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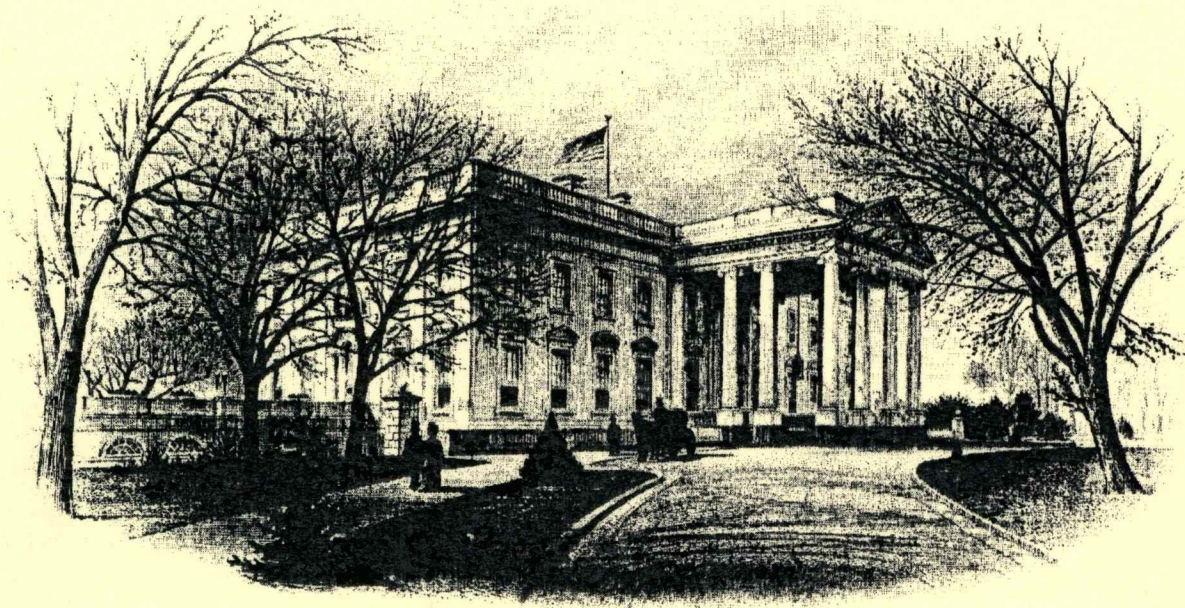
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GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT

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SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 1989

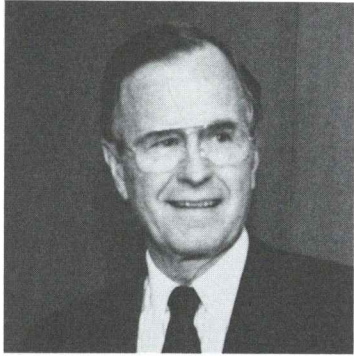
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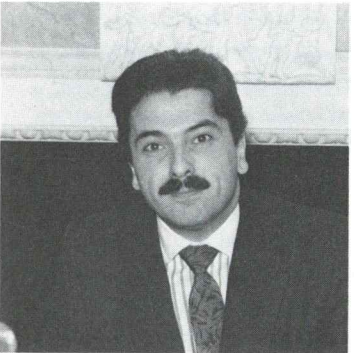
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White House Is Planning a New Drive To Continue Contra Aid Until February

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Bush administration is planning a new campaign to keep humanitarian aid flowing to Nicaragua's Contra rebels until the country holds elections next February.

Administration aides say they are beginning to plan speeches and policy statements to increase pressure on Democrats in Congress to continue the aid, which could be cut off at the end of November under a White House-congressional agreement reached last March.

In addition, officials are considering declassifying and releasing Central Intelligence Agency documents buttressing the administration's contention that Nicaragua's Sandinista government has been receiving an increasing supply of military equipment from Cuba and Soviet bloc nations.

The first round in the new campaign was a little-noticed speech given by Vice President Dan Quayle on Aug. 21 to the Veterans of Foreign Wars. That speech, which was worked on by high-level White House and State Department aides, argued that until Contra rebels can enjoy "safe and democratic conditions" in Nicaragua, "it will remain a moral obligation of the United States to continue its humanitarian assistance."

White House aides were disappointed, though, that the speech didn't attract more attention and that it wasn't followed up by similar statements from other top officials. The administration intends to begin following up after Labor Day, officials say.

Under their March accord, President Bush and congressional leaders agreed to keep aid flowing to the Contras at a rate of about \$4.5 million a month until the February elections, provided the administration supported regional peace plans. But in a side letter to Congress, the administration pledged that it wouldn't send any aid after Nov. 30 unless the chairmen of four congressional committees overseeing appropriations and foreign relations submitted letters approving further assistance. All the chairmen are Democrats, and Democratic lawmakers saw the plan as a way to ensure administration support for peace efforts.

Congress's interest in continuing aid past November was thrown into doubt in early August, when leaders of five Central American nations signed a peace plan calling for voluntary demobilization of the Contras, who operate from base camps in

Honduras. House Speaker Thomas Foley (D., Wash.) has said in recent days that humanitarian aid should continue until the elections despite the new peace plan. But other Democrats haven't decided whether the U.S. should continue aid that will help keep Contra fighters in the field.

The administration appears to have acquired an important ally, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, in its campaign to continue aid. Sen. Richard Lugar (R., Ind.) has just returned from a Latin American trip and said this week that President Arias told him that American humanitarian aid for the Contras should continue through the Nicaraguan elections "and perhaps after that."

Mr. Arias has been the driving force behind the Central American peace process. His opinion has been particularly influential with congressional Democrats.

U.S. and Central American officials estimate there are 60,000 to 70,000 Contra fighters and their family members in rebel camps along the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. Though the recent Central American peace plan calls for procedures to allow these rebels to safely return to Nicaragua and to participate openly in the political process, Mr. Quayle argued in his speech that "safe and democratic conditions do not exist in Nicaragua today."

Besides Mr. Quayle, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, deputy national security adviser Robert Gates and deputy secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger worked on the vice president's speech. Officials said that, in addition to re-emphasizing the themes from that address, the administration plans to try to focus attention on steps the administration thinks Nicaragua's Sandinista leaders are taking to rig the elections to ensure that they win.

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal **B-4** _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date **1 Sept 89**

Bush Gives Kaifu Positive Send-Off, Emphasizes Security Ties

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush, meeting his third Japanese prime minister since February, went to unusual lengths yesterday to give a political boost to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, declaring that the two leaders had reached "broad agreement" in nearly three hours of talks.

At Japan's request, Bush interrupted his Kennebunkport, Maine, vacation and flew 500 miles to the White House yesterday morning for a formal meeting and lunch to give Kaifu's three-week-old government a positive, official U.S. send-off. Immediately after bidding Kaifu farewell, Bush flew back to Maine.

Both Bush and Kaifu placed unusually strong emphasis on the U.S.-Japan security relationship, which Bush called "vital not only to our joint security but to the stability of the entire Asia-Pacific region." The security relationship is in question now because its political sponsor in Japan, the conservative Liberal Democratic Party that has been in power since 1955, is suddenly in danger of losing to the So-

cialist Party. Public reaction to a new national tax as well as financial and sexual scandals were blamed for the downfall of Kaifu's two predecessors earlier this year.

In another echo of the ticklish political situation in Japan, Kaifu told Bush, "I cannot guarantee" that progress will be made by next spring in the new U.S.-Japan "structural impediments" talks that are to begin Monday in Tokyo. While hedged with declarations of good intentions, the statement was unusually strong for a Japanese leader and was being reported by the Japanese press as a sign to the voters at home that Kaifu will stand up to pressure for trade concessions from the United States.

Kaifu made his "no guarantee" remark after an appeal over the White House luncheon table by Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady that it is "important to have progress by next spring" in the new trade discussions. A similar appeal, using the same timetable, was presented earlier in the day by Secretary of State James A. Baker III in a meeting with Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama.

Bush, according to an account from Japanese officials, said he sup-

ported Brady's view that it is important to achieve early progress in the talks but did not mention a specific date.

Aside from Bush's general remarks at the White House departure ceremony, reports of what took place in the White House meeting came almost entirely from Japanese officials. Kaifu answered questions at the National Press Club in mid-afternoon, and Japanese officials held extensive briefings for American and Japanese reporters.

In contrast, the White House declined to provide any information other than a briefing by National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft aboard Air Force One as Bush returned to Kennebunkport.

Scowcroft said Bush pressed for improvements in the trade relationship and that "the mood of the Congress and the American people was such that we would have serious problems if the Japanese didn't take steps . . . on the structural impediments initiative. [Bush] made that very clear."

Kaifu understood that, Scowcroft said, but responded that "the so-called structural impediments are sort of deeply ingrained in the Japanese system and that it would take

strenuous effort and time to straighten them out."

In the structural impediments talks, the United States is asking Japan to deal with some of the underlying conditions that have contributed to the persistent U.S. trade deficit with Japan, running at \$50 billion annually. On the U.S. priority list are such issues as the Japanese distribution system and price mechanisms, exclusionary business practices and Japanese incentives that lead to a very high rate of domestic savings and investment.

In an unusual move reflecting increasing Japanese irritation with the United States, Tokyo is presenting its list of U.S. structural impediments to trade to be discussed in the new talks. According to Japanese officials, their list includes the low rate of U.S. net savings, including the big U.S. budgetary deficit, U.S. corporate behavior that emphasizes short-term profits over long-term investments and insufficient U.S. efforts at promotion of exports.

Staff writers Stuart Auerbach in Washington and David Hoffman in Kennebunkport contributed to this report.

Baker, Shevardnadze to Meet in 3 Weeks

Reuter

Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will meet Sept. 22 and 23 in Wyoming for talks officials have said could set the stage for the Bush administration's first superpower summit.

"The discussions between the two ministers will cover the full U.S.-Soviet agenda, including human rights, regional conflicts,

bilateral matters, arms control and transnational issues," the State Department said.

Officials have that said the meeting, at a mountain lodge owned by the National Park Service in Grand Teton National Park, could lay the groundwork for the first summit between President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Baker and Shevardnadze met in Paris in July and Baker met Gorbachev in Moscow in May.

Bush Welcomes New Tokyo Leader

By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 1 — In a get-acquainted session at the White House, President Bush urged Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu today to transform Japan into an "import superpower" to curb trade tensions and cement an "enduring partnership" with the United States.

Interrupting his Maine vacation to welcome Mr. Kaifu, the President said that economic issues were discussed "at great length" during the three hours of talks. Those issues presumably included Japan's \$52 billion trade surplus with the United States and recent actions by the Bush Administration against what it considers Japanese trade barriers.

Mr. Kaifu took office three weeks ago after a series of financial and sex scandals that have rocked Japan. His visit here is part of a 10-day trip that will also take him to Mexico and Canada.

Stresses Equal Partnership

The 58-year-old Japanese leader took the occasion to stress Japan's role as an equal partner of the United States and called for a Washington-Tokyo partnership to help manage the global economy.

"The President and I expressed our common determination to actively shoulder responsibilities in a manner commensurate with our respective abilities under such global partnership," Mr. Kaifu said in a departure statement on the south lawn of the White House.

Mr. Kaifu acknowledged that trade imbalances were a source of friction with the United States and, like previous leaders, he pledged renewed efforts to expand imports.

Mr. Kaifu is Japan's third Prime Minister since May. His Liberal Demo-

cratic Party has lost control of the upper house of Parliament and faces elections for the lower house within 10 months.

The Japanese leader stressed, in remarks here today and in San Francisco on Wednesday, that Japan was an equal partner of the United States and that it was not just Japan that needed to make concessions.

Points at Japan's Contributions

In a speech this afternoon to the National Press Club, Mr. Kaifu pointed to the contributions that Japan had made to the United States economy, includ-

ing investments that he said have created more than 200,000 jobs.

He said that the United States needed to step up its efforts to improve industrial competitiveness, shrink its budget deficit and further stabilize exchange rates, and he took issue with the Administration's aggressive trade policy.

He said American legislation providing for trade sanctions against Japan "could have a negative impact," and he specifically told the President that it was unlikely that great progress could be made by next spring in an effort known as the Structural Impediments Initiative.

The initiative seeks to examine deeper problems behind the deficit,

like anticompetitive business practices, blockages in the retail distribution system, a restrictive land use policy and Japan's high rate of savings.

Pointing at U.S. Problems

For their part the Japanese raise objections to such factors in the United States as low savings, emphasis on short-term profit, the high budget deficit, and weaknesses in American education and training.

The United States is sending a delegation to Tokyo next week for talks on these issues and is looking for substantial progress over the next nine months.

American lawmakers are closely monitoring the situation. Senator Max Baucus, Democrat of Montana, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee's trade subcommittee, is preparing legislation that would require the United States to investigate the Japanese structural barriers under the threat of sanctions if there is no successful conclusion to the talks. The sanctions could be invoked under a provision of last year's trade bill known as Section 301, which empowers the President to retaliate against countries that do not remove trade barriers against the United States.

Brent C. Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser, said Mr. Bush had made it clear to the Japanese leader "how important some adjustments were to the success of the bilateral relationship and our being able to cooperate in a global partnership with the Japanese."

In memory of the American lawmaker who died last month in an airplane crash in Ethiopia, Mr. Kaifu told President Bush that Japan was creating the Mickey Leland International Development Program and giving \$5 million to start it.

Budapest Tries to Satisfy Both West and an Ally

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Sept. 1 — At least 3,000 East German tourists, and possibly many more, are waiting in Budapest or permission from Hungary to cross into Austria on the way to West Germany.

Many say that if permission is denied, they intend to cross "the green border." This is a German expression for migrating illegally, through the forest.

Since the summer vacation period began, an estimated 6,000 East Germans have made it to the West German Embassy in Vienna in this way, passing under the willfully averted eyes of Hungarian border guards.

But as the vacation period ends and the tourists come up against the choice between returning in time for the reopening of factories and schools or not returning, a diffuse flow has become a concentration that Hungary cannot pretend to ignore and a diplomatic quandary for this country.

Church Is a Focal Point

The West German Embassy here, which Bonn closed last month when it could no longer cope with an occupation by East Germans seeking to emigrate, has joined with a West German Catholic relief organization in an ad hoc refugee operation at the Roman Catholic Parish Church.

The tree-shaded streets around the church in the garden suburb of Zugliget are lined with hundreds of small cars with East German plates, and as one gets closer to the church, flashier cars from West Germany are mingled among them.

In the churchyard, about 600 East Germans, including the owners of the parked cars, are camping out under tents. At least 2,000 more are waiting in two other informal camps as well as in private accommodations around the capital.

This afternoon, the Hungarian Red

Army, a favorite vacation area southwest of here.

Hungary appears to have conferred a kind of informal extraterritoriality on the spacious grounds around the neo-Gothic church, where the latest act in the drama of how to defy East German borders is being acted out. Few Hungarians are to be seen, and the prevailing language is German in the strong accents of Saxony and Berlin, whose people make up the bulk of East Germany's population.

Seeking Permanent Vacations

To Budapest's embarrassment, thousands of East Germans are taking advantage of Hungary's new era of tolerance and its recent relaxation of controls along the Austrian border to turn their vacation trips to a fellow Communist country into permanent departures, by way of Austria, to the richer and freer Germany.

Austria puts no hindrance in the East Germans' way.

In addition to those who have declared their intention not to return home, more than 100,000 other East German tourists are thought to be in Hungary. How many of them will seek to join the mass migration is unknown but clearly worrisome to the Hungarian authorities.

Hungary is in a diplomatic bind, caught between its treaty obligation to East Germany, its ally, not to allow East Germans to leave here for anywhere but home, and its need not to offend West Germany, its biggest Western creditor and trading partner, as well as its principal hope for future economic support.

Minister Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn visited Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn last week in an effort to seek a solution. On Thursday Mr. Horn paid an unannounced visit to the East German Foreign Minister, Oskar Fischer. No agreements were announced.

'Acceptable Solution' Sought

But the Hungarian Interior Minister Istvan Horvath, interviewed by West German television Thursday, expressed the wish that "an acceptable solution, conforming to European norms and culture," would be found.

"We find the present situation at the country's borders highly unpleasant and inconvenient," said the minister, who is in charge of border forces.

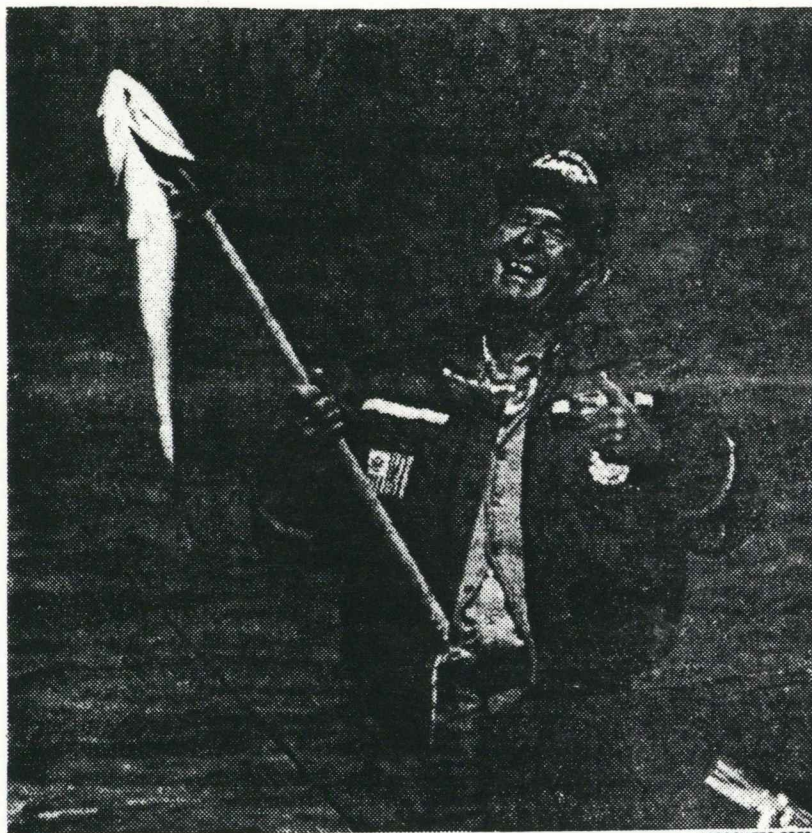
West German Government and opposition officials on Thursday disclosed that Bonn and Budapest had worked out a plan to let out all the East Germans who want to leave for West Germany. But there has been no formal announcement of such an arrangement.

Some would-be refugees took heart when told by a reporter that Mr. Horvath had said it was certain that Hungary would not return them to their country. In the East German penal code, "flight from the republic" is punished by long prison terms and followed by harsh discrimination in professional and social life.

In a garage to the rear of the church, West German consuls, surrounded by a patient crowd of men and women shushing their bored and cranky children, accept applications for West German passports and, after a few days' delay, issue them. West Germany accepts all Germans who request citizenship.

Despite their valid passports, however, Hungary feels restrained from recognizing them because they lack entry stamps. The tourists entered Hungary with an East German travel permit valid only for this country. No passports are issued for travel between Warsaw Pact nations.

East Germany demands that Hungary live up to the formal understanding between Warsaw Pact members not to abet "defection" of their citizens to the West.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

President gleefully displays fish he caught after "long dry summer" in Maine.

9-Pound Bluefish Tips Scale

Bush Finally Breaks Angling 'Jinx' in Maine

WP 9/4-89 A12

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine, Sept. 3—"The jinx is broken."

With that, President Bush announced today he had fulfilled his promise to land a bluefish before the end of his summer vacation. Accompanied by First Lady Barbara Bush, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and son Marvin, the president caught a nine-pound bluefish just before noon.

"Not my greatest landing," Bush acknowledged as he displayed the fish to reporters and photographers. "Doing too many things at once."

Bush has been needled in recent days as others on his boat, as well as network cameramen fishing

nearby, hauled bluefish out of the Atlantic while the president caught none.

"It's what we call stick-to-it-iveness," Bush said of the catch, taken off Biddeford, Maine, north of his summer compound. "A long dry summer, but it all worked out."

The president displayed his "jaw-buster" lure, a long green artificial fish with a large hook.

Bush then invited reporters to watch him clean the fish, cutting away the filets on the rocky shore near his boat pier and saving the head "for chowder."

He threw the carcass into the ocean, noting that it would soon be picked clean by gulls. "This is return to nature," he declared.

Personalities

President Bush returned triumphant to the White House yesterday, ready to turn from his consuming vacation goal of catching a fish to a fall calendar packed with domestic and foreign issues.

"I'm ready to go back, I'm ready to go to work," the president told reporters in Kennebunkport, Maine.

As if to underscore that sentiment, the president left Maine dressed casually and emerged from Air Force One at Andrews Air Force Base barely an hour later dressed in a business suit for the final helicopter hop to the White House.

Bush, who broke a jinx by reeling in a bluefish Sunday, caught two more fish in a final outing aboard his speedboat Fidelity before he and wife, **Barbara**, boarded the Marine One helicopter at their Walker's Point retreat to begin the journey homeward.

"Tomorrow it starts all over again. I don't know what you guys have to do, but I know what I've got to do: Head back to work," Bush told parishioners at St. Ann's Episcopal Church, where the pastor invited him to take the pulpit.

He said he needed to "start studying hard" for the drug speech tonight, the first presidential address he will deliver for broadcast on national television.

"It's the first speech I'll give from the Oval Office. I'm not going to be scared," he said, recounting how as a young child he would shake when called upon to recite a verse at St. Ann's.

Bush pronounced a "great ending" to his vacation when he and golf pro **Ken Raynor** beat National Security Adviser **Brent Scowcroft** and friend **Spike Heminway** on the links. Bush also beat Heminway in three sets of doubles tennis earlier, according to Heminway, who said the president was "on a roll" Sunday.

Bakker Progress Report

Defrocked television evangelist **Jim Bakker's** psychiatrist, **Basil Jackson**, said he was told Bakker may be ready to return to court this week.

Psychiatrists at the Federal Correctional Institution in Butner, N.C., were speeding up



GEORGE BUSH

their evaluation of Bakker's emotional state, Jackson was told, and "it's conceivable one of their people could come back into court Tuesday or Wednesday to certify that he's [Bakker] ready to come back into trial." While Jackson has not been permitted to talk to Bakker, he has talked daily with **Tammy Faye Bakker** and the preacher's attorneys. "I think that he has settled down and certainly has improved a lot from the way he was Thursday morning," Jackson said.

A handcuffed Bakker was escorted by federal marshals to Butner last Thursday, after Jackson told Judge **Robert Potter**, who is presiding over the PTL founder's fraud and conspiracy trial, that Bakker was hallucinating and hiding his head under a couch in his attorney's office.

Nixon Delays China Trip

Former president **Richard Nixon** has postponed a visit to China this month due to political unrest in the country.

Nixon, who made a historic visit to China in 1972, was invited by the government to travel to China with former Treasury secretary **William E. Simon**. The purpose of the trip was personal, Nixon spokesman **John Taylor** said.

Simon leads an investment group that is



RICHARD NIXON

considering buying an interest in **Xiamen International Bank**, the only joint-venture bank incorporated in China.

Osbourne Arrested

Rock-and-roller **Ozzy Osbourne**, whose repertoire on stage once included biting the head off a live bat, was charged yesterday with threatening to kill his wife.

The solo artist and former lead singer with the group **Black Sabbath** was arrested at his home north of London on Saturday, police said. A judge granted bail but ordered Osbourne to stay away from his wife, **Sharon**, and to return to court on Sept. 25.

Bjorn Borg Weds Singer

Former Swedish tennis star **Bjorn Borg**, a five-time Wimbledon champion, married Italian pop singer **Loredana Berté** yesterday at City Hall in Milan, Italy.

The ceremony was preceded by a brawl between the couple's private security guards and reporters and photographers who were barred from the ceremony.

—Compiled from staff and wire reports
by Jonathan Filas

Chuck Conconi is on vacation.

Returned Copies of Constitution Inspire Broadside From Burger

When it comes to the Constitution and former chief justice Warren E. Burger, there's no fooling around.

That's apparently what prompted Burger to fire off an angry letter last week to Rep. Fortney "Pete" Stark (D-Calif.). Sources at the Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution, which Burger heads, said "the chief" was incensed that Stark had returned 1,000 copies of the Constitution to the agency, "in the name of eliminating duplicative or unnecessary spending."

In a three-paragraph letter on Supreme Court letterhead, Burger told Stark that someone on his staff had requested the materials earlier this summer. "Either I or someone on our staff will be available to assure that the 'right hand' on your staff will know what some of the other hands are doing," Burger said.

"I do not regard it as a 'waste' of government money to make 10¢ copies of the Constitution available to as many Americans as possible," he told Stark.

A spokesman for Stark said he had no comment on why the congressman had rejected the copies.

States Prepare for Education Summit

■ Hoping to attract some attention and put a little pressure on President Bush to keep his pledge to be the education president, two states are gearing up for the educational summit Bush plans to hold with the 50 governors Sept. 27-28 in Charlottesville.

The West Virginia Federation of Teachers announced plans to solicit comments from classroom teachers and citizens on their priorities for public education in the state. The information will be given to West Virginia Gov. Gaston Caperton (D) to help define his goals for the summit.

"The only way the governor can clearly understand the challenges teachers and other school personnel in West Virginia face is to listen to the concerns of those who see the problems firsthand," federation president Rick Lyon said.

Bush said he hopes the education summit will set goals for school districts, but federation executive director Bob Brown said: "Education is largely controlled by governors and localities—not by the federal government. The goals educators express to Caperton must be goals for the state to carry out."

Brown pointed out that West Virginia has the second lowest-paid teachers and one of the highest dropout rates in the country. "We all know the limits our state presently has on its budget," he said, "so we want it to be clear to the president that real money from Washington is more important than rhetoric."

Meanwhile, Delaware Gov. Michael N. Castle (R) convened his own summit last month in preparation for the national meeting. "The president's education summit offers us an opportunity to contribute to the national debate about the future of education—and at the same time identify how Delaware's schools can improve in the next few years," Castle said.

Hoover Institution Director Retires

■ W. Glenn Campbell, for 30 years director of the Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace, a conservative think tank at Stanford University, has retired. The think tank has been widely credited with providing ideas and foot soldiers for the Reagan administration.

Under Campbell, the institution tripled in size and its endowment soared to more than \$125 million. The growth led some Stanford faculty members to propose that the university sever its relationship with the think tank.

According to an Associated Press report, former Hoover fellow Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, has been mentioned as a candidate to succeed Campbell.

Political Science Association Awards

■ During its annual convention over the weekend, the American Political Science Association honored a number of Washingtonians. Ronald Walters of Howard University received the association's Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work on ethnic and cultural pluralism. Walters, an adviser to Jesse L. Jackson, was honored for his book, "Black Presidential Politics in America: A Strategic Approach."

White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft received the Hubert H. Humphrey Award for notable public service by a political scientist.

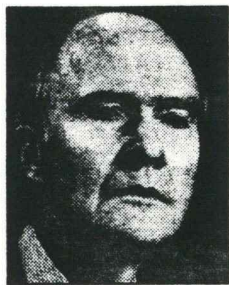
The Carey McWilliams Award went to Lesley Stahl of CBS News for a major journalistic contribution to understanding politics.

—Maralee Schwartz, Bill McAllister and David S. Broder

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

Report: Dem chosen for arms negotiator



AP
SCOWCROFT: Ties to contender

President Bush is set to name conservative Democrat James Woolsey Jr., 48, a weapons specialist, as new U.S. negotiator in East-West talks to reduce non-nuclear forces. The Associated Press reported Tuesday. Woolsey reportedly owes his preference to his close ties to national security adviser Brent Scowcroft. Other candidates: Stephen Ledogar, foreign service officer now holding the job, and Phil Karber of the BDM Corp., reportedly backed by Vice President Dan Quayle. Woolsey was Navy undersecretary in the Carter era and an outside arms adviser to President Reagan.

BUSH AIDE CLEARED: James Cicconi, a top aide to President Bush, has been cleared of allegations that he might have violated federal ethics laws in connection with a \$5,000 loan he got from a fraud-ridden Baltimore brokerage company, *The Washington Post* reports today. The investigation of Cicconi, who got the loan in 1984 while a Reagan White House aide, was conducted by an independent counsel secretly appointed by a special federal court last spring. Cicconi, 37, is in charge of Bush's schedule and paper flow.

WAITING GAME: With senior citizen issues heating up in Congress, President Bush appears to be considering carefully before naming a Commission on Aging director. Finalist Alice Gonzalez, California Department of Aging chief, withdrew Aug. 28 for "personal reasons," her office said Tuesday. The remaining known candidate — acting Commissioner Joyce Berry — is backed by several groups on aging. The White House hasn't revealed its plans.

PLAYING IT SAFE: The recent plane crash deaths of Reps. Mickey Leland, D-Texas, and Larkin Smith, R-Miss., may prompt new congressional travel guidelines. House Sergeant-at-Arms Jack Russ tells *Roll Call* newspaper Leland's plane in Africa "should never have left the airport" because of weather and Smith "should never have gotten in" the light plane in Mississippi whose pilot appeared "nervous, anxious and maybe a little afraid."

PROSECUTOR NAMED: Dan Webb, a veteran trial lawyer and former U.S. attorney in Chicago, will be chief prosecutor in the trial of former White House national security adviser John Poindexter, *The Washington Post* reported today. Poindexter, who quit his White House post in November 1986 when the Iran-contra affair became a public controversy, faces trial on charges of obstructing Congress and making false statements about the affair.

ALSO TUESDAY . . .

► The Treasury Department said a new law gives people one year to cash U.S. government checks; then the government must reissue them. Treasury officials said the public now holds about 6 million uncashed government checks worth more than \$2.5 billion that are more than a year old. The oldest uncashed check is one dated April 15, 1919, for \$1.01 in interest on a World War I Liberty Bond.

PEOPLE WATCH

► Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-Fla., will be sworn in today as first Cuban-American in Congress. She replaces the late Claude Pepper, a Democrat — leaving the House with 255 Democrats, 176 Republicans and four vacancies.

► Texas-based American Life Insurance Co. said it's hired ex-House Speaker Jim Wright, D-Texas, to give its sales staff pep talks and make public appearances. He won't lobby Congress, said the firm in a statement that didn't disclose what he'll be paid.



By Acely Harper
ROS-LEHTINEN: Swearing-in today

CLOSE-UP: TAXES

\$2B loss 'a bleak picture'

Overseas tax rules

Here are basic tax rules for U.S. citizens living in other nations:

► **Who must file:** All but the very poorest, even if no taxes are owed.

► **Salaries:** No taxes on first \$70,000. U.S. government employees don't get this exemption.

► **Income from stocks, real estate, etc.:** Taxable wherever acquired. But taxes paid other nations can be deducted from U.S. taxes owed.

Each year, about 1 million U.S. citizens stiff Uncle Sam, collectively, for up to \$2 billion in taxes, says the General Accounting Office. Until recently, the IRS had no way of knowing their names.

They live abroad and ignore the law requiring most of them to file.

But those living outside the USA must get their passports renewed every 10 years if they're adults, five

if they're under 18. And in 1988, a new law let the Internal Revenue Service get State Department lists of applicants for new passports at U.S. consulates abroad. About 73,000 applied — indicating that excluding military personnel, 2.25 million U.S. citizens lived abroad last year.

But just 264,000 filed 1986 tax returns. Says IRS researcher Bryan Musselman: "We can be 95 percent certain the actual non-filing rate is between 51.5 percent to 66.7 percent." Says Musselman: "It's a bleak picture so far as tax collection is concerned."

But others say collecting expatriates' taxes just encourages U.S. firms in other nations to hire non-U.S. citizens. Says Bruce Reynolds of the Touche Ross and Co. accounting firm: "I don't know of a single major industrial country — Europe or Japan — that taxes the earnings of its citizens when they reside abroad."

Nonetheless, \$2 billion could seem a windfall to a deficit-plagued government. Says the IRS' Frank Keith: "We're looking at ways we can incorporate this information into our programs to identify non-filers."

WASHINGTON TODAY

- **PRESIDENT BUSH:** Briefs groups on anti-drug strategy.
- **VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE:** Meets Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad; U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills.

Written by Sharen Shaw Johnson. Contributing: Rebecca LaValley, Bob Minzesheimer and Richard Wolf.

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times p 2 _____
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date 9 Sept 89

Israeli Defense Chief Briefs Washington on Middle East

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8 — Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel briefed senior Bush Administration officials today on the situation in Lebanon and developments in the Middle East peace process.

Mr. Rabin met with Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and the national security adviser, **Brent Scowcroft**.

Officials familiar with the talks said Mr. Rabin briefed the American officials on what Israel had gleaned from its interrogation of Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid, a leader of the militant Shiite Muslim group who had been abducted from southern Lebanon by Israeli commandoes in late July, as well as Israel's mounting concern about the more active role Syria has been playing in Lebanon in recent months.

The Rabin-Baker talks focused on how to break the deadlock over Israel's proposal for elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Scowcroft Emerges as Key Bush Confidant

By DAVID WOOD

Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON _ He is often seen in the background of news photos, a diminutive man, often bearing a bulging briefcase, almost hidden in the shadow of President Bush.

To the public, Brent Scowcroft may be a colorless cipher.

But inside the White House, where he is national security adviser, the soft-spoken former Air Force general has achieved a comfortable intimacy with Bush, resulting in what observers believe is the smoothest-working national security apparatus in years.

Nowhere was this close, easy relationship more evident than at Kennebunkport, Maine, where Scowcroft and Bush hung around together for more than half the president's recent 20-day vacation.

"It was an active vacation," admits Scowcroft, 54, with a broad grin.

When Bush went golfing, Scowcroft golfed with him, and when Bush went fishing, so did Scowcroft. And when Bush hosted small, informal dinners, Scowcroft was usually at his right hand.

"Brent has become, in effect, a social partner of the president," said a White House official who works closely with the two men.

"There's definitely an attraction there. They're about the same age and were shaped by the same events; they share an interest in the military and in flying, and they both have a cautious, non-ideological, problem-solving view of the world," said the official, who asked not to be identified.

Although he doesn't come from the Ivy League world that produced Bush _ Scowcroft graduated from West Point in 1947 _ the two share long experience at high levels of government.

Scowcroft was a military aide to President Richard M. Nixon when Bush was U.S. representative to the United Nations, and when Scowcroft was promoted to be Nixon's deputy national security adviser, Bush was serving as envoy to China.

When Bush became director of the CIA in 1976, he worked closely with Scowcroft, who was serving as President Ford's national security adviser.

The camaraderie and trust that emerges from such long acquaintance contrasts sharply with the businesslike formality that characterized President Reagan's relations with his national security advisers.

Reagan had known most of them _ Richard Allen, Robert McFarlane, John Poindexter, Frank Carlucci and Colin Powell _ only briefly before he appointed them. And when Reagan vacationed, his White House aides were usually housed several dozen miles away.

Nor have other presidents often socialized with their national security advisers. And to an unusual degree, the long Bush-Scowcroft relationship is reflected in the ties that other members of Bush's national security team have in common. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, for instance, was Ford's chief of staff when Scowcroft was national security adviser; and Scowcroft and Secretary of State James A. Baker crisscrossed the country together in 1976 when Baker was Ford's national campaign manager.

And when Scowcroft was a senior White House military aide in 1972, a young infantry officer was serving as a White House fellow. That officer, now Gen. Colin Powell, is slated to become chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The payoff from this interknit team, White House officials say, is an extraordinary absence of the kind of bitter infighting and power maneuvering that has often swirled around the national security adviser. In the most recent case, a succession of advisers under Reagan lacked the clout to resolve nearly constant feuding between Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

In contrast, White House officials said, Bush and his national security team were able to move quickly and without dissent during last month's hostage crisis: a naval task force was quickly assembled as a show of force in the eastern Mediterranean while a coordinated diplomatic initiative brought pressure on the Iranian-backed terrorists to back down from their threats to execute additional American hostages. It was Scowcroft who coordinated that effort, pulling strings in the military and diplomatic corridors to get it done fast and without the bureaucratic second-guessing that can blunt such an initiative.

DM END WOOD

(Filed by Newhouse News Service, Washington, D.C.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 12, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

General Scowcroft met with Boris Yeltsin for approximately one hour. Also attending the meeting was Deputy National Security Advisor Robert Gates. The President dropped by for approximately 15 minutes to greet Mr. Yeltsin. The President mentioned the drug speech he was about to deliver to American students and the problem that drugs have created throughout the world. The President and Mr. Yeltsin both agreed that drugs are a major problem that touches on both American and Soviet societies. The President said that there is much interest in Mr. Yeltsin's visit. He expressed his view that the overall bilateral relationship is in good shape. In this connection, the President noted his very positive relationship with General Secretary Gorbachev and reiterated his support for perestroika. The President emphasized that the American people share his hope for the success of the reform movement in the Soviet Union.

In his general discussion with General Scowcroft and Mr. Gates, Mr. Yeltsin provided his evaluation of the progress of perestroika.

The Vice President also dropped by to greet Mr. Yeltsin.

#

Yeltsin Asks Bush to Aid Soviet Reform Process

By Don Oberdorfer
and David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writers

Soviet political figure Boris Yeltsin met President Bush, Vice President Quayle, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and eight U.S. senators yesterday to press his case for U.S. aid to the troubled reform process in the Soviet Union.

Yeltsin's White House meetings were carefully structured to avoid giving offense to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who Yeltsin has criticized sharply during his current American tour. Instead of granting the visiting Soviet legislator an official Oval Office meeting, the White House invited Yeltsin to meet Scowcroft—and Bush joined the meeting for about 15 minutes and Quayle for a separate 10 minutes.

Reporters and photographers were barred from the session and the White House declined to follow its usual practice of releasing a photograph.

Yeltsin told reporters later he had discussed with Bush and Quayle "10 issues that . . . would serve to rescue *perestroika*," Gorbachev's restructuring program.

Officials familiar with Yeltsin's Baker and White House sessions said his suggestions were general

and more visionary and philosophical than practical. They included increased U.S. private investment in the Soviet Union, but without details on how to make this more attractive to investors; construction by American business of one million Soviet apartments; U.S. instruction on how to run a service sector, and so forth.

The State Department quoted Baker as telling Yeltsin that "in order to make the Soviet Union an attractive place for Americans to invest, the Soviet Union needs to address price reform and the convertibility of the ruble."

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), who with seven other senators met Yeltsin in Bradley's Senate office, said the Soviet politician was "straightforward, candid, provocative and very open" about conditions at home, but that "he wasn't very specific" about what the United States might do to help.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater went out of his way to quote Bush as telling Yeltsin of his "very positive relationship" with Gorbachev. Bush "emphasized that the American people share his hope for the success of the reform movement in the Soviet Union," Fitzwater said.

Asked about the unusual arrangements for Bush's informal and low-key meeting with Yeltsin, Fitzwater said, "We do want to be clear that

United States policy is to support *glasnost* and *perestroika* and the reforms under way in the Soviet Union and, so, we didn't want to indicate we were trying to provide a platform for dissent."

Gorbachev had been considered a friend and political sponsor of Yeltsin, but the relationship cooled in the fall of 1987 when Yeltsin's harsh criticism of policy and personalities led to his ouster from the ruling Politburo and as Communist Party chief of Moscow. Yeltsin bounced back to prominence this March when he won 89 percent of a contested vote to represent Moscow in the newly created Congress of People's Deputies.

In news conferences, television interviews and speeches since arriving last Saturday on his first U.S. trip, Yeltsin has depicted the Soviet Union as in severe crisis and Gorbachev as slipping politically, with a year or less to assert his leadership strongly or lose power.

Meanwhile, Fitzwater, responding to Soviet complaints of U.S. foot-dragging in strategic arms talks, said, "We reject any suggestion of United States' foot-dragging in the START talks, or that negotiations have been put on a back burner." Noting that the United States had made new proposals at the latest round of the START talks, he added, "We still look forward to a Soviet response to these proposals."

At Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore yesterday morning, Yeltsin supported the exodus of thousands of East Germans through Hungary to West Germany, even though it has been condemned by the Soviet government.

What might have been

Soviet politician Boris Yeltsin met with National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft at the White House yesterday, and who should just happen to drop by but President Bush. Mr. Bush merely shook Mr. Yeltsin's hand, which was nice, but probably didn't teach the Soviet politician what he ought to know about the American economic system he says he admires so much.

Mr. Yeltsin, whose outspoken support for economic reform got him bounced two years ago from his post as chairman of the Moscow Communist Party, now is making his first tour of the United States. He has made it clear that he wanted very much to tell the president about the Yeltsin plan for vitalizing the Soviet economy.

Mr. Bush could have used the meeting to find out about this plan and to question Mr. Yeltsin's repeated assertion that the Soviet Union's economic woes could hurl the nation into an "abyss" within the next six to 12 months, a calamity that would affect the entire world. The president might also have listened to Mr. Yeltsin's reform plans and then spent some time teaching his guest some economic ABCs.

The sad fact is that Mr. Yeltsin, who understands that the Soviet economy cannot survive without radical reform, doesn't have the first idea of what reforms his country must embrace. He repeatedly has blasted Mr. Gorbachev's reforms as "half-measures," but he has suggested nothing better than half-measures himself.

He has told Western audiences that the Soviet Union must create private property, but then says that only 10 percent-15 percent of property ought to be in private hands. He says the Soviet economy must become rational, but then says that it must remain socialist. On matters of price reform and currency convertibility he has nothing more to say than Mr. Gorbachev and has been notably less aggressive on convertibility than most of Mr. Gorbachev's economic advisers.

None of this should surprise Americans. The Soviets lack the cultural institutions and historical experience necessary to make any smooth transition to a market economy. When Soviet leaders, including influential economists, speak about the problem of creating a functioning economy, they speak in dreamy abstractions, as if they were trying to describe a unicorn's neighs and whinnies. They may use our vocabulary to talk about economics, but they don't understand what the words really mean.

If we ever hope to play a role in helping the Soviet Union move into the world's economic mainstream, we first must overcome this translation problem. Only plain talk about such things as private property, real prices and free markets can help the Soviets communicate with the developed world. If somehow Mr. Bush could have taught a few basics to Mr. Yeltsin, he would have done a service for the Soviet politician and the Soviet people.

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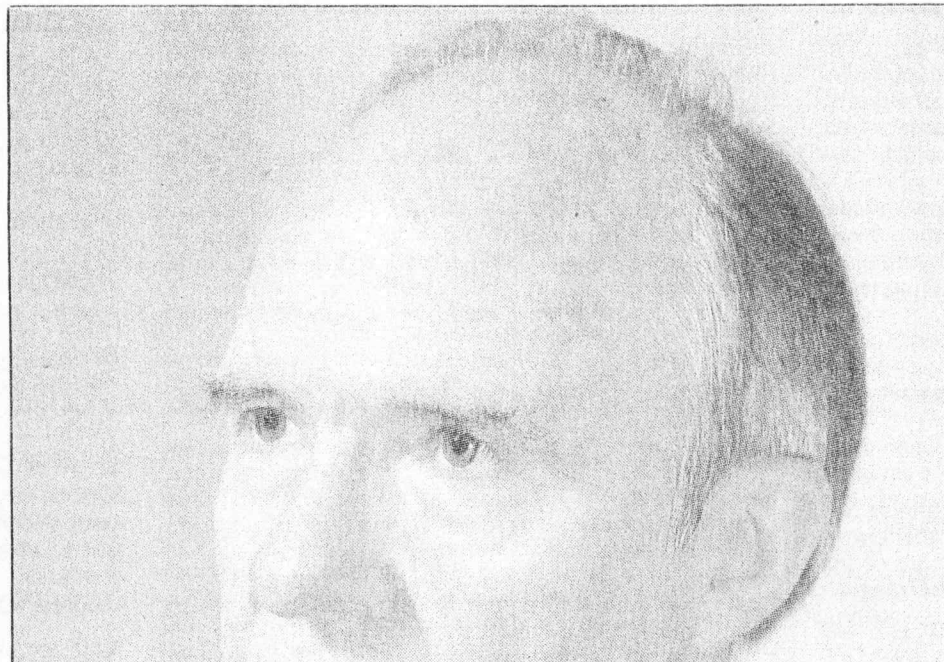
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ATF Loses Stealth Trait When Supersonic

By BARBARA AMOUYAL
Defense News Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The Air Force's Advanced Tactical Fighter (ATF) is unlikely to remain stealthy at supersonic speeds, even though the service says the supersonic plane needs to evade enemy radars and infrared detectors at all altitudes and



Drone May See Action In Afghanistan, Drug War

By CALEB BAKER
Defense News Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — A model airplane-like drone equipped with a warhead and guided by a fiber-optic cable is one weapon being considered by the U.S. government for use in a variety of new conflicts, including the Afghanistan war, defense officials say.

U.S. President George Bush, and his top national security advisers, in recent meetings have expressed interest in the deploy-

the principal operational requirements of the ATF program, and is often cited by senior Air Force officials as a justification for its \$64 billion cost.

Operational plans for the ATF call for most of its air interception mission to be performed at supersonic speeds, often over hostile territory. This is a substantial departure from present practice, sources say. The service's existing air-to-air fighter, the F-15 Eagle, spends close to 90 percent of its flying life at subsonic speeds, according to these sources.

Although service officials and industry teams involved in the demonstration and validation of ATF prototypes appear to have mastered elements of stealth for ra-

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DEFENSE NEWS FILE PHOTO

Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser,

was briefed last Wednesday on the portable, fiber-optic cable guided FROG drone which is being considered for a variety of roles.

clear, of FROG, in small wars and in the antidrug effort, officials told *Defense News* last week.

With an advanced warhead, the drone also may have a potential role in the international war against terrorism, sources say.

Last Thursday, backers of the FROG program briefed Defense Secretary Dick Cheney on details of the weapon. Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser, and Robert Gates, his deputy, were briefed last Wednesday. Bush participated in such a meeting Sept. 8. The discussions covered a wide range of issues, including fiber-optic technology and the Afghanistan war, according to sources.

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U.S., U.K. May Leave, and Bury, Missile Project

By BARBARA AMOYAL
And CALEB BAKER
Defense News Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — The United States and the United Kingdom late last week were seriously considering withdrawing from a five-nation project to develop a sophisticated air-to-surface missile for use by NATO nations, defense officials say.

The remaining countries participating in the Modular Standoff Weapon system (MSOW) — Spain, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany — late last Friday were bracing for an announcement of the withdrawal, a move that would mark the end of the international cooperative project, officials say.

"As far as we are concerned, the project seems to be a dead letter," said Georg Matern, counsel-

or for research and engineering at the West German embassy in Washington. Matern said his government had not been formally

German Concern, Page 4

notified, however, "we have all the indications that both the United Kingdom and the United States will withdraw."

Lt. Col. Hans Melcher, deputy chief of the West German defense procurement office here, told *Defense News* last Friday that the withdrawal of two of the largest financial players in the project would "cause a lot of problems."

"All we heard from the U.S. side is that they are not prepared to fight for money for the project," he says.

Brig. Gen. Guiseppe Capizzano,

defense and air attache in the Italian Embassy here, said last Friday he is not aware of any changes in the MSOW program.

In Paris, meanwhile, government and industry hopped into the breach apparently being created by the United Kingdom and the United States. Matra, the French missiles and electronics group, last Thursday won a development contract for the Apache stand-off modular missile, which the French Defense ministry is touting to other European countries

as an alternative to the Modular Stand-off Weapon.

France is a former member of the international program to develop the Modular Stand-Off Weapon, but withdrew in April 1988 because of dissatisfaction with its lack of progress and concern about rising costs.

The defense ministry said in an announcement of Matra's contract that Apache is "open to European cooperation," adding that "exploratory talks are already taking place in this respect" with several

countries that were not identified.

The Apache is a low-flying, long-range submunitions dispenser and will be the primary air-to-ground weapon for the French Air Force's Mirage 2000s and new-generation Rafale tactical fighters.

MSOW, a family of three weapons with interchangeable submunitions able to launch short- and long-range strikes on fixed and mobile targets, was terminated in

See MSOW, Page 80

Defense Contractors Circle Wagons As Ranks of the Unloved Auditor Swell

By DEBRA POLSKY
Defense News Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — In a large meeting hall in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce building here, 14 defense contractors and government officials are looking for

ways to ease their tense relationship.

For three hours, the conversation drags on.

Suddenly, the meeting comes alive. Voices grow louder. Tempers flare. The topic has turned to auditing. However boring to the rest of the world, this issue ignites passions in the defense industry.

"Auditors are the devils," an industry executive explained later. "But we have to do what they say."

With about 6,000 auditors from the Defense Contract Audit Agency (DCAA), the Department of Defense Inspector General's Office and the General Account-

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WASHINGTON DC 20500

First of a two-part series. Next week: Possible solutions.

President Bush promised Monday to produce proposals for reducing strategic arms that will "capture the imagination of the Soviet people." But in the next breath he said he felt in "no rush on that subject." Not that anyone would accuse him of haste. In his eight months in office, there's been practically no movement in these almost eight-year-old negotiations with Moscow.

It is very hard to find good reasons for the delay, and very easy to divine a truckload of bad ones — including narrow political and bureaucratic self-interest and indifference. What is the Administration waiting for?

Moscow has already agreed to cut its arsenal of long-range nuclear weapons by almost half. That includes reductions of 50 percent in the most powerful land-based missiles, the very ones that have most worried Washington for years.

Does the Bush team want and expect Moscow to accept the new U.S. interpretation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty? That's the twist President Reagan introduced to allow testing of space-based defenses. No reasonable reading of the treaty can support that interpretation. And in all likelihood Moscow will not agree to it. The strict and traditional understanding of the treaty is the main barrier to a dramatic and costly strategic arms race that would decrease, not improve, mutual security.

What's holding up the treaty then?

Pentagon Gamesmanship. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney is holding the arms treaty hostage until he gets his defense program set in the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill. Specifically he wants commitments all around to build

Some Poor Reasons Not to Cut Missiles

more than \$40 billion needed for both. And there's no chance for funding either new land-based missile unless it's part of an arms control package. Secretary of State Baker's announcement yesterday that the U.S. will no longer insist on banning mobile missiles won't help a lot.

White House Politics. John Sununu, the President's chief of staff, and other aides don't see much in the treaty to benefit Mr. Bush politically. To them, the public would see a strategic arms agreement simply as finishing up old Reagan business. They want to push ahead with talks that bear a clear Bush imprint, like cutting conventional forces in Europe and banning chemical weapons.

But a nuclear arms treaty is every bit as important to national security and would give the President stature.

Indifference of Democrats and Europeans. In the face of Mr. Bush's strong standing in the polls, the Democrats seem dispirited and defensive. They focus largely on domestic matters. European leaders, who once led the charge for cutting strategic arms, have lost interest in Start. Now they have their own plum, the conventional force talks.

Mr. Bush, Mr. Cheney, Mr. Baker, **Brent Scowcroft**, the national security adviser, and Richard Burt, the Start negotiator, all say they want Mikhail Gorbachev to succeed, and insist they want to reduce the nuclear threat. They have no better way to prove it than by concluding the Start treaty.

LESLIE H. GELB

two mobile land-based missiles, the MX with 10 warheads and the Midgetman with 1, before making a new arms proposal in the Geneva talks.

Congress simply won't put up the

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ISLAMIC PLAN: One of the priorities of Iran's first five year plan is to boost the defensive power of the country, Majlis Speaker Hojjat Ol-Eslam Mahdi Karrubi told the annual assembly of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps in Tehran, according to an IRNA report in English. He rejected establishment of any relations with the U.S. and said the Republic is determined to equip its armed forces with advanced and powerful weaponry.

AFGHAN WEAPONS: It is reported by Agence France Press from Hong Kong that Afghan mujahidin have started getting fresh supplies of weapons from the United States after a lull of several months. Gen. Yahya Nauroze, deputy minister for defense and chief of the army staff in the mujahidin's interim government, told a news conference in Peshawar,

his ministry to field commanders, not through parties set up by the resistance coalition.

USSR CHEMICAL WEAPONS: The closure of the chemical weapons destruction works at Chapayevo in the Volga region does not mean what the USSR has stopped destroying chemical weapons, Tass, the Soviet news agency reported on Sept. 18. The agency quoted Gennadiy Gerasimov, Foreign Ministry spokesman, as saying the nation is now drafting a program for such destruction, under conditions of glasnost and democratization. The works had been constructed without previous consultation with local authorities and the public. It will be used as a center for instruction and training.

(Compiled from reports from the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS.) Source material available from

The Kremlin vs. Quayle

Moscow's uproar over Vice President Dan Quayle's suggestion of a U.S. interest in Baltic independence displayed the old and the new: the Kremlin's old rhetoric in policing its new relationship with Washington.

Quayle merely mentioned a possible "negative response" from the United States should the Soviet government crack down on independence in the Baltic states. That was enough to trigger denunciations from the Soviet propaganda machine of a nastiness not heard since Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan got together.

But far from reviving the Cold War, the Kremlin's attack on Quayle is part of the new detente. The Bush administration has so entwined itself with Gorbachev's fate that the Soviet regime appears confident in lambasting the vice president for straying from the "new thinking."

Quayle does stand alone in the administration by going so far toward a public endorsement of independence for Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Yet these Baltic states, turned over to Moscow in the Stalin-Hitler pact, are models for the "captive nations" policy that long has been a U.S. staple.

Compared with captive nations rhetoric of bygone days, the vice president's answers were mild and cautious when we interviewed him on CNN. "Let's hope that the Baltic states continue in the direction that they want to go," he said, "and that is toward asserting their independence."

The first time we asked him about the U.S. response to the Soviet intervention feared by Kremlin-watchers here, Quayle said: "Let's hope

they don't do it." When we asked again, he said it "would not be a good sign." Finally, on the third try, Quayle responded: "Well, clearly, every event triggers a response. And if there's a negative event toward the Baltic states, I would imagine there would be a negative response."

As transmitted worldwide by wire services, Quayle's words seemed less tentative. Even so, Moscow's reaction was remarkable. Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov led by calling the vice president's comments "strange" and a "discordant note" in cozy U.S.-Soviet relations. The next day, the Moscow World Service's English broadcast accused Quayle of interfering in Soviet affairs and said the United States "must adopt 'new thinking.'"

It took two more days for Pravda commentator Gennadi Vasilyev to crank up the authentic old Cold War style. Quayle's "shrill voice," he said, "clashes considerably with statements by the White House incumbent." Bush picked Quayle as his running mate, "to placate ultra-rightist circles, in whose view the current president is 'not tough enough.'" Vasilyev concluded by imploring the administration "to teach the vice president a thing or two."

Implicit in that language is the notion, which would have seemed preposterous only months ago, that critical commentary from the Bush administration about historic events transpiring in the Soviet Union is unacceptable. National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft privately commended Quayle's response, but the vice president's remarks have not been publicly seconded by a single colleague.

Instead, the quest for cordiality with the Soviet regime barred cameras when President Bush briefly greeted Boris Yeltsin, the Gorbachev-bashing reformer (who, incidentally, supports Baltic freedom). Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater's words had the sound of kowtow when he declared it is "U.S. policy to support glasnost and perestroika" and not "to provide a platform for dissent. We do not want to foster internal conflict."

This statement fits a Wall Street Journal report that senior administration officials are talking "about how they might soften the outcry here" if Gorbachev cracks down on dissent. No wonder the Kremlin propaganda apparatus unlimbered against Quayle.

Quayle may be isolated in the administration, but he is not alone in Washington. Ex-assistant secretary of state Rozanne Ridgway, no cold warrior to be sure, said on ABC last weekend that the people in the Baltic nations "should be allowed to make up their own minds" about their political future.

In a letter this week to Secretary of State James A. Baker III, liberal Democratic Sen. Donald Riegle of Michigan called the vice president's remarks "a most timely and welcome development." Joined by 11 other senators, Riegle urged the secretary of state to use his forthcoming meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to warn against an iron fist in the Baltic. That's the "old thinking" that made Moscow so angry at Dan Quayle.

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Nuclear Blasts to Divert Soviet Rivers?

ON THE VOLGA RIVER, U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union has long harbored plans to divert the flow of some of its rivers in a way that could have catastrophic environmental consequences for the whole world. But the massive river diversion itself would make just a dent in the ecosystem when compared to the explosive devices the Soviets might use to pull it off—nuclear bombs.

The Central Intelligence Agency for years has been tracking Soviet schemes to divert its northerly flowing rivers into the agricultural and industrial regions of the south. Secret CIA reports say the impact on the Arctic Ocean, fed by those northbound rivers, would be devastating.

The Soviets, who have not distinguished themselves as environmentalists, might sacrifice long-term damage to the world in return for short-term gains for farmers and industry. They already have used nuclear blasts for quick excavation of water projects.

The CIA reckons that a 1971 blast detected in the Soviet Union was a test to see whether nuclear devices could be used to build a canal to link the north-flowing Pechora River with the south-flowing Volga. One secret CIA report said, "For some time U.S.S.R. scientists have been [considering] the use of nuclear energy to construct a 65-kilometer section of the Pechora-Kolva Canal, suggesting that about 250 charges, totaling 36 megatons, would be used to open an area in which construction is hampered by complex masses of rock."

The CIA said the 1971 explosion measured from 4.7 to 5.0 on the Richter scale and "may therefore have constituted a test that is essential to the

eventual construction of part of the canal by this method." A National Security Council arms-control report notes that in 1965 the Soviets used a nuclear explosion to dam a river in the Semipalatinsk region.

This sledgehammer approach to demolition makes the river diversion dream a potential nightmare.

There is no doubt that the Soviets need the water. Famines have killed millions in the Soviet Union in this century. Those famines often were caused by the geographic imbalance of Soviet terrain. More than four-fifths of the Soviet Union's water flows north to the Arctic—away from the south, where three-quarters of the population lives.

With the pressure to make *perestroika* succeed, President Mikhail Gorbachev could be equally tempted. In money terms, Soviet proponents of river diversion are telling Gorbachev that each cubic kilometer of water he is able to divert would generate more than \$800 million in new revenue and 50,000 new jobs annually. But the daunting cost of construction and excavation—\$8 billion per cubic kilometer—has to give Gorbachev pause.

Not even a combination of a dozen river-diversion schemes now being studied by Gorbachev would make up for the "water deficit" spilling into the Arctic now. The greatest concern is that, with the rising populations in the Central Asian republics, a shortage of water could drive those people, mostly Moslems, out of their homes. There is simply not enough water to sustain them where they are.

Thus, it is not surprising that ecologically primitive Soviet leaders would turn to the quick fix. What is quicker than a nuclear explosion?

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NBC News

M E E T T H E P R E S S

Sunday, September 24, 1989

GUEST:

BRENT SCOWCROFT
National Security Adviser

MODERATOR:

Garrick Utley - NBC News

PANEL:

John Cochran - NBC News
Robert Kaiser - The Washington Post

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This is a rush transcript provided for the information and convenience of the press. Accuracy is not guaranteed. In case of doubt, please check with

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MR. UTLEY: On "Meet the Press" today, Soviets and Americans, George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, the road to the next summit. Our guest is Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to the president.

Perhaps it was the fresh mountain air of Wyoming which cleared heads and led to such remarkable progress in the meetings between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Baker. More likely it was a cool assessment on both sides that if progress is to be made on arms reduction, it is time to get on with it.

An agreement on strategic nuclear weapons now looks more likely, and a Bush-Gorbachev summit conference by next summer has been set. We're going to talk about these and other matters this morning with Brent Scowcroft, who is joining us from Kennebunkport, Maine, where he is with the president, and with me this morning here in Washington are Robert Kaiser of the Washington Post, and John Cochran, who covers the White House for NBC News.

General Scowcroft, first of all, the Soviets at this conference formally dropped their linkage of our having to limit SDI or Star Wars in exchange for going ahead with an agreement on long range strategic weapons. In your view, and in the president's view, does this now mean that the way is open for an agreement on START by the summit conference next summer?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, I think what it means is that one major road block to such an agreement has been cleared away. It is not the only major issue remaining. But it's a significant one. And being able to deal with it aside and on its merits, rather than as a precondition to a START treaty is certainly a step forward.

MR. UTLEY: Well, let me go a step forward on this particular question. Do you think it likely that there will be an agreement? There are other issues; we'll get to those. But do you see it likely that there will be an agreement by the summit next summer?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think that the particular time set for the summit is designed on the presumption that by that time there would at least be significant progress if not the conclusion of an agreement on that. As the president said yesterday, arms control is not the only issue worthy of discussion between the two sides. But certainly major progress or conclusion of START treaty is a major issue which would be dealt with at any summit.

MR. KAISER: General, let me ask if the Soviet Union has really changed its position on Star Wars or whether it's really the Bush administration that's changed.

When Gorbachev was in Washington in December, 1987, he seemed to say that they were prepared to do exactly what Shevardnadze told Baker they were prepared to do, which is to say, we'll just presume that you Americans are respecting the treaty as we understand it, the 1972 ABM treaty, and we'll let you do your research on SDI on the understanding that you're not going to do anything that violates the treaty. That's just what it said this weekend.

Then the Reagan administration was skeptical. Now you're embracing it. What's the difference?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, no, I think it is clearly the Soviet Union that has changed its position. We have always said that the two should be dealt with separately, and that negotiations on strategic defense, SDI, whatever you want to call it, should go forward on their own momentum and START on its own. And the Soviets have now said go ahead.

MR. KAISER: But I think Gorbachev said that almost two years ago, didn't he?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Almost. Almost. But it still was not that clear. Now he has specifically de-linked it. But the issues surrounding strategic defense have not been solved, if that's the thrust of your question.

MR. KAISER: Hasn't the Bush administration pretty much given up on the original Reagan idea of a strategic defense that

would really protect the United States from a Soviet attack, that's out the window now, isn't it?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think it's important to remember how the whole issue of SDI has evolved during the Reagan administration. And at the end of that administration there were discussions of a first phase deployment and so on, so that the original notion, as expressed by President Reagan in 1983 had already been amended significantly.

MR. COCHRAN: General, much has been made of Gorbachev's change, if indeed it is a change on Star Wars. I wonder if we're missing the real news here. I'm told that the Soviets said on this question of submarine-launched cruise missiles, which has been a real sticking point that they may be willing to conclude a treaty without even dealing with that. Is that the real news?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think that's another significant step. That is one of the thorniest issues remaining, principally because of the difficulties, if not impossibility of verification. The fact that the Soviets are now prepared, perhaps, to set aside that issue and deal with it separately, and not necessarily include it in the treaty does make even more likely the chances that we could come to an agreement.

MR. COCHRAN: General, we're told that the Soviets, Shevardnadze was very candid about the internal problems in the Soviet Union, the problems of dissent. Why are they being so candid? Do they want President Bush's help, or do they want to assure you that they're not going to use force to put down dissent?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think what they're trying to show is that there is a new Soviet Union. And that glasnost really means what it says. And that they're not trying to conceal or hide their own internal problems, their concerns about what the U.S. is doing in certain areas, that there is a new spirit of oneness.

MR. COCHRAN: Did they tell you that they would not use force to put down any sort of dissent?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Not in my presence, they did not.

MR. UTLEY: General, not to go too far into the details, but the devil is in the details, as is often learned in arms negotiations, to come back to the question of the negotiations in Geneva on long range weapons and SDI and the lack of linkage now. Is it your understanding that they are totally uncoupled, or is it your understanding that as part of an agreement we will have to sign or acknowledge that we will continue to observe the 1972 ABM agreement? Is that going to be somewhere in the large or small print?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, this has not really been negotiated. All we have so far is the statement of delinkage. And our assumption is that we can go ahead and conclude a START treaty regardless of the state of negotiations on the ABM treaty, on discussions relating to it, and on interpretation of that treaty, and a U.S. SDI program.

Now, the Soviets do propose discussions on what is permissible and impermissible. And we have had for some time problems with that. And there is also the open question of abiding by the ABM treaty as signed, because there is a different interpretation as to what that means. So, those issues are still open, but I think they will not be required to be resolved before the conclusion of a START treaty.

MR. UTLEY: Now there are some other surprises and signs of progress that came out of these meetings these last several days. One was the decision by the Soviets to dismantle their radar station at Krasnoyarsk, which we claimed violated the ABM. We now have an agreement to try to verify weapons systems which is a key part of a START agreement. They'll let us come in and intrude, so to speak in their territory.

Doesn't this signal a profound change, not just in terms of negotiating strategy on the part of the Soviets, but in terms of their attitude; as John and Bob were alluding to earlier, there seemed to be a much more forthcoming attitude. How do you interpret that, what does that signify to you?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I think it's again an indication of a new attitude on the part of the Soviet Union. There was a remarkable lack of what one might call mutual recriminations in these discussions, blaming--one side blaming the other side for the state of affairs. Instead, there was a focus on the issues between us and proposals on one side or both sides to resolve or to deal with those major issues. And it was a very--one of the most encouraging things about it all was the atmosphere in which these discussions took place was what I think was a sincere effort to move the issues forward toward conclusion.

MR. KAISER: General, one possible interpretation of that might be that this is an area in which the United States can actually do Shevardnadze and his boss Gorbachev some big favors, to help them in their struggles at home; that they're forthcoming because they so eagerly need to make deals, not only on long-range weapons, but on conventional weapons too.

Is the Bush administration prepared to help them, not by giving them anything, but just by speeding the time table and moving as quickly as possible to get those agreements?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Yes, we are interesting in moving forward as quickly as is prudent. Whatever their motivation, the United States has focused on advancing U.S. national interests, and in reducing the chances of conflict. Anything that does that, regardless of the motivation, assuming it is sincere, can be verified, and is in the U.S. national interest, why we certainly want to proceed as fast as possible.

MR. COCHRAN: General, you've agreed on a summit for the first half of next year. Are you thinking Mikhail Gorbachev is still going to be in power in the first half of next year?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Nothing is certain in the world of politics. There is no question that his troubles seem to be mounting. But he is still dealing with them, and he is dealing with his own situation in the Soviet Union, still with a considerable amount of skill, as the last Central Committee plenum I think

amply demonstrates.

MR. COCHRAN: So you think he'll be there for the summit?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: I see no reason to expect anything otherwise.

MR. KAISER: And is it possible that the summit will be at the end of or at the very last stages of negotiating both a sweeping conventional arms reduction agreement and a START agreement?

GENERAL SCOWCROFT: Well, you have to separate the two, because on the conventional arms agreement, the so-called CFE agreement, that is a multilateral agreement being negotiated between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. And thus, it's on a separate, not a bilateral track.

But certainly, it is our hope, as the president announced at the NATO summit that he hoped within six months to a year to be able to conclude that and obviously we're hoping for significant if not complete progress on START.

MR. UTLEY: General, there were a number of other issues which were discussed in these talks concerning not just nuclear weapons, but other problems around the world. We'll continue with those items and more as "Meet the Press" continues. We'll be right back.

(Announcements)

MR. UTLEY: On "Meet the Press" this morning, Bob Kaiser, John Cochran and I are talking with National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, who is with the president in Kennebunkport, Maine this morning.

General, tomorrow the president goes to the U.N. where he'll make his speech there. It's believed--it's been leaked by the administration--that he'll make some proposals involving chemical weapons, proposals which are important. Can you give us some indication of what his thinking is?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: Well, not much. As you know, the president has been concerned for a number of years about the horrors of chemical weapons.

He made a major presentation to the U.N. conference in 1984 on the possibility of banning chemical weapons, and he will have some proposals tomorrow to advance that issue.

MR. UTLEY: You're not going to tell us right now, of course, what they're going to be. So let's go to what was discussed in the last couple of days with the Soviets, regional issues. One is Afghanistan. After the Russians pulled their forces out of that country, the conventional wisdom in American circles was that the pro-communist government would fall, the mujaheddin would win; it hasn't happened. In our talks now with the Russians are we willing to come to some kind of a compromise, political compromise, there in Afghanistan?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: We've always been prepared to come to a compromise. We're not insisting on any particular government in Afghanistan. What we're interested in is a government which broadly respects the will of the peoples there, and so far, that has not been forthcoming.

The Soviets have been pouring equipment in Afghanistan to maintain the Najibullah regime in power, and we think that is not compatible with resolving the Afghan problem.

MR. UTLEY: That is our position; we understand that. But during these talks these last few days, was this issue addressed? It was on the agenda, and was there any sign from our side or from the Soviet side of a change in the two countries' positions? Is there some movement going on here?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: It was discussed, and I think you can assume that it will be discussed further. But I don't want to say anything more than that. There still is a considerable difference between the two sides?

MR. COCHRAN: How about movement on Nicaragua? We understand that Secretary Baker and Minister Shevardnadze talked rather optimistically about Nicaragua yesterday. We also understand the Soviets are saying they can't control Fidel Castro, who is the bad guy, sending all these weapons to the Nicaraguans, to the

Sandinistas. You don't really believe that, do you?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: No, I don't believe it. I don't believe they have complete control over Fidel Castro, but they certainly have sufficient leverage, I think, to keep him from sending arms to Nicaragua. We did agree, the two sides did agree, on the desirability of free and open elections in Nicaragua. If the Soviets are sincere, that is a step forward.

MR. COCHRAN: Well, how about this question of weapons? They could crackdown on Castro, they could threaten to withhold aid from him for example?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: That's correct.

MR. COCHRAN: Well, what did they tell you. I said, if the--what they told is are--is that they are not sending weapons to Nicaragua. And we have not denied that. But the fact is that Eastern bloc weapons are reaching Nicaragua in force, and as a matter of fact, in greater numbers than last year, and we believe the Soviets can control that if they so desire.

MR. KAISER: General, your administration's been criticized in Congress, particularly by the Senate majority leader, for what he called timidity in dealing with the historic changes that seem to be doing on in the Soviet empire.

I'd like to ask you how you're going to explain it to your own grandchildren if the Bush administration is remember as the one which, when Poland asked for help to throw off the communist yoke, the Bush administration came along and offered them some surplus food, some frozen butter, and just a tiny amount of money compared to what the Poles say they need?

Aren't you being too timid? Isn't this an historic chance being missed?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: I'm quite confident I won't have to explain that to my grandchildren, because I think we are moving at a pace which is prudent, and which is calculated to bring about the best results.

We have never said we would not provide more aid to

Poland. What we have in mind is a sequential plan which links the extent to which the United States and the Free World can and should aid Poland with the kinds of steps that only Poland can make to restructure its economy and make that aid useful.

If there's nothing that happens other than we're pouring money and butter and so on into Poland, as happened to a certain extent in the early 1970s, we are contributing to a negative outcome, not a positive outcome.

MR. KAISER: Does that mean you might be willing to accept an increased aid package the Senate Foreign Relations committee approved many times--eight times more aid than you'd asked for I think last week. Are you prepared to negotiate on that, and accept more?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: We are certainly prepared to negotiate on the issue, and we would hope that instead of a kind of competitive domestic political issue, we could look at Poland as a national, bipartisan issue for the United States, and look at what we ought to do, not who can make the biggest headline.

MR. UTLEY: General, it seems that something important has happened this last week in terms of the Soviet Union and the leadership there. Not only have they come to the United States and presented the kind of concessions that they've made on arms negotiations; last week there was a purge of the Politburo. Mikhail Gorbachev showed he still has that political muscle. He got rid of more of his conservative opponents. He is clearly in charge of the political apparatus in that country.

Doesn't that give you greater confidence that he's a man who's going to be there, that not only can you deal with him, but that now is the time really, as Bob was indicating, to push ahead and get this thing into high gear?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: Well, I think I've already indicated that, that we are moving ahead at a pace which we consider prudent, and sustainable.

We have now engaged with the Soviet Union across the

full range of arms control issues, all of the outstanding issues in START, nuclear testing, chemical warfare. And we have begun, or continued, a major discussion on all the regional issues.

So we think we're moving forward at a pace which is responsible and brings the best hope for sincere progress.

MR. COCHRAN: General, we haven't heard much about the American hostages. What are you hearing from the Iranians? Are they being encouraging at all? I know you're engaged in quiet diplomacy. What can you tell us?

GEN. SCOWCROFT: That we're engaged in quiet diplomacy. I think this is not the time for headlines. We have continued our efforts on the hostages. The headlines is not the place to negotiate on the issue of the hostages.

MR. COCHRAN: Anything encouraging though? Are you a little--

GEN. SCOWCROFT: I wouldn't want to say anything one way or another.

MR. UTLEY: General, thank you very much for being with us. Bob, John and I could continue pressing you for a long time. But I know this is something that you don't feel you can go into. Obviously of course we hope that some progress is being made on the hostages.

Thanks for coming by, talking about those and other topics this morning here on "Meet the Press". In just a moment, Bob Kaiser, John Cochran, and I will be back with some personal observations.

(Announcements)

MR. UTLEY: On "Meet the Press" this morning we've been talking with Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser to President Bush. Bob and John, it seems that aside from all of the details and the successes that have come out of these series of talks, there is something that is more intangible, but perhaps every bit as important, and that is the atmospherics, that the Americans are saying that there was a different Soviet attitude

here. How do you explain that, Bob? You've covered the Soviet Union.

MR. KAISER: I sense that the Soviets are really trying to accelerate the pace of superpower diplomacy here. The Bush administration took a very long time to get cranked up. It's, you know, nine months now since they came to office. But it seems to me this weekend may be remembered as the time when the gears did shift, as you suggested before, and that we really are now headed into a more intense time. Certainly that's what the Soviets want and need.

MR. UTLEY: Okay, they want it and they need it. Why do they want it, and why do they need it? Is it for military reasons, military budget reasons, is it in order to show the Soviet people that Gorbachev has a success? What is driving it from the Kremlin's point of view?

MR. KAISER: I think myself both those things. They want to save the money that can be saved, but perestroika at home as we've seen is not producing great quick results. Perestroika abroad is much more malleable. You can change the world by negotiation, and they're trying to do that, and show that as quick, early result.

MR. UTLEY: And from our side, the Bush administration?

MR. COCHRAN: I think that people like Brent Scowcroft would tell us that in fact the best way they can help Gorbachev is to show that he can handle the American account well, and that by helping him in the foreign area, without giving him any money. Brent Scowcroft once said, if I were asked to devise a plan to help Gorbachev economically, I wouldn't know how to do it. So the way you help him is to talk on these issues of arms control. And in terms of gearing up the Americans, in fact there's much to gear up on the American side. The Americans came into this meeting in Wyoming with no new ideas. They had recycled a George Bush idea that he presented in Moscow a year and a half ago on mobile missiles, nothing else.

MR. UTLEY: But basically, hasn't the American strategy, our strategy, been stand pat, let the Soviets come to us, and in effect isn't that what has happened over the last several years?

MR. KAISER: Yes, it is. Although, I think the strategy works. In history, we're going to have to give Reagan a lot of credit for making the adjustment he made in '87 and '88. But, yes, the Soviets came a long way, and they came fast.

MR. UTLEY: So Reagan does deserve credit, however crazy SDI may have sounded at the time, it has had an impact to pay off in terms of our relations with the Soviets?

MR. COCHRAN: In fact, it did work as the bargaining chip that everybody thought it was.

MR. KAISER: Also, of course, Reagan understood Gorbachev was a change. And that was important.

MR. UTLEY: Bob, John, thank you very much for being here this morning on "Meet the Press."

Finally, a thought about art, to use the term broadly, imitating life. One way to measure the change in Soviet-American relations and attitudes is to go to a movie, or read a spy novel. The familiar, dependable bogeyman of the Soviet menace is disappearing. This, we are told, is causing some concern in Hollywood where those familiar two dimensional stereotype villains you love to hate are essential for dramatic tension, not to mention commercial success.

Caricatures of the cunning Japanese and the arrogant German officer did their duty in World War II, and the Soviet spy or mole or general communist conspiracy has had a long run since then. Where would James Bond be without SMERSH. Today, some writers and directors are flushing out their Soviet protagonists with a human soul. But that does not fill the need for a new bad guy who can be mowed down with Rambo-esque impunity.

The obvious new candidates are the drug lords--that's Hollywood, you might say, but wait a minute. A similar thing appears to be happening here in Washington. George Bush has made

the war on drugs his crusade. Would it receive such presidential attention if the Cold War were still red hot? Not likely. White House speechwriters and Hollywood scriptwriters face a similar dilemma. The news that the writers of the president's drug speech suggested he hold up crack purchased across the street from the White House, and then the orchestration of the event to fit the pre-conceived rhetoric has shocked many people. A Hollywood type, say, Ronald Reagan, might think of that, but not George Bush.

Still, he says he sees nothing wrong with this bit of stage managing, arguing in effect the right of dramatic license. Another way of looking at it is as life imitating art, or at least imitating Hollywood, poorly.

I'm Garrick Utley. I hope you'll join us again next week for "Sunday Today" and "Meet the Press."

DEFENSE DIALOG



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Tuesday, Sep 26, 1989 (Broadcasts of Monday, September 25, 1989)

SUMMARY OF NETWORK NEWS IN THIS ISSUE

BUSH ADDRESSES U.N.; PROPOSES CHEMICAL WEAPONS' CUTBACKS: President Bush addressed the opening session of the U. N. General Assembly Monday and proposed a far-reaching reduction in the levels of chemical weapons' stockpiles held by the superpowers. Reports on the President's proposal are filed by Brit Hume, ABC, and John Cochran, NBC. In related reports, Bob Zelnick, ABC, and David Martin, CBS, evaluate the President's proposal and the difficulties inherent in achieving a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

GOVERNMENT CHANGES IN POLAND: Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has appointed Andrzej Drawicz as the first non-communist director of government controlled radio and television. Mike Lee, ABC, reports that Andrzej Drawicz, a Solidarity activist who was imprisoned by communist authorities in 1981, is likely to make significant changes in how information is disseminated by the Polish media.

ASSESSMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY: On the CBS Evening News, Dan Rather interviews Professor Stephen Cohen of Princeton University on U. S.-Soviet relations. Professor Cohen expresses misgivings that the United States may not be as forthcoming with Soviet President Gorbachev as it could be and that this may serve to undermine the Soviet leader.

VIETNAMESE PULLOUT FROM CAMBODIA: The Vietnamese are concluding the final stages of their military withdrawal from Cambodia. Bob Simon, CBS, reports on conditions in Cambodia today and the prospect for renewed and bloody fighting there between the government of Hun Seng and remnants of the Khmer Rouge.

Bush Addresses United Nations

PETER JENNINGS: We begin tonight at the United Nations where President Bush began his day.

Every President since Harry Truman has spoken to an opening session of the U. N. General Assembly. It's always an important occasion, even when Presidents don't come with important plans to make the world safer or a more cooperative place. George Bush began with a slight advantage. He was the U. S. Ambassador to the U. N. in 1971 and '72, so at least he knows what it takes to make the place work. And today he showed up with a plan.

Here's our White House correspondent Brit Hume.

BRIT HUME: The President, ever the personal politician, took care to acknowledge old friends from his days here. In his address, he recalled once being late and missing the first 45 minutes of a windy speech, only to have the speaker say:

PRESIDENT BUSH: I welcome the Permanent Representative of the United States. And now for his benefit, I will start my speech all over again, from the beginning.

HUME: With U. S.-Soviet relations improving, the President wants the U. N. to be a force for peace in regional trouble spots unaffected by the thaw in the Cold War. With such places in mind, Mr. Bush announced an ambitious initiative on chemical weapons.

PRESIDENT BUSH: More than twenty nations now possess

chemical weapons or the capability to produce them. And these horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This is simply unacceptable.

HUME: Mr. Bush said the U. S. would abolish 80% of its present chemical weapons' stocks if the Soviets would reduce to equal levels. Then if the worldwide chemical weapons' talks in Geneva succeed, the U. S. will abolish the rest of its chemical arsenal in ten years.

The speech drew only polite applause. U. N. speeches rarely get more. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze certainly did not wear out his hands. But Shevardnadze said later the speech was good and constructive.

In the area of chemical weapons, though, the Soviets aren't the main problem. The problem is small, unpredictable nations such as Libya. Getting them to adhere to a worldwide chemical weapons' ban is, in the words of one top Bush aide, a daunting challenge.

Brit Hume, ABC News, New York.

Stockpiles of Chemical Weapons

JENNINGS: In addition to the United States and the Soviet Union, two nations, France and Iraq, are actually known to possess chemical weapons. As the President said, many other countries may have them. And it is by no means clear they share American enthusiasm for cutting back on them.

Here's ABC's Bob Zelnick.

BOB ZELNICK: Pentagon sources say it will be tough to ban chemical weapons in the

Third World. Many nations, such as Syria, oppose a ban because chemical weapons are cheap and effective. Analysts say they were decisive in Iraq's war with Iran. Even if a ban were agreed to, verification would be difficult. Chemicals used to make weapons are widely available and can be used in other products, like pesticides.

WILLIAM MENGEL [Chemical Defense Analyst]: Any nation with a chemical capability for commercial chemicals could probably begin the production of chemical agents for warfare purposes.

ZELNICK: But some say verification problems can be minimized by good intelligence and surprise or short-warning inspections.

BRENT SCOWCROFT [National Security Adviser]: Verification, of course, is and remains a daunting challenge.

ZELNICK: Several in the Third World say they'll sign no ban on chemical weapons unless nuclear weapons and other threats to their countries, like missiles, are also outlawed. But should the U. S. and the Soviets actually begin destroying chemical stockpiles, some say the pressure on others to go along will increase.

Bob Zelnick, ABC News, at the Pentagon.

Government Changes in Poland

JENNINGS: In Poland today, a change in government, another Polish declaration of independence and will. At the United Nations, the new Polish Foreign Minister said his country would respect its treaties with the Soviet Union, but would accept no limits on its choosing or

changing its own form of government. And in Poland itself, a change of government which is quite staggering when one thinks of how much faith the Communist Party has been forced to put in control of the information. The Ministry today: they were forced to give it up [sic].

ABC's Mike Lee is in Warsaw.

MIKE LEE: For Andrzej Drawicz, it was the first day on the job as new boss of government controlled Polish radio and TV. He presided over a staff meeting of broadcast executives. Some may have been nervous because for years they were in charge of keeping him and other Solidarity activists out of the public eye.

During martial law in 1981, Drawicz, a noted intellectual, was put in jail where he won the respect of fellow political prisoners, including the Solidarity journalist who is now Prime Minister.

PM TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI: When we were interned, we elected him our inmate leader, and he proved he was able to solve everything with great tact.

LEE: Now Prime Minister Mazowiecki has put his old jail house friend in charge of turning Polish television into a model of freedom.

ANDRZEJ DRAWICZ: Let's just say there must be real objective information about what's going on, giving possibility to the people representing various points of view.

LEE: That new policy began tonight as viewers saw, for the first time ever, a Solidarity journalist deliver a commentary on the evening news.

The Prime Minister's Office has not only made a major change in the powers that be

behind the TV cameras. The world is about to see a dramatic change in front of the cameras.

For eight years, Jerzy Urban was the official spokesman of the communist government, denouncing Solidarity and the West, and never in English. Meet the new spokeswoman, Malgorzata Neizabitowska, Solidarity journalist, post-graduate studies at Harvard, and media friendly.

MALGORZATA NEIZABITOWSKA: I think this is the main rule and the main difference between the new government and the old government. I'm going to tell the truth.

LEE: That pledge has yet to be tested. The appointment of a young, English-speaking Solidarity activist as official spokeswoman, at the very least, signals the desire for a more progressive image by the new government.

Mike Lee, ABC News, Warsaw.

CBS EVENING NEWS
6:30 PM

CBS TV
SEPTEMBER 25

Banning Chemical Weapons

DAN RATHER: The President proposed that both superpowers destroy the vast majority of their chemical weapon stockpiles. However, as our Defense Department correspondent David Martin explains, that would still leave the world with a big poison gas problem.

DAVID MARTIN: The Soviets say they have 55,000 tons of chemical weapons. The U. S. is estimated to have 30,000 tons. Cutting those stockpiles by 80% sounds like a lot. But as far as the U. S. is concerned, it

isn't.

JOHN ERLNBORN [Former Member/Chemical Warfare Commission]: We could give up 80% of our total capacity and not give up anything that's really useful.

MARTIN: Most of the chemical weapons in the U. S. stockpile are so old as to be unusable. The Navy won't let them on its ships, and the Air Force won't store them on its bases. After not producing any chemical weapons for 18 years, the Pentagon started in 1987 making a new generation of chemical weapon, so-called binary weapons, which would not be touched by an 80% cut.

LEE FEINSTEIN [Arms Control Association]: It looks like we can fully modernize our chemical weapons arsenal and still remain within this 80% ceiling.

MARTIN: For both the U. S. and the Soviet Union, the most painful part of an 80% cut in chemical weapons could turn out to be the inspections needed to verify that neither side is cheating.

ERLENBORN: It would require on-site verification, without notice. And that would be very difficult to achieve.

MARTIN: Under President Bush's proposal, neither side would give up its entire stockpile unless other countries, like Iraq, which just last year used chemical weapons to horrible effect, also agree to give up their only weapon of mass destruction.

JEANE KIRKPATRICK [Former U. N. Ambassador]: Some people call them the Third World's nuclear arms, and Third World nations are very attached to chemical weapons.

MARTIN: Dan, chemical weapons are easy to make, and

that's exactly why they're going to be so hard to get rid of.

RATHER: Well, David, the President has suggested that the United States and the Soviet Union set an example. How likely is that to happen?

MARTIN: Well, the U. S. tried setting an example once before back in 1969 when then-President Nixon halted the production of chemical weapons. But there's no evidence that during the 18 years that ban was in effect that any other nation followed suit. In fact, the number of nations with chemical weapons actually increased over that period of time.

RATHER: David Martin, thanks.

Assessment of Foreign Policy

RATHER: As President Bush concentrated on foreign policy today, there were indications in the latest CBS News/New York Times' poll out this evening that Mr. Bush may have made gains this year in public approval of his overall foreign policy. Sixty percent of the people we polled today said they approved. In other areas, asked whether they would favor dropping U. S. trade restrictions with the Soviets as a way of helping Mikhail Gorbachev carry out his economic reforms, only 41% said yes. Another indication that the U. S. public favors a go-slow approach in dealing with the changing face of communism in Europe, only 40% favored increased U. S. aid to East European countries that are becoming more independent.

Joining us now is Professor Stephen Cohen of Princeton

University, CBS News consultant on Soviet affairs.

Steve, you're just back from a number of months in the Soviet Union interviewing people at all levels. Is what President Bush doing likely to help Mikhail Gorbachev?

PROFESSOR STEPHEN COHEN: Well, it will help. But I don't think it's enough. For almost five years, Gorbachev has called for an American President who would be a partner in getting rid of these armaments, nuclear and conventional. I think Gorbachev is going to conclude on the basis of this U. N. speech that Mr. Bush is ready to be a partner, but not a full partner, a kind of limited partner.

And let me give you one example. Getting rid of chemical weapons isn't going to save Mr. Gorbachev the kind of money and the kind of technology that he desperately needs to move from his military to his civilian sector to save his economy.

RATHER: And what other points should we have in mind when we consider what happened today?

PROFESSOR COHEN: Well, I think we've got to begin to think about this summit. It's about seven months off. And there's going to be a lot of politics between now and then. And one thing that comes to my mind is that ever since this process began under Mr. Reagan, Mr. Gorbachev has made, I'd say, 75 to 80% of the major concessions to keep the process going. He made another one here, putting off star wars for a while. How many more can he make in Moscow before his own national security people say that's enough; we're not

getting enough for what we're giving.

RATHER: Does he have any choice?

PROFESSOR COHEN: Well, the Europeans are enthusiastic about him. Margaret Thatcher was in Moscow over the weekend to embrace him. But he really needs the American President.

RATHER: Steve Cohen, thanks.

Threat of Civil War in Cambodia

RATHER: Tens of thousands of Vietnamese soldiers jammed Highway 1, the main artery of Indochina today. They were heading home, pulling out of Cambodia after ten years of war there. Like the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, communist Vietnam failed in its effort to set up a puppet regime in Cambodia. It was unable to wipe out the Khmer Rouge, who turned Cambodia into a killing field in the 1970s and who are now threatening a bloody return.

Correspondent Bob Simon has been travelling in Cambodia.

BOB SIMON: So glad you could come; so glad you have to come. Flowers and fond farewells today as the Vietnamese drove away from their dream of an Indochinese empire. After an inconclusive ten year war, they began what they promised would be their last withdrawal from Cambodia. They'd lost 25,000 men, drained their resources, failed to wipe out the Khmer Rouge guerrillas. Cambodia had been Vietnam's Vietnam.

In downtown Phnom Penh, children at arms were receiving emergency doses of instant training. A Khmer Rouge offensive is expected to follow

the Vietnamese withdrawal as inevitably as the dry season follows the monsoon.

The last time they came to town in 1975, they re-enacted the Holocaust, killing more than a million people. Phnom Penh is a city hovering on the edge of its past.

UNIDENTIFIED MAN: Some people fear that the Khmer Rouge might come back again.

SIMON: This is the daily train from Phnom Penh to Battambang, a province where there are constant skirmishes with the Khmer Rouge. The guerrillas are always laying mines on the tracks, so the railroad puts these two flatbeds in front of the locomotive to absorb any explosions. The people who decide to ride on these flatbeds get to ride for free.

There are battle machine gun nests on the roof, armed men in the cars. Even with the Vietnamese around, the guerrillas stage a dozen attacks a day countrywide. With the Vietnamese gone, the immediate question is whether the government they installed can survive.

Thirty-seven year old Prime Minister Hun Sen has been shunned by the United States and the United Nations as a Vietnamese puppet. But recently he's begun to cut the strings, bringing a measured amount of perestroika to Phnom Penh. He's opened up the economy. There's more rice, more radios in the markets now than there's been in 15 years. He's reinstated private property, bringing on a modest housing boom and a spontaneous movement to beautify the capital.

Most important for most

people, after ten years of communist indoctrination, which never really took root, Buddhism has been reestablished as the state religion. The monks are back and doing well.

The government, searching for a nationalist mantle, is busy resurrecting the gentle Khmer traditions which the Khmer Rouge had tried to obliterate, bringing back the first faint memories of what Cambodia once was and just conceivably could be again.

But 200 miles from the capital, a few fiercer spectacle is being staged for a different audience. This is the second largest Cambodia city, and it's in Thailand. It's a refugee camp called Site 2, a home away from home for 143,000 Cambodians, run by the American supported non-communist resistance to the regime in Phnom Penh. The guerrillas are the camera-shy guys in khaki. The veterans, veterans of Vietnamese mines, are the guys with one leg. There are more amputees per capita here than anywhere in the world.

More shells are raining down this Khmer Rouge camp on the Thai border every day now. Relief officials expect the fighting to intensify as the Vietnamese complete their withdrawal and the refugee camps become the new front line in Cambodia's next civil war.

Khmer Rouge on the border, a monument to the Khmer Rouge outside Phnom Penh, rows and rows of skulls reaching to the sky. Rice is being planted here now, but the gates to the killing fields may not be closed. No one knows how the government's army will do; no one doubts what the Khmer Rouge

will do. They will fight. Hun Sen says he's prepared for the worst, which, in Cambodia, is never an unreasonable expectation.

It was the Vietnamese who were smiling today. They were going home to a country where the war is over.

Bob Simon, CBS News, Phnom Penh.

NBC NIGHTLY NEWS
7:00 PM

NBC TV
SEPTEMBER 25

Chemical Weapons Proposal

TOM BROKAW: President Bush said today it is time for the United States and the Soviet Union to show the way, to get rid of all chemical weapons in the world. The President's proposal is a new approach. First, the United States and the Soviets would make huge cuts in their chemical weapons -- that's poison gas -- and then get the rest of the world to follow.

Here's NBC's John Cochran.

JOHN COCHRAN: George Bush used his first presidential address at the U. N. to make good on a campaign promise to work for the abolition of chemical weapons.

PRESIDENT BUSH: We will eliminate more than 80% of our stockpile even as we work to complete a treaty, if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level and we agree on the conditions, including inspections, under which stockpiles are destroyed.

COCHRAN: Bush believes it is possible, though difficult, to make sure that no nation cheats on a chemical weapons'

treaty. And once a treaty is signed, Bush promises further cuts.

PRESIDENT BUSH: In the first eight years of a chemical weapons' treaty, the U. S. is ready to destroy nearly all, 98% of our chemical weapons' stockpile, provided the Soviet Union joins the ban, and I think they will.

COCHRAN: The hardest part will be persuading smaller countries to abolish chemical weapons. Iraq used deadly gas during its war with Iran, and Iran may have done the same. The unpredictable Libyans are also among the twenty plus countries with chemical weapons. But if they all agree to a total ban, the U. S. will do the same.

Although Congress has already passed a law banning most chemical weapons, a top Democrat praised Bush.

SENATOR SAM NUNN: I thought it was a good speech. I thought his proposals on a chemical ban, worldwide chemical ban was a very positive move in the right direction.

COCHRAN: When Bush finished speaking, the Soviet Ambassador to the U. S. was notably restrained in his applause. But other Soviet officials said Mikhail Gorbachev would probably welcome Bush's chemical arms proposal.

Bush's aides say that by making progress on chemical and other weapons, the President is doing all he can to help Gorbachev. Soviet diplomats say privately Bush could do more by helping the Soviet economy.

Although White House aides believe Gorbachev's political future is in doubt, they insist

there is no way that George Bush can assure Gorbachev's survival against old guard communists.

John Cochran with the President in New York.

BROKAW: At the same time in Moscow today, government officials announced cuts in the Soviet defense budget and the elimination of unprofitable state enterprises in an effort to get more money into the Soviet economy.

U.S., Soviets Clear a Hurdle In Missile Talks

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JACKSON HOLE, Wyo. — The Soviet Union has removed an obstacle in the way of achieving a superpower agreement to reduce long-range nuclear missiles. But Moscow's proposal will make it politically tougher for the U.S. to deploy a space-based defense system.

In a weekend meeting here between Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviets proposed that they would no longer link progress toward achieving a strategic-arms reduction treaty to progress in separate talks involving space-based weapons. However, Mr. Shevardnadze said that even if an arms-reduction pact is signed, the Soviets would withdraw from it if the U.S., in Moscow's view, violated restrictions on space-weapons development.

The Soviet Union, fearing U.S. technological prowess, has opposed the development of space-based defensive weapons since former President Reagan proposed his controversial "Star Wars" system more than six years ago.

The two nations also said there would be a summit between President Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the late spring or early summer, and reached agreement or made substantial progress on other issues, ranging from verification of underground nuclear testing to moving toward eliminating chemical weapons.

Mr. Baker said President Bush will offer a new initiative on a chemical-weapons ban when he addresses the United Nations today.

In proposing the delinking of talks on long-range missile and space-defense weapons, the Soviets may be making a shrewd reading of the U.S. political scene. Mr. Bush has been less enthusiastic than his predecessor about deploying a full-fledged Star Wars system. Congress has resisted Star Wars, technology hasn't developed to the point where deployment soon is feasible and U.S. budget austerity rules out a massive effort.

Under such conditions, Moscow may be betting that if the two sides can agree to a long-range missile pact, the threat of losing it would generate sufficient pressure in the U.S. to limit Star Wars development and even spur a space-systems accord.

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, on NBC News's "Meet the Press," said a long-range nuclear-weapons agreement could be struck in time for the summit and that the time frame was set with that possibility in mind.

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal A-11
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date 25 Sept 89

Bush, in U.N. Speech, to Press Global Ban on Chemical Arms

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine, Sept. 24—President Bush intends to use his maiden address to the U.N. General Assembly on Monday to call for specific steps by all nations for the improved monitoring and verification that would be necessary to enforce a global ban on chemical weapons, administration officials said today.

The new proposal is the product of private deliberations in recent weeks by Bush and his top advisers, who have been criticized as too cautious and passive in capitalizing on opportunities in arms control.

Bush has long favored a ban on chemical weapons, but the United States has been frustrated by the refusal of Third World nations to adhere to proposed international standards for monitoring and verification. The officials said Bush's new proposals would offer specific suggestions, including timetables, for dealing with these problems and reportedly also include cuts in the superpowers' chemical arsenals.

"Many people have suggested that the United States has been treading water in the chemical [weapons] negotiations," said a senior official familiar with the Bush proposal. "I don't think that's the case, but I doubt there will be very many people saying that after the president's speech."

Secretary of State James A. Baker III reached an agreement over the weekend with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on improved verification and data exchange on chemical weapons. Baker also told Shevardnadze of Bush's new plan, officials said, which was described as intended to bolster the ongoing negotiations on a global ban.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration today vigorously embraced the Soviet Union's offer to move ahead on a strategic arms treaty without resolving the differences over defensive weapons. But House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) raised questions about the wisdom of the Soviet proposal.

Such U.S.-Soviet disagreements have been a major roadblock in recent years to completing a treaty limiting strategic, or long-range, weapons. Shevardnadze announced after seeing Baker that Moscow would be willing to move ahead with talks on reducing strategic offensive nuclear weapons without resolving disagreements on research and testing of space-based arms.

The United States so far has observed a narrow interpretation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in developing its antimissile Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). But official U.S. policy, set by the Reagan administration, is that the treaty permits far more advanced testing of space-based antimissile weapons than the Soviets say it does.

Shevardnadze said the Soviets would continue to insist on the right to pull out of any strategic arms treaty later if the United States moved to deploy the space-based SDI, often called "Star Wars."

The Soviet offer was hailed as a "positive development" by Baker, who said in a television interview on CBS News's "Face the Nation" that the Soviets had removed "a major stumbling block" to moving ahead on a strategic arms treaty.

But Aspin cautioned that the Soviet offer was a "very, very clever move" in which Moscow has changed the "form of what they're asking, but not the substance" of opposition to SDI. Aspin said that by agreeing to remove the link between the two issues, the administration would lose any leverage it might have to use SDI as a bargaining chip in the talks on reducing offensive weapons.

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft told reporters here the Soviet offer was motivated by "an increased interest" in achieving a strategic arms accord. "They no longer have the leverage they thought they had" in trying to halt SDI, he said. Scowcroft, interviewed earlier on NBC News's "Meet the Press," acknowledged that another factor in the Soviet offer may be that the ambitious plans for SDI that then-President Ronald Reagan once envisioned—a global umbrella against nuclear attack—have been sharply scaled back by Reagan and Bush.

Scowcroft, Baker and other officials added, however, that major hurdles to achieving a strategic arms accord still remain, including the difficult issue of air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

Staff writer Don Oberdorfer contributed to this report.

Mountain Air Appears to Invigorate U.S. Relationship With Soviet Union

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Sept. 24—Eight months after taking office, the Bush administration last week finally found a solid footing in its most strategically important international relationship, that with the Soviet Union. It was a cautious and restrained beginning, but under pressure from the Soviets and U.S. politics, the pace is beginning to pick up.

The first summit meeting of President Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachev has now been set for late spring or early summer. The approach of the summit, however remote it seems in September as the autumn leaves turn to gold, will bring about much more intense Washington-Moscow consultations in the coming months and force many preparatory decisions.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III is likely to travel to Moscow in the November-January period and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze may then meet Baker in Washington or a European capital early next year. In the meantime, arms control negotiations will be proceeding apace, starting with resumption of strategic arms talks next Friday.

Gorbachev's summit in the United States will come 15 to 18 months after Bush's inauguration and about two years after the 1988 Moscow summit, hardly a high-speed move to continue the momentum of the Reagan administration's last years. This seems to suit the Bush-Baker team just fine, since many of its leading officials were uneasy with the euphoria and some of the finish-line decisions of President Reagan's final year.

The Soviet leadership, dealing with historic and sometimes-threatening change at an almost dizzying velocity, was outspokenly unhappy about Washington's reticence. Less than two weeks ago, Shevardnadze, a close Politburo associate of Gorbachev, complained publicly of Washington's "timidity" and "irresolute stance," which he said were damaging opportunities of worldwide importance.

By Saturday afternoon, however, after a visit to the White House and two days of meeting Baker in the Grand Tetons, Shevardnadze seemed satisfied that U.S.-Soviet relations "have now moved energetically" toward higher ground.

The portents, as developed in Gorbachev's nine-page letter to Bush last week and in the Wyoming discussions which followed, are for

much deeper U.S.-Soviet engagement across a very broad front, ranging from nuclear arms to human rights, from chemical weapons control to Central America, from the economics of *perestroika* to Bush's "open skies" ideas.

In their proposals to delink strategic arms cutbacks from the space issues and to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar in Siberia, the Soviets showed they are eager to move quickly to complete the landmark Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty after a slow START in the Bush administration.

There is serious debate among U.S. experts about the significance of Moscow's delinking move, which the Gorbachev letter alluded to in vague terms but which Shevardnadze made explicit for the first time Friday morning in Wyoming. However, comments by top U.S. officials, including those on today's television public affairs programs, leave little doubt that the administration has decided, in the words of a senior official, "to declare victory and move on" from this previously intractable problem.

Moscow's other unexpected maneuver—shifting the issue of sea-launched cruise missiles from the body of START to a side agreement—is hard to explain except as an accommodation to the Bush administration's worries about Senate treaty ratification. Thus the Kremlin is joining the State Department's seventh floor in thinking politically, especially regarding the U.S. Congress.

The very tentative timetable which seems to be emerging from all this is for the nearly-completed

protocols to the 1974 and 1976 U.S.-Soviet underground nuclear testing treaties to be signed at the spring/summer summit, sending those treaties to the Senate in the second half of next year.

Next in line would be START, with some administration officials seeing a real chance that the treaty can be signed late next year or early in 1991, thus moving that historic pact to Senate ratification before the presidential election year of 1992.

The Soviets made it very clear last week they also are anxious to move quickly in the 23-nation East-West negotiations to reduce conventional arms in Europe. The Soviet proposal for joint foreign ministers of NATO and the Warsaw Pact to advance an agreement early next year and for a NATO-Warsaw Pact summit to sign it at the end of next year would be a historical first and adds a new intensity to the conventional arms prospect.

As they prepared to leave the breathtaking scenery of Wyoming this morning, Shevardnadze and Baker paid tribute to the part their scenic and relaxed surroundings played in their deliberations. This seemed to validate President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1944 idea of siting the United Nations in the Black Hills of South Dakota, so the diplomats could commune with nature or fish for trout when faced by tough international issues.

In the end, of course, the United Nations was located on the East River in New York City instead. But the past week seemed to suggest there may have been something to FDR's theory.

NEWS
ANALYSIS

Vision Problems at State . . .

Critics say James Baker has no consistent policies

BY CHRISTOPHER OGDEN

It may be a great place for a powwow—but a superpower rendezvous? This week's meeting between Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze takes place not in Washington or New York City but Wyoming's remote Grand Teton National Park, a glorious setting and a logistical nightmare. At a modern-day campsite near Jackson Hole, advance men have hauled in satellite dishes, encryption machines, secure telephones, simultaneous-

running foreign policy—the President handles that. After a rocky start in a new field, the legendary political operative is still taking lumps from critics who argue he is quick to cut a deal, such as the bipartisan accord on Nicaragua, but slow to present a consistent strategy for critical areas like Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

The criticism comes from both left and right. "To provide leadership, you can't just respond to circumstances, you have to create them," says Senator Alan Cranston, the liberal California Demo-

Faulted early on for dithering over Mikhail Gorbachev's peace offensive, the Administration is now accused of being too passive about opportunities in Eastern Europe. In response, Bush last week doubled U.S. emergency food aid for Poland to \$100 million. After presenting an early blueprint for Arab-Israeli negotiations, Baker has moved back to the Middle East sidelines. The U.S. has also miscalculated in Cambodia, backing Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who is willing to work with the murderous Khmer Rouge, instead of the Hanoi-backed Hun Sen regime, which is rebuilding the country.

But there have been brighter spots. Baker won plaudits for the Central American plan that demobilizes the *contras*. "He handled it well," said Kansas Republican Senator Nancy Kassebaum. "It was

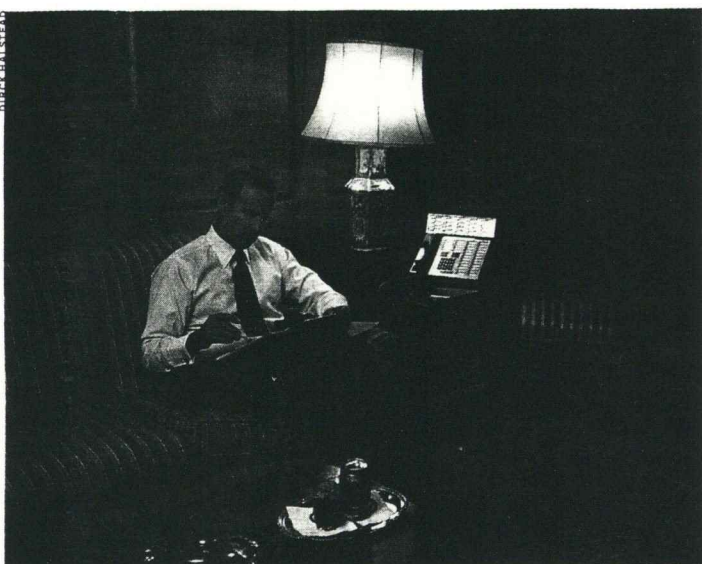
fuzzy enough for everyone to find a niche." Policy toward South Africa is on hold until new President F.W. de Klerk shows his hand, but the Administration has been tougher on apartheid. "Baker is much more positive on South Africa than Reagan," said Illinois Democrat Paul Simon, who chairs the Senate's Africa subcommittee. Baker also fine-tuned the cautious U.S. response to the Tiananmen Square massacre, pressing Bush for additional sanctions after sensing the depth of outrage in Congress.

If Baker has not become the President's prime minister, he has retained

his role as counselor. He and Bush meet privately twice a week for sessions that range well beyond foreign affairs. But Baker carefully avoids meddling in the domestic agenda. Instead, he has settled in with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft to form the most collegial team since the three worked together in the Ford presidency. They gather each Wednesday in Scowcroft's office and coordinate throughout the week. Deferring to Baker, the more experienced Scowcroft seems content to be First Facilitator—and closer to the Oval Office.

If the triumphs have so far been small, neither have there been any large mistakes. The sniping is likely to lessen if the spirit of Jackson Hole picks up the pace of U.S.-Soviet relations. In the meantime, Baker ignores the grumbling, particularly from his own department. If the professional diplomats were so smart, he muttered last week, why hadn't they thought of inviting Shevardnadze to Wyoming? ■

The legendary political operative is accused of being quick to cut a deal but slow to present a strategy



A quick study: the Secretary of State in his office

translation systems, crates of computers, hundreds of pounds of barbecue and a gift box of hand-tooled cowboy boots.

Between talks on arms control and arrangements for a Bush-Gorbachev summit, Baker wants Shevardnadze to experience a different America at a Saturday cookout and Western hoedown. The informal atmosphere, he hopes, will enhance their rapport. The scenario is vintage Baker: relaxed on the surface, complex beneath.

When George Bush appointed his friend of 30 years to run the State Department, there was speculation that Baker might actually function as an unofficial Deputy President. A former Treasury Secretary, White House chief of staff and three-time presidential campaign chairman, Baker was expected to be the power next to the throne. That conjecture has so far been wrong.

After eight months in his mahogany-paneled office overlooking the Lincoln Memorial, First Friend Baker is not even

crat and Foreign Relations Committee veteran. Frank Gaffney, director of the conservative Center for Security Policy, thinks that Baker "believes in success for its own sake and often finds specific goals inconvenient. That's not leadership or vision." Even Shevardnadze took a shot last week, complaining that "the restrained, indecisive position of the American Administration" has led to a "peculiar lull" in arms control.

Foreign service professionals have loudly criticized their boss for freezing them out and surrounding himself with longtime aides. "He's running a mini-NSC, not State," complained a senior diplomat. "We learn what our policy is when we read it in the newspapers."

Yet Baker announced from the outset that he intended to be the President's man at State and not State's man at the White House. If U.S. foreign policy lacks vision, the shortcoming may stem less from Baker than from Bush, who reacts better than he anticipates.

BUSH WILL URGE WORLD TO BAN CHEMICAL ARMS

KENNEBUNKPORT -- President Bush, bolstered by new accords with the Soviets, is expected to make a dramatic call at the U.N. Monday for a ban on the use and production of deadly chemical weapons.

Administration officials indicated that the President would call for a multilateral agreement on a chemical weapons ban or steps leading to such a historic treaty.

He is also expected to seek an end to chemical weapons production, the official suggested....

In addition to the chemical-weapons proposal, National Security Adviser Scowcroft said, "The thrust of the U.N. speech will be celebrating the march of democracy and freedom, dealing with many of the multilateral issues affecting the world -- drugs, terrorism, environment." ...

Asked if he was nostalgic about returning to the U.N., Bush said, "Yeah. Looking forward to it." (Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A1)

Bush To Address United Nations

KENNEBUNKPORT -- President Bush is preparing to challenge the Soviet Union to match the U.S. in making cuts of more than 50 percent in chemical weapon stockpiles as a step toward abolishing them, Administration sources say.

Bush planned to make the proposal Monday in New York in his first presidential speech before the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly. Secretary of State Baker said the initiative would "move the world closer to a ban on chemical weapons."

Administration sources in New York said Sunday night that Bush would tell the U.N. he is prepared to slash U.S. chemical weapons stockpiles by more than 50 percent provided that Soviet Union makes similar reductions.

Bush also planned to suggest sanctions against other countries which proceed with chemical weapons production, the sources said....

The President...also planned Monday to call for international cooperation on drugs, terrorism and the environment. (Terence Hunt, AP)

Bush/U.N. General Assembly

NEW YORK -- George Bush's appearance Monday at the U.N., his first as President, provided a touch of nostalgia for the man who represented the Administration of Richard Nixon at the world body.

Bush, who served as U.S. ambassador from 1971-73, was to address the U.N. General Assembly Monday to "offer a new initiative that will bring the world closer to a ban on chemical weapons," said Secretary of State Baker....

A senior U.S. official who requested anonymity said the summit probably will require two more preparatory meetings between Baker and Soviet foreign Minister Shevardnadze, the first in November or January, probably in the Soviet Union.

Bush promised a summit covering "a wide array of subjects," but placed particular focus on prospects for movement in arms control.

Bush told reporters Sunday that he had "added a couple things" to his U.N. speech to reflect the advances made during the talks in Wyoming between Baker and Shevardnadze. (Helen Thomas, UPI)

OPPOSITION GROUP SEEKS RECOGNITION IN SOVIET LEGISLATURE
Deputies Call For Multi-Party System

MOSCOW -- A fledgling opposition group in the new Soviet parliament Sunday adopted a draft political platform calling for movement toward establishment of a multi-party political system, a mixed economy and a free press.

The draft program was endorsed at the end of two days of heated debate by progressive legislators who have formed their own parliamentary group to press for the speeding up of President Gorbachev's perestroika reform program. The group claims to represent at least 357 out of the 2,250 members of the Congress of People's Deputies elected earlier this year....

The draft program adopted by the Inter-Regional Group goes considerably beyond the more cautious political and economic reforms envisaged by the Communist Party leadership. It sets the stage for a lively debate during the autumn session of the Supreme Soviet, or working legislature of the congress, which opens in Moscow on Monday.

(Michael Dobbs, Washington Post, A17)

U.S. SAYS SOVIETS COULD MAKE CUBA STOP ARMING NICARAGUA

U.S. officials Monday claimed Soviet leaders could stop Cuba from sending massive amounts of East bloc arms to Nicaragua "if they so desire."

National Security Adviser Scowcroft said Soviet President Gorbachev could threaten to cut off aid to Cuba's Fidel Castro or take other actions to halt the buildup of weapons that has made Nicaragua's army the largest in Central America.

He said Secretary of State Baker pressed that message in weekend talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Jackson Hole.

Scowcroft's comments on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" came as the Soviet news agency, Tass, announced that Shevardnadze would travel to Nicaragua early next month.

(James Morrison, Washington Times, A8)

QUAYLE SAYS PROGRESS NEEDED IN U.S.-JAPAN TRADE TALKS

TOKYO -- Vice President Quayle told Japan's trade minister Monday a lack of progress in structural trade talks between the two countries could create political problems for President Bush.

In a 30-minute discussion with Japanese International Trade and Industry Minister Hikaru Matsunaga, Quayle said structural trade problems were politically difficult, but it was important to make progress over the next year, a ministry spokesman told reporters.

The talks, which focus on non-tariff barriers to imports of American goods, began in Tokyo earlier this month....

A White House official in Tokyo said Matsunaga assured Quayle that Japan will become an import superpower and take specific steps to stimulate incoming trade. These steps will include tax incentives for importers, Japanese trade missions to identify U.S. products, especially consumer goods, and new trade centres to encourage sales of U.S. goods and services in Japan.

(Reuter)

DISCUSSION, Hodding Carter joins in.

BRINKLEY: When the President made his speech about drugs the other night, he waved a little envelope full of crack which had been bought just across the street from the White House in our no doubt famous Lafayette Park. It now turns out it was bought in Lafayette Park but only when the drug agents, persuaded shall I say...a drug dealer to sell it to them but first to move over in front of the White House. Now there's some complaint about that; it's seen as a deception.

DONALDSON: Seen as a deception? Who would come up with that idea?... What I say to George Bush is: Why don't you think big? Entice him into the White House grounds. Think what it would be like to say, I have discovered, right here on the South Lawn of the White House, they're selling crack and I'm not going to have it. I mean I just think his problem was he didn't think big enough....

CARTER: It just makes it look like a laughing stock, you see. But it's consistent. I mean this little bit of deception about this massive new war on drugs is a pretty good symbol of that massive new war on drugs, which is mostly deception and very little war. They said they were going to add \$2 billion more in real money for this thing over what they had.... They're not going to add a third of that. They won't talk about really taxing so they want to tax your imagination by coming up with a little game about buying it in Lafayette Park.... You can probably find it inside the Executive Branch closer than Lafayette Park.... But it's part of the game here, which is a big announced war with very few troops, so you go for gimmickery.

WILL: ...There is an amusing aspect of this and that is that the Bush Administration is ostentatiously, not to say obnoxiously, superior in its own mind to the Reagan Administration which, they allege, paid too much attention to media gimmicks....

DONALDSON: ...Yeah, the Reagan Administration was tops at gimmickery. The Bush Administration can't hold a candle to it and I'm glad of it. At least the President comes to the Press Room frequently, he talks to reporters. I mean, this President is far more accessible and far more honest.

CARTER: But when the going gets tough, he goes back to gimmickery, whether it's the flag factor or buying drugs in a non-existent drug bust.

NBC's MEET THE PRESS

MODERATOR: Garrick Utley. PANEL: Robert Kaiser, John Cochran.

GUEST: Gen. Brent Scowcroft.

ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS/ARMS TALKS:

UTLEY: First of all, the Soviets, at this conference, formally dropped their linkage of our having to limit SDI in exchange for going ahead with an agreement on long-range strategic weapons. In your view, and in the President's view, does this now mean that the way is open for an agreement on START by the summit conference next summer?

SCOWCROFT: Well, I think what it means is that one major roadblock to such an agreement has been cleared away. It is not the only major issue