, 8:30).

## Public Broadcasting

Troubled Paradise (CC). A film by Steven Okazaki that examines Hawaiian culture as well as the state's social and political problems (Channel 26 at 10).

Metro Week. With a preview of the Republican convention and reports on a local agency's contribution to D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly's campaign and on efforts to clean up the Chesapeake Bay (Channel 26 at 11).

## Primetime Movie

Moonstruck (1987) (CC). Cher falls in love with prospective brother-in-law Nicolas Cage, creating havoc in her family. Two hours (Channel 9 at 9).

## Special

Visitors From the Unknown (CC). Martin Landau hosts this examination of people who have encountered extraterrestrial life (Channel 9 at 8).

## Series

Matlock (CC) (R). In a two-hour episode, Matlock may be losing his objectivity when he chooses to defend a beautiful young widow (Channel 4 at 8).

America's Most Wanted (CC). A man wanted in the murder of a bar owner and a doctor is

sought for the rape of the doctor's patient (Channel 5 at 8).

Family Matters (CC) (R). Urkel is baking bread after he enrolls in a cooking class, while Carl loses a prized possession (Channel 7 at 8).

Step by Step (CC) (R). Chaos reigns as Frank is left in charge of the domestic agenda (Channel 7, 8:30).

Sightings (CC). Stories of an area where people mysteriously disappear and messages reported from beyond the grave (Channel 5 at 9).

Dinosaurs (CC) (R). Earl is a candidate in the election of a new chief elder (Channel 7 at 9).

Rachel Gunn, R.N. (CC) and Dr. Dunkel enter a dance contest to raise funds (Channel 5, 9:30).

Perfect Strangers (CC) (R). A misunderstanding leaves Baldi questioning Mary Anne's life expectancy (Channel 7, 9:30).

I'll Fly Away (CC) (R). Forrest prosecutes a black man accused of murder but is appalled at the defense lawyer's treatment of the client (Channel 4 at 10).

20/20 (CC). With reports on Desert Storm troops' complaints of strange ailments, and how government licensing rules harm small businesses; and an interview with actress Patty Duke, who has struggled with manic-depression (Channel 7 at 10).

## Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Steven Bauer of "Raising Cain" and Garry Shandling (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With director Brian De Palma, comedian Mark Roberts and singer Bimshi (Channel 4, 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With Sandra Bernhard and Tom Tom Club (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

# The Washington Post

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

JUDY MANN

## Bridge Over Troubled Waters?

It is Wednesday morning, and one of my oldest friends is on the phone, outraged over President Bush's remark that he would try to talk a grandchild out of having an abortion, but that he would "stand by my child."

If I ever heard a wake-up call, this was it. "It's okay for him to say that," steamed my friend. "He can afford to send a child to Europe for an abortion. This isn't about being pro-abortion. Pro-abortion is like saying you're pro-death. Nobody's pro-death. This is about pro-choice. American women should have the right to make this choice. All these 21-year-olds graduating from college, this is a hot issue for them. He just doesn't get it. It shows how out of touch he is. They say this shouldn't be a single-issue election, but I can tell you, in my house it is."

My friend was reared as a Catholic and attended Catholic schools. She cast her first presidential vote for Barry Goldwater, and she has never voted for a Democrat. But, she said, "I could never vote for Bush as long as he takes this position." She worries that the Democratic nominee, Bill Clinton, will raise taxes, but she's probably going to vote for him anyway.

The most recent Washington Post-ABC poll shows Clinton with a stunning 36-point lead over Bush among registered women voters. This is precisely the same overall lead, at this point in the race, that President Johnson had over Goldwater in 1964. Clinton also leads Bush by 16 percentage points among men. But since 53 percent of women are registered voters compared with 47 percent of men, this gender gap is looking more like the San Andreas fault of the Bush campaign.

Those are the numbers. Here's a measure of the sentiment: My friend was calling long-distance from the beach, at daytime rates, on a perfect day for being out in the sun instead of inside on the phone. Her husband's 50-year-old family plumbing business closed its doors in November because commercial construction had dried up, but it is the issue of choice that is driving her away from Bush.

At the convention, Bush will be nominated by Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, a gesture of inclusion designed to create a bridge over those troubled waters. During an interview Monday, I asked her why women should vote for the president.

Martin said the president has been "enormously supportive" of the "glass-ceiling initiatives" she has undertaken to open the management pipelines of

corporations and institutions to more women and minorities. She pointed to his record of appointing women to jobs requiring Senate confirmation—the best of any president—including an unprecedented three women in his Cabinet. "His record on appointments is better than his opponent's," she said, pointing to a 1992 National Women's Political Caucus survey of governors' cabinet appointments in which Clinton ranked 32nd in the percentage of women appointed. "Hardly," Martin said, "the action of someone singing 'I Am Woman.' " (In earlier caucus surveys, Clinton has ranked as high as third.)

She noted that Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey was not allowed to deliver an antiabortion speech at the Democratic National Convention. "I'm pro-choice and I'm nominating the president. I think that shows we [the GOP] are a bigger tent." It also shows, she said, that Bush "does not have a litmus test." Clinton, on the other hand, has said that his Supreme Court nominees would have to be pro-choice.

"Do I think it's useful that a minor despot no longer controls 75 percent of the world's oil?" Martin asked, referring to Iraq's Saddam Hussein. "Yes." She spoke of Bush's sense of commitment to greater security in the world, "to having the best values," including valuing diversity in the work force. "Do I think there is something about the internal stature of a human being? Yes. I've watched him in hard times and in easy times, and he doesn't vary. He's a decent man."

That decency showed up when Bush said he would stand by his child. Of course he would. The ultimate decision about whether to have an abortion would be the child's, he said. "Who else's could it be?" But the trouble is, he also wants to pass a constitutional amendment banning abortions, effectively vetoing other women's freedom to make such a decision. Rich women can go to Europe and get safe, legal abortions and the rest can go to the back alleys and risk their lives.

He doesn't seem to understand what's wrong with this double standard. As my friend said, nobody's pro-abortion. Nobody's pro-death. But we want women who are faced with the difficult choice of terminating a pregnancy to be treated safely and legally, and we want for them the same compassion that George Bush would give to one of his own. The rich don't have a lock on those family values.

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Money Managers Seek Winners And Losers in Free-Trade Pact

### HEARD ON THE STREET

By JOHN R. DORFMAN  
And WILLIAM POWER

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
Vitro, MacMillan Bloedel, and Solec-  
tron.

The first of those stocks is Mexican, the second Canadian, the third a U.S. issue. Together, they stand for the sorts of stocks that investment professionals expect to benefit from the newly signed agreement for a North American free trade zone.

The ink isn't yet dry on the pact, which must still be ratified by legislatures in each country. But money managers and brokerage house analysts are scrambling to figure out which stocks will win and lose as nearly all trade walls among the U.S., Mexico and Canada crumble over a 15-year period.

To be sure, the scrambling began before the pact was even signed. That's one big reason Telefonos de Mexico has been hot over the past year, for example. But money managers think freer trade will have long-term effects that so far have only been partly reflected in stock prices.

The early betting is that Mexico will end up making much of North America's glass, cement and steel. Canada, it's widely believed, will be the low-cost producer of paper and forest products. The U.S. is expected to remain the leader in high technology and financial services, and to make a bundle selling everything from sneakers to soda to Mexico's millions.

In the long run, most portfolio managers think the economies of all three nations will benefit. But Mexico, many people say, will benefit first and foremost. So the biggest share of investment professionals' pact-related picks are in Mexico.

Luis Maizel, president of LM Capital Management in La Jolla, Calif., singles out Transportacion Maritima Mexicana, a Mexican shipping giant whose stock is traded on the New York Stock Exchange under the symbol TMM. "They should be big winners because they're going to start moving merchandise like crazy in both directions," he says.

Transportacion Maritima is also attractive on valuation grounds, Mr. Maizel says. Based on yesterday's price of 8, up  $\frac{1}{2}$  in New York Stock Exchange trading, it sells for only about six times the company's per-share earnings.

Vitro, which makes about 80% of the glass in Mexico, should be another big winner, Mr. Maizel says. It is already involved in the U.S. market through joint ventures with Owens-Corning, but is likely to increase its market share because it is a low-cost producer.

In addition, Mr. Maizel recommends Cifra, a big Mexican retailer that is involved in some joint ventures with Wal-Mart Stores.

Jim Melcher, president of Balestra Capital in New York, says the market saw the

pact coming, so there aren't many short-term plays available. But he agrees with Mr. Maizel about TMM. The company's shallow-draft vessels can navigate Mexican ports that aren't usable by larger ships, he says. As a result, TMM has about a 50% market share in maritime shipping in Mexico. "This company dominates the market," he says. "And it is a very cheap stock."

Among Canadian stocks, timber and paper companies are getting much of the attention. "The Canadians are low-cost producers," says Michael Murphy, a money manager and newsletter writer in Half Moon Bay, Calif. "We've had penalty tariffs on wood products, building materials and paper." Those tariffs, of course, would be eliminated under the new pact.

Canadian forest products companies "have a tremendous resource base and a lot of cheap hydroelectric power. They're also less regulated in terms of how they can cut, and where." So he thinks Canadian companies such as MacMillan Bloedel will "give U.S. producers a pretty tough time."

Duty Free International, whose fortunes are tied to both Canada and Mexico, rose  $\frac{1}{2}$  yesterday to 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The Ridgefield, Conn., company owns 58 stores along the U.S.-Canada border and 28 along the U.S.-Mexico border. The shops sell tobacco, liquor and gifts to people traveling out of the U.S.

At first glance, the trade agreement actually seems to be bad for Duty Free, because the pact eliminates duties for regular retail stores, too, and thus takes away Duty Free's selling point. But investors think Duty Free will get more business overall through increased cross-border travel.

Also, the trade agreement doesn't eliminate taxes, "and the tax is really the larger amount," says Dyan Cutro, Duty Free's investor-relations director. Still, she says that the 1988 Canada-U.S. free-trade agreement didn't affect business much, "so we don't anticipate a measurable impact" from the Mexico agreement either.

Canadian telecommunications stocks stand to benefit strongly from the free-trade pact, says Sherry Cooper, chief economist at Burns Fry, the big Canadian brokerage firm. She says that Canadian companies Northern Telecom and Mitel (whose stocks both are traded in the U.S.) have already invested in Mexican operations.

Among U.S. stocks, possible winners from the pact are high-technology companies, telecommunications equipment makers, financial firms and consumer-goods producers.

Mr. Murphy, the California money  
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# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Money Managers Try to Pick Which Stocks Will Benefit Most From New Free-Trade Pact

### HEARD ON THE STREET

*Continued From Page C1*

manager, thinks makers of disk drives (such as Conner Peripherals and Seagate Technology), backup tape drives (Archive and Colorado Memory Systems) and contract assembly concerns such as Soletron are all likely to benefit.

They currently have plants in places such as Malaysia and Singapore. But they could lower their transportation costs by setting up plants in Mexico. Furthermore, he says, Mexico is "an underserved technology market. They need everything—computers and software."

Lee Kopp, president of Kopp Investment Advisors in Minneapolis, thinks freer trade will mean an ever-increasing need for telecommunications equipment, such as that made by Tellabs, ADC Telecommunications, DSC Communications and California Microwave.

Tellabs, in Lisle, Ill., already gets about 30% of its revenue abroad, Mr. Kopp says. It makes a high-tech switching system called the Titan, which sells at about \$1 million a copy. Northern Telecom of Canada has signed an agreement to market the Titan in Canada.

Among other stocks that rose yesterday on expectations of Mexican opportunities was Wal-Mart, which advanced  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 57%. Many investors see a bonanza for U.S. retail stores and fast-food restaurants in Mexico.

U.S. expertise in financial services could also be put to use in Mexico. Mr. Murphy, for example, cites NationsBank, which already has an extensive branch network in Texas. Several analysts think there's an opportunity for U.S. and Canadian brokerage firms, not only for investment-banking business in Mexico but also through the possible takeover of weak Mexican brokerage firms.

But Lawrence Eckenfelder, brokerage-industry analyst at Prudential Securities, says Mexico by itself isn't enough to make or break Wall Street. "Presumably, [the free-trade agreement] takes time to develop. . . . There are too many other factors that could crop up to offset" the benefits, Mr. Eckenfelder says.

Ms. Cooper of Burns Fry sees Mexico as a tempting market for sellers of consumer goods. "There are definitely winners in this," she says. The pact allows both the U.S. and Canada "to tap into a new baby boom" in Mexico, where more than half the citizens haven't reached the age of 20.

That's exactly what Wall Street analysts were thinking about as they pondered free-trade angles yesterday. At Shearson Lehman Brothers, analyst Josie Esquivel told her firm's institutional sales force that she sees long-term growth opportunities for Nike, Reebok International and Stride

Rite in Mexico.

In an interview, Ms. Esquivel added that the U.S. textile industry will be a "great beneficiary" of the free-trade pact, because it will be much more convenient for clothing makers to buy textiles in the U.S., rather than the Far East, if they're manufacturing in Mexico. She recommends Galey & Lord, as well as Russell Corp. and V.F. Corp.

Some investors yesterday bought shares in the most obvious "free-trade" investment of all: Mexico Fund, a publicly traded or closed-end fund that rose  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  on the New York Stock Exchange. Meanwhile, the smaller Mexlco Equity & Income Fund rose  $\frac{1}{8}$  to 14% and Emerging Mexico Fund was unchanged at 17%.

Mexico Fund may be a good long-term buy now. It's way down from its 12-month high of 34. And last week it was trading at a 5.5% discount to the value of the securities it owns.

But don't expect a pop in the short run for Mexico Fund solely because of the free-trade pact, says Catherine Gillis, editor of Morningstar Closed-End Funds, a newsletter. Mexico Fund "has been on such a tear for the past 10 years that a free-trade agreement seems to be after the fact."

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Troubles at Top Of Ticket Threaten GOP Candidates

By DAVID SHRIEMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — As Republicans gather here for their convention next week, their daunting challenge is to stem what is emerging as a strong Democratic tide that threatens to take down other Republicans along with George Bush.

It isn't only that the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll shows Democratic nominee Bill Clinton holding an edge of 54% to 36% over President Bush, a figure in line with other pre-convention polls. Republicans, injured by voter dissatisfaction with the economy, now also are facing big obstacles in congressional races, endangering the once-bright GOP hopes of making significant gains in Congress.

The new poll shows the Democrats holding a 14-point advantage in voting intentions for congressional races, the widest margin in the Bush presidency and a stunning change from the slim lead the Democrats had just a month ago.

These arresting figures are buttressed by the fact that voters now have a new sense of approval of the Democratic Party. The poll shows that 46% of voters have a positive view of the Democrats, compared with 34% who view the GOP positively. Moreover, 45% of voters have a negative view of the Republicans. The Democrats' 45% to 32% party-identification edge over the GOP is the widest since the early years of the Reagan administration.

"George Bush goes to the Republican national convention on a new low," says the two pollsters who conducted the poll for the Journal and NBC, Democrat Peter Hart and Republican Vince Breglio. "The president has a lot of political ground to make up in order to turn this election into the horse race people had expected it would be."

Polls taken in the period between the two national conventions are historically unreliable. In addition, the Republicans expect to get a public-opinion bounce out of their activities during the national convention here and hope that, once the battle is fully joined, they can begin to erode Mr. Clinton's support.

But in contrast with four years ago, when Mr. Bush wiped out much of Michael Dukakis's lead by the time the GOP convention began, the new Journal/NBC poll has nary a bright spot for Mr. Bush and the Republicans.

The president trails among every demographic and geographic group in the electorate. His job-approval rating has fallen to 34%, by far the lowest in his presidency and a drop of four points in only a month's time. Fully half the voters have a negative view of him. More than a quarter of Republicans disapprove of his performance as president.

### How Poll Was Conducted

The Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll was based on nationwide telephone interviews of 818 registered voters conducted Monday through Wednesday by the polling organizations of Peter Hart and Vince Breglio.

The sample was drawn from 210 randomly selected geographic points in the continental U.S. Each region was represented in proportion to its population. Households were selected by a method that gave all telephone numbers, listed and unlisted, an equal chance of being included.

One registered voter, 18 years or older, was selected from each household by a procedure to provide the correct number of male and female respondents. The results of the survey were minimally weighted by sex, age, occupation and income to ensure that the poll accurately reflects registered voters nationwide.

Chances are 19 of 20 that if all registered voters with telephones in the U.S. had been surveyed, the findings would differ from these poll results by no more than 3.5 percentage points in either direction. The margin for a subgroup would depend on the size of that group.

83% to 11% that endorsed his diplomatic efforts in March 1991, shortly after the Gulf War.

"This survey suggests that George Bush needs a very strong Republican convention to change voters' perceptions of him and his presidency and to reverse the tide of public opinion that is running strongly against him at this moment," the two pollsters conclude.

This tide is spilling beyond the presidential election into the congressional elections. Only a few months ago, the combination of anti-incumbent sentiment, retirements and redistricting gave Republicans hopes of making significant strides in Congress, both houses of which are controlled by the Democrats.

Now, though, "voters are stating that they will vote for the Democratic candidate for Congress in their district by larger margins than we have seen at any time in the past three years," say Messrs. Hart and Breglio. "This may lead Republican congressional candidates to fear that the Bush-Quayle ticket will be an anchor that pulls down their re-election chances."

Moreover, voters, for the first time

since the Journal and NBC began asking the question six years ago, now are evenly divided over whether Congress and the presidency should be controlled by the same party, another measure of the voters' disapproval of Mr. Bush since the Democrats have and are likely to retain strong control of Congress. Until last month, voters by a lopsided margin believed that the system would work better if different parties controlled the two elected branches of government.

And though voters' views of Mr. Clinton have not yet solidified, there are many bright spots for the Arkansas governor.

Mr. Clinton leads in four important groups that have given other recent Democratic nominees problems in the past: conservative and moderate Democrats; independents; men; and voters under 35 years old.

### Perot Supporters Choosing

The governor, moreover, has been able to attract the support of most of those who expected to support Ross Perot, the Texas billionaire who toyed with a presidential campaign only to abandon it the morning the Democrats concluded their national convention last month. Half the Perot voters now support Gov. Clinton, with only 29% supporting the president.

The advantage Mr. Bush once held on the character issue now has virtually vanished. Mr. Bush still holds an edge as the candidate more likely to uphold traditional values. But while Mr. Bush is making "trust" a major theme of his entreaties, voters by a narrow margin prefer Mr. Clinton to him as someone they can trust.

On dealing with crime and on education, Mr. Clinton is the voters' choice. And he holds a 3-to-1 edge among the voters for having good ideas for the future.

The poll points up both candidates' weaknesses, with 34% of the voters saying that Mr. Bush doesn't pay sufficient attention to domestic matters and 27% saying he favors the wealthy.

Mr. Clinton's weaknesses are almost mirror-images of Mr. Bush's. Thirty-eight percent of the voters agree with the criticism that he has no background in international or military affairs and is untested in a crisis. More than one voter in four agree with the criticism that Mr. Clinton's economic plan calls for additional government spending and higher taxes, while one in five are bothered that he raised taxes, fees and spending as governor of Arkansas.

**CAMPAIGN**  
★ **92**

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Swing Vote

The critical swing group of independents who earn \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year and the Democrats who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 have left him in droves. It is no longer true that Mr. Bush's supporters are more solidly committed to their candidate than Mr. Clinton's supporters are.

Fewer voters, moreover, seem willing to shift their allegiance. Of those who say they would not vote for the president now, less than one in five feel there is even a fair chance they might support him come November, and three in five say there is no chance they will vote for him.

Mr. Bush is paying for the voters' sour assessment of the course of the country. By a margin of 70% to 16%, voters believe the nation is generally headed in the wrong direction. Moreover, Mr. Clinton receives the support of two-thirds of those who believe the nation is going in the wrong direction, as against the 24% who support Mr. Bush.

Perhaps most striking of all is that the electorate now believes, by a margin of 41% to 19%, that Gov. Clinton would do a better job of handling the economy. The result is that this is shaping up as the first presidential election since 1976 in which Democrats have an edge on economic issues.

On foreign policy, the president's strongest suit, he still has an advantage. But the approval margin of 53% to 39% is a marked shift from the margin of

## Commission Sets Schedule For Presidential Debates

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Commission on Presidential Debates set a schedule for three presidential and one vice presidential debate this fall, officials said.

The schedule, which is to be announced today, calls for President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, to face off Sept. 22 at Michigan State University in East Lansing; Oct. 4, in San Diego; and Oct. 15, at the University of Richmond in Richmond, Va.

The vice presidential debate, between Vice President Dan Quayle and Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Jr., the Democratic nominee, is scheduled for Louisville, Ky., Sept. 29.

Plans call for each debate to be 90 minutes in length and conducted by a single moderator. The commission is a bipartisan group that includes the chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican parties. The Clinton campaign has given its final approval to the plan, officials said; final approval from the Bush campaign is expected soon.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## New Chief of Staff Focuses on Ideas For a Second Term

By JOHN HARWOOD  
And MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
WASHINGTON — President Bush named James Baker White House chief of staff to give focus to his lagging re-election effort and to develop fresh ideas for a second term. Among the proposals under discussion is a new wave of tax overhaul.

A grim-faced Mr. Bush, who announced that Mr. Baker would succeed Samuel Skinner in the wake of months of political erosion, said his longtime friend and chief strategist would help him produce "an integrated second-term program of do-

### Tax Comments Hurt Bonds

Bond prices plunged on Mr. Baker's call for lower taxes, as investors feared such a move would widen the federal deficit and lead to an increase in government borrowing. Story on page C1.

mestic, economic and foreign policies." Mr. Baker, who resigned as secretary of state effective Aug. 23, told State Department employees in an unusually partisan farewell address that the administration "should build on the fundamentals of lower tax rates, limits on government spending, greater competition, less economic regulation and more open trade that can unleash tremendous private initiative and growth."

### Conservatives Applaud Remarks

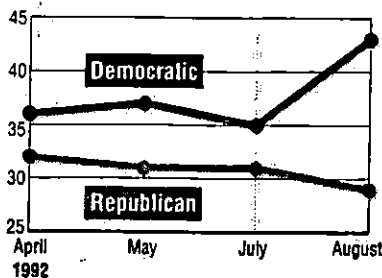
Mr. Baker's remarks cheered Republicans of all stripes, including conservatives who in the past have criticized his pragmatic bent and who have complained lately of administration indifference to their agenda. They suggested that Mr. Baker, who guided the 1986 tax revision as Ronald Reagan's Treasury secretary, would continue discussions of what one official called an "aggressively pro-growth tax reform" that would reduce income-tax rates and perhaps offset the lost revenue by closing loopholes or increasing taxes on consumption.

Whether that politically risky idea emerges at next week's GOP convention or subsequently in the campaign—and senior Bush aides acknowledge it would be vulnerable to Democratic "fairness" attacks—administration and campaign officials welcomed Mr. Baker's arrival as an immediate shot of adrenaline. Various officials complained that the White House was overstaffed, slow to make decisions and weak on follow-through in the eight months since Mr. Skinner took over from John Sununu. Moreover, they said that neither Mr. Skinner nor campaign chairman Robert Teeter was clearly empowered to direct the re-election effort.

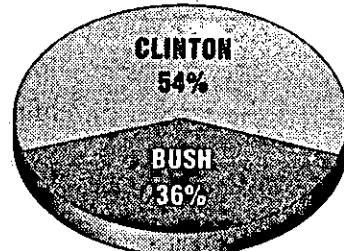
"You've got a single pivotal decision-maker... because of [Mr. Baker's] unique authority," said Bush-Quayle campaign manager Fred Malek, who predicted a "crisper" White House and re-election apparatus.

## A Democratic Tide?

In this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican or the Democratic candidate in your district?



If the 1992 presidential election were today, for whom would you vote—George Bush or Bill Clinton?



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

Mr. Baker is bringing along a coterie of his senior State Department aides to help him, including Margaret Tutwiler as chief of communications, Robert Zoellick as deputy chief of staff, Dennis Ross as head of policy planning and Janet Mullins as political director. All of these appointments take effect Aug. 23.

Mr. Skinner, who said in his resignation letter that serving Mr. Bush "has been the greatest honor of my life," will become general chairman of the Republican Party, which will involve speech-making and fund-raising. He said in an interview that the challenge facing Mr. Bush required "a Pro Bowl quarterback" with overall responsibility for both the White House and the re-election effort. "I've never run a national campaign," Mr. Skinner said. "Jim has." He added that he and Mr. Bush have had "ongoing discussions" about the shift that were completed yesterday, when Messrs. Baker and Skinner met separately with the president.

The current deputy White House chief of staff, Henson Moore, is expected to head the intragovernmental affairs office, and domestic policy chief Clayton Yeutter probably will move to the Bush-Quayle campaign committee.

The White House staff under Mr. Skinner had already begun inconclusive discussions of various possible initiatives to reinvigorate Mr. Bush's re-election campaign. If specific tax-overhaul proposals seem too hazardous, officials say the president may merely call for a "simpler," "fairer" or "less cumbersome" tax system with few particulars. But there isn't any indication that President Bush himself has embraced taking even that limited step.

Aside from possible tax overhaul, those ideas include an aggressive strategy of vetoing congressional appropriations to demonstrate the president's opposition to government spending increases. At the same time, White House officials have

been discussing the possibility of a direct job-creation program, perhaps using Defense Department money and personnel, and proposals to sharpen Mr. Bush's anti-crime stance by sending more federal money to the states for law enforcement and prisons.

Mr. Bush said the State Department will remain under "able leadership," citing his "exceptionally close" relationship with Acting Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger. But Mr. Baker's job shift may nonetheless have a profound impact on the Middle East peace process, which he largely launched by using exhaustive shuttle diplomacy in the region in the last year.

Arab leaders, who for the first time are engaged in direct negotiations with their Israeli enemy, now are likely to approach the negotiating table more warily. They had come to rely on Mr. Baker as the key player in brokering arrangements for the talks. And even Israeli leaders, who are far less smitten by Mr. Baker, had come to rely on him as a skillful negotiator whose word could be trusted.

Mr. Baker's departure also may affect U.S. attitudes toward the conflict in former Yugoslavia. He had been the senior official most adamant about adopting a more aggressive stand to stop Serbian aggression against Bosnian Muslims and Croats, and it isn't clear whether he can speak as forcefully on the Bosnian crisis from his new position.

In one minor, but perhaps telling, harbinger of President Bush's woes, Moment Magazine, a Jewish bimonthly, will be unable to run a piece by Henry Kissinger, promised to it by the Bush-Quayle campaign, explaining why he will vote for Mr. Bush. After saying that Mr. Kissinger was working on the piece, the campaign told the magazine this week that it won't be produced.

—David Wessel contributed to this article.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Democrats Call Shift Irresponsible

Even before it was formally announced, Democrats were attacking Mr. Baker's job shift as irresponsible, since it comes at a delicate moment in the Middle East peace process and in U.N. efforts to quell civil war in the former Yugoslavia. To counter such criticism, a senior State Department official said Mr. Baker plans to remain heavily involved in key foreign-policy issues from his new perch at the White House, including attending National Security Council meetings and sitting in on all of Mr. Bush's personal discussions on foreign affairs. There isn't any "legal or ethical impediment" stopping Mr. Baker or the aides he will bring with him from staying involved, the official said.

Top Bush-Quayle campaign officials had told some Congressional Republicans that Mr. Baker would forswear a return to the State Department to avoid charges of politicizing foreign policy. But Mr. Baker himself left the door open to returning to the State Department after the election. He could still issue such a pledge later if it became politically necessary.



James Baker

Mr. Baker decided to resign rather than take a leave of absence to show that he was making a "clean break" during the campaign season, said the official, who briefed reporters following the secretary's emotional goodbye at the State Department. Mr. Baker left for a brief vacation in Wyoming and plans to maintain a low profile at the GOP convention when he arrives there next week.

Mr. Baker is renowned as a clever and pragmatic strategist who helped preserve Mr. Reagan's popularity — though sometimes at the expense of the GOP right's substantive agenda — while serving as White House chief of staff in Mr. Reagan's first term. He also played a key role in President Ford's near-miss 1976 campaign, which erased most of the huge lead that Jimmy Carter had enjoyed in the polls. Worried Republicans, preparing to gather in Houston next week, hope Mr. Baker can manage a similar feat against Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, with a better final result.

But 1992 presents a far different political landscape than in either the 1984 or 1988 GOP campaigns, which Mr. Baker also orchestrated. The lagging economy has voters seeking change, not continuity, and Mr. Baker's daunting challenge is to convince them that a 68-year-old incumbent with modest domestic accomplishments is up to the task.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Republican Abortion Plank Makes Clear No Big Tent Is Going to Rise in Houston

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — Republicans completed a voluminous party platform, but failed to make room in it for a kind word for the abortion-rights supporters within their own ranks.

Instead, they passed a separate resolution noting that it is "inevitable" that some rank-and-file Republicans would disagree with their official positions, hammered out over 2½ days of debate in which almost no nuance was left unexamined.

Abortion-rights leaders in the GOP were outraged. "Would you want to be some guy's afterthought?" asked Nancy Sternoff, executive director of the National Republican Coalition for Choice.

The platform, one of the most conservative in party history and, at more than 85 pages, surely one of the longest, once again strongly opposes abortion. Republican abortion opponents were jubilant that party leaders kept conciliatory language out of the platform.

"Total victory," said Phyllis Schlafly, a leader of the anti-abortion forces. "None of this litmus-test, big-tent garbage." She referred to pleas by party moderates that the GOP should be a big tent, open to everyone, and that a litmus-test on abortion shouldn't be required for admission.

For her part, First Lady Barbara Bush said the Republicans should leave the question of abortion out of their platform altogether. "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, pro or con," Mrs. Bush said in an interview with the three major U.S. news magazines. "It's a personal choice, is what I'm saying, [a] personal thing. The personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, out of platforms and conventions," she said.

### Democrats Won't Be Idle As Republicans Convene

A WALL STREET JOURNAL News Roundup

While the Republicans are busy renominating George Bush and Dan Quayle in Houston next week, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and his running mate Sen. Albert Gore will be on the campaign trail.

Breaking with the tradition that had the Democratic ticket taking time off during the Republican National Convention, Messrs. Clinton and Gore intend to hit the hustings for at least three days of next week.

The major event will be next Friday, when Gov. Clinton is scheduled to give an economic address to the Economic Club of Detroit. The shape of the nation's economy and his plan to resuscitate it are central to his drive for the presidency.

On Wednesday, the Democratic ticket will have a more lighthearted event. It will host a campaign picnic to celebrate the birthday on that day of both Gov. Clinton and Tipper Gore, Sen. Gore's wife. Earlier in the week the Democrats plan to have a campaign event that would highlight Mr. Clinton's views on health care, among other things.

The way the platform is put together is a stark illustration of how uncomfortable the GOP has become with the economic issue. In 1980, 1984, and again four years ago, the platform led off with a discussion of taxes, jobs and free enterprise. This platform leads off with family values, education and health care. It takes 29 pages to get to the economy, trade and jobs and the budget sections. And even then, it's more a treatise on foreign policy than on economic policy, talking about how "communism and other forms of planned economies lie in the ash heap of history."

The one sleeper in the economic section is its endorsement of the administration's proposed cap on entitlement spending. As spelled out by Budget Director Richard Darman, that could result in sizable cuts in benefits flowing from such programs as Medicare, farm spending, student loans and pensions for veterans, which could anger many GOP constituencies.

The free-floating resolution aimed at appeasing the abortion-rights supporters was introduced by Rep. Henry Hyde of Illinois, who is a leading congressional opponent of abortion. "We respect the honest differences of opinion of those Republicans who debate our positions on important issues and look forward to working with them toward Republican victories in November," the resolution said.

Conciliatory language on the question of abortion last appeared in a GOP platform in 1980, in almost the same words as the language that now appears in the resolution. It was put in the 1980 platform to appease delegates tending to support the losing candidate that year, George Bush.

The abortion-rights leaders vowed to continue their fight into next week's convention, but they lack the votes to win concessions.

The platform writers, about 20% of whom were Christian fundamentalists, had problems in approving draft language that called the U.S. "the last best hope for man on earth." Jesus Christ, some of them said, remains man's best hope on earth. Ultimately, though, the language was allowed to stand.

The only other last-day platform battle was over an amendment supported by conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan and his allies that said Republicans "will deny preferential trade status to Communist governments that murder and repress their own people unless progress is made in addressing such deprivation of liberty."

Mr. Bush already has given China favored-nation trade status, and the hearts of the platform writers seemed to be in rebuking him for it. But the Bush leaders in the hall pressed hard and beat the amendment back by voting to table it.

Hour after hour, the platform writers kept inserting paragraphs here and paragraphs there, and the document grew and grew. "It looks like the stock-market tables in The Wall Street Journal," said Chuck Douglas, a New Hampshire member of the committee.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## World Avoids a Trade Nightmare

By KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE

America: First and ten.

Once again, America has upset the international odds makers who said the ball was about to change hands, leaving Uncle Sam doomed to defense on the playing field of international trade. Instead, this week's signing of a free trade agreement with Mexico puts America very much on the offensive in this global competitive game and leaves fumble-prone European and Asian opponents on the defensive.

The addition of Mexico to a U.S.-Canada free trade area completes a more than \$200-billion-a-year, continent-wide trading bloc at precisely the time that European and Asian dreams of creating similar blocs are being dashed on the shoals of historical rivalries and enmities. The result is a victory both for America and for free trade. This is true precisely because the new North American Free Trade Agreement expands trade among Mexico, Canada and America without raising barriers against others.

The prospect of a world trisected into three closed and competitive trading blocs gained currency as six years of acrimonious negotiations failed to yield a new version of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT. The three-trading-bloc scenario has been a nightmare to free traders, who have predicted escalating protectionism, mounting trade retaliation, and an ensuing contraction of global trade.

### Europe's Fortress Fades

Recent trips to Europe, Asia and Mexico indicate that the world should wake up from this bad dream. The biggest change has occurred in Europe, where overconfident, neo-protectionist Eurocrats sparked the three-trading-bloc scenario with their ambitions for a closed Common Market of 320 million consumers. "Europe 1992" was their rallying cry, but 1992 finds them jousting among themselves—rather than finishing their European fortress. Only six months ago, European leaders signed the Maastricht Treaty providing for the single most important prerequisite for genuine union—a common European currency.

Then the Danes, who put the treaty to a referendum, shocked the rest of Europe by rejecting it. In Britain, even members of Prime Minister John Major's conservative party are demanding a referendum. France's Francois Mitterrand, diplomatic doyen of European unity, has felt the need to risk a similar referendum (though it is turning into a vote on Mitterrand, not Maastricht). A nay vote in France will nail the lid on the coffin the Danes began building. In Germany, Europe's economic fulcrum, the public has never favored a common European currency to replace the Deutsche Mark, Europe's current benchmark currency.

Even former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, an early architect of European unity, acknowledges that failure to ratify the Maastricht Treaty means unity has been set back at least a decade.

"There have been setbacks before, but we'll get there," he says over a Munich lunch. The prophet of European unity has the tired and gloomy air of one increasingly unlikely to live to see his prophecy fulfilled. With first-tier and second-tier West European states and ever multiplying states to its east, Europe is less a

continent in transition than a continent without definition.

In Asia the equation is different but the net result is the same. The prospect of an Asian trading bloc has always rested on the twin premises of Japanese economic leadership and the willingness of smaller Asian trading nations to accept it. The former may be a fact but the latter is a figment. Nearly 50 years after the end of World War II, Asian nations from Korea to Indonesia, while tolerant of Japanese investment, remain basically bitter and hostile toward Japan—and that sentiment is growing. Among Americans, reactions to the Japanese may range from admiration to envy; among Asians they range from fear to hatred.

Over lunch in a tony Seoul restaurant,

*Within the next year, U.S. exports to Mexico are likely to exceed those to Japan. This is as much a commentary on the strength of the Mexican market as on the restrictiveness of the Japanese market.*

the Westernized, sophisticated chairman of a major Korean conglomerate that does big business with Japan launches into a tirade against the Japanese wartime enslavement of Korean women in Japanese military brothels.

"What we need to do," he says with a vehemence one would think reserved for a father whose own wife or daughter had been raped, "is bring thousands of Japanese women to the military front lines in Korea to make the Japanese understand what they did." The executive goes on to warn that Japan's decision to put peace-keeping forces in Cambodia or elsewhere is the seed of a new Japanese military expansion.

In an interview, Korean President Roh Tae Woo is diplomatic but decidedly cool on the subject of Japan. "A number of Northeast and Southeast Asian nations remember Japan's unfortunate history, so we wouldn't like to see Japan's influence grow in Asia."

Even Singapore's former Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who more than most Asian statesmen talks openly about the need for Japan to lead in Asia, doubts other Asian states will accept its primacy—unless Japanese attitudes change fundamentally. He was blunt on a recent visit with Japan's Prime Minister Miyazawa.

"Japan's neighbors have deep memories of their experiences in the Second World War," he told Mr. Miyazawa and his advisers, according to a text he provided of his remarks, "and it does no good, least of all to Japan, to deny this fact." Mr. Lee sought to explain to the Japanese prime minister that his nation cannot lead Asia—let alone the world—unless it abandons a deep-seated belief that Japanese are culturally unique and superior. "All the nations that have spread peace and civilization... have emphasized the universality of their greatness," he said.

During a recent interview in his Singapore office, the Oxford-educated Mr. Lee recalls how hospitable the British were to him as a young student and contrasts this with the shabby treatment he says Singaporean students endure in Japan. "The British and Americans go around the world saying, 'You too can be like us.' The Japanese go around the world saying, 'We're unique. No one can be like us.'" In Mr. Lee's view, a "nation can lead others only through the magnetism of its culture or the imposition of its military might." Since Asians don't want the latter, Mr. Lee hopes for the former from Japan. But Japan shows few signs of altering its view of itself.

Of course the other obstacle to Asian unity is Japan's determination to be the biggest fish in the ocean, not the largest in the Asian pond. This isn't simply national ego, but also economics. Asia's rapidly growing economies each seek to expand through exports and Japan has no desire to be their primary export market. Indeed, the U.S. remains Japan's largest market, absorbing up to 30% of its total exports.

If Asian unity is a false pregnancy and European unity is dying at birth, North America has just adopted a healthy new infant—Mexico. The U.S.-Canada trade agreement of 1988, despite minor frustrations on both sides of the border, has fulfilled the promise of expanding trade between America and its largest trading partner. This success appears about to be duplicated south of the border. Even Democratic candidate Bill Clinton tentatively supports the concept, if not yet the details, of the agreement Presidents Bush and Salinas have just concluded.

### Mexico as Customer

Despite roadblocks being thrown up by environmental and labor activists and their congressional allies, Congress seems likely to acquiesce after the election. To a large extent this represents formalities catching up with realities. U.S.-Mexican trade is booming—\$64.5 billion in 1991—in large part as a result of Mr. Salinas' courageous economic policies, which have liberalized, privatized and vitalized the long statist and stagnant Mexican economy. Foreign investment and foreign products now are welcome in Mexico. Mexico's is the fastest expanding market for U.S. exports, growing in recent years at twice the pace of U.S. exports to any other country.

Within the next year, U.S. exports to Mexico are likely to exceed those to Japan, according to the U.S. Special Trade Representative's office. This is as much a commentary on the strength of the Mexican market as on the restrictiveness of the Japanese market. To people in New York or Chicago, Mexico still may seem a poor and remote country to the South, but to those in Texas and California, there's more economic interdependence and often social affinity with Mexico than with northern U.S. cities.

Underlying all the talk in the last few years about a world of trading blocs has been exaggerated pessimism about U.S. trade competitiveness and exaggerated fears about the relative strengths of Europe and Japan. Once again, realities are proving the pessimists wrong.

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

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## A Few Facts in the Rodney King Case

By ROBERT DEITZ

As federal prosecutors move forward on their case against the four Los Angeles police officers who arrested Rodney King, the public will once again have a fresh chance to review what really happened the night of Mr. King's arrest. Unfortunately, the same misrepresentations that fueled the L.A. riots are appearing around the federal civil rights case: images of batons so brutally swinging at an innocent man that he was desperately injured.

The pictures in the famous videotape seem to speak for themselves. But the reporting around the videotape has not been so clear. Let's examine a few facts of the King case.

The first error in the focus of press and public has been the description of Mr. King as a simple "motorist" who was beaten by police officers. In fact, Mr. King was more than a motorist; he was a felony evader. He led the California Highway Patrol and the Los Angeles Police Department on a 7.8 mile chase at speeds of up to 115 miles an hour. The records show that during the chase Mr. King committed more than 15 traffic violations. That was cause, of course, for revocation of his parole (he had been released four months earlier after serving time following a robbery conviction). It also explains why he may have sought to evade capture in the first place.

Even the prosecution in the Simi Valley trial stipulated the truth: Mr. King was a dangerous drunken driver whose actions threatened other motorists, and his two passengers.

Which brings us to item number two: the drunken driving charge, which has received little coverage. In fact, the Simi Valley prosecution did not dispute testimony that showed that a test administered six hours after Mr. King's arrest demonstrated a blood-alcohol level that made him still legally drunk. The level at the time of his arrest, as stipulated by the prosecution, was .19, or almost 2½ times the rate necessary for a drunken driving charge in California.

Item three involves the press's claims that Mr. King suffered serious injury from his beating. USA Today, to cite one source, reported after the incident that Mr. King was "still struggling to recover from a concussion, several head fractures, and a shattered eye socket and cheekbone from his beating."

The facts don't bear out these claims. Evidence at the trial — provided by the prosecution's own witnesses — demonstrated that Mr. King's injuries were minor. There was no concussion and no evidence of "several head fractures."

In fact, the same witnesses revealed that, at worst, Mr. King suffered a fractured cheekbone (which included the right

eye socket), and a hairline fracture to an ankle bone. Neither of these injuries was discovered until almost 24 hours after the incident. The cheekbone fracture is the kind that requires no treatment. Mr. King complained of no pain while at Pacifica Hospital, and walked out without assistance after emergency room treatment, according to the prosecution. A copy of the emergency room diagnostic sheet signed by Dr. Antonio Mancía and introduced in the trial listed only two problems: "PCP ['angel dust'] overdose" and "facial lacerations, superficial."

Here are a few other facts lost in the reporting of the Rodney King incident: LAPD rules prescribe four general levels of force when approaching a suspect. The first is physical presence, the second verbal commands, and the third physical force. The fourth (and officially permissible level) is deadly force.

Mr. King ignored the physical presence of eight officers and four police cruisers with lights flashing and sirens howling. He also ignored commands to lie prone for handcuffing — a command his two passengers readily accepted without further incident. Police then resorted to the third level of force. Four officers — each going after one arm or a leg — tried to get him on the ground for handcuffing. Mr. King tossed them off as if they were irritating insects.

The officers then resorted to the use of a TASER (Thomas A. Swift Electric Rifle), a weapon with a total of 100,000 volts in 50,000 increments. The TASER manufacturer's marketing tape shows a single charge felling an adult bison. But Mr. King absorbed two and still came back. This was the LAPD's third level of force. All that was legally remaining under LAPD rules was the use of the baton. Either that, or shooting the suspect.

It was at this point that George Holliday turned his video camera toward the scene. Mr. King rose from the ground within two seconds to assault Officer Laurence Powell. Then the batons began falling. The officers believed themselves to be threatened, and rightfully so: They had used almost all of the LAPD's permissible methods in trying to subdue a violent suspect, and nothing had worked. Mr. King's behavior was uncontrolled; the prosecution itself acknowledged that in its opening statement.

Of course, it is important to acknowledge that evidence exonerating the four policemen here may not exonerate the LAPD from more general charges of abuse of force. The LAPD has created an odd gap between the third level of force (the TASER) and deadly force. The Dallas police force, for example, prescribes such devices as a simple net to restrain suspects

at this point. The LAPD, by contrast, offers its officers only the PR-24 baton and the pistol. The difficulty here was with the rules, not with the policemen. It is also important to realize that even the evidence just described may not convince many who have viewed the videotape.

But the problem is a more general one: the reporting has been depressingly casual and incomplete. In the last round, the incomplete picture built public support for the L.A. rioters, support that helped fuel the riots. What will happen if the picture this time is just as incomplete, and a federal jury comes to the same conclusion of innocence? We may see another set of riots. This is why it's important to know all the facts of the events of March 3, 1991.

*Mr. Deitz, until recently executive business editor of the now-defunct Dallas Times Herald, is co-writing "Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair" with Sgt. Stacey Koon, to be published in October by Regnery Gateway.*

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Schizo Elephant: GOP Split In Houston

HOUSTON — Americans watching Republicans here next week can be forgiven if they notice a case of schizophrenia. Will the real elephant please stand up?

Is it the Republican Party that, in its platform here, says all families should enjoy a "choice of schools—public, private or religious?" Or is it the party that, this week in Washington, saw half of the Republicans in the House help defeat a private-school choice bill?

Is it the platform that declares it wants to repeal the 1990 budget deal's tax increases? Or is it the White House and Bush campaign that sought (unsuccessfully) to strike the platform's "repeal" language?

The important story here is not the doctrinal disputes over abortion or economic policy. These were settled decisively, and expectedly, in favor of the conservatives who dominate the rank and file. The fighting over what it means to be a Republican will come in 1996.

The seminal disagreement is between what the grass-roots party is saying here and what Republicans governing in their name in Washington have been doing for four years. Houston Republicans assert a confident domestic agenda of reform and change, but Washington Republicans have spent 43 months massaging the status quo. This is a party that has lost its head.

"The party is still the Reagan party," says Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber, who helped write the platform here. "It's frustrated by a leadership that hasn't seemed committed to their positions."

The schizophrenia begins in the Oval Office. Mr. Bush has always distinguished,

## Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

we now know, between politics and "governing." Politics is something nasty and necessary only every four years. In between, the best men and women in Washington sit down and "govern" by compromising, no matter what was said in the last political season. So "read my lips" is a pose not a principle. And "campaigning" is something good people do only after conventions. If Mr. Bush loses, this habit of mind will be a central reason.

It is a failing with deep Republican roots. Newt Gingrich, the Georgia congressman, has been urging President Bush to undergo a mind meld by reading David McCullough's biography of Truman. He hopes Mr. Bush, a man of the Eastern establishment, will transform himself into a Missouri populist and give Congress hell to win re-election. (Mr. Gingrich is an optimist.) But the book is just as instructive for its account of Thomas Dewey, the Republican whom Mr. Truman came from behind to defeat.

Dewey Republicans were like many Bush Republicans. They too elevated "governing" above politics, managing the welfare state above trying to change it. Dewey summed up his 1948 campaign strategy this way—"When you're leading, don't talk." The difference is that at least Dewey was running in the late New Deal era, when Democrats had a presidential majority. Mr. Bush has imitated Dewey even though he trails by some 26 points and is running in an era when Republicans have won an average of 56% of the vote in the last five presidential elections. It's as if Mr. Bush forgot that populist Reagan conservatism ever won an election.

The Dewey disease, to be fair, has spread beyond the White House. This week Mr. Bush actually endorsed a bill by Texas Rep. Dick Armey to allow federal money to be spent on private schools. Even the Bush campaign knows this is a wedge against Bill Clinton that can attract Reagan Democrats. Yet half of the House Republicans abandoned the Armey bill, lest they offend the teachers' unions. California Rep. Jerry Lewis, who is being challenged by Mr. Armey for a GOP leadership post, even lobbied members against it on the floor. Such Republicans deserve Dewey's fate.

Can James Baker now ride to the rescue? Only if his new White House task is to change not just the Bush campaign but the rationale of the Bush presidency, too. He has the advantage of being able to talk to his friend, Mr. Bush, as a peer. He'll restore order to the campaign's chaos.

But the main Bush weakness now is spiritual, not technical. His problem is convincing voters, even many loyal Republicans, that his promises mean something. Mr. Baker has to reconnect the populist Reagan party to the Republicans in Washington, to reunite governing and politics. His talk of a new Bush "mandate" in his farewell remarks at State yesterday was encouraging.

The remarks, largely written by Baker aide and new deputy chief of staff Robert Zoellick, were the closest any Bush official has yet come to the "vision thing." Mr. Zoellick is part of the younger generation of Republicans who understand that a conservative reform agenda can be extended to education, health care, poverty. He is close to budget director Richard Darman (who will remain powerful) but has also been reaching out more widely for campaign ideas. It's a sign of their despondency that even conservatives here now think Mr. Baker, the legendary pragmatist, is their only hope of persuading Mr. Bush to act.

If he can't, Mr. Baker might consult the 1990 fate of Republican Sen. Rudy Boschwitz of Minnesota. As that year's budget deal came together, the senator's support began to collapse. He was advised to repudiate the tax increase but refused. Instead he followed the advice of Robert Teeter, who also happens to be Mr. Bush's chief campaign strategist. He ran a TV ad that showed him in close-up telling voters about the burden of hard choices and the duty to "govern."

Mr. Boschwitz is now an ex-senator.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## The Beltway's BCCI Prosecution

*Mr. Clifford very much wants the opportunity to be vindicated before he dies. Therefore, he hopes to have an immediate and speedy trial here in Washington.*

CARL S. RAUH  
ATTORNEY TO CLARK CLIFFORD

Next week the eyes of the nation's political community will be focused on the Republican spectacle in Houston, but back inside the Beltway Judge Joyce Hens Green will be ruling on whether the dying Clark Clifford gets his final wish, namely to choose where and by whom he will be tried.

Federal prosecutors want to grant Mr. Clifford's wish, and Judge Green gave them a trial date of October 26 on the federal charges relating to his involvement with the Bank of Credit and Commerce International and its illegal ownership of Washington's First American Bank. Up in New York, District Attorney Robert Morgenthau has a trial date of October 22. On Tuesday, Judge Green will hold a hearing on what to do about the conflict.

What, dear reader, do you think? Should Mr. Clifford and his sidekick Robert Altman be tried by Bob Morgenthau in New York or by the inside-the-Beltway Justice Department? The latter choice has the advantage, we suppose, of giving them a jury of their peers. And the Federal regulatory apparatus deserves a chance to redeem its failure to discover BCCI's misdeeds. Especially, the Justice Department needs a chance to make up for its 1990 decision to let BCCI's Tampa branch off with a \$15 million wristslap for laundering drug money, and thus failing to discover the whole criminal enterprise. Since Mr. Clifford was BCCI's lawyer in that case, a federal conviction would be neatly ironic.

On the other hand, if the Feds blow their case again, Mr. Morgenthau might never get his shot. New York's strict double jeopardy laws would be a huge obstacle. And Mr. Morgenthau deserves a chance as the prosecutor pressing the investigation, for example getting a guilty plea and cooperation from Saudi kingpin Kamal Adham. Simple comity among prosecutors argues for letting him present his case. There is also the little matter of the public interest, which suggests that the case be tried by the prosecutor best able to try it. That this is Mr. Morgenthau, everyone understands.

Everyone starting with Mr. Clifford and his legal team. In Washington he's represented by Mr. Rauh, a former U.S. attorney, and Robert Bennett, who handled the Senate investigation of the Keating Five case, among oth-

ers. But last week Mr. Clifford's New York attorneys, Davis Polk & Wardwell, went to Mr. Morgenthau's office that they could no longer represent him; his assets had been frozen and he couldn't pay his bills. The august law firm apparently didn't realize it could file for relief under the New York statutes that allow defendants to use frozen assets for reasonable defense costs, though Mr. Altman and his wife did file for \$2,000 for a weekend of leisure.

While this request was denied, Morgenthau point man John Moscow says that a request for lawyers' fees is one "we certainly would grant." He concludes, "It looks like they're pretty anxious to try to prove that they can't mount a defense in New York." And because the federal case against the defendants focuses on just a slice of the evidence, he adds, "More than 80% of the story might be missed if the feds were to try this case."

The proposition Judge Green will decide Tuesday is, in a word, ridiculous. Here we have Clark Clifford, a pillar of the Beltway establishment, being tried for involvement with a criminal bank. There is ample evidence that the bank's *modus operandi* around the world included bribing public officials. This same bank also owned the biggest bank in this nation's capital, with Mr. Clifford as its chairman. He claims it hoodwinked him, as it somehow or other hoodwinked Washington regulators and whizzed Tampa by Justice. Now Mr. Clifford wants to be tried in his own milieu.

We would like to know what the Justice Department thinks it's doing in abetting this desire. We will happily support Attorney General William Barr's decision to deny the congressional request for a special prosecutor to study whether crimes were committed in coddling Iraq. But Mr. Morgenthau is a real prosecutor with a real case; why is Mr. Barr's department throwing roadblocks in his way? Justice's past behavior makes us doubt the notion of a joint prosecution; it should simply get out of the way.

Judge Green, herself a Washington eminence, should keep in mind the current public mood of disgust. Government is already losing credibility, and will lose more if Mr. Clifford manages to slip away in Washington and stop Mr. Morgenthau with double jeopardy. The case ought to go to the prosecutor best prepared to try it, and not so incidentally to assure the public that nothing has been covered up.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Chief of Staff Baker

George Bush has his old doubles partner back. Bush-Baker won a few tournaments back in the 1960s, and they're now entering the biggest Grand Slam of their lives. Jim Baker as Chief of Staff has to help matters, especially with the addition of Bob Zoellick as Deputy Chief of Staff and Dennis Ross at policy planning. One will at least have some confidence now that the White House operation is being driven by intelligent people with the ability to engage the opposition. More than anything, it's the McClellan-like atmosphere of the White House that has soured the public on

the President. This announcement is a sign of genuine change and holds the promise of action.

We now await the grand strategy. The President said that Mr. Baker will formulate an "integrated second-term program." The Houston convention will now be heavy with talk about what specifically Mr. Baker is bringing to the table, and what's to be swept off the table. A coherent set of policy ideas—the basis for a mandate—would be most welcome. A vigorous idea-based campaign would also help elect the new Congress that Mr. Bush, and the country, very much need.

## Forgotten Civil Rights

Washington, D.C., entrepreneur Taalib-Dan Abdul Uqdah has spent a lot of time studying the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. He has reason to. Mr. Uqdah is involved in an epic battle to stop the D.C. government from closing down his unlicensed African hair-braiding salon. "I'm fighting a system of discriminatory regulations that destroy employment opportunities for the people who need them most," he says.

Mr. Uqdah is referring to the occupational licensing laws that cover about 10% of all U.S. jobs. Nearly 500 occupations require a license, ranging from the noncontroversial, such as doctors, to jobs where the need for entry restrictions is highly suspect. These include shorthand reporters, septic-tank cleaners and beekeepers. Economist Walter Williams notes licensing laws often impose rigid and unreasonable requirements that serve to bar "outsiders, latecomers and the resourceless" from entering new lines of work.

That is precisely what the D.C. Board of Cosmetology is doing to Mr. Uqdah. His Cornrows & Co. has been under regulatory attack by the board since he opened his thriving salon in 1980. He has been fined \$1,000 and ordered to close unless he and his 10 employees go to school for nine months and qualify for cosmetology licenses.

Because Mr. Uqdah's shop only braids hair and doesn't use chemicals, he says it makes no sense to require his employees to spend 125 hours learning how to shampoo hair. He says the cosmetology board, whose mem-

bers are all owners of beauty salons, are simply trying to shut down competition. A report on cosmetology boards for the U.S. Labor Department agrees. It charged that such boards seem "quite ready to place the prejudices and narrow interests of the occupation ahead of the public interest."

When John Stossel, the consumer reporter for ABC's "20/20" news magazine show, looked into Mr. Uqdah's case he couldn't believe what he found. Salon owner William Jackson admitted that Mr. Uqdah was being harassed because he was a threat to other salons. The schools the board wants his employees to attend charge \$5,000 and yet don't teach any of his methods. They do require students to learn how to do pin curls and other hair styles that have been out of fashion for 30 years.

Mr. Stossel's report on the D.C. government's effort to shut down Mr. Uqdah airs tonight on "20/20." He concludes that his case is similar to many he's encountered in his 20 years of consumer reporting: "Licensing boards tend to be dominated by people who are already in that business, and their rules can end up hurting more people than they protect."

Mr. Uqdah says his battle against anti-competitive licensing laws should concern all Americans. "Bureaucrats are trying to kill the entrepreneurial spirit," he told us. "If they can do it to me, an African-American, they can do it to anyone. Petty rules and restrictions are limiting opportunity in every city in America."

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Japan Reacts Cautiously To 3-Nation Trade Pact

By ANDREW POLLACK

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Aug. 13 — Japan reacted cautiously and nervously today to the new agreement to spur free trade in North America, fearing that the accord could hurt its export-driven economy and leave it the only major economic power that is not part of a trading bloc.

Some Japanese officials said the North American Free Trade Agreement, if it turns out to be exclusionary, could cause Japan to reconsider the idea of an Asian trading region, something the nation has opposed. "There will be more intense discussion about the idea of Asian integration," said a Foreign Ministry official involved in economic matters.

The United States has been opposed to an Asian trading bloc, fearful that it would be excluded from the world's fastest-growing economic region. Malaysia has made a proposal for a trading bloc that would exclude the United States and be led by Japan.

So far, Japan has sided with the United States in opposing the Asian bloc, saying it prefers free trade worldwide. Indeed, any gains to the United States from the opening of the Mexican market by the North American trade agreement could be more than offset if it ends up provoking measures that close off the Asian market.

### Japan Has a Lot to Lose

Japan, which has a lot to lose if other nations protect their markets from imports, has been worried about both the North American Free Trade Agreement and plans for an economically unified European Community. And while Japan has often been accused by other nations of being an unfair trader, it has recently become more vocal in criticizing what it sees as the unfair trade practices of other nations.

Officially, Japan said today that it "in principle welcomes" the conclusion of the North American agreement, which would gradually eliminate tariffs and barriers to trade among the United States, Canada and Mexico.

But it said it would seek assurances that the agreement would not act as a barrier to Japan in the North American market and that it would conform to the worldwide trading principles known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

"Looking at the agreement, there seems to be certain elements negative to third countries, including Japan," Yasuo Tanabe, director of North American trade policy plan-

### An Asian trading bloc gains renewed interest.

ning for the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, said in an interview today.

Foremost among them, he said, was a provision that would gradually raise the percentage of North American content that would be required in a car for it to be moved from one North American nation to another without duties. The new rule would be 62.5 percent compared to 50 percent under the existing United States-Canada trading agreement.

Three Japanese companies now have plants in Canada that export to the United States without paying tariffs — Toyota, Honda and a joint venture of Suzuki and the General Motors Corporation. The United States has charged that the Honda cars do not meet the 50 percent requirement, although that dispute is now apparently being settled in Honda's favor, Mr. Tanabe said.

By Garry Trudeau

**I**n Houston this Sunday, a merry group called the Independent Committee for Ethics will be treating the media to a guided tour of the legal residences of George Bush. It might just be the hottest ticket in town.

While most of his countrymen know that the President claims Texas as his home, fewer are aware of what drove him to it. Back in 1981, in a bid to avoid a capital gains tax, Bush insisted that Maine was his home, describing his seaside estate as his principal residence. The I.R.S., which generally knows a vacation home when it sees one, especially when it sees it every night on the news, demurred and sent him a bill for \$198,128.

"They socked it to me," wailed Bush. "I think I've been singled out." A spokesman elaborated: The decision "raises not only legal issues, but questions of basic fairness.... The Kennebunkport house is the only house Vice President Bush owns. It is where they have their furniture, their books and their personal belongings. It is the Bush family center."

What a difference an unfavorable tax ruling can make. Today the Bush family center is no longer found in the beloved 26-room mansion at Kennebunkport but has been relocated to a tiny vacant lot in Houston. Although it contains fewer square feet than a regulation tennis court, the spread at 9 West Oak Lane South is special. It

Garry Trudeau, creator of the comic strip "Doonesbury," is an occasional contributor to this page.

is, as it turns out, the future site of the Bush retirement compound.

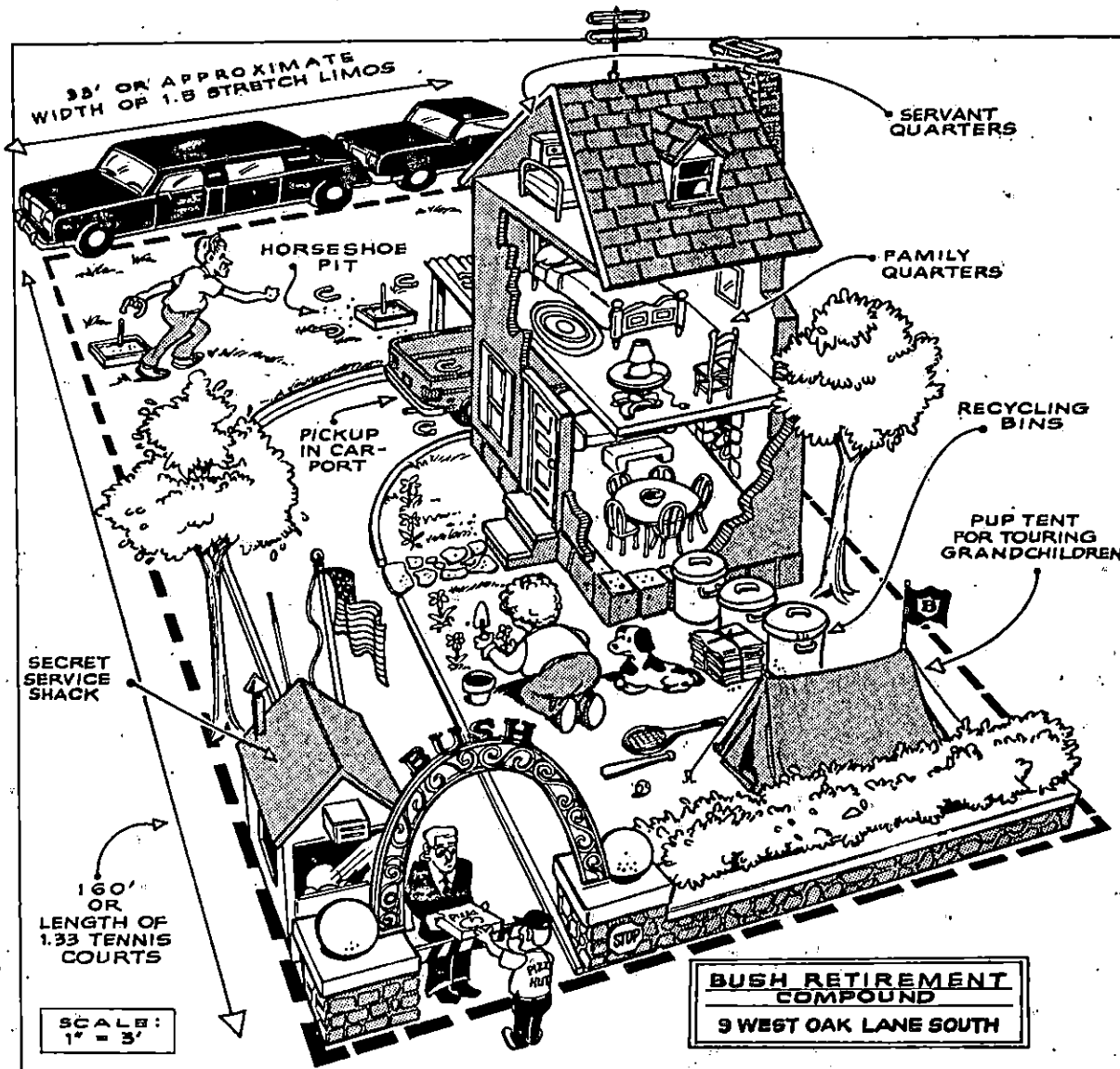
Why did the President repatriate himself to the Lone Star State? If you guessed "taxes," then you're smart enough to join him there. Texas is one of only nine states that have no income tax, a happy feature that has saved George Bush over \$200,000 in the last decade. To qualify for residency, a Texan wannabee need only give an address (in Bush's case, a Houston hotel) and declare intent to reside in the state at some future date.

This Bush did. In an extraordinary affidavit unearthed by Money magazine, the Vice President swore under oath: "My wife and I own property at 9 West Oak Lane South in Houston, Harris County, Texas; and following completion of my public service in Washington, D.C., it is our intent to return to Houston and build a single family residence on that property at that time."

It is not known whether Bush managed to sign this document with a straight face, but without it there seems little doubt that the Bush family center at West Oak would have been just a dream. Certainly the knowledge that he would be offsetting all his I.R.S. losses must have steadied Bush's hand.

Today the little parcel lies glistening and green — ready to receive those special, homey touches, like a house, for example. Yet, already one can almost hear the joyful squeals of grandchildren as they scoot about the homestead, retrieving horseshoes and pestering their grandfather for tax tips. It's a scene worth imagining, only without the grandchildren, who are currently in Maine. □

## Home Free



## We Gain. Mexico Gains. Canada Gains.

By Michael Boskin

**T**he United States, Mexico and Canada, by completing the groundwork for the North American Free Trade Agreement, have taken a significant step toward defining a new world order of expanded trade and brisk competition. The pact, eliminating all tariffs on North American

goods over 15 years, would create the world's largest free-trade area, with 360 million consumers and total annual output exceeding \$6 trillion.

Critics say the pact would inspire U.S. companies to relocate plants in Mexico and encourage polluters to slip into Mexico and establish operations. Neither assertion holds up.

The accord offers tremendous advantages for U.S. workers, consumers and businesses. Mexico is our No. 3 trading partner (Canada is No. 1) and fastest growing export market.

The pact would help President Carlos Salinas de Gortari push forward his aggressive program of environmental protection and economic reform.

Recent history tantalizingly hints at what the accord can do for U.S. workers. Since Mexico began reducing import tariffs in 1986, U.S. exports have leaped to \$33.3 billion from \$12.4 billion. This expansion has affected virtually every U.S. industry, and, since 1987, 47 out of our 50 states have increased exports to Mexico.

Agricultural exports grew by the

end of 1991 to \$2.9 billion from \$1.1 billion. Consumer exports more than tripled, to \$3.4 billion from \$1 billion. Exports of capital goods leaped to about \$11 billion from \$5 billion.

The accord would build on this promising start. Trade liberalization would create more jobs and export opportunities. The more we export, the better: 70 cents of every dollar Mexicans spend on imports goes for U.S. goods. Furthermore, what is good for Mexico is good for the U.S.: For every dollar in growth of Mexico's gross domestic product, 15 cents goes toward U.S. goods.

Research by the Institute for International Economics suggests that the pact would create as many as 175,000 net new U.S. jobs. The jobs would pay well. According to Commerce and Labor Department data, U.S. workers in export-related jobs earn 17 percent more than average U.S. workers.

Opponents say businesses will move south to take advantage of low-wage labor. False. Mexico's low wages will not give it a strong competitive advantage. Mexican workers are far less productive, on average than ours. As a result, a U.S. company that moves to Mexico would have to hire more workers to achieve its desired output — and might not save a penny in total labor costs.

**N**or does Mexico offer a haven from international labor standards. Mexico has ratified 73 International Labor Organization conventions on working rights, including those on occupational safety and health.

Moreover, in 1991 the U.S. and Mexico signed a memorandum of understanding to share information and cooperate on a wide range of labor issues, including worker rights, enforcement and programs to improve workplace health and safety.

Better yet, Mexico needs U.S. products and technology to improve its productivity. As Mexico's productivity rose, so would Mexico's appetite for U.S. products. Mexican prosperity and stability would reduce pressures for illegal immigration and alleviate international strains that sometimes occur because of cross-border traffic.

Critics say the agreement would encourage environmental cheating. False again. President Salinas has made clear that Mexico has no interest in becoming a haven for U.S. polluters. In 1988, Mexico adopted a comprehensive environmental law, based on U.S. law and experience. Mexican authorities can, for instance, shut down industrial facilities that violate the law — and they have ordered more than 1,000 such shut-

**Will businesses  
move south? No.  
Will polluters? No.**

downs since 1989.

All new investments must meet these new standards, which in some cases are more stringent than ours. The U.S. and Mexican environmental agencies also have designed a plan to address pollution in the border area. We have committed ourselves to spending \$241 million in fiscal 1993 for the plan. Mexico has pledged \$460 million over the next three years.

The Administration has worked hard to insure that the free-trade agreement would impose no undue burdens on U.S. working families. Of course, any economic reforms with long-term benefits could hurt some people in the short run. Therefore, we would phase in the provisions gradually. And the Administration is committed to working with Congress to insure effective adjustment assistance, including job training and placement, for affected workers.

In sum, the North American Free Trade Agreement promotes growth, raises standards of living and creates jobs in the U.S., Mexico and Canada. When people wonder what a world of economic interdependence will be like, they can find intimations in the agreement, for in a world of fair and free trade we all win. □

Michael Boskin is chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

By Carolyn See

LOS ANGELES  
**O**nce again we hear, mainly from the East, that the Southern California dream is dead. That our unemployment is in double digits (which it is), that the state is paying salaries with i.o.u.'s (which it is) and that — wonder of wonders — a Democratic candidate, Senator Al Gore, has been campaigning in rock-ribbed Republican Orange County, with notable success.

Unemployment, bankruptcy, creeping democratization. Surely we must be dead, at least according to outsiders' perceptions. But California, like the American Novel, is always being declared dead, and like that venerable art form it is always pushing back the

*Carolyn See is author, most recently, of "Making History."*

coffin lid and hopping out to live again, frisky as you please.

Yes, the California budget is in a state of rigor mortis, but a good deal of that stems from the fact that part of the California dream is still very much alive. Somewhere in the fine print of our social contract is the expectation that we are entitled, in theory at least, to physical, mental, emotional, even spiritual perfection.

When Ronald Reagan became Governor in 1966, he began siphoning money out of what was then the country's finest public education system. Now, that system is only good, and both parents and students find that intolerable. The State Legislature resists cuts in education and welfare. Gov. Pete Wilson demands them. The state government is deadlocked.

But, again, the insouciant tendency here to blow off the reality of hard currency asserts itself: When Governor Wilson intimidatingly handed out i.o.u.'s, many businesses immediately, and with bounce, sent them right

back, to pay their state taxes.

The current contempt for government-as-it-is has had dozens of hopeful and fairly astonishing side effects. The inability of Daryl Gates, the chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, to respond in timely fashion to the riots made de facto activists of almost everybody here. The earnest black housewives who formed Concerned Citizens of South Central lecture wealthy liberals on the inner cities.

Michael Woo, the City Council member who called immediately for the ouster of Mr. Gates, became the first Asian-American to gain a foothold in the black community. Now Mr. Woo is running for mayor and spouts new ideas like a Wunderkind: No one ever told him California's dead. He's sure it's just coming to life. If the California dream is out of focus now for WASP's, other people see it clearly and in living color.

Two parts of the dream that many outsiders tend to overlook are intelligence and propriety: the sense that

we all deserve a fair shake and that — rock groups aside — people out here had best adhere to high ideals. The great Anglo segment of Southern California still hails from the Middle West and believes in real family val-

For Michael Woo  
 and others  
 the dream is alive.

ues. The new Asian community absolutely holds family and good conduct first, as do the vast, extended families of Latinos, who have come here to live. The First African Methodist Episcopal Church was the main unit that brought Southern Californians of every color together after the riots.

Intelligence, propriety. Californians set great store by at least the appearance of these things. When Senator Gore appears to succeed in Orange County, we should remember that even its most right-wing citizens recycle. Our environment, our nightmares, our dreams, will always combine to be our steady wealth.

There will always be the sun, there will always be a war somewhere and there will always be the movies. Californians — as they did in the Great Depression — can tough it out for now, weather this economic quake, dress in shorts, go to the beach, try vegetarian diets to save money, form volunteer committees — while the government dithers. It may sound bad from 3,000 miles away, but it feels pretty good — even new and exciting — to a lot of people out here.

Ask any writer, actor, data processor, any house builder, Rand Corporation thinker. We've been dead before, plenty of times. But we always get over it.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

### Change In Israel

In a column last March I told the story of a Palestinian professor, Dr. Khalil Shikaki, whom Israel had forbidden to return from the United States to his home and family in the West Bank. The story has now taken an encouraging turn.

Dr. Shikaki, who got his Ph.D. in America, came here in 1989 because Israel had closed his university, al-Najah in Nablus. He taught political science in Wisconsin and Florida. When Israel allowed West Bank universities to reopen, he tried to go back. But he was excluded at the border last January by Israeli military authorities.

He was given no reason. But when American academic colleagues asked Israel to reconsider, saying that Dr. Shikaki was a fair-minded scholar, Israeli officials said he was a security risk because his brother was a founder of Islamic Jihad, a terrorist organization.

After the case was publicized, authorities in the occupied territories took another look at it. In May, Dr. Shikaki was informed that he would be given a visitor's permit to teach at al-Najah for six months.

Last month Dr. Shikaki returned to the West Bank. His movements are restricted. He is not allowed to go to Gaza, where his father lives. He was refused permission to go to Tel Aviv to hear a lecture by Dennis Ross, a top aide to Secretary of State James Baker.

"But I am not complaining," Dr. Shikaki said in a letter. "I am finally home with my wife and children. I am back at my university doing what I know how to do best, teaching history. I'm really very happy."

When he wrote me, Dr. Shikaki had been called twice to meet with Israeli security officials. He was not asked about his brother.

There the story rests for the moment: not exactly a happy ending, because Dr. Shikaki has the right to stay only until the end of this year, but a great improvement over his previous Kafkaesque status.

The story has wider implications. It suggests, as I have always believed, that the rigidities and inhumanities of occupation do not represent the true character of Israel. It shows how much Israel has to gain if it can now negotiate an interim self-governing arrangement for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's new Prime Minister, plainly sees the advantage of such an agreement. It would get Israel out of the burdensome and corrupting business of ordering the daily lives of 1.5 million Palestinians — of saying who may live where, who may build a house and so on.

The previous Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, was never an enthusiast for the autonomy idea set out in the Camp David agreement. He went into the present negotiations reluctantly.

### A Palestinian professor's story, and Rabin's new realism.

and offered a strangled version of "autonomy."

Mr. Rabin campaigned, and won, on the theme that Israel's main priorities should be economic growth and reform to create jobs for new immigrants. That means reducing the emphasis of recent years on the occupied territories — the ideological obsession with them.

The essential aim of an interim agreement on the occupied territories — essential for both sides — must be that Palestinians have the sense of controlling their own lives. Only then can there be the psychological conditions for the two peoples to try living together in peace.

Mr. Rabin understands that. Accordingly, he is ready to carry out crucial terms of the Camp David agreement that call on Israel to end its civil administration of the West Bank and Gaza, and withdraw its troops to specified security locations there. And by all signs the mood of his people is also turning from ideology toward political and economic realism.

Dr. Shikaki said he had found Palestinians, who have so much ineffectual political romance in their history, also in a realistic mood. He was impressed when al-Najah students, often susceptible to radical movements, gave 57 percent of their votes in student elections to candidates supporting the peace process.

As for his own hopes, he said: "I intend to write soon to Gen. Danny Rothschild, the Coordinator of Government Activities in the West Bank and Gaza, to discuss an application for family reunification. That is the only route through which someone like me can regain permanent residency."

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## The First Friend

It's neither surprising nor unsettling that President Bush has prevailed on James Baker to come back to the White House and direct his re-election campaign. Jim Baker has starred in one Washington role after another, including campaign politics, and given Mr. Bush's dismal present standing, his return seemed inevitable.

Meanwhile, with the appointment of Lawrence Eagleburger as Acting Secretary of State, the President well serves his own political interests while assuring continuity for foreign policy.

Such continuity can advance delicate ongoing negotiations, like those concerning the Middle East. Still, it offers scant promise of producing more inspired leadership on issues like aggression and atrocities in the Balkans, reform in Russia or Chinese abuse of human rights.

Even with the departure of Mr. Baker and his top aides from State, the Administration's foreign policy team stays largely intact. That team includes the President, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and, when necessary, Mr. Baker as well. In his new job the departing Secretary of State remains a member of the National Security Council, and, as always, the President's First Friend.

Mr. Eagleburger, who moves up from State's number two job, is one of the most experienced foreign policy hands around. His career has been largely devoted to Europe; he once served as

Ambassador to Yugoslavia. But he also has wider experience, including the Middle East. He's known and respected by foreign leaders and diplomats, and well liked in Congress.

For years Mr. Eagleburger worked closely with Henry Kissinger and shares his inclination toward *realpolitik*: a cool, strategic chess game in which geography can be destiny and internal politics or human rights are secondary concerns.

Pragmatism is a virtue in a dangerous world, but not unmodified. *Realpolitik* led Mr. Eagleburger to the embarrassment of toasting the butchers of Beijing shortly after the Tiananmen massacre in 1989. It may have contributed to his early judgment of the Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic as a man of his word. It is certainly to Mr. Eagleburger's credit that he now acknowledges his past errors on Yugoslavia. His reputation for candor will serve him well in his new role, as will his obvious intelligence and forcefulness.

What's less evident is whether U.S. diplomacy will now do better at responding to the basic values Americans cherish. Compassionate idealism has not been Mr. Eagleburger's strongest suit in the past, any more than it has been George Bush's.

From Sarajevo to Beijing, the limits of *realpolitik* are becoming painfully plain. Diplomacy needs continuity but it also needs receptivity to humane values. That's a challenge not just for Acting Secretary Eagleburger but also for chief of staff Baker, and his friend.

## Who Else's Choice Could It Be?

Three weeks ago it was Vice President Dan Quayle who gave what was for him a politically incorrect answer: What would he do if his daughter, once grown up, chose to have an abortion? "I would counsel her and talk to her, and support her on whatever decision she made." To people who believe in a woman's right to choose, that sounded a lot like a humane personal response, contrary to the harsh opposition to choice that Mr. Quayle expresses in public.

This week President Bush was asked the same hypothetical question, about a granddaughter. He said quite clearly he would try to "talk her out of it." But "Of course, I'd stand by my child." His questioner, NBC's Stone Phillips, persisted. "So in the end the decision would be hers?" Mr. Bush replied, "Well, who else's could it be?"

It would be grossly unfair to construe from these answers that Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle oppose abortion for others but favor choice for their own families. Or that they were sending a covert mes-

sage to Republicans who favor choice even as their convention prepares to steamroller through an anti-choice platform. Both men were talking not so much as officials committed to outlawing abortion but as parents, like those who have had to respond when confronted with a reality.

Were Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle as quick off the verbal mark as a John F. Kennedy or a Margaret Thatcher, they might have begun by saying, "As long as abortion is legal in this country ..." and ended with words like, "But I'll do my best to see that it doesn't remain so." But both men are inclined to stumble over their own prose. If they don't always mean what they say it's usually because they haven't said what they meant.

Even so, President Bush and Vice President Quayle unintentionally returned the abortion decision to the correct arbiter: the woman faced with an unintended pregnancy. Hear them again. Mr. Quayle: *On whatever decision she made.* Mr. Bush: *Who else's could it be?*

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## The U.N.'s Duty in Bosnia

Serbia's war crimes continue to mount in Bosnia. Paramilitary forces entered the village of Zaklopaca on May 16 and massacred at least 83 Muslim Slavs, 11 of them children. Military policemen of the Yugoslav Army disarmed, tortured and executed 15 Muslim Slavs and Croats who were defending the community of Vlasic Plateau. Witnesses told of torture and murder in Serb-run concentration camps.

The Bush Administration belatedly backed a resolution approved yesterday by the United Nations Security Council authorizing the use of force, but only to assure that food and medicine reach beleaguered Bosnia. A strong bipartisan coalition in the Senate understandably wants to do more. It has voted in favor of using force for an equally compelling purpose — to secure immediate access to the death camps.

The U.N. needs to do the same. Its members have a solemn duty under the Genocide Convention "to prevent and to punish" acts intended "to destroy in whole or in part a national group" — in this case the Muslim Slavs targeted by Serbian killers.

That in turn obliges the U.S. and U.N. to use force, if necessary, to seize the camps and spare more people from execution. And it requires the

U.N. to establish a tribunal to investigate and punish Serbian leaders responsible for crimes against humanity.

Croatian and Muslim forces have also committed atrocities that warrant investigation, but nothing on the scale of Serbia's troops and its paramilitary thugs. Human Rights Watch and other observers have now gathered sufficient evidence to establish that the Serbian abuses are not isolated, but part of a systematic effort by Serbian authorities to drive non-Serbs from parts of Bosnia they have conquered.

The first duty of the U.N. is to prevent more harm. A limited use of force could close the camps and rescue the detainees. The camps are small and isolated, and their guards unlikely to put up much resistance.

Once the brutality is stopped, those responsible need to be brought to justice. A full inquiry by an impartial international tribunal is needed to determine whether the Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, his henchman in Bosnia, Radovan Karadzic, and members of Serbian army and paramilitary groups are liable for the crimes.

The world need not — dare not — look on with indifference as innocents are slaughtered.

## New York Democracy on Trial

"It's crazy," says Andrew Crosby, a campaign worker for Larry Rockefeller, the lawyer and neophyte politician who was disqualified this week from challenging Senator Alfonse D'Amato in New York's Republican primary. The courts may yet rescue his candidacy; as of now, however, Mr. Rockefeller is just another victim of New York's nitpicking election law.

States like New Jersey and Ohio sensibly require Senate candidates to file only 1,000 petition signatures. That won't do in New York, the election litigation capital of the world. To qualify for the ballot, Mr. Rockefeller, a nephew of former Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, needed to collect 10,000 valid signatures. That's a daunting task for any insurgent given the labyrinthine rules that govern petitions — a task made even tougher by this year's brief, 18-day collection period.

Mr. Rockefeller submitted 10,774 signatures. He was caught short when the Board of Elections, responding to a challenge by a D'Amato supporter, declared 3,914 of those invalid, mostly because of a minor defect. The signers were duly registered

Republicans. But the petition incorrectly listed their election or Assembly districts, or those of the petition witnesses. Half-hearted petition reforms passed last year by the State Legislature might have saved Mr. Rockefeller. But the reforms don't take effect until next year.

This latest embarrassment is an offense to all New Yorkers. But it's rank-and-file Republicans who should be angriest. This is the second time in just five months they've been denied the chance to vote in a significant primary. New York's capricious and exacting ballot rules helped dissuade Patrick Buchanan from even filing petitions to run against President Bush in New York's April Presidential primary.

Fortunately, however, there's a chance for state and Federal courts to restore a measure of sanity and democracy. Mr. Rockefeller has challenged the ballot requirements as unnecessarily restrictive. The courts may well side with him. New York's rules have no reasonable purpose. They serve only to cheat candidates and voters of fair elections.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Bush's Doctor Denies Rumors Of Poor Health

### The Official Diagnosis: 'The Guy Is Not Sick'

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN

The President's personal physician says Mr. Bush is in excellent health and has shown the effects of age less than many other Presidents during their first terms.

A year ago President Bush said that only a change in his health would deter him from running for a second term. At the time, he was recovering from treatment for an overactive thyroid brought on by Graves' disease, and he seemed politically invincible.

But now the 68-year-old President trails badly in polls. Rumors swirl that he is in poor health, although the White House and Mr. Bush's personal physician, Dr. Burton J. Lee 3d, have repeatedly described the President's health as excellent.

There is no independent way of confirming Dr. Lee's opinion, since the President has not made available his full medical records and was not interviewed for this article. But in the last year, Mr. Bush had two thorough medical checkups and was declared in excellent health.

There are other physicians besides Dr. Lee on the White House medical staff, and it would probably be difficult though of course not impossible for a major Presidential illness to be kept secret for long. Even though such illnesses have often been dissembled in the past, there is no specific reason for doubting Dr. Lee's evaluation, and Dr. Lee has vowed to quit rather than participate in any cover-up.

"The guy is not sick," Dr. Lee said this week in an interview with this reporter, who is a physician. Mr. Bush understandably is under stress, he said, "taking a tremendous beating in the press" during the campaign, "concerned from time to time," but handling the tension "amazingly well."

An article published yesterday in The Washington Times quoted Mr. Bush as saying, "I'm in good health."

Dr. Lee said that after spending weeks trying to dispel a constant barrage of rumors, he believes they result from dirty political tricks.

One false alarm had Mr. Bush suffering a heart attack. Other rumors include a recurrence of the overactive thyroid that triggered an erratic heartbeat that put him in the hospital in May 1991. Mr. Bush's sometimes tangled syntax has been the source of still other published reports. Time magazine's Aug. 17 issue says that Mr. Bush has vacillated and lost his train of thought in mid-sentence while talking with diplomats it did not name.

"It almost seems useless to keep denying these things because it doesn't seem to have any effect," Dr. Lee said. "Personally, I think you are getting into the game of dirty tricks," Dr. Lee said. "Can I prove it? Obviously not."

Dr. Lee trained as a specialist in internal medicine and cancer and practiced at the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in Manhattan for many years before moving on to the White House with Mr. Bush. Dr. Lee's specialties would seem appropriate for Mr. Bush's care, since heart disease and cancer are the two leading causes of death for men the President's age.

Most Presidents have chosen as their doctors people with whom they are compatible in personality. Probably the most important function of a White House doctor is to line up leading specialists when they are needed to help care for the President.

### Camp David Jog Sets Off an Alarm

Since he has been President, Mr. Bush's only major illness was an erratic heartbeat known as atrial fibrillation that developed while he was jogging at Camp David, Md., in 1991. He was admitted to the Bethesda Naval Medical Center, where tests showed that the heart rhythm abnormality was brought on by an overactive thyroid from Graves' disease, an auto-immune disorder.

Last January, Mr. Bush collapsed at a state dinner given in his honor in Tokyo. Dr. Lee said the incident was more diplomatically embarrassing than medically significant.

In years past, Mr. Bush has suffered from a duodenal ulcer. But he has not experienced a recurrence as President.

The spate of rumors about Mr. Bush's health appear to be the latest example of a well-known phenomenon: whenever a leader is in political trouble, others seek an explanation in real or perceived health problems.

But another well-known phenomenon is that many Presidents and candidates for the office have lied about their health. Also, doctors caring for Presidents have been willing to cover up Presidential illnesses. And Presidents and their doctors have conspired to conceal a President's health problem or to put an unusually favorable spin on a candidate's medical history.

Earlier in this campaign, doctors at the Dana-Farber Cancer Center, a

Harvard teaching hospital, repeatedly told reporters that former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts had been free of lymphoma, a cancer of the lymph system, following a bone marrow transplant.

After Mr. Tsongas withdrew from the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination, the Dana-Farber doctors were confronted with evidence that Mr. Tsongas had suffered a recurrence of lymphoma following the bone marrow transplant. Only then did they acknowledge that they had withheld that information.

### Pledge of Candor Given by Doctor

Dr. Lee and others on the White House medical staff have repeatedly told this reporter that they would resign rather than stay on as part of a medical cover-up.

Dr. Lee said that he has reported fully on Mr. Bush's health. If he were withholding important information, Dr. Lee said, he would expect other doctors knowledgeable about the President's condition to speak up.

"Where are all these other consultants saying there is something wrong?" Dr. Lee said. "Or that I am omitting something? Or that I am not telling the truth? It is not there."

He continued: "You cannot keep a secret in this town. There is more than one doctor who knows what is going on here. And if there was a problem with what I was saying, you could get some legitimate objections or disagreements. And there are none."

At a news conference last September, two consultants in Mr. Bush's case attested to his good health. One was Dr. Allan M. Ross, the head of cardiology at George Washington University in Washington. The other physician was Col. Kenneth D. Burman of the Army, a thyroid expert who has managed the treatment of the Bushes' Graves' disease.

Mr. Bush receives periodic checkups at the same intervals as they would be scheduled for any other person who is receiving follow-up care for Graves' disease. The practice is in keeping with Dr. Lee's policy of caring for Mr. Bush the way he would any other patient.

The exception is that a President has much more rapid access to care from a staff of four doctors, six nurses and three physician-assistants.

After Mr. Bush passed his last physical in March, Dr. Lee pleaded with him to take a long vacation. Dr. Lee said this week he still feels the same way, that Mr. Bush needs to get away.

But a vacation scheduled in Kennebunkport, Me., this month was shortened to a long weekend because Mr. Bush wanted to get on the campaign trail, and campaign aides wanted to avoid images of Mr. Bush's vacationing on the golf course and racing around in his speedboat.

### Days Don't End After 12 Hours

Mr. Bush generally arrives at the Oval Office about 7 in the morning and leaves 12 hours later, often attending evening receptions, Dr. Lee said. Despite the long hours, Mr. Bush seems to have aged better in four years than have other Presidents.

He has aged "less than 80 percent of people who have gone from 64 to 68" years, Dr. Lee said.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

Nevertheless, Dr. Lee said Mr. Bush has his good and bad days.

"There are times when he does not look any different than four years ago, and there are times when he looks tired."

Over all, Dr. Lee said of his longtime friend, "he does not look any different than he did 10 years ago."

"The guy is incredibly physically strong, and he is mentally tough," Dr. Lee said.

Could others in the White House or visitors be detecting something that Dr. Lee and his medical staff might be missing?

"No," Dr. Lee said. He noted that many health workers are involved in his care.

Dr. Lee said he performed a standard neurological examination on Mr. Bush during his most recent physical examination and came up with nothing that would warrant a further examination by a neurologist.

## Regular Doses Of Thyroid Pills

Mr. Bush's Graves' disease was treated in 1991 with radioactive iodine designed to destroy most of the thyroid gland in his neck. Mr. Bush takes thyroid pills each day as replacement for the hormone that his body no longer produces. Blood tests are monitored periodically for amounts of another hormone called TSH to determine the amount of thyroid Mr. Bush takes.

Thyroid experts say there is no scientific evidence that people need more thyroid replacement when they are under stress. But some experts speculate on the possibility nevertheless.

Dr. Lee said he had discussed the theory extensively with the thyroid consultants in Mr. Bush's case and that "most of them disagreed with me" and did not want to increase the amount during the campaign.

Dr. Lee said he has juggled the amount slightly, in part because practicing doctors often believe that intuition and clinical judgment sometimes can be more important in managing a patient than laboratory tests.

At one point, Dr. Lee said he increased the amount of thyroid hormone from 150 micrograms to 175 a day. "But neither I nor the President nor Mrs. Bush nor any of the people on the staff noticed any change whatsoever," Dr. Lee said.

In the last few weeks, Dr. Lee said he has gone back to the same 150 microgram dose that he prescribed last year.

Mr. Bush jogs about two miles three times a week on soft surfaces such as grass to avoid aggravating osteoarthritis in his hips. Running on hard surfaces has made Mr. Bush's hips ache.

Mr. Bush lost about 10 pounds from the Graves' disease. Since recovering, Mr. Bush has put the weight back on and kept it at about 190 pounds, Dr. Lee said — about right for an active man 6 feet 2 inches tall.

In addition to the thyroid pills, Mr. Bush regularly takes a baby aspirin to avoid heart attacks and strokes.

Mr. Bush is very sensitive to bee stings and has suffered serious allergic reactions twice, the last while watching a football game in Alabama in 1978.

Once a month Mr. Bush receives an immunotherapy injection to stave off severe allergic reactions in case he should be stung again. Mr. Bush and his doctors said in 1988 that they hoped to stop the injections, in part because Mr. Bush said he did not like needles.

Dr. Lee said he did stop the injections,

but resumed the therapy after consulting with allergy experts.

Occasionally, such as on a long plane trip, Mr. Bush takes the sleeping pill Halcion, Dr. Lee said. Last February, the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said Mr. Bush would avoid taking Halcion because of the public controversy over the side effects it may cause in some people.

At the time, Dr. Lee said he would not exclude the possibility of prescribing Halcion. Yesterday, he said that he "did not stop prescribing it completely" and that the President still takes Halcion on "rare" occasions.

In an interview earlier this year, Dr. Lee said he had learned of a syndrome, described about a decade ago by the late Dr. Norman Geschwind in Boston. It includes left-handedness, autoimmune disorder such as Graves' disease, and certain other problems. Some people with the syndrome, which is not treatable, are dyslexic, and Dr. Lee speculated that Mr. Bush's well known problems with syntax might be linked somehow to the other conditions. Mr. Bush is left-handed.

Dr. Lee said he has received many letters about the syndrome and has discussed it with experts. "But there is nothing much more we have been able to do except make the observation," Dr. Lee said.

As to his frustration with the rumors, Dr. Lee said that as Mr. Bush got out and campaigned and talked to voters, his good health "will become more obvious." Then, Dr. Lee predicted, rumors will cease.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## To Mrs. Bush, Abortion Is Not a Platform Issue

Continued From Page A1

### First Lady on Abortion: Not a Platform Issue

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13 — Days after Republicans finished work on a platform that takes an uncompromising anti-abortion stance, Barbara Bush said she does not believe that the issue has any place in the party's platform. "I'm not being outspoken or pro or con abortion," Mrs. Bush said in an interview with news magazine reporters on Wednesday. "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, either pro or con."

The First Lady said abortion was a "personal thing," and added, "The personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, platforms and conventions." In another peppy session with reporters, this one today, the First Lady criticized the Republican Party chairman, Richard N. Bond, for attacking Hillary Clinton, blamed the news media for the "ugly" personal tone of the 1992 campaign, and made a point of mentioning Gov. Bill Clinton's private life. "He never denied he had a fling, did he?" she said. Mrs. Bush's comments on abortion came as the Republican Party struggles to retain the loyalty of its conservative wing without alienating voters who favor abortion rights. The platform that will be approved at the party's convention in Houston next week advocates a constitutional amendment banning abortions in all cases. President Bush had struck a more compromising tone in a television interview Tuesday night, when he said he would stand by a granddaughter who

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chose to have an abortion.

Mrs. Bush's view, expressed in one of a series of interviews she granted before the convention, marks a sharp break with her practice of not speaking out on policy matters.

Mrs. Bush wanted to state her own views on abortion for years, but her friends say she privately favors abortion rights. Her comments about the platform could have been intended as a signal to pro-choice Republicans that they have a sympathetic ear in the White House.

By expressing compassion for homosexuals, unwed mothers and people with AIDS, Mrs. Bush has won praise from groups that find fault with her husband.

But in this week's interviews, the First Lady that most voters know only as a kindly, snowy-haired grandmother showed the steely side of her nature that she has mostly kept hidden since her ill-fated quip about the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro ("a word I can't say, but it rhymes with rich") in the 1984 Presidential campaign.

Mrs. Bush called recent reports raising questions about her husband's private life "disgusting" and "hurtful."

#### Defending Mrs. Clinton

She also aimed a dart at one of her husband's top political advisers when she deplored his comments about Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Bond, the Republican national chairman, often disparages Mrs. Clinton's credentials as a wife and mother, using her legal writings from the 1970's to suggest she thinks that children should be able to sue their parents and that marriage is a form of slavery.

Mrs. Bush said, "I don't like it," when asked about Mr. Bond's critical remarks about Mrs. Clinton's views on children and marriage. "She is not running for office," the First Lady added.

She said she also had not liked the scrutiny of Mr. Clinton's personal life during the primaries, but added that some issues, such as questions about how he avoided the draft during the Vietnam War, were fair. "He had a few problems with the draft," she said. "If he lied, I'm not sure it wasn't legitimate."

She dismissed questions about her husband's health, mocking rumors that he would require heart surgery after the election as "nutty." Mrs. Bush insisted her husband was "the strongest man in the world," and then asked in stern tones, "Do you think I would let the person I love more than life run for public office if he needed open heart surgery after the campaign?"

#### Reporters as Liberals

And, repeating a charge made by several Republican campaign aides this week, Mrs. Bush also accused the press of favoring Mr. Clinton over her husband. When asked why she thought reporters were biased, she replied with a smile that was more cold than coy, "I'll be damned if I know, unless they are just liberals."

Mrs. Bush said that the "low" nature of this year's campaign had given her new sympathy for previous residents of the White House, including Richard M. Nixon, and her predecessor, Nancy Reagan.

At turns combative, forbidding and self-deprecating, Mrs. Bush insisted in the interview today that she would continue to be silent about her own views on abortion, saying she was merely her husband's spouse. On Wednesday she had supported her husband's comment about abortion and stressed that parents or grand-

parents could not force a child to have an unwanted baby.

Noting that Mr. Bush had also said he would counsel the child against having an abortion, Mrs. Bush said: "But you can't pin a child down and say, 'You can't have an abortion.' That's against the law."

#### Symbol of Wifeliness

Conservative Republicans, who hold Mrs. Bush up as a symbol of traditional wifeliness, were careful to defend their anti-abortion platform without disparaging her.

"I think the party platform committee has spoken," Representative Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania, a leader of the anti-abortion forces on the platform committee, said today. "It's going to be a part of our platform and most of us think it's a good issue for us."

Many Republicans think Mrs. Bush is immune from criticism no matter what she says; they call the popular First Lady their "secret weapon."

"Her whole persona is apolitical," Torie Clarke, the campaign spokeswoman, said last week. "That gives her a tremendous amount of credibility."

Mrs. Bush said in the interview that it was "easy" for people to like her. Polls show that voters like her twice as much as they like her husband. "I don't make any decisions," she said. "I just go blindly on on my own dumb way and have fun and try to be helpful."

#### From Everymom to Rambo

She added, "Nobody is jealous of me — look at me, why should they be?" In fact, she looked rather regal in a silk dress and pearls as she spoke in a second-floor parlor of the White House residence.

She was being modest, as is her wont. In the fevered imaginations of

### Mrs. Bush may be adding a sharper edge to her public persona.

Democratic and Republican campaign aides, at least, America's Everymom has turned into Rambo.

"The rumor is she's going negative," said one Clinton adviser, who spoke on condition of anonymity. He was referring, fearfully, to the speech on "family values" that Mrs. Bush is scheduled to deliver next Wednesday night at the convention.

"Don't get her mad," warned Michael Murphy, a political consultant who is a member of the Bush-Quayle media team. "Don't attack her kids."

Mr. Murphy said he feared that Clinton aides would criticize the Bushes' sons, but he almost seemed to relish the vision of The First Lady unleashed. "If Clinton tries anything with her — they'll be nothing left but his hair."

Even her oldest son, George, spoke with awe of his mother's mettle. "The last thing Barbara Bush will allow is a bunch of political hacks to threaten her," he said. "She is not going to let Bill Clinton write her speech."

But Mrs. Bush downplayed expectations about remarks she is to make on what Republicans are calling "Family Values Night" at their convention. "It's not going to be a great speech," she insisted. Calling it just a "little Mighty Mouse" of an address, she added: "I mean, it's nothing. Don't expect anything."

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## The Platform

### Platform Ends Up More Conservative Than Bush

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, Aug. 13 — Republicans today adopted a party platform embracing a degree of social and religious conservatism that at times goes beyond the stands taken by President Bush.

The most obvious example is support for a Constitutional amendment that would outlaw abortion. Although Mr. Bush would permit legal abortions when pregnancies were the result of rape or incest, the platform calls for prohibiting such exceptions.

The platform also repudiates the tax increases Mr. Bush signed two years ago. And it calls for building a fence along the Mexican border to keep out illegal aliens, a step that offends many Mexicans, just when Mr. Bush is trying to expand trade with Mexico.

After approving the platform today, the delegates tried to reach out to the people who disagree with some of the conservative planks, particularly those who advocate a right to abortion. The resolution, offered by Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, an ardent foe of abortion and the dominant voice on the platform committee, states:

"We respect the honest differences of opinion of those Republicans who debate our positions on important issues and look forward to working with them toward Republican victories in November. Most importantly, we invite all Americans to join our party, to support our candidate and consider our platform, which represents the views of mainstream Americans."

While the conservatives clearly controlled the reins here this week, a few

#### 'The views of mainstream Americans.'

Republicans said they feared that the party was risking victory in the election by being so rigid. Richard M. Rosenbaum, the national committeeman from New York, said in an interview that he was "deeply troubled" because he thought some of the conservative planks would cost Mr. Bush votes in New York and elsewhere.

During the four days of drafting, conservative proposals were occasionally rejected on the ground that they ran counter to Mr. Bush's policies. Such was the case when the delegates defeated an attempt today to have the platform oppose favorable trade status for China.

#### Conservatives on Top

But the defeats for the conservatives were few and far between.

In the area of education, for example, the platform opposes birth-control counseling or the distribution of condoms in schools, and it advocates voluntary prayer and the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in classrooms. The document supports access to school property for Bible clubs, home schooling and Government tuition subsidies for students in private and parochial schools.

On other issues, the platform opposes same-sex marriages and adoptions and favors the ban on homosex-

uals in the military. It supports a law making the deliberate spread of the AIDS virus a crime, and it states explicitly that the use of condoms and needle exchanges do not prevent AIDS.

For a political document, the Republican platform has an unusually strong religious content. It states the party's belief in the Judeo-Christian tradition and declares that "faith in God" along with "hard work, service to others and limited Government" made the nation prosperous. The third paragraph after the preamble has a quotation from the Book of Proverbs: "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it."

The preamble has this passage: "In choosing hope over fear, Americans raised a beacon, reminding the world that we are a shining city on a hill; the last best hope for man on earth."

A few female delegates tried to delete the phrase after the semicolon or to change the word "man" to "humankind." They got little support. But there was significant support for several delegates who thought the same phrase should be eliminated because it suggested that Jesus Christ was not the last best hope. In the end, the entire passage was retained.

The economic section advocates a wide variety of tax cuts favored by President Bush, like a tax credit for first-time home buyers and a reduction in the capital-gains tax. But it also goes beyond any tax break proposed by the Bush Administration by calling for an eventual increase in the personal exemption, the deduction a taxpayer can take for each family member, to about \$5,000, more than twice what it is now.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Bush's Friend in Need

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13 — James A. Baker 3d is a formidable political operator, and he should have no trouble in imposing order upon the disarray that he inherits as impresario of President

News  
Analysis

Bush's re-election campaign. He has Mr. Bush's ear, and he tells him what he thinks in an uninhibited, fraternal way. His new role will do wonders for Republican morale in the days ahead.

But Mr. Baker is subject to the same limitations as all campaign managers. A shrewd tactician can give an edge to a candidate, but at the Presidential level he cannot do the candidate's job, nor can he often change the direction the political winds blow.

James A. Farley in the 1930's and

Lawrence F. O'Brien in the 1960's were considered master manipulators, but their candidates, Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, were their own biggest electoral assets. Farley, O'Brien and Svengali together could not have elected Adlai E. Stevenson or Barry Goldwater or Michael S. Dukakis.

### Baker's Strategy

It is Mr. Bush, not Mr. Baker, who must be the medium for whatever message the new chief of staff may come up with; it is he who must make the speeches, he who must debate Mr. Clinton and he who will be pictured in the television advertising. What message and what means of delivering it will convert the President from a symbol of what has gone wrong to a symbol of its cure?

Mr. Baker will give it a good try. He provided a clue to his strategy when he said in his farewell remarks at the State Department that Mr. Bush had been obliged to concentrate on foreign policy in his first term because of a momentous series of upheavals in the world, but was now ready to turn to the domestic concerns — jobs, schools, health care — that preoccupy Americans.

But Mr. Bush has been trying to sell that line since the New Hampshire primary this year, when he traveled to that economically squeezed state and told voters tired of foreign policy

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speeches, "Message: we care."

Representative Vin Weber of Minnesota, a leader among his party's conservatives, was as happy as any other Republican to hear that Mr. Baker was taking over. He warned, though, that "there's no magic bullet, no miracle to be worked" in the campaign.

It will be harder this time than it was in 1988, when Mr. Baker stepped in to rescue Mr. Bush at the nadir of another Presidential campaign. Then Mr. Bush, however indifferent a campaigner he had proved, was the heir-apparent to an immensely popular President, the

economy was booming and he had a clean slate on which to write his pledges and portray his virtues. Now he is an unpopular incumbent, well known to the voters, burdened with a limp economy.

It may be harder even than in 1976, when Mr. Baker almost piloted Gerald R. Ford to victory over Jimmy Carter, despite Mr. Ford's pardon of his disgraced predecessor, Richard M. Nixon.

### Setting Goals

Defining the task is simple enough. Almost all senior politicians in both parties agree that the President's biggest problem — bigger than his broken promise not to raise taxes, bigger than the recession — has been his failure to

articulate a series of goals for the United States in the decades ahead and the means of achieving them. As a Senator who sees Mr. Bush regularly put it, "He hasn't yet, at this late date, given the country a reason for voting him a second term, and if he can't do that, then he will not be re-elected."

It is widely believed that Mr. Carter failed to provide the voters with a picture of what his second term might be like, and he was denied one.

Mr. Baker's main job is developing such a message, setting priorities, and finding a way for Mr. Bush and his party to sell them to a dubious electorate. Yet Mr. Baker has never been any more expert in the conception of sweeping themes than the President

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himself. He is the Republicans' supreme pragmatist, ever suspicious of ideology.

There is also the inherent contradiction that faces the incumbents in a year when even they concede the national craving for change. Mr. Bush said this morning of Mr. Baker, "He knows about change, how to distinguish wise moves from foolish ones." Mr. Baker sought to portray the first Bush term as showing how to master change.

Mickey Kantor, a member of Mr. Clinton's inner circle, put the point with partisan acerbity. Mr. Baker will be very hard put, he said, to "give the President a vision transplant."

Mr. Baker is not to take over his new job until after the Republican National Convention, which opens on Monday in Houston, but he will have to go to work sooner than that.

His first task is to banish defeatism, and he made a start on that in his State Department talk. The critics said the United States could not put together and sustain a coalition in the Persian Gulf war, and it did, he reminded his co-workers. They said this country could not produce meaningful Middle East peace talks, and it did.

The message was plain: Despite the polls, despite the quiet desperation in Republican ranks, despite voters' confusion about what the Administration stands for, George Bush and Jim Baker, the dynamic duo, together again, will once more silence the skeptics and put Bill Clinton and Al Gore to rout.

In the three weeks since the Democratic convention, Mr. Bush has been unable to make a significant dent in the Democrats' lead. By past standards, he should have cut it in half, at least, by this stage. Now the goal is to do so by Labor Day, which is three weeks away, and that may prove to be impossible unless the convention and Mr. Bush's speech next Thursday are big hits.

But then, Mr. Bush would not have proposed the switch, and Mr. Baker would not have agreed to make it, unless things were pretty desperate. The Secretary of State is only very reluctantly moving back to precisely the job he held before moving to the Treasury and then on to the State Department, and he is not helping his own prospects of running for President in four years.

## What About the Balkans?

Furthermore, the President has subjected himself to criticism on several grounds. A European ambassador said today that the President, by nearly cleaning out the upper echelons of the State Department, "makes it look as if he puts a higher priority on his own survival than on any world problem — Somalia, Bosnia, the Middle East peace talks, the Iraq crisis, you name it."

Mr. Bush's old friend and counsel, C. Boyden Gray, had only recently issued a memorandum arguing that, from an ethical point of view, campaign tasks should not be undertaken by members of the White House staff, which of course is exactly what Mr. Baker plans to do. So the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, had to go through a lot of contortions about the essentially inseparable nature of policy and politics to cope with that embarrassment.

Finally, from a purely political perspective, Mr. Bush looks like a weak leader, a candidate who can find only one man with whom he is truly comfortable and upon whom he can rely for advice and support in extremis. That puts Mr. Baker in a strikingly powerful position.

None of that will matter if Mr. Baker can turn the campaign around, of course, and many things could happen between now and November that would make his job easier, like a major crisis abroad or some deeply damaging new revelation about Mr. Clinton's past. But at the moment this looks as if it may be one of those years, like 1912, 1932 and 1952, when the tide runs so strongly against the "ins" that it is difficult for the most accomplished campaign strategists to divert it.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## BAKER LEAVING STATE DEPT. TO HEAD WHITE HOUSE STAFF AND GUIDE BUSH'S CAMPAIGN

### A DOMESTIC AGENDA

#### President's Adviser Gets Wide Authority in Bid to Reverse Slump

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13 — President Bush today appointed Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d to run the White House and direct his campaign, and both men vowed to salvage the President's re-election by putting domestic issues at the top of their agenda.

In a surprisingly direct admission that the Administration has dwelled on foreign affairs at the expense of economic and social concerns, Mr. Baker declared that from now on, "President Bush targets America."

With the appointment of his closest friend as chief of staff and senior counselor, an appointment that puts the onus for reviving the campaign squarely on Mr. Baker's shoulders, the President gutted the top ranks of the State Department and swept through the upper echelon of the White House with one long-anticipated stroke.

#### Seeking Another Mandate

"We must insure that the United States is unquestionably safe and strong at home and abroad," Mr. Bush said in a White House appearance. "And I also want his counsel and assistance as I seek a mandate from the American people to put this program into action."

Mr. Baker resigned as Secretary of State effective Aug. 23, after the Republican National Convention, but he clearly left the door open to resume the job if Mr. Bush wins in November. Deputy Secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger will serve as Acting Secretary in the meantime.

By replacing Samuel K. Skinner as chief of staff and taking on the new counselor's title, Mr. Baker assumes what Mr. Skinner described today as "unprecedented" power: combining control of the White House, the campaign and foreign policy into one office. "It's the closest thing we've had to a deputy President in modern history," another senior official said.

#### Power Diminished

Pushing aside Mr. Skinner and significantly reducing the influence of his campaign manager, Robert M. Teeter, Mr. Bush moved Mr. Baker and his circle of close aides into jobs that pay Government salaries but that the White House made clear will be directed as much at winning Mr. Bush a second term as at running the executive branch.

Mr. Teeter "will continue to run the

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# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Baker Leaving State Dept. To Guide Bush's Campaign

Continued From Page A1

campaign under the direction of the President and the chief of staff," said Mr. Bush's spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater.

"The campaign leadership and Secretary Baker have had long experiences with working together," he added, explaining a move that sent a wave of relief through White House and campaign officials but drew immediate fire from the Democratic Presidential ticket and Congressional Democrats.

They accused Mr. Bush of sacrificing national security to political ambition at a time when the Middle East peace talks have not concluded and the Balkan war threatens the "new world order" that Mr. Bush has tried to establish as the fate of the former Soviet Union is not fully resolved.

Mr. Fitzwater countered: "We want the best team we can get. We want the best players here and we've got them and we're moving forward."

Mr. Fitzwater said the political activities of Mr. Baker and his principal

nee, said in California that he worried that the move would hurt the Middle East peace process and make the Republican campaign "cleverly negative" instead of "clumsily negative."

"He's one of the best politicians, deal makers and political handlers they've got," the Arkansas Governor said of Mr. Baker.

He also sought to brush aside the new argument that Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker were trying to make. "I think this argument that we had to take care of the world in our first term, and now we'll get around to America if you'll give us another term, I don't think the American people are going to find that too persuasive," Mr. Clinton said.

### Gore Sees a 'Panic'

His running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, was even more biting. "I think it's a sign of extraordinary political panic to take a sitting Secretary of State out of the Mideast talks and the other negotiations that are under way to concentrate purely on political activities," he said.

Democratic reaction from Capitol Hill, too, was uniformly negative. "Jim Baker was doing such an excellent job as Secretary of State that I believe this move is a mistake and not in the national interest," said Senator Claiborne Pell, the Rhode Island Democrat who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

White House aides gritted their teeth against the criticism, which they had expected, and tried to put the best face on the President's decision. "I am sure that Secretary Baker is pleased and proud of this newfound respect that he's getting from Democrats," Mr. Fitzwater said. "Eat your heart out, folks."

In replacing Mr. Skinner, the President gave the former Transportation Secretary, who had himself replaced John H. Sununu just over eight months ago, a consolation prize: naming him "general chairman" of the Republican National Committee, which was mainly an honorary post when President Ronald Reagan gave to his friend Paul Laxalt from 1983 to 1989.

### Recruiting the Old Team

Mr. Baker, meanwhile, essentially reassembled the team that helped him run Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign, removing them from the powerful State Department posts in which they have helped Mr. Baker run foreign policy in a tight circle based on personal loyalties and longstanding relationships.

Bringing those aides with him was apparently part of the deal that Mr. Baker struck with Mr. Bush, beginning with a conversation the two men had on a fishing trip to Wyoming last month during the Democratic National Convention.

Margaret D. Tutwiler, Mr. Baker's close aide and spokeswoman, will become the White House communications chief, while Mr. Fitzwater, who held that job briefly, returns — "happily" as he put it — to his spokesman's role.

Robert B. Zoellick, Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs, will become deputy chief of staff; Dennis B. Ross, the State Department director of policy planning, will take on that same post — a new one — at the White House; and Janet Mullins, who was Mr. Baker's Congressional liaison, will be the White House political director and liaison with the campaign.

There also was widespread speculation in the White House and the campaign that Mr. Baker would bring back Republican strategists who had been excluded from the campaign by Mr. Teeter.

## The President's friend moves from diplomacy to strategy.

aides would not violate a 1991 directive by C. Boyden Gray, the White House counsel, forbidding campaign work by the White House staff. Mr. Fitzwater said the counsel, who was designated by President Bush as his ethics policeman, had now reviewed his earlier position with the help of Justice Department lawyers and decided that these appointments did not violate it.

Mr. Bush was described by aides as relieved but a bit vexed, perhaps because a campaign that he had expected to be a virtual coronation had deteriorated to the point where he had to turn once again to Mr. Baker, who rescued his campaign in 1988.

During a day of announcements, news conferences and speeches, Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker signalled a new turn in the President's efforts to bolster his dismal poll ratings. He and Mr. Baker acknowledged that Mr. Bush's domestic policies had disappointed many Americans, but said he had been consumed by pressing world affairs and promised to do better on the home front.

"I recognize that many Americans today are anxious, many have genuine concerns and others have doubts," Mr. Bush said at the White House. "But over the past four years Americans have accomplished results that once seemed beyond possibility."

### 'No Apologies for That'

His words were amplified by Mr. Baker in a speech at the State Department that was as much campaign manifesto as farewell address. "Some will ask why President Bush spent so much time on foreign policy during his first term, and here is my reply," Mr. Baker said.

"The President saw a chance to take on the two central problems of our age — the struggle for freedom and the threat of nuclear war — and he seized it," Mr. Baker said. "No apologies for that. It's time now to turn to new challenges, to the future at home and abroad, and that's exactly what President Bush intends to do."

The Democrats wasted no time attacking the President over the shift. Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic nomi-

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Baker's Double Role Is Raising Eyebrows

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, August 13 — President Bush's lawyer said last year that it would potentially be illegal for senior White House officials to devote their working hours to Mr. Bush's re-election bid. So how can James A. Baker 3d help direct Mr. Bush's slumping campaign from a White House office?

Confronted with that problem today, White House and campaign officials offered three explanations: Mr. Baker's predecessors have always done it; Mr. Baker is not legally barred from doing it after all, and, in any case, Mr. Baker is not going to do it, despite appearances to the contrary.

At issue is a memorandum issued by C. Boyden Gray, Mr. Bush's counsel, on Nov. 27, 1991. Warning "all White House staff" to

### The propriety of mixing politics and state duties.

avoid improper political activity, he noted that Federal law made it illegal to use White House money or equipment for campaign purposes and that "certain restrictions" were imposed on political work, even by Mr. Bush's senior appointees.

"The simplest rule to follow," Mr. Gray wrote, "is the common-sense instruction that anything that is obviously campaign-related should not be done here, whether or not one could 'legally' justify doing it here."

Mr. Gray and the Justice Department said today that they had found "no problem" with Mr. Baker's new role. They said previous White House chiefs of staff had played important campaign roles and that Mr. Baker was no different in that respect from the man he is replacing, Samuel K. Skinner. The chief of staff position is not covered by the Hatch Act, the Federal law barring Government workers from political activities.

Today, Mr. Gray said his 1991 memo had never been aimed at the chief of staff.

The Bush campaign's general counsel, Bobby Burchfield, said in a telephone interview today that the issue was moot in any case: whatever it may look like, he said, Mr. Baker will not be running Mr. Bush's campaign and will not be even "intimately" involved.

## Four Who Will Help Baker Run the White House and a Campaign



Paul Conklin

### Janet Mullins

*Assistant to the President for Political Affairs*  
Was Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs ... Known for her political insights with a strong desire to keep her life as private as possible ... 43 years old ... Popular on Capitol Hill, including among Democratic leaders ... Was director of Congressional affairs for the Bush Presidential transition team ... Executive Director of Fund for America's Future, Vice President Bush's political action committee ... National Field Director for Mr. Bush's 1988 primary campaign ... Chief of staff for Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky, from 1985 to 1987 ... Legislative Director and Chief of Staff for Senator Bob Packwood, Republican of Oregon, from 1979 to 1982 ... Was Special Assistant to the Kentucky Deputy Secretary of Commerce ... Studied at the University of Louisville and American University.

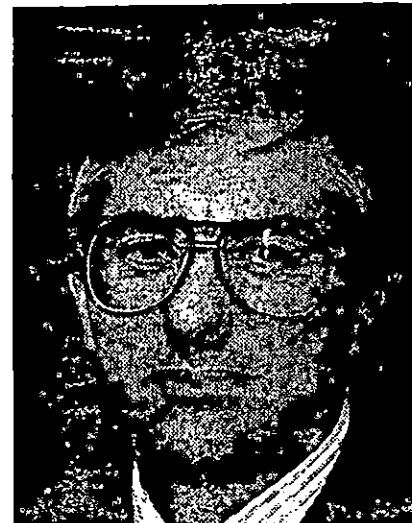


Associated Press

### Margaret Tutwiler

*Assistant to the President for Communications*

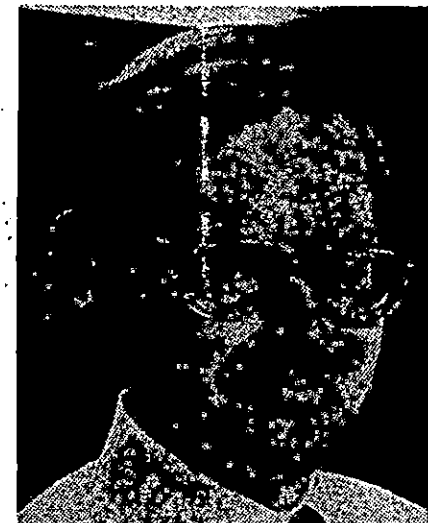
Was Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and the department's spokeswoman ... Known for her political savvy and ability to deal with the press ... Instant access to Mr. Baker, who relies on her political judgment ... Was top deputy to Mr. Baker when he led the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign ... Was Mr. Baker's Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the Treasury Department ... 42 years old ... Served in the Reagan White House as Deputy Assistant to the President for political affairs ... Was public affairs representative for National Association of Manufacturers in Alabama and Mississippi before joining George Bush's 1980 campaign ... Attended Finch College and graduated from the University of Alabama ... Hobbies include gardening and collecting Persian carpets.



The New York Times

### Dennis B. Ross

*Assistant to the President for Policy Planning*  
Was Director of policy planning at the State Department ... specialist in Middle Eastern affairs, but also played major role in setting policy toward the former Soviet Union ... Coordinated with Moscow policies toward Iraq leading up to the Persian Gulf war ... Regarded as hard-working, private, nonpartisan and moderate ... A major architect of the Middle East peace talks since then ... National security adviser on the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign and transition team ... 43 years old ... Handled Middle Eastern affairs as staff member on the National Security Council from 1986 to 1988 ... Former deputy director of the Pentagon office that compared Soviet and American military abilities ... Hobbies include golf and basketball ... Did his undergraduate and graduate work at University of California at Los Angeles.



George Tames

### Robert B. Zoellick

*Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff*

Was Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs ... Specialist in economics, trade and international environmental policy ... Known as a humorless technocrat with a talent for organization ... Along with Dennis B. Ross, a member of James A. Baker 3d's policymaking advisers ... Counselor and executive secretary in Treasury Department in 1988 ... In 1985, special assistant to Deputy Secretary of Treasury Richard G. Darman, who said "he can do more first-class work in 24 hours than 12 ordinary people could do in 24 hours" ... 39 years old ... Hobbies include military history and long-distance running ... Education includes studies at Swarthmore College, Harvard Law School and Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 13 — Although he is resigning as Secretary of State and moving to the White House, James A. Baker 3d and his aides plan to continue playing an active role in shaping American foreign policy from their new perch, particularly on the Middle East.

A senior official, briefing reporters immediately after Mr. Baker's farewell speech to State Department employees, said, "The fact that we are going to the White House does not mean that we are in any way precluded from being actively involved to the extent that we have time to be or want to be."

As a result, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, who will move from Deputy Secretary to Acting Secretary, seems likely to serve as a caretaker, a role underscored today by the clear message from the White House that the door is open for Mr. Baker to return to the State Department, if Mr. Bush is re-elected. To the extent that Mr. Eagleburger is allowed to leave his own imprint in the last months of the Administration, it is not seen as likely to differ much from Mr. Baker's, since he comes from the same pragmatic school of American foreign policy as the other senior Bush advisers.

Although Mr. Baker is stepping down as Secretary at a time when there is no overriding foreign policy crisis facing the United States, there are several significant opportunities and regional problems that demand immediate attention, as well as a growing need to define a new framework for American foreign policy at a time when the old Cold War framework has disappeared.

## Several Cases Unresolved

Apparently in an effort to fend off criticism that he is walking away from American foreign policy at a time when Bosnia is aflame, when the situation in Haiti is unresolved and when the Arab-Israeli peace talks seem finally ripe for some progress, Mr. Baker is letting it be known that he and his principal foreign policy adviser, Dennis B. Ross, plan to continue influencing foreign affairs from the White House.

The mixing of foreign policy and campaign politics implicit in Mr. Baker's new role would not be new in Washington, although this may be a particularly visible case. The connection between foreign policy and domestic politics is often most acute during Presidential campaigns.

President Nixon's 1972 re-election effort, for instance, was clearly enhanced by his trip to China that year, the first by an American President. And President Carter's 1980 re-election campaign was badly wounded by decisions that he made on the Iran hostage crisis and the failed American rescue mission.

As a man steeped in politics, Mr. Baker has worked under the widespread assumption in Washington that politics and diplomacy were inseparable during his stewardship at the State Department. He reinforced that impression early in his tenure when he took a partisan shot at the Democrats from the State Department podium. But after being roundly criticized for that, he tended to keep his public distance from campaign politics and insisted that his recommendations and actions as Secretary of State were not distorted by political considerations.

## His Farewell Speech

But between now and the election, Mr. Baker, and the Administration, will be hard-pressed to sustain the view that campaign politics will not strongly influence Administration foreign policy. That was evident today in Mr. Baker's farewell speech at the State Department, which began as a review of what had been accomplished by the department in the last three and a half tumultuous years, and ended in a highly partisan re-election appeal for the President. Although Mr. Baker was given a standing ovation by the Department employees, many agreed with one official's assessment that "he should have stopped after the first 10 minutes."

Another question raised by the Baker appointment is how the lines of authority and communication on foreign policy will work now. Only hours after a senior State Department official said Mr. Baker and his aides would be keeping a hand in foreign affairs, particularly on the Middle East, a senior White House official briefing reporters said Mr. Baker would have no policymaking role on the Middle East and would only be an adviser.

Senior State Department officials speak of Mr. Eagleburger, as "managing" the department, but seem to suggest that the big decisions will be made

Gov. Bill Clinton challenged President Bush on his presumed greatest strength, foreign policy. Page A15.

by the President and Mr. Baker from the White House. The senior State Department official told reporters that Mr. Baker intended to remain "actively involved" in foreign policy, noting that the White House Chief of Staff job "has very very broad responsibilities." He said Mr. Baker, either personally or through Mr. Ross, would step in "as the need arises," and reminded reporters that Mr. Baker "will be next door."

## How to Replace Travelling

When the senior State Department official was challenged as to how Mr. Baker, who made 15 trips to the Middle East to get the Arab-Israeli peace talks to the point they are now at, intends to still play a role in those negotiations, he said, "Who says the parties can't come to the White House?"

Such comments, besides being intended to deflect criticism about Mr. Baker's abandoning diplomacy for politics, also seem intended to put at ease allies abroad who have longstanding working relationships with Mr. Baker and are now worried about a sudden shift in his absence.

This is particularly true of the Arab leaders — Saudis, Egyptians, Syrians and Palestinians — who appreciated what they felt was Mr. Baker's evenhanded approach to the Middle East problems, who have been expressing anxiety about his departure and who view Mr. Eagleburger as overly sym-

Baker Plans Active Foreign Policy Role From the White House

# The New York Times

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Eagleburger as a caretaker Secretary.

pathetic to the Israelis.

Mr. Eagleburger is not in the best of physical health. He showed up at the State Department today with his left arm in a sling, because of some medical tests, a cane by his side and an inhaler for his asthma in his hand.

When asked what happened with his arm, the ever-jovial Mr. Eagleburger simply responded, "You should have seen the other guy."

### A Small Inner Circle

Mr. Baker always ran the State Department through a small inner circle of advisers, whom he placed as a layer on top of the traditional foreign policy apparatus, and used them as the team with whom he focused his strategies for dealing with everything from arms control to the Middle East. They were Mr. Ross, the Policy Planning Director; Margaret D. Tutwiler, his spokeswoman; Robert Zoellick, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, and Janet Mullins, Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs. Mr. Eagleburger managed the day-to-day operations of the department.

Mr. Eagleburger may be best known for a prophetic speech he gave just as

the Berlin Wall was wall crumbling in which he warned that while it was good that the cold war was over, ironically it one day may be missed because of all of the ethnic animosities in Europe that were artificially suppressed by the weight of Soviet occupation. A former Ambassador to Belgrade, Mr. Eagleburger also played a major role in shaping American foreign policy toward the Yugoslav problem, and admits that he in some ways misjudged the venom and intentions of the Serbs.

Mr. Baker's tenure as Secretary of State may well be remembered for the problems he solved and the problems he ignored. He and Mr. Bush were far ahead of the other allies in pushing for, and helping to structure, German unification. His knitting together of the coalition to fight the Persian Gulf war has been hailed as a highly skillful act of diplomacy. He negotiated both conventional and nuclear arms control treaties with Moscow that were praised even by the Democrats as very advantageous deals for the United States. And maybe most creatively, Mr. Baker managed to cajole, press and persuade Israel and all of its Arab neighbors to sit down together for face-to-face negotiations.

### Deficiencies Listed

But at the same time, he maintained a Reagan Administration policy of building up Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein, long after the Iran-Iraq war had ended; he never challenged Mr. Bush's failed policy of constructive engagement with China's dictatorial leaders; he virtually ignored United

States-Japan relations and was not even on Mr. Bush's disastrous trip to Tokyo last year; he was very slow in dealing with the crisis in Bosnia, and he has done little to really shape a post-cold war framework for American foreign policy.

"I think you have to give him immense credit for presiding over the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war," said Michael R. Beschloss, an historian of American foreign policy. The initiative came from Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Mr. Beschloss added, but it was Mr. Baker's skill and his close relationship with Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze that helped Washington exploit these opportunities, and helped the Soviets make some unpalatable concessions.

On the down side, Mr. Beschloss said, historians will probably focus on the fact that Mr. Baker ran the department with such a small group that he often could not deal with more than one issue at a time. For instance, he said, while focused on the collapse of the Soviet Union, they may have ignored or sent some very wrong signals to President Hussein, and they had little time or energy to think about a future vision of American foreign policy at this very confusing moment.

"Bottom line, though," Mr. Beschloss concluded, "I think historians will look back and say the most important thing that occurred during these years was the end of the cold war, and they will say that Baker helped it happen faster, more smoothly and on terms more favorable to the United States."

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 •

PHILIP GOLD

## Quest for cultural revival

A story is told of Napoleon. One day, His Imperialism received a deputation of French artistes and intellectuals, who bemoaned the fact that France was not enjoying a cultural renewal commensurate with her recent real estate acquisitions. The Corsican Impresario listened, apparently politely, dismissed them, and then scrawled across the memo they'd left:

"See about getting some good stuff written."

The notation bespeaks a certain arrogance, not to mention a rather incomplete understanding of how culture is actually created and sustained. It just doesn't happen that way. But he may have had a least a partial point, which 1990s conservatives would do well to heed.

For, in the current War for the Culture, much of the conservative movement is blowing it about as badly as George Bush would, had he but world enough and time.

The War for the Culture is a multifaceted affair. It involves, ultimately, everything from the Halls of Ivy to what's left of the Halls of South-Central L.A. — from education and values to entertainment, literature, art, religion, economics, ecology. In an open, pluralistic society, this is not a war that can ever be "won" in a final sense; nor should it be. But it can be an enormously creative exercise, if done right.

It's not (with a few exceptions) being done right. At the moment, much of conservatism appears about as brain-dead as the professors, other rappers and performance artists, ecofreaks and feminists they so repetitively condemn.

For the War for the Culture is not about condemnation. It is about creating and offering — *marketing* — alternatives to the dreary, spiteful, pornographically pandering and pornographically preachy obscene-

like tone not associated with Democrats in recent years. Calling defense the country's "highest priority," it advises a total overhaul in U.S. defense doctrine — from fighting the Cold War with the Soviet Union to meeting new threats from "terrorist states" like Iraq and from smaller, regional powers like North Korea.

The Democratic document refers to the Bush administration defense budget as a "relic of the past."

Rep. Les Aspin, the House Armed Services Committee chairman who briefed a group of reporters on the Democratic initiative, said much of America's \$300 billion-a-year arsenal is poorly equipped to deal with new, post-Cold War threats.

"It's almost impossible to say how much the Soviet Union drove the debate [over U.S. defense expenditures]. The equipment itself was designed for the Soviets. We need to start all over again. The Soviet Union is gone."

Rather than simply subtract from the Cold War-era defense budget, Mr. Aspin argued, the Congress and the country need to focus on a different question: "What do we need a defense for?"

In answering that question, the Wisconsin Democrat cited two prime threats to the country's post-Cold War security:

(1) Nuclear terrorism; the danger of a terrorist state such as Iraq getting its hands on a few nuclear weapons.

(2) Regional threats, in which a country like Iran, Iraq, Syria, or North Korea might threaten U.S. interests.

Mr. Aspin, like Mr. Clinton a supporter of last year's Persian Gulf war, said the '90s debate over how American meets these new threats is less a matter of "right vs. left" and more a matter of "new vs. old."

"Despite the revolutionary changes in the world, the Republicans are still proposing that we size and shape our forces against a Soviet and Warsaw Pact threat that no longer exists."

If Mr. Aspin and candidate Bill Clinton are successful, 1992 will be the first presidential campaign in almost a half-century that Cold War foreign policy did not dominate the debate and give a built-in edge to the Republicans.

That, not the latest "bimbo eruption," is the real story of the week before the '92 Republican Convention.

*Christopher Matthews, Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Examiner, is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

## Bush given global gains, Clinton says

By J. Jennings Moss  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LOS ANGELES — Bill Clinton yesterday confronted the political burden of his limited foreign policy experience by challenging President Bush's vision of the world and plans for the U.S. military.

The Democratic presidential nominee also drew a picture of a U.S. foreign policy where strength abroad is inexorably linked with a vibrant economy at home.

"The notion that the Republicans won the Cold War reminds me of the rooster who took credit for the dawn," the Arkansas governor said in a speech before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council.

"But even more flawed is the Republican claim that, just as they changed the world in their first term, they will change America in their second or fourth," Mr. Clinton said.

Republicans generally come out ahead in public opinion polls when the questions turn to foreign policy, and Mr. Bush long has enjoyed high approval ratings in this area. Mr. Clinton, however, has become more vocal in recent weeks as crises in Yugoslavia and Iraq intensified and in the process has been hit with criticisms that he is unqualified on the world front.

Mr. Clinton also is taking a more active role as a candidate. On Wednesday, for example, he met with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and reaffirmed his support for the Middle East peace process.

His speech yesterday reaffirmed the world vision he first laid out in two speeches during the Democratic primaries. But it went further to distinguish the differences between the two presidential contenders and to demonstrate that Mr. Clinton does not intend to back off from the subjects of foreign and defense policy.

"In this election, Mr. Bush will seek to establish his leadership by emphasizing the time he has spent, the calls he has placed and the trips he has taken in the conduct of foreign policy. But the measure of leadership in the new era is not the conversations held or the miles traveled," he said.

Nancy Soderberg, Mr. Clinton's director of foreign policy, said the main point of the speech was definition. "This one's really taking Bush head on as to who can



Reuters

Rebutting GOP claims that he isn't worldly-wise, Bill Clinton notes that Ronald Reagan was no foreign policy expert in 1980.

lead us into the 21st century," he said.

Torie Clarke, Bush-Quayle '92 campaign spokeswoman, responded quickly after the conclusion of Mr. Clinton's address, calling it "laughable." Mr. Clinton "has next to no record, zero qualifications and no clue on foreign policy relations," she said.

Speaking to reporters in Santa Monica before the speech, Mr. Clinton responded to GOP charges he was unqualified on the world front by reminding people about Mr. Bush's former boss and predecessor, President Reagan.

"All of them have their jobs because Ronald Reagan got elected in 1980, and history will record that he had more success in foreign policy than he did at home, and he had even less experience than I do," Mr. Clinton said.

The governor used the speech to cap a series of "topic of the day" addresses to different audiences: Monday it was the economy; Tuesday, health care; and Wednesday, education. Campaign offi-

*His speech demonstrated that Clinton won't off from the subject of foreign policy.*

cials said taken together, the four addresses were designed to pre-empt the criticisms expected to be hurled at Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, next week at the Republican convention.

During yesterday's speech, Mr. Clinton accused Mr. Bush of being reluctant to help foster democracy in other countries.

"From the Baltics to Beijing, from Sarajevo to South Africa, time after time, this president has sided with the status quo rather than democratic change, with familiar tyrants rather than those who would overthrow them, and with the old

geography of repression rather than a new map of freedom," he said, saving specific criticism for Mr. Bush's policy toward Iraq before it invaded Kuwait.

Mr. Clinton said that under his administration, "fragile" democracies would be aided, pressure would continue on South Africa, Israel would be supported, a Radio Free Asia would be created and the United States would be a "catalyst" against aggression.

He also charged that the Bush administration simply was trying to shrink the American military without regard to keeping it strong.

Even though he proposes spending \$60 billion less on defense than Mr. Bush, Mr. Clinton said the military and the economy would be stronger because laid-off defense workers would be retrained. He also said he supports some weapons systems Mr. Bush wants to eliminate, like the V-22 Osprey, and would push to examine the basic organization of the various military branches.

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 •

## Baker comes, goes at 'watersheds,' 'pivotal points'

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

*Following are excerpts from Secretary of State James A. Baker III's letter of resignation to President Bush, dated yesterday:*

It is with pride and a sense of accomplishment that I submit my resignation to you as Secretary of State effective Aug. 23. . . . I have little doubt that when we look back on these last three years and seven months, we'll understand we've lived through a fundamental watershed in world politics. In this short period of time the strategic verities of the post-World War II era were shattered. The Cold War ended. The division of Europe was undone. The Soviet empire collapsed, and the Soviet Union dissolved.

Changing those verities created new hopes and new possibilities — and what was unthinkable before became achievable through very active and dynamic diplomacy that you mandated. Germany was unified in NATO, something we were told at the time was impossible. Central America has been transformed through a policy based on free elections and peaceful reconciliation of longstanding differences. A peaceful settlement has been developed for Cambodia.

Iraqi aggression was defeated in Kuwait with an unprecedented coalition that would never have been possible in the bipolar world of the past. And, in the aftermath, in defeating Iraq and rescuing Kuwait, it became possible to break the historical taboo and produce Arab and Palestinian partners to talk peace with Israel. . . .

*Excerpts from Mr. Bush's announcement yesterday regarding the move of Mr. Baker from secretary of state to White House chief of staff:*

I've asked Secretary Baker to resign as secretary of state to join me as chief of staff and senior counselor to the president, effective August 23rd. He will help me build on what we've started by developing an integrated second-term program of domestic, economic and foreign policies.

This is a pivotal point in America's journey, and in the world of today, these three topics have become one issue. We must ensure that the United States is unquestionably safe and strong at home and abroad. And I also want his counsel and assistance as I seek a mandate from the American people to put this program into action. . . .

I make this move with full confidence that the State Department will remain under able leadership. Larry Eagleburger, a 30-year veteran of America's foreign policy, a man to whom I feel exceptionally close personally, will serve as acting secretary. He will do so with distinction.

I also want to say a word about Sam Skinner. I want to thank him for his dedicated service at the White House over the course of this turbu-

lent year. He recognized right up front the contribution that Jim Baker can make here given my longstanding personal relationship with Jim. And he and I have actually discussed this matter for some time, and he encouraged me to make this change.

Sam and I have decided that he can best complement this move by assuming the position of general chairman of the Republican National Committee. . . .

*Excerpts from Mr. Baker's farewell remarks at the State Department:*

. . . As you might expect, the president and I have given long and serious thought to what I might be able to do to help our country at this moment. I have been extremely fortunate to have served three presidents of the United States, and to have served them in differing areas: economic and domestic policy, and now, for the last three-and-a-half years, foreign policy.

The president knows that all policies have to be brought together effectively if we are going to prosper as a people and succeed as a nation. America must have appropriate new approaches for the changes at home, just as we have launched new policies to manage the changes abroad. We must concentrate on the interrelationship between domestic and foreign policy, and between economic and security policy. At the same time, we must execute our agenda more effectively with a new Congress. . . .

We should build on the fundamentals of lower tax rates, limits on government spending, greater competition, less economic regulation, and more open trade that can unleash tremendous private initiative and growth. But I think that in the '90s government can add to this growth program by building opportunity and hope for individuals, families and communities.

I think that there is a conservative agenda for helping people and for responding to their needs. We want to empower them to make their own choices, to break away from dependency. We want to give them economic security, a stake in society. Initiative should be unleashed, success should be rewarded, excellence obviously should be our goal.

Contrasting philosophies matter when it comes down to what each party really wants to do. We might discuss similar topics, but there are sharp differences in approaches. The president wants to offer the voters an integrated program to strengthen America and to give our people economic security, building from the ground up and not from the top down.

We need social services for health and welfare that help the truly needy, but also enable others to break the cycle of poverty, to get back on their feet, to get back to work, and to take responsibility for their own choices.

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

CLARENCE PAGE

## Taking glamor out of gang life

Imagine you are sitting at home watching television. Suddenly the image of a young neo-Nazi skinhead fills your screen. He delivers a Hitler-style salute while an announcer delivers this startling message:

"If they were giving medals for killing black people, this guy would win a bronze."

The picture changes to a hooded Ku Klux Klansman: "This guy, the silver."

The picture changes again. This time it is a tough-looking black youth, dressed the way you might presume a street gang member would dress. Gunfire echoes in the background.

"But this guy would win the gold," the announcer concludes. "If you're in a gang, you're not a brother. You're a traitor."

As the commercial ends, you hear the sound of a prison door slamming shut.

Chilling. Is this the sort of ad you would welcome on your television screen? Count me as one black father who would. Gladly.

Yet, the question of whether you will see it may be determined by how a controversy swirling up around the ad plays itself out.

The ad originates in Evanston, Ill., a racially integrated-and-proud-of-it suburb of Chicago, which has had the serenity of its less-fortunate neighborhoods interrupted occasionally by gangs shooting each other.

It was with the intent of "de-glamorizing" gang life that a local school teacher suggested a TV ad to Evanston's Human Relations Commission during a "Seeking Solutions" community forum. Chicagoan Tom Reilly, a vice president at the Leo Burnett advertising agency, read about the idea, thought it was right up his alley and volunteered to help.

When Mr. Reilly's team's creation was screened before Evanston test audiences, the response was overwhelmingly favorable. One teen-age African-American boy who had been toying with gang life burst into tears, according to a leader of the local chapter of Mothers Against Gangs.

But the response wasn't totally

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.



favorable. The spot's noisiest critic was Alderman Rochelle Washington, one of four black members of Evanston's 18-member City Council. When it was screened by the city's Human Services Committee, she stormed out of the meeting room and slammed the door for extra emphasis.

In a telephone interview later, she told me she was deeply offended by the ad's simplistic equating of skinheads and Klansmen who killed blacks because of hate with "our kids" who fall into crime because of family and social system's failures.

"I think our kids brood and let things pile up inside themselves, instead of letting them out," she said.

"This ad isn't saying, 'Come in and let me help you.' It is pushing them farther away.

"I don't want an ad that says, 'We hate you.' I want an ad to shake 'em up, but I don't want this one. I'll go to my grave fighting this one."

Besides, she said, gangs are not just a black problem, although the ad, in her view, makes it sound like it is. "My mother once said, 'Don't give anybody a stick to whip you with,'" she said. "I think with this ad we are, in essence, giving the Klan a stick to whip us with."

Maybe so. But if they're whipping us, we're killing us. The ad's message is not significantly different from the housecleaning message

countless black leaders have delivered in the past. Jesse Jackson, for example, has often remarked that "We've lost more people to dope than we ever did to the rope." But many African-Americans often are reluctant to speak with such candor in front of other Americans, even when the truth is what we need to set us free.

It offends me, too, to think of skinheads and Klansmen as the moral equivalent of black street gangs, but it offends me more that it happens to be the truth.

Society obviously has failed many of our young people, but that doesn't mean we should fail them again by delivering anything less than a clear, direct, no-nonsense message: Gangs are the enemy of the community. If you're thinking about joining, don't. If you're in one, quit.

"Our target is teens who are thinking of joining gangs," Owen Thomas, the commission's executive director and an African-American explained. "It is to change their perception that gangs are cool or hip."

Fair enough. It is certainly true that gangs are not a problem for blacks alone. Just about every American ethnic group has been plagued by them at one time or another. But I can't remember anyone since the days of "West Side Story" who has glamorized gang life as much as today's "gangsta rappers" like Ice-T, Ice Cube and various other Ices do.

Time to hear the reality behind the raps: Klansmen have murdered at least 20 African-Americans since 1960, according to Klanwatch. Street gangs murdered at least 1,300 blacks last year alone, according to the FBI. We don't need to worry about the Klan or neo-Nazis nearly as much as we need to worry about "brothers" and "sisters" who do their job for them.

It is not my intention to absolve society for its failures. At best, an ad like this one can be an effective device to grab the attention of media-addicted youths of all races, but it must be accompanied by other local efforts to engage young would-be gangsters in constructive alternatives.

After all, society is all of us. If our communities fail to pull ourselves together across racial lines and provide the social support that can compete with gang life, we have failed again.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

## Policies making money woes worse

**G**eorge Bush is in so much political trouble that he is considering employing Pat Buchanan, his challenger in the Republican presidential primaries, to write his nomination acceptance speech for the Republican Convention. The plan is to bring home the disenchanted conservatives and Reagan Democrats with rhetoric.

Rhetoric without a program will only damn Mr. Bush more. And he certainly has no program. His TV campaign ads launched the first week of August stress that "to get our economy moving faster we have to reduce the huge federal deficit by cutting spending." Whoever put that together is brain dead. Except for Mr. Bush and his advisers, the entire country understands that the huge federal deficit is the product of killing the economy with bad economic policies.

Suppose the unlikely occurred and spending was actually cut by \$50 billion or even \$100 billion? Suppose this reduction in the deficit produced a reduction in interest rates that, despite the huge federal deficit, are already the lowest in three decades? What is supposed to happen?

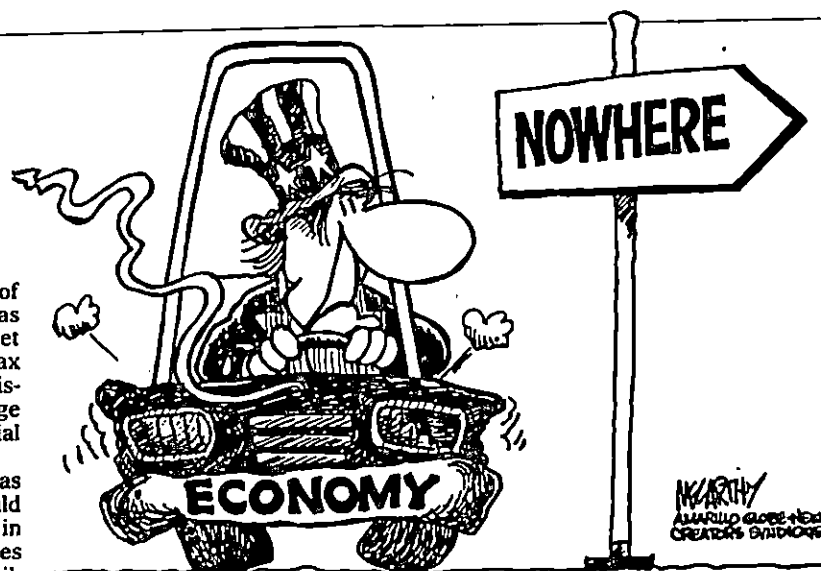
Is the White House so badly informed that it believes one more re-

duction in interest rates, on top of the 24 cuts the Federal Reserve has already delivered, is going to offset the adverse effects of the 1986 Tax Reform Act and the 1989 S&L legislation, which have wiped out huge amounts of real estate and financial institution wealth?

Does the White House believe, as well, that cutting the deficit would also offset the enormous increase in regulatory costs and tort liabilities that its own environmental, disability and civil rights policies have inflicted on the economy?

It is Mr. Bush's own administration that is disorganizing the economies of local communities throughout the country by suing almost everyone ever involved with a thrift. The massive real estate and financial institution losses that resulted from the 1986 Tax Reform, the 1989 S&L act, zealous regulators, and the unexpected collapse of inflation are being blamed by the government on thrift managements and their lawyers, accountants and boards consisting of local doctors and business people.

The fact that real estate and savings and loans are worth a lot less after the 1986 and 1989 acts is being misconstrued by government lawyers as evidence of fraud. Thousands of innocent people throughout the country who have already lost their life savings are now losing their reputations as deceitful prosecutors blame them for the consequences of ill-considered federal legislation. It is extraordinary to



watch a Republican administration eat its own supporters alive. The abusive and unfair suits brought by the Resolution Trust Corp., the Office of Thrift Supervision, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. are providing the margin of victory for Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

It has come as a shock to many Americans to learn that their government hasn't the slightest interest in truth, justice or fairness. Government prosecutors have a mandate to come up with scapegoats for Washington's failures, and the scapegoats are the backbones of many local business communities.

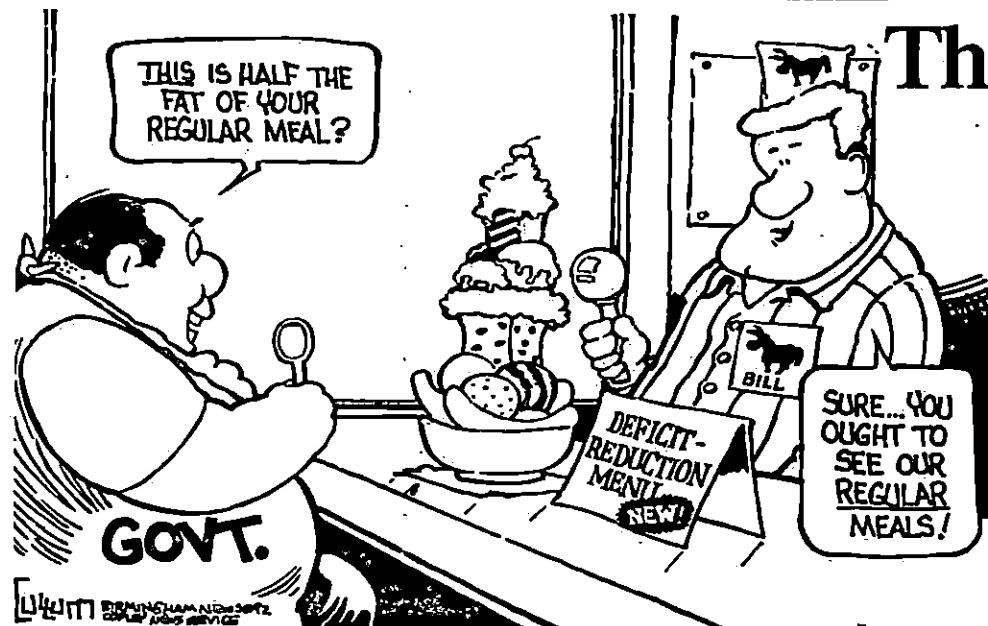
The government pulled the rug out from under real estate and is now arguing that low post-crash values are evidence that previous high values on the thrifts' books were fraudulent. The thrifts and their accountants, lawyers and boards are charged with overvaluing proper-

ties in order to steal money. Unfortunately for the innocent, this theme plays with many jurors. After all, here is the government with proof that the S&L had the property valued on its books in 1985 and 1986 as worth \$1 million, while today six years later it is only worth \$400,000. Someone must have stolen the difference.

If President Bush had any sense, he would stop these ridiculous prosecutions instantly. In many cases, people who themselves are innocent victims are being victimized by the government. In Indiana, for example, there is a case where an accountant misappropriated payroll taxes in an act of personal fraud, and the Internal Revenue Service wants to seize the two family-owned businesses from the victims in order to collect the stolen payroll taxes. A government this out of control needs more than an election. It needs a revolution.

*Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.*

RICHARD RAHN / THEODORE SURANYI-UNGER JR.



## The PC catechism of Clintonomics

**W**e are told that Gov. Bill Clinton is a very bright fellow. If you were given the following facts how would you respond?

**Fact No. 1:** From 1983-1989, federal spending and taxing fell as a percentage of GNP, and the growth in government regulation slowed down. During that same period, the U.S. experienced record peace time economic growth, the federal deficit fell in real terms, and a record high

percentage of the adult population had jobs at record high real wages.

**Fact No. 2:** From 1990-1992 federal taxing and spending grew rapidly as a percentage of GNP and the growth in regulation sharply increased. During that same period the economy was stagnant, the deficit grew rapidly in real terms, and no new jobs were created.

Mr. Clinton responded to these facts by proposing an economic plan that would sharply increase taxes, government spending and regulation. You are probably thinking either Mr. Clinton is an economic dunce or he has another agenda. We suspect he has another agenda — that of the “politically correct liberal.” Look at the evidence.

The politically correct liberal has a set of beliefs that he or she views as so “right” that one is justified in

ignoring empirical evidence that does not support or contradicts the belief, and in using politically coercive or in some cases even police, state tactics to enforce the PC dogma. This same intolerance of empirical evidence and other views has characterized ideological zealots throughout human history as illustrated by the fascism and Marxism of this century.

The Clinton program proposes increasing the income tax rate on the top 2 percent of the taxpayers, in the name of tax fairness. High income earners already pay a greatly disproportionate share of the income tax both in absolute and real terms (e.g.: The top 1 percent now pay more than 24 percent of the total income tax, sharply up from 18 per-

see RAHN/UNGER, page F4

### RAHN/UNGER

From page F1

cent a decade earlier.) The empirical evidence shows that the government is unlikely to gather any additional revenue from income tax rates of more than approximately 30 percent. High rates discourage people from working, saving and investing and keeping their energy and wealth in the United States, and encourage legal and illegal tax evasion. In sum, high tax rates reduce productive capital formation, economic growth and job creation. But note the Clinton rhetoric, “make the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share in taxes.” Since they already do, the PC message is tax the successful, even if it hurts economic growth.

Mr. Clinton has proposed five in-

creases in corporate taxes. As serious tax scholars know, the corporate tax is passed to consumers in higher prices, to workers in lower wage growth, and results in less new investment in productive plant and machinery. Again the PC solution is to punish success, not to create jobs and opportunity.

Also, Mr. Clinton has proposed a series of very costly mandates on American business, such as mandated worker training programs, mandated health care, etc. These mandates have the same effect as taxes. They increase the cost of doing business, which in turn increases prices, and reduces wages and productivity growth. Only a PC liberal would see merit in such destructive proposals and resent answering the following question: Why is it right to put additional responsibilities on one set of Americans —

employers — who create jobs for their fellow citizens — and not others?

The good governor decries the deficit but proposes more spending increases than spending cuts. The lack of seriousness in his proposed spending cuts is amply illustrated by one item. He proposes to save \$20 million by “ending the taxpayer subsidies for honey producers,” but says nothing about eliminating the subsidies for the sugar, milk, peanut and other agricultural commodity producers that add up to big bucks. If it is desirable to reduce agricultural subsidies, and it is, let's get them all. One can only assume that honey producers are politically incorrect (maybe many of them are Republicans) and peanut farmers are politically correct. Whatever the politics, it makes no economic sense.

If the Clinton-Gore administra-

tion delivers Sen. Al Gore's PC environmentalism, we can expect extraordinary costly programs, mandates and restrictions, all without serious cost-benefit analysis. Mr. Gore and many in the establishment believe we are experiencing global warming, and we may be, but neither Mr. Gore nor anyone else knows for sure, nor do they know whether global warming will be a net plus or minus. Why do many of the affluent go south? Would the world have more food if Finland were like California or vice versa? Again, questions the PC liberal doesn't like asked.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore have made it abundantly clear that they are PC liberals — the catechism is more important than empirical evidence, economic growth and opportunity, and individual liberty. We have seen this future before, in not so far away places.

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

## FRANCIS

From page F1

Antiquarians may also recall that soon after the smashup of Kuwait and Iraq in 1991, war enthusiasts claimed the victory had cured this country of its "Vietnam syndrome." So much for the cure. Today, a "Vietnam in the Balkans" is the main argument against another war.

Nevertheless, having invoked globalist and humanitarian pseudo-reasons for a war to deliver Kuwait from one despotism to another, Mr. Bush now finds himself logically unable to resist the arguments of such superhawks of the New World Order as Democratic nominee Bill Clinton.

"I would begin with air power, against the Serbs, to try to restore the basic conditions of humanity," cries the Napoleon of Little Rock, in a statement that ought to go down in history with such gems of the Vietnam era as "We had to destroy the village in order to save it."

Even if nobody wants a war, the logic of the New World Order set in motion by Mr. Bush in the Gulf, the political aspirations and commitments of Mr. Bush's opponents and the superstition that Americans have a duty to die for other peoples' countries all drag us toward another conflict in the Balkans. Of course, we can still get out of it by just saying no, but saying no would involve a thunderous affirmation of the concept of national sovereignty, a concept today almost as quaint as the Constitution itself.

Explaining the Security Council resolution to the lesser breeds of American citizens who will have to fight the war it implies, an unnamed "Western diplomat" told The Washington Post that the resolution "gives authorization to the Western European Union and NATO to coordinate procedures and to provide assistance." Forget, for the moment, that ensuring humanitarian aid in Bosnia would necessarily involve combat. What Mr. Western Diplomat says is that the United Nations "gives authorization" to two organizations of sovereign nation-states to take certain actions.

Forgotten, for more than a moment, is the fact that the United Nations is a creature of sovereign nations. The sovereign nations are supposed to tell the United Nations what to do, not the other way around, and the citizens of the sovereign nations are supposed to give orders to their governments, not wait passively for marching orders from the Security Council transmitted by the leaders of their own governments.

Regardless of what U.N. munchkins and New World Order ideologues say, we don't have to go to war to save Bosnia. But if we do, let us hear no whining about it later. If Americans don't want another war, now is the time for them to demand that their leaders heed the imperatives of the nation's laws and real national interests, and to let other nations take care of themselves.

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

But for now, after a couple of weeks of being stoked up on gashly pictures of Serbian "death camps" and die.

Certainly the Congress has not declared war and shows no sign of doing so. Certainly President Bush has not asked it to declare war and, for once, seems not to want war himself. And certainly no one has even considered asking the American people themselves, who happen to be the yokels who will fight a war and die in it, whether they want to fight and die.

Sometime after Americans start dying in the Balkans — only for "humanitarian" reasons, of course — it may begin to occur to them that at no time have they or their legal representatives ever voted on whether the United States should go to war at all.

SAMUEL FRANCIS

## Rushing to the ramparts

and drinking in horror stories about human cockfights and mass rapes, many Yanks are singing hi-ho, hi-ho, it's off to war we go. This week, the leaders of France, Great Britain and the United States put their noggins together and decided on the language of a U.N. Security Council resolution that lets them send the soldiers of their own nations to die on behalf of other nations unable to meet the minimal demand of real nationhood, the ability to govern oneself.

The language of the resolution

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says the Security Council authorizes the use of "all means necessary" to provide humanitarian aid in Bosnia. That language, antiquarians might be interested to know, is precisely the same formula as that of U.N. Security Council Resolution 678, passed on Nov. 29, 1990, which authorized U.N. member states "to use all necessary means" to liberate Kuwait from Iraq.

At the time, the Bush administration claimed the U.N. language by itself was all it needed to start lobbing bombs into Baghdad, but in a quaint deference to a little document called the U.S. Constitution, it eventually agreed to a congressional resolution that explicitly acknowledged U.N. authority to make war.

Granted, the Bush administration, for once, now seems reluctant to go to war. Its officials keep saying a Balkan war could turn into another Vietnam, and they're probably right.

MIKE ROYKO

## Leaving the landlord a tenant-impaired wallet

**T**he couple in the first-floor flat play the radio too loud. Or maybe they don't. But the guy in the second-floor flat thinks it's too loud, and gets even by jumping up and down. The couple in the first-floor flat retaliate by whacking the ceiling with a broom handle.

So they beef to the landlord, and it is his job to resolve the dispute. That is a heavy responsibility that goes with owning a three-flat.

He tells the couple on the first floor not to play the radio too loud.

Mike Royko is a nationally syndicated columnist.

They say they aren't playing it too loud. So he tells them to play even less not too loud.

And he tells the guy on the second floor to stop jumping up and down, and he denies jumping. The landlord says, good, but don't even hop or skip.

The landlord hopes the matter is resolved. It's enough worrying about plumbing, the furnace, the roof, insurance, taxes, and the sump pump, without loud radios and up and down jumping.

But once these kinds of feuds begin, they have a way of escalating. Once again, the radio is too loud. Or maybe it isn't, but the guy upstairs thinks it is and resumes jumping.

*As soon as the tenant was out, he got a lawyer and filed a complaint.*

Plaster falls. So downstairs, they bang the ceiling with the broom handle.

Then it gets really serious. The guy upstairs calls the police about the loud radio. A few weeks later, the downstairs couple call the police and accuse the guy upstairs of throwing an egg on their car.

So the landlord again talks to downstairs and upstairs. He goes back and forth, like a labor negotiator. But there is only so much he

can do. He knows that when eggs fly and the police are called, there can be no lasting peace.

Finally, he tells both parties that if they can't get along in his building, maybe they should think about moving.

It isn't easy for him to say that because the downstairs couple, with the radio, have been there for 10 years and pay their rent on time and keep the place clean.

And the guy upstairs, the alleged

egg thrower, has been there more than two years and pays promptly and even redecorated the flat with paint the landlord bought.

Nobody wants to move. It's not the fanciest neighborhood, but the building is clean, the apartments big, and the rent is \$560, which is not a bad deal in Chicago.

But the landlord says, "I have done all I can do."

Finally, the alleged jumper and egg thrower sends the landlord a note saying he will be moving at the end of the month. And he does.

The landlord hopes that he will now have peace. And in a simpler age, he would have. But not in this litigation-crazed age.

As soon as the tenant was out, he got a lawyer and marched over to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations and filed a complaint.

He said the landlord had discriminated against him because he was gay. And that, he said, is why the landlord hadn't resolved his differences with the first-floor couple.

As he said in his complaint, the landlord told him: "If you're so unhappy, why don't you just move out? There is nothing I can do."

This, the landlord admits. What could he do with feuding tenants?

The landlord was told by the commission to come downtown for an in-

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### ROYKO

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interview and to bring copies of all leases, all letters, all rent records, and a list of all gay, lesbian and disabled tenants.

The interview lasted about two hours, with the landlord trying to explain that it was a dispute between feuding tenants, and he did the best he could, but when people act crazy, what can he do? He's a landlord, not a shrink.

A month later, he was notified that the complaint had been amended. It was now more serious because it accused him of "constructive eviction." That meant that he threw the guy out, even though he hadn't.

And a month after that, he was called in for a "conciliation" hearing. But it turned out that it wasn't very conciliatory.

The landlord was told that there was "substantial evidence" to support the discrimination and eviction charge.

So the hearing officer advised the landlord to save himself a lot of hassle by settling.

How much? the landlord asked. The guy formerly upstairs — the alleged jumper — said he wanted \$4,500 to cover the cost of moving, paying more rent in his new place, and the grief he endured.

Absolutely not, said the landlord. It wasn't like his building had rats and roaches. He vowed to fight.

Brave, but foolish. We have all sorts of federal, state and local commissions looking out for those who are victims, real or imagined. And they usually give the edge to the alleged victim.

"So we paid the \$4,500," the landlord says. "It would have ended up costing us a lot more than that because we would have had to pay their legal fees and extra damages and (I'd know what. Those commission bureaucrats told us as much. Of course, if I won, he wouldn't have had to pay my lawyer. So I'm stuck with legal fees either way."

"And the thing is, I didn't do anything wrong. I couldn't care less about sexual orientation. I'm a social worker. I support gay rights."

"But what are you going to do? You get in front of one of these commissions, and you're the rich landlord against the downtrodden. So you pay."

All because of a radio that was too loud, or maybe it wasn't.

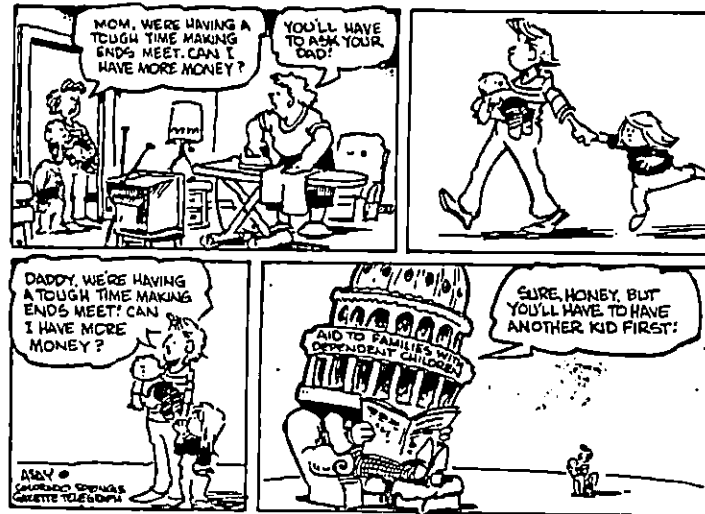
"Next time, I should rent to someone who is deaf," the landlord says.

Uh-uh. That should be "hearing impaired." Or even "differently audialized." Careful what you say, or the next hurt-feelings complaint might cost you a million.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

WALTER WILLIAMS

## Taking over what families used to do



If you've wondered about family decline and couldn't quite put your fingers on the causal factors, Allan Carlson of Auburn University's Ludwig von Mises Institute has. In the paper, "What Has Government Done to Our Families?," Mr. Carlson argues there has been transfer of the dependency function from families to government employees.

The dependency function pertains to questions of who will care for the weak, the young, the old, the sick and the handicapped. Mr. Carlson says, "The rise of the welfare state can be written as the steady transfer of the dependency function from the family to the state; from

persons tied by blood, marriage or adoption to persons tied to public employees." The state becomes the new locus of loyalty. Mr. Carlson adds that "client society" is a more fitting description, as opposed to welfare state, of today's America where many citizens are clients of a large group of government employees who take care of them throughout their lives. What's worse are the constant pressures for us to transfer even more dependency functions to the government.

This is not the first generation where there have been problems associated with the aged, the sick or the young. What did we do before the relatively recent rise of the client state? One thing for sure is our history is not one of people dying on the streets because of unmet critical needs. Families took care of those who were dependent; those were the days when older people died in the

homes of their children rather than a green room in a government-owned or subsidized hospital or hospice. Where families could not meet dependency needs, churches, fraternities, sororities, charitable organizations and local communities stepped in to fill the gap by building foster homes, old-age homes and homes for widowed women and orphaned children.

Throughout history, people acting privately have dealt successfully with problems we now consider to be the job of government. Families, churches and communities were the "safety net." We revitalize these institutions by eliminating the various laws, regulations and subsidies that have served to undermine them. We should not place our trust in some fat, remote bureaucrat whose only concern is his job and power.

Mr. Carlson says we ought to start an anti-bureaucratic campaign to abolish state-mandated and state-controlled sex education, leaving the training and rearing of children up to parents; abolish various child labor laws and permit parents to judge

what's in the best interest of their children; dismantle the Social Security system, leaving protection or security in old age up to individuals and their families. To Mr. Carlson's incomplete list, I'd prohibit the distribution of condoms, birth control devices and performance of abortion to minors without parental knowledge and consent.

Some people might say, "In today's complex, modern societies, those actions would wreak havoc!" But Mr. Carlson suggests that we look at the Amish, who've done a fair job of keeping government out of their lives. The Amish have their own schools, make heavy use of child labor, avoid Social Security and don't accept farm welfare. Amish families are more stable, their children are better educated, old or sick Amish people aren't dying on the streets, their savings rate is very high and while other farmers have fallen on hard times, Amish farms prosper and expand. Nobody's saying we should become an Amish nation. We just need to stop bureaucrats from messing with our families.

Walter Williams, an economics professor at George Mason University, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

KEN ADELMAN

**G**eorge Bush will play the "experience card" hard during the Republican Convention next week and throughout the fall campaign. "Let Us Continue" was Lyndon Johnson's cry in 1964. "Hold the Course" was Ronald Reagan's 20 years later. Mr. Bush will no doubt devise such a ditty in '92.

Many people will ask: Continue to do what? Hold what course? But few folks will ask about presidents' second term curse. For twice-elected presidents nearly always accomplish less — and nearly never more — during their second terms.

Granted, the historical evidence is scant; only 12 of the 40 men who served as president were elected twice. Though scant, such evidence is surprisingly consistent.

George Washington started the second term curse. After a laudable launching of the Republic, his second term witnessed the Whiskey Insurrection at home and the Jay Treaty abroad, every bit as divisive as the Versailles Treaty after World War I. George Washington winced at the increasing abuse flung his way

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## Track slack for the second time around

as he headed off to quiet retirement at Mount Vernon.

Five presidents — nearly half our total of 12 two-termers — had positively dreadful second terms, far worse than Washington's. Richard M. Nixon springs to mind, since nothing could be worse than resigning the presidency when facing certain impeachment.

Ulysses S. Grant, who launched some reasonable post-Civil War Reconstruction remedies in his first term, had a second awash with scandal. So Grant scurried from office with the lame lament that his administration's "failures have been errors of judgment, not intent."

Less dreadful was Thomas Jefferson's second term. His presidency peaked with his first-term Louisiana Purchase (1803), which doubled the nation's expanse. After his re-election came hard times. Jefferson's own Embargo Act (1807) infuriated the public by curtailing in-

dividual freedom and strengthening the central government, a most un-Jeffersonian notion.

Hence the now-venerated Thomas Jefferson gave up early, as he slithered from the Capitol several weeks before his successor's inauguration.

That successor, James Madison, was consistently disappointing in office, but particularly so in his second term. The U.S. Army was then battered in the War of 1812 — called "Mr. Madison's War" — while cries for his resignation rang out as he left the White House ingloriously.

Grover Cleveland found his second coming, in 1893, much tougher, with financial panic raging, deep depression hitting, workers' heads cracking (as the Feds ended the Pullman strike), and doctors operating, secretly aboard a yacht, on the president's cancer.

Healed in body but not in spirit,

Cleveland became a pariah during his own party's 1896 convention. He bemoaned his "poor old battered name," once held in such high regard.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, as the first and only four-termer, is a special case. Then again, his presidency was pretty special throughout.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was nearly as strong in his second term. Yet his first-term accomplishments of ending the Korean War and fashioning a solid economy did outshine those in his second. Then (1957-61) events prompted public passions, with Sputnik flying high, Little Rock school desegregation flaring up, and the U-2 spy plane crashing down. Mr. Eisenhower suffered a mild stroke, an economic recession, and the loss of Sherman Adams by innuendo and John Foster Dulles by death.

Four other presidents, besides Eisenhower, did only modestly worse during their second terms. But each was detectably worse.

James Monroe found initial success in expanding the nation (by purchasing Florida) and preserving its unity (by the Missouri Compromise of 1820). His Monroe Doctrine was his sole second-term accomplishment, though he had practically nothing to do with it.

Andrew Jackson kept the economy strong and held the Union together (for the time being at least) when South Carolina bucked in 1832. These were first-term triumphs. After Jackson's re-election came worsening economic woes and quickening financial panic.

Woodrow Wilson's splendid triple feat on domestic affairs — creating the Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Reserve System, and strengthening antitrust protection — all came during his first term, as did a neutrality adroit enough to keep "us out of war."

Then war came, World War I, in Wilson's second term. His military triumphs were tempered by Wilson's intolerance and inability to negotiate ably with friends in Europe (on German reparations) and with foes in the Senate (on the Versailles Treaty). His presidency effectively ended with his disabling stroke, when the first lady ran things until his successor's inauguration.

Ronald Reagan's first term saw the restoration of American confidence, military power and the economy. Dramatic moves on tax cuts and deregulation filled the domestic agenda, while his defense buildup, Strategic Defense Initiative, and serious aid to Afghan rebels (the Rea-

gan doctrine) helped to begin the Soviet crackup.

Though Mr. Reagan's second term was sparked by his summits with Mikhail Gorbachev — five in those four years became a bit much — it was also plagued by the Iran-Contra investigations and by the budget deficits coming home to roost. Mr. Reagan's reputation may now be on the upswing, but nowhere near what it was after his first term.

Why twice-elected presidents do worse during second terms is uncertain. It may be that economic, political or moral errors committed during first terms come back to haunt. This surely happened to Grant, Wilson, and Messrs. Nixon and Reagan.

Or it may be due to lame-duckism — a constitutional requirement since Harry S. Truman, but customary since George Washington. That dilutes presidential power.

It may have something to do with "tired blood," as second-term infirmities among presidents are frequent. And it surely has much to do with tired brains, as new ideas by the president's old hands get hard to come by.

Regardless of cause, second terms are tough. Maybe George Bush can escape the curse, but the historical record provides cold comfort.

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

PHILIP GOLD

## Quest for cultural revival

A story is told of Napoleon. One day, His Imperialism received a deputation of French artistes and intellectuals, who bemoaned the fact that France was not enjoying a cultural renewal commensurate with her recent real estate acquisitions. The Corsican Impresario listened, apparently politely, dismissed them, and then scrawled across the memo they'd left:

"See about getting some good stuff written."

The notation bespeaks a certain arrogance, not to mention a rather incomplete understanding of how culture is actually created and sustained. It just doesn't happen that way. But he may have had a least a partial point, which 1990s conservatives would do well to heed.

For, in the current War for the Culture, much of the conservative movement is blowing it about as badly as George Bush would, had he but world enough and time.

The War for the Culture is a multifaceted affair. It involves, ultimately, everything from the Halls of Ivy to what's left of the Halls of South-Central L.A. — from education and values to entertainment, literature, art, religion, economics, ecology. In an open, pluralistic society, this is not a war that can ever be "won" in a final sense; nor should it be. But it can be an enormously creative exercise, if done right.

It's not (with a few exceptions) being done right. At the moment, much of conservatism appears about as brain-dead as the professors, other rappers and performance artists, ecofreaks and feminists they so repetitively condemn.

For the War for the Culture is not about condemnation. It is about creating and offering — *marketing* — alternatives to the dreary, spiteful, pornographically pandering and pornographically preachy, obscenely expensive dominant culture — that misbegotten progeny of commercial entertainment and the academic-artistic left (themselves the stunted offspring of burned-out modernism).

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And, ultimately, it is about moving beyond that modernism to a restored sensibility: to a culture based on more than nihilism, narcissism, and the rights-and-feelings obsessions of the Sacred Imperial Self.

In this struggle, conservatism (again, with exceptions), suffers from two devastating weaknesses. First, by definition, conservatism is a protective kind of thing. Culture is that which exists, i.e., the best of what was. The need for ongoing creation and the need to nurture creators, too often seem less important than reflexive counterattack. (N.B. — the geniuses of the past did not live in the past; they lived in their present) But, unfortunately, many conservative voices and institutions spend their time and waste their resources bemoaning the present. After a while, their predictable sallies against convenient targets — Murphy Brown, the NEA, Politically Correct academics, whatever — become fully as boring as the targets themselves.

Imagine a beer company that marketed no beer, but which ran endless commercials demeaning the competition's product. Not quite wise business practice.

Not good in the Culture War, either.

Second, much of conservatism has yet to grasp that, although the struggle has its public policy battlefields, and they matter greatly, "getting good stuff written" is not a policy exercise. It's far more delicate than arguing economics or defense. Culture does not argue. It invites. It does not prove; it inspires. A post-modernist culture cannot be created by fiat, or produced to order. Throwing money at the problem won't do it. But the potential creators of this culture need to be nurtured, and networked, and made available commercially. And that is fundamentally different from the spewing out of policy studies and monographs designed to influence the policy elite or the climate of opinion on some specific set of issues.

That leads to an interesting question: What would a post-modernist culture, emanating from an essentially conservative sensibility, entail?

In a word: renewal — an exploration of the possibilities and modalities of renaissance. It would not need to sneer at all that has gone before. Nor would it need to be self-obsessed, or sex-obsessed, or bizarre. It would have the unique situations of this era to deal with — and the resources of millennia to help.

Can it be done? Absolutely. Other cultures, other ages have broken through their own sterilities, often with results conservatism cherishes today. Come on, Baby Boomers and Twentysomethings...

Oops.

WILLIAM BONDE

## Keeper of the POW/MIA clues

**E**vidence that American POWs were left behind in Southeast Asia after the United States withdrew from the Vietnam War can no longer be ignored.

The three newly declassified documents released by the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs make it clear that in 1973 senior U.S. officials possessed credible evidence that American servicemen had been left in Laos. The documents lend credence to Ross Perot's assertions before the committee that not only is there "no question we left people behind," but that federal officials have "covered up" the truth.

Let's start with then-acting Defense Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger's March 1973 memo. The Defense Intelligence Agency had listed 350 U.S. military and civilians missing in Laos in 1973, yet the North

Vietnamese had given names of only 10. Evidence of remaining prisoners was apparently so compelling that Mr. Eagleburger secretly urged resumption of airstrikes as a last step, "to force the release of our prisoners in Laos." Mr. Eagleburger's superior, Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson, echoed these concerns to President Nixon's national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, in a second memo. Nothing happened.

Yet, the third 1973 memo by Pentagon official Roger E. Shields mentions electronic intelligence indicating that Americans shot down over Laos "had been captured," and said the Pentagon's statement that no more Americans were still being held prisoner "should be altered slightly."

Barry A. Toll, a former Army intelligence specialist, told the POW/MIA Select Committee this past June that, in the mid-1970s, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the U.S. intelligence community believed that between 240 and 340 U.S. POW/MIAs were being held in Laos after Operation Homecoming in 1973.

Reports of POWs being held in Laos eventually became so convincing within the intelligence community that in 1981 the United States launched an operation using Laos nationals to photograph a Laotian prison camp suspected of holding American POWs. The secrecy of the operation was compromised, and nothing was found. But President Reagan had received enough evidence that he was standing by, ready to send in elite special warfare commandos to recover American POWs.

Now, Sen. Robert Smith, New Hampshire Republican and POW committee vice chairman, says three U.S. officials have confirmed to him that Vietnam offered the Reagan administration a deal to exchange POWs for \$4 billion in 1981. The Washington Times reports that the Treasury Department is trying to keep a Secret Service agent from testifying before the POW committee. The agent allegedly overheard U.S. officials discussing the POWS-for-money deal in January 1981. With this much smoke, there's got to be a fire.

The Select Committee continues

to press government agencies to account for U.S. servicemen, bring to light those government investigators who were negligent, and work to change the official U.S. position that no POWs were left in Indochina. To date, there is no hard evidence that any Americans are now living in captivity in Southeast Asia.

But it doesn't take a genius to figure out that the United States may have been in a hurry to be rid of an unpopular war and didn't want to expend the political capital that would have been needed to get the POWs home. No hard evidence of a government conspiracy exists, but Congress has revealed shoddy investigative procedures, a mind-set to debunk live POW sightings, poor record-keeping, and inaction by Defense Department agencies.

Vietnam, anxious for better relations with the United States, and the nation in the best position to assist in determining the status of those on the DIA's Laos list, should be pressured to find out from Laos what happened to U.S. POWs, and whether they are still alive.

*William J. Bonde is a Southeast Asia policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation.*

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

HARRY SUMMERS

## Can force solve the problem?

Life, it is said, imitates art. That's certainly the case with those now clamoring for military action to force the Serbians to stop the slaughter of the besieged peoples of Bosnia. Know it or not, what they are advocating is a political-military version of what the ancient Roman playwrights called *deus ex machina* — "God from a machine."

Used as a plot device to resolve dramatic conflict at the critical moment in the play, a "deity" would be brought in by stage machinery to set everything right. Strangely enough, that's the way many see military force, and the less they know about the military — former super-dove Sen. Barbara Mikulski, Maryland Democrat, is a current case in point — the more adamant they are that military force be used to "solve" the problem.

They believe that military force, almost literally in the case of airstrikes, can be used as a kind of God-from-a-machine to be inserted into a crisis situation and, by that act alone, put an end to the conflict. That's a dangerous illusion. As Sen. John McCain, Arizona Republican, has warned, it was precisely that kind of thinking that got us involved in Vietnam.

Then a Navy lieutenant commander, Mr. McCain was shot down over North Vietnam in October 1967, and spent more than five years in a North Vietnamese POW camp. He knows from firsthand experience the practical limitations on the use of military force.

While politicians can, and usually do, talk in terms of platitudes, the military must deal in specifics. The most difficult task of a military strategist is to take the more often than not amorphous aims laid out by political leaders and translate them into concrete and attainable military objectives.

"Sometimes," said the great military theorist Karl von Clausewitz, "the political and military objective is the same. ... In other cases [and Bosnia-Herzegovina is exactly in this category] the political object will not provide a suitable military

*While politicians can, and usually do, talk in terms of platitudes, the military must deal in specifics.*

objective. In that event, another military objective must be adopted that will serve the political purpose."

And there's the rub. There simply are no practical military objectives in Bosnia that can serve the political objective of getting the Serbians to cease and desist. Some have talked of using airstrikes to take out the Serbian guns, but the problem is in finding the target — what the military calls target acquisition. "It's fairly easy in that type of terrain to hide [the artillery]," said Canadian Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, former commander of the U.N. peacekeeping force in Sarajevo.

Besides, mortars are the Serbians' favorite weapon, he said in an interview with USA Today's Lee Michael Katz. "There are even more of them than artillery, and they run around in the backs of trucks and cars and schoolbuses and whatever." As we found in Korea and Vietnam, a good mortarman can "hang" a dozen rounds in the air and be long gone before the first one hits the ground.

But, as with Vietnam, the greatest obstacle to successful intervention may not be military but political. On July 4, 1821, at about the same time Clausewitz was writing his famous treatise on war, then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, like President Bush today, was wrestling with demands that he use U.S. military force to intervene in the Balkans.

The Greeks were fighting to free themselves from control of the Ottoman Turks, and public sentiment ran high to use the U.S. Navy's Mediterranean squadron to intervene in the crisis. "Wherever the standards of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled," Adams said, "there will be America's heart, her benedictions, and her prayers."

"But," he went on to say, "she goes not abroad in search of monsters to

destroy. America well knows that by once enlisting under banners other than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extraction, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assumes the colors and usurps the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force."

Adams' words have special meaning, for the fighting in Bosnia today is in a very real sense an extension of that earlier conflict. While the American media talk of "Muslim Bosnians," you can count on it that the Serbians see only "Turks."

When life seems to imitate art, it is useful to return to the arts to better appreciate what is going on. For insights into Bosnia today read former Yugoslav Vice President Milovan Djilas' 1971 novel, "Under the Colors," chronicling the bloody struggle of a Serbian clan to free itself from Turkish domination. As President Bush said, it is truly an "age-old conflict."

*Harry G. Summers Jr., a retired U.S. Army colonel, is a distinguished fellow of the Army War College and a nationally syndicated columnist.*

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

## Hillary, Anita, Ricki, Judith & Co.

**"M**ost Americans, black and white, male and female, young and old, believed Clarence Thomas and not Anita Hill." So said Vice President Dan Quayle the other day, stumbling upon yet another "values" issue that the Bush-Quayle ticket should do all it can to exploit in the fall campaign.

The vice president's apt remarks were prompted by the appearance on Sunday of Hillary Clinton and Anita Hill on a platform at the American Bar Association's national convention. Miss Hill "transformed consciousness and changed history with her courageous testimony," effused Mrs. Clinton. "All women who care about equality of opportunity, about integrity and morality in the workplace are in Anita Hill's debt."

Miss Hill's fans, including now Hillary Clinton, the ABA, and as always, the national press corps, continue to boycott the essential question raised during that dark weekend last October: Who lied? In true totalitarian spirit, the ABA issued a statement saying that it was not taking a position on this issue; it went on to laud Miss Hill for speaking "eloquently and persuasively on behalf of millions of women who have been harassed in the workplace."

"Obviously, if Hillary Clinton wants to be associated with Anita Hill, that's fine, that's her choice," Mr. Quayle said. "But what it does show is that the Clinton campaign is clearly in the pocket of American Bar Association leadership."

The connection between the Clarence Thomas wrecking crew and the Clinton campaign runs deeper than the Hillary-Anita mutual admiration society and the ABA. Tuesday's New York Times brought news that Ricki Seidman, a Ted Kennedy staffer by way of People for the American Way, is now running the "war room" for the Clinton campaign in Little Rock. Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle had better get out the heavy galoshes. It's going to be a dirty fall.

Miss Seidman was at the scene of the crime in the two most disgusting political events of the past few years: the vicious and dishonest campaigns against the Supreme Court nominations of Robert Bork and Cla-

rence Thomas. Miss Seidman was the architect of Norman Lear's People for the American Way "big lie" strategy against Judge Bork. One infamous anti-Bork ad managed to contain 99 misstatements of fact.

Along with Howard Metzenbaum staffer Jim Brudney, Miss Seidman went on to distinguish herself as one of the key staffers behind the Anita Hill production number. Shortly after Judge Thomas was nominated, Miss Seidman joined the Kennedy staff to detonate bombs. Tipped off by the Alliance for Justice, she soon found Miss Hill and teased a dirty story out of her. When the Judiciary Committee saw the story for what it was, namely, worthless, Miss Seidman was one of the leading agitators in the effort to reverse the committee decision and "out" Miss Hill.

She was in constant telephone contact with the reporters who eventually broke the Hill story, National Public Radio's Nina Totenberg and Newsday's Tim Phelps. A close reading of the report of special counsel Peter Fleming, who investigated the Hill leak, indicates that Miss Seidman functioned as a cut-out for Mr. Brudney in his contacts with Miss Totenberg. Mr. Brudney's copy of Miss Hill's statement eventually made its way to the eager Miss Totenberg.

Given Miss Seidman's background as a colonel in the liberals' war on judicial nominees, it is all the more distressing to learn that Mrs. Clinton played a role in screening her husband's judicial appointments in Arkansas. And there's more: According to the Wall Street Journal, Mrs. Clinton takes her advice from Judith Lichtman, head of the Women's Legal Defense Fund. This is the same Miss Lichtman who was immortalized in the Fleming report as saying she was "going after [the] affidavit" of Anita Hill after the committee had judged it to be a closed case. Miss Lichtman also suggested leaking the Hill story to Miss Totenberg or to senators outside the committee.

For all Mr. Clinton's efforts to moderate his rhetoric, his campaign is still providing a home for some of the most unsavory radicals the Democratic Party has to offer. That is not going to escape the notice of the American people forever.

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

## Voices for and against crime

**B**y a rather deafening voice vote, the House D.C. Committee on Tuesday rejected a criminal justice reform bill sponsored by Rep. Thomas Bliley. The Virginia Republican in fact was the only member of the committee to vote for the bill. This is not a tragedy. There's no reason why a congressional committee should impose laws on the District, and after the vote Mr. Bliley indicated that one of his real goals was simply to put pressure on District lawmakers to take needed action against crime.

There is indeed much reason for District lawmakers to do so, even by adopting some of the measures Mr. Bliley proposed. Unfortunately, several of the measures the council has adopted are considerably weaker than those offered by Mr. Bliley.

For one thing, Mr. Bliley proposed mandatory life sentences with no parole for those convicted of first-degree murder. The council has already passed legislation that permits but does not require life sentences and only on the condition that the judge determines in a sentencing hearing that certain aggravating factors existed. It imposes a "reasonable doubt" standard in determining such sentences, a standard that is proper in resolving the question of guilt or innocence, but not necessarily in determining the sentence for those already convicted. The council's legislation does not, for example, allow for life imprisonment for those who commit revenge killings of police officers, judges or prosecutors.

As for bail reform, the council has passed legislation to make it easier for courts to keep dangerous criminals in jail pending trial, but it doesn't let the courts detain offenders who are likely to flee. The council's bill requires a standard of "substantial probability" that a defendant is a threat to the community before he can be denied bail, but the constitutionally required standard (and the one contained in Mr. Bliley's bill) is "probable cause," a lower threshold that would

keep more violent types in stir.

The Bliley bill also provided for victim-impact statements at sentencing and parole hearings and created a statutory right of victims to be informed when the defendant is imprisoned, released, paroled or has escaped. Since judges often hear only pre-sentencing reports written by parole officers, social workers and others whose professional bias is to claim extenuating circumstances for the perpetrator, a chance to listen in detail to victim-impact statements that tell the victims' side of the story is valuable.

In a statement after the vote Tuesday, Mr. Bliley noted that he introduced his criminal law reform bill last March, and at once the hue and cry went up in the D.C. Council that Congress should not act on it before the council had a chance to act itself. The result of waiting on the council was the weaker reforms described above. Mr. Bliley also pointed out that since the committee has already authorized an extra \$30 million to the annual federal payment to the city for fighting crime, the District's criminal code and law enforcement practices are not entirely matters of local concern. U.S. taxpayers, and therefore the Congress, also have a financial stake in the effectiveness of District crime control.

After the vote, D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton said she "would like to assure Mr. Bliley he has had an effect on the city council and the mayor. . . . The council fears for its political life if it does not move to do something about the crime rate." Of course, incumbent office-holders have a habit of contriving to get themselves re-elected regardless of what their constituents want, but with all due regard to the "political lives" of the council members, their constituents have reason to fear for their real lives. If the council is more concerned about the lives of the city's residents than the political careers of its own members, it ought to look again at the tougher proposals Mr. Bliley offered.

## Moving toward free trade

**T**he U.S. economy got another badly needed boost this week. Negotiators from the United States, Mexico and Canada produced the North American Free Trade Agreement, one that knocks down a lot of the barriers to a giant \$6 trillion market comprising 360 million consumers. That's a lot of trade. That's a lot of jobs.

Among other things, NAFTA opens the door to cheaper clothing and fruits and vegetables for U.S. consumers. It makes it possible for American companies to market telecommunications, banking and other services to Mexico. U.S. automakers will be able to compete in the fastest-growing car market in the world.

There's much more, not all of it good, admittedly. One of the dumber provisions has to do with raising the domestic content levels — the amount of North American parts and labor — required to sell cars here. If the Japanese don't meet those levels, they have to pay a tariff on their Hondas and Toyotas and other popular models. That would mean higher car prices for U.S. consumers.

But faced with a Congress and a Commerce Department that make their livings attacking low prices in order to protect uncompetitive domestic industries, it is a credit to President Bush that he got as much free trade as he did. If he can persuade Congress to go along with the treaty, NAFTA could go down as the president's greatest accomplishment.

NAFTA is a defining moment for Mr. Bush. Contrast the president's free-market approach to trade with the wavering support of Democratic opponent Bill Clinton, and it's clear that NAFTA makes a good campaign issue for Mr. Bush. When Mr. Clinton says, "We are going to invest in [fill in the blank]," he is using the royal "we." He means government will take tax money from Americans and spend it on what the government de-

cides is in their best interest. NAFTA, on the other hand, invites consumers to make their own spending decisions with the understanding that they, not government, can best determine their interests.

To hear the treaty's critics, one would suppose that NAFTA is "a jobs program for Mexico," as Michigan Sen. Don Riegle put it. Activists at Public Citizen and the Natural Resources Defense Council fret that NAFTA will do in Mother Nature. In other words, just think of all the terrible things that might happen if the Riegles and the environmentalists weren't around to tell consumers what to do.

What really worries the greens, of course, is that American companies will flee the crazed environmental regulations that groups like Public Citizen and the NRDC have been so busy promoting of late. Insofar as trade promotes economic growth and rising standards of living in Mexico though, that country will be able to pay for increased environmental protection. People in Mexico City, in Africa, in the old Soviet states don't have the luxury of worrying about carbon dioxide emissions. They have to worry about where their next meal is coming from. Only rich countries like the United States can afford environmentalism.

Mr. Riegle's alarm about jobs is an old one. Who can forget the good old days when Commerce Department estimates of jobs lost to imports typically exceeded the number of unemployed skilled workers in this country? Mr. Riegle, perhaps. Most people understand that imports mean jobs too. Somebody has to market imported goods. Somebody has to sell them. The flip side of the deal is that exports create jobs too. More than 600,000 Americans make products to sell in Mexico — this country's fastest growing export market.

George Bush is on the right track, the so-called fast track, with NAFTA. It should help his election prospects. It should help the nation's economy even more.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

## Says issue out of place in platform

By Frank J. Murray  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Barbara Bush said yesterday the anti-abortion plank should be stricken from the Republican platform on which her husband will run for re-election but continued a 14-year silence on her personal views.

"When I run for office, you ask me and I'll tell you, but as long as I'm married to a man I'm going to back him," said Mrs. Bush, whose other comments suggested she favors choice to prevent a tragedy she ranked with the fatal disease of AIDS.

"I don't know in my own mind whether it's worse to get AIDS or whether it's worse to be a 14-year-old who has to quit school, have a baby, can't take care of it and knows she is locked into poverty the rest of her life. I don't know which fate is worse. They're both terrible," she said in an interview with several newspapers including The Washington Times.

Mrs. Bush told the reporters she will comment on the platform next week, perhaps in her nationally televised convention speech on family values.

But in a separate interview she said she wanted the plank out, and she used the words "personal choice."

Her ambiguous dissent, given to three newsmagazines and released last night by U.S. News & World Report, said: "I'm saying abortion should not be in there, either pro or con. I think that's a personal choice, is what I'm saying, personal thing."

Although the president supported

see BARBARA, page A8

## BARBARA

From page A1

Republican National Chairman Rich Bond yesterday for his criticism of Hillary Clinton, Mrs. Bush was unusually blunt and combative in condemning it.

"I don't like it," she said, adding: "I may even agree with him, [but] I'm against attacking his wife." She also accused the press of bias against Mr. Bush and railed against a "filthy" campaign, but at one point justified press coverage of adultery allegations against Bill Clinton.

"He never denied he had a fling, did he?" she said.

Mrs. Bush called the campaign close to "an all-time low" but says it is endurable.

"There's three more months. I can endure anything for three more months," she said, with handkerchief crushed in her hand as she sat in a straight-backed chair beside a table bearing a photo of Mr. and Mrs. Bush with the pope and a flowered bowl containing a book of matches inscribed "The President's House."

Mr. Bush defended Mr. Bond's characterization of Mrs. Clinton's legal writings in 1973 and 1974 as anti-family.

"It doesn't matter when it was," Mr. Bush told a Scripps-Howard interviewer. "If it was factual stuff, then that's quite different from just attacks on my wife. I think if you're going to be in the issues business, it's fine to talk about issues. Barbara Bush is not in the issue business."

Mrs. Bush brushed off differences between her own soaring popularity and the dismal ratings of her husband.

"I make no decisions. I don't have to say no to anybody," she said. "Nobody's jealous of me. Look at me. Who would be? It's easy to like me. They like George and they respect him, but he has to say no to people because he has to do what's right for the country, and that's hard."

Mrs. Bush said she's nervous about a speech she describes as five minutes on family values: "It isn't going to be a great speech. It's a little Mighty Mouse, a nothing. ... If I could invent some new family value, I'd come up with one."

Despite speculation and rumors that she is privately pro-choice, Mrs. Bush has kept her abortion views confidential as her husband evolved from pro-choice in the 1970s to a staunch pro-life stance now. He opposes all public spending on abortion and advocates a constitutional amendment to countermand the Roe

## BARBARA BUSH, ON THE RECORD

Excerpts from interview with first lady Barbara Bush:

■ **RNC Chairman Rich Bond's attack on Hillary Clinton:** "I don't like it. ... I may even agree with him [but] I'm against attacking his wife."

■ **Sexual practices:** "Today promiscuous sex is a death threat. There's no such thing as safe sex. ... I don't know in my own mind whether it's worse to get AIDS or whether it's worse to be a 14-year-old who has to quit school, have a baby, can't take care of it and knows she is locked into poverty the rest of her life."

■ **Press fairness:** "You take attacks from us as dirty and from them as OK."

■ **Coverage of adultery allegation against her husband:** "It's the press fault for printing something that is a lie in every way, shape and form. I don't have a double standard. I felt the same way about printing the Bill Clinton story, from a woman who was paid to write that article."

■ **Coverage of adultery allegation against Bill Clinton:** "He never denied he had a fling, did he?"

■ **Abortion:** "When I run for office, you ask me and I'll tell you, but as long as I'm married to a man I'm going to back him."

■ **The campaign:** "It has not been the best of political times. ... pretty close to an all-time low, I'd say."

■ **What if her husband doesn't win:** "A different life, obviously. ... He's been out of a job several times before and he's managed to survive."

The Washington Times

vs. Wade decision and forbid abortion except in cases of rape or incest or when the mother's life is at stake.

Mrs. Bush said she agreed with the president's statement this week that he would support a granddaughter's hypothetical decision to have an abortion and went further,

saying they both would do so even if abortion became illegal under the constitutional amendment he advocates.

"No, no. He would still put his arms around his child," she said.

Mrs. Bush showed the depth of her feeling on teen-age pregnancy

by comparing it with acquired immune deficiency syndrome, which has invariably been fatal.

"Today promiscuous sex is a death threat. There's no such thing as safe sex. I think one out of eight condoms doesn't work," she said.

Reporters came in for special criticism, both for their willingness to wallow in sordid topics and for her perception that they nail Mr. Bush more than they do Mr. Clinton.

"You take attacks from us as dirty and from them as OK," Mrs. Bush said.

Asked to compare coverage of charges against the Arkansas governor by Gennifer Flowers with those of quotes from the late arms-talk ambassador Louis Fields in a book footnote against her husband this week, she said:

"Well, Mr. Clinton had some problems. Mr. Bush doesn't. I didn't like it. I told you that. He had a few problems with the draft. He has a lot to overcome. ... He lied. He said one thing and did another."

She said some aspects of personal character are legitimate issues and cannot be ruled out of campaigns: "Not steadiness or wisdom or honesty, integrity, decency ... ability, wisdom, all of which I think George Bush has. I think those are all very important."

## Memo suggests Baker role breaks law

ASSOCIATED PRESS

A 1991 memo by White House Counsel Boyden Gray sharply discourages political activity by presidential aides. But a White House spokesman insisted yesterday that James A. Baker III's mingling of policy and politics will pose "no problem."

President Bush yesterday announced that Mr. Baker was resigning as secretary of state to become his chief of staff and will have broad powers over both Mr. Bush's political and policy agenda.

Mr. Gray, in a Nov. 27, 1991, internal memo to "all White House staff," spelled out stiff restrictions on po-

litical activity by presidential employees.

"The simplest rule to follow is the common-sense instruction that anything that is obviously campaign-related should not be done here, whether or not one could 'legally' justify doing it here," Mr. Gray wrote.

He suggested that direct campaign activity on the part of White House staff could be construed as a misuse of public funds.

Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said yesterday that Robert Teeter would remain as chairman of Mr. Bush's re-election committee but "under the direction of the pres-

ident and the chief of staff."

Asked how Mr. Baker's directing of Mr. Bush's re-election effort squared with the Gray memo, Mr. Fitzwater said: "This situation has been reviewed by legal counsel. ... We would anticipate no problem."

"Certainly, the secretary [Mr. Baker], the president and everyone else is aware of the difficulties inherent in the this situation," Mr. Fitzwater said. "It is our view that good politics and good policy are of the same quotient."

Mr. Gray, in his 1991 memo, wrote that top-ranking members of the White House staff "are subject to

certain restrictions" on their political activities.

The memo asserts that no funds appropriated by Congress for the operation of the White House may be used "for political purposes."

In addition, Mr. Bush's counsel wrote, "government copying machines may not be used to reproduce materials for transmittal to a campaign or political committee except in those limited instances where there is an official purpose for doing so."

Mr. Gray's memo also suggests that political fund raising held in the White House would be illegal.

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

## Baker leaves gains as new crises erupt

By Martin Sieff  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Secretary of State James A. Baker III leaves his successor with several problems long thought intractable apparently solved, but with stark new situations erupting around the world.

On the credit side, with the exception of Romania, genuine democracy and sweeping free market reforms have been established in the other four former Soviet satellites of eastern Europe; the three Baltic states are independent nations for the first time in half a century; the Soviet Union has disintegrated; and its successor states are seeking to implement democratic reforms.

Also, two dramatic, sweeping strategic arms reduction agreements have been concluded with the former Soviet state and its successors.

Mr. Baker's tough policy on loan guarantees to Israel helped topple that country's Likud-led government, replacing it with a more moderate one led by Yitzhak Rabin under which relations with Washington have warmed up again.

With U.S. encouragement, under both the old and new Israeli govern-

ments, peace talks with the Palestinians and the Arab states look more hopeful than ever before.

However, Mr. Baker leaves the new acting secretary, Lawrence Eagleburger, facing new crises.

A year and a half after the Gulf war, Saddam Hussein remains in power in Iraq, with the Kurdish north of the country at his mercy, and his ambitions to swallow neighboring oil-rich Kuwait unabated.

Nor has the United States been able to stem the flow of weapons of mass destruction to radical Middle East nations like Iran, Syria and Libya from countries like China and North Korea, and even from newly democratic Czechoslovakia and Russia, desperate for hard currency from arms exports.

The United States failed to deter Serbia from invading Croatia last year, and from invading Bosnia-Herzegovina this year. Administration leaders are well aware of the dangers of committing U.S. ground troops in an endless, bloody war in former Yugoslavia, but without such force, Serb aggression is expected to stand despite international condemnation.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992

# Baker accepts controls of Bush campaign

## GOP pros can't help smiling

By Ralph Z. Hallow  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republican campaign professionals leaped from depression to ecstasy yesterday as they heard James Baker reshape President Bush's re-election campaign into a back-to-basics manifesto of conservative principles.

Just as the platform writers in Houston have been moving the party to the right this week, Mr. Baker surprised GOP strategists and pollsters by previewing for the nation a Bush vision that is further to the right than his conservative supporters dared hope it would be.

"I have a smile on my face for the first time concerning the Bush campaign," said Ed Goetas, president of the Tarrance Group, a polling and strategy firm. "If Baker's speech is any indication of what we have to look forward to next week in Mrs.



Bush's speech and the president's acceptance speech, we Republicans have reason to be excited."

Almost as buoying to GOP campaign veterans was their witnessing Mr. Baker once again slip effortlessly into the role of quiet dictator over the chaotic Bush campaign organization, just as he did at this time four years ago.

"A presidential campaign is not a democracy, and now George Bush's campaign has its dictator," said Lyn

## CHANGING PLACES



Secretary of State James A. Baker III (center) becomes White House chief of staff, replacing Samuel Skinner (left), who becomes GOP general chairman, as Lawrence Eagleburger moves up to acting secretary of state.

Nofziger, now a reluctant admirer of the man who as White House chief of staff nearly 12 years ago forced Mr. Nofziger out as President Reagan's first political director.

"There was a dire need for some-

one to rule over the mess they had with three chiefs at the Bush-Quayle '92 headquarters and [White House Chief of Staff Sam] Skinner trying to

see CHANGES, page A6

## Will move after convention

By Paul Bedard  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush, seeking to recharge his faltering campaign, initiated sweeping White House staff changes yesterday by naming Secretary of State James A. Baker III as his third chief of staff.

Noting the nation and his campaign are at a "pivotal point," Mr. Bush said Mr. Baker will play his administration's most important role "as I seek a mandate from the American people" in the fall election.

"He is a committed trustee of the American public interest... he's the sort of man you want on your team," Mr. Bush told reporters in a brief White House appearance.

The reunion of the two men, friends since the president's days as a Texas oilman 35 years ago, brought a huge sigh of relief from Repub-

licans who saw the move as the only path to re-election.

Mr. Baker, expressing regret over leaving the family atmosphere developed in Foggy Bottom during three years of global change, followed the announcement with an outline of the president's second-term agenda.

In an address at the State Department that many observers said dwarfed any given this year by Mr. Bush, Mr. Baker said, "At this point in history, I firmly believe that it's vital for this nation of ours to demonstrate its unique ability to transform anxiety and even anger into regeneration."

"When you peel away the rhetoric, there are very, very different ideas in conflict out there.... I think that there is a conservative agenda for helping people and for responding to

see BAKER, page A6

# The Washington Times

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 \*

## BAKER

From page A1

their needs," he said.

Officials expect Mr. Baker to help fine-tune Mr. Bush's call for policy change, aid the president in making distinctions between himself and his opposition and reinvigorate a campaign lagging by 25 points in the polls.

On Aug. 23 Mr. Baker will replace Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner, who was unable in nine months to stop Mr. Bush's decline in the polls. Mr. Skinner will become general chairman of the party, a figurehead position.

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger will be acting secretary of state until after the election. It is unclear whether Mr. Baker would return to State if Mr. Bush is re-elected.

A senior administration official said Mr. Baker will join the White House staff after the GOP convention to avoid criticism if the gathering falls flat. "The real campaign starts when he gets here," said the official, who requested anonymity.

While there will be no related changes at the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign headquarters, several officials said the campaign headed by Chairman Robert Teeter and Manager Frederick Malek will be responding to Mr. Baker and his team.

"Teeter will be taking orders, not meddling in the White House," said an administration official.

Democratic reaction was quick and harsh. Presidential nominee Bill Clinton and his surrogates fretted about American foreign policy without Mr. Baker in charge, and criticized Mr. Bush for politicizing Mr. Baker.

Mr. Clinton said yesterday that Mr. Baker's return to the White House and control of the Bush-Quayle campaign will give the campaign a "better face."

Mr. Clinton did not believe voters would buy Mr. Baker's position that now that the Bush administration has solved the world's problems it will do the same in America. He added that he still expected a negative GOP campaign but with Mr. Baker in charge it will be "more cleverly negative."

"This move is unwise," Sen. Joseph Biden, Delaware Democrat, said in a Senate floor speech. "To have our secretary resign to run a political campaign would place a

taint on the job which is unprecedented in recent times—and would send a terrible signal to the world."

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater joked about the Democratic response. "I am sure that Secretary Baker is pleased and proud of this newfound respect that he is getting from Democrats and eat-your-heart-out folks," he said.

Bush-Quayle campaign officials said the change will have a dramatic impact on the White House and re-election because of Mr. Baker's reputation for being an aggressive policy planner and campaign organizer.

Mr. Fitzwater said Mr. Baker and Mr. Bush discussed the job switch during their July fishing vacation at Mr. Baker's Wyoming ranch. Mr. Bush said the switch was urged by Mr. Skinner, the former transportation secretary.

"To have the president's closest adviser at his right hand working on both domestic and international policies for now and four years from now... is a big plus," said Mr. Malek.

Campaign and White House officials said Mr. Baker is the only administration official who can speak frankly with Mr. Bush. He also is considered the only Bush aide capable of getting the re-election campaign back on track.

Mr. Baker headed former President Gerald Ford's unsuccessful re-election campaign, was former President Reagan's chief of staff and Treasury secretary and ran his successful 1984 re-election campaign. He then directed Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign against Democrat Michael Dukakis.

In that election, as now, Mr. Bush was far behind in the polls going into the GOP convention and Mr. Baker was credited with turning a failing effort into a winner by Election Day.

Republicans gathering in Houston for the Republican Convention that opens Monday were enthusiastic.

"It's an admission that we have an uphill campaign in the fall, but it's a sign that we're not lying down," said Rep. Vin Weber of Minnesota, a leading GOP conservative.

"I think he is going to bring fresh new ideas and management style, a sense of decisiveness which I believe was lacking in the campaign," said Housing Secretary Jack Kemp. "It is time for some fresh leadership in the campaign."

Mr. Baker plans to bring his top State Department staff with him to



James Baker and President Bush will be this close the next few months.

### RUNNING THE RACE

James A. Baker III's record on running political campaigns is three straight wins, four losses.

- 1970** — Baker helped his friend George Bush carry 61 percent of Houston in Bush's Senate bid. Bush lost election.
- 1976** — Baker left his post as undersecretary of Commerce in the Ford administration to run President Ford's re-election campaign. Ford lost.
- 1978** — Baker was the Texas GOP's nominee for attorney general. He lost.
- 1980** — Chaired committee to elect George Bush president. Bush lost.
- 1980** — Ronald Reagan named Baker a senior campaign adviser. Reagan won the presidential election.
- 1984** — Baker was Reagan's chief of staff and key re-election campaign strategist. Reagan won.
- 1988** — Baker was Bush's campaign chairman. Bush won.

The Washington Times

the West Wing in a move that will eliminate any remnants of Mr. Skinner or the president's first chief of staff, John Sununu, aides said.

Joining Mr. Baker will be his counselor and policy czar, Robert Zoellick, who will become deputy chief of staff; State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler, who will be communications director; senior Mideast and Soviet adviser Dennis Ross, who will become the chief White House policy planner; and Janet Mullins, State Department congressional lobbyist, to

head the White House political shop. All will have the title of assistant to the president.

Miss Tutwiler will take from Mr. Fitzwater the communications title with which Mr. Fitzwater felt uncomfortable.

White House officials expect removal or reassignment of deputy chief of staff Henson Moore, domestic policy czar Clayton Yeutter, domestic policy adviser Roger Porter and political adviser Ron Kaufman.

J. Jennings Moss contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1992 •

## Capitol spies

Rep. Charlie Rose, the Democratic chairman of the House Administration Committee that probed the post office scandal, is worried about "spies" on the U.S. Capitol Police force. He's so concerned that he wants the police put under his personal jurisdiction. But the North Carolina congressman didn't mean to criticize the entire force in recent comments about how they're a bunch of "Keystone Kops" who "bungled" the first efforts to investigate the House postal facility.

In an Aug. 12 letter to the Fraternal Order of Police, Mr. Rose apologized about those comments. "Let me begin by saying that I have great respect for the vast majority of men and women who serve on the Capitol Police force," the letter said. "I realize that the job can often seem thankless, a situation which is not helped when someone makes comments which, while intending to criticize a few, condemns the whole force."

Mr. Rose said he meant to trash only those "members of the Capitol Police [who] were acting as spies on behalf of the U.S. Justice Department. . . . Some of their actions seriously deterred our investigation."

When asked by the Rose task

force probing the scandal to give up their internal investigatory files, the cops refused on orders of U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens, who was worried that politics might interfere with his criminal investigation.

Left out of Mr. Rose's letter was mention of his behind-the-scenes efforts to bring the USCP under his direct control, so that the next time he asks for confidential police info on some of his colleagues, he can get it.

So far, cooler heads in the Senate are blocking such a caper. But you never know: Politics might prevail.

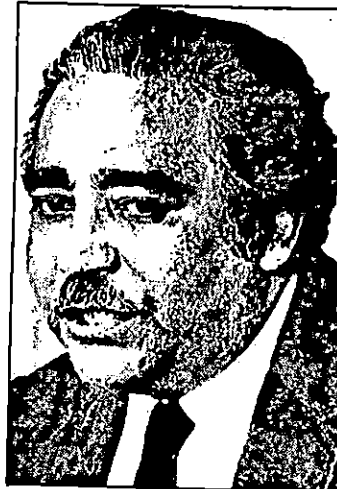
## The black vote

Rep. Charles Rangel, New York Democrat, lays into his party's presidential nominee, Bill Clinton, on John McLaughlin's "One on One" show to be broadcast Sunday. "I don't see that many blacks involved," he says. "I don't see that many of our issues on the agenda," adding, "I wish Clinton was pandering."

Of Mr. Clinton's drug policy, Mr. Rangel says: "I don't think much of it. As a matter of fact, I'm trying to work with his people to develop some kind of policy. . . . He's got a long way to go."

Mr. Rangel says he's supporting Mr. Clinton but thinks the Republicans could send the Democrats

## INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Rep. Charles Rangel would prefer pandering to what Clinton's doing.

"running for the hills" if they put Colin Powell on the ticket. "I think the only thing George Bush knows

about blacks is Willie Horton," he concludes.

On the same show, Rep. Gary Franks, Connecticut Republican, says he thinks "Clinton's running away from the black community as rapidly as he can, because he's going after those Reagan Democrats."

## Letter canceled

Elizabeth Drew, who has written the "Letter from Washington" for The New Yorker magazine for 19 years, has resigned her post as Washington columnist. She cited differences with the magazine's new editor, Tina Brown.

"Tina wants to change The New Yorker and that, of course, is her right, and I wish her and the magazine well," Ms. Drew said in a statement.

## Paying the price

Barbara Bush hasn't been too happy with the press since the rumors of her husband's alleged af-

fair with Jennifer Fitzgerald hit the front page of the New York Post. That paper took the brunt of the anger yesterday when reporter Deborah Orrin showed up for her scheduled interview with Mrs. Bush. She emerged from the first lady's press office saying, "I've been disinvented."

The reporter, who had interviewed Vice President Dan Quayle earlier in the day, said she was "perfectly happy with the [Bush] story. It was appropriate and well done." She termed Mrs. Bush's refusal to speak to her "silly and petty."

Also yesterday, Mrs. Bush was asked if she believes the press is hostile toward her husband. "In all honesty, yes," she replied, saying she's gotten used to it over the years. As to why the press is hostile, she said: "I'll be damned if I know, unless they're just liberals."

## You decide

Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond says Hillary Clinton "likened marriage and the family to slavery" in an article she wrote for Harvard Educational Review in 1973.

Bill Clinton called the comment "pathetic." George Stephanopoulos, Clinton campaign communications

director, said what Mr. Bond "has done is turn words into lies." Mrs. Clinton was speaking in terms of history, not of the current situation, he said.

Here's the disputed passage:

"The basic rationale for depriving 7 people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or underserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position. It is presumed that under the circumstances society is doing what is best for the individuals. Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system."

## Where's his helmet?

Dan Quayle's role is often to test out new positions for President Bush to see how they play with the electorate. Mr. Quayle will give a speech, and then the handlers and pollsters and other technicians will measure audience and media reaction. Prolonged exposure to this tactic led one prominent White House television correspondent to mutter that Mr. Quayle's function is that of "ideological crash dummy."

— John Elvin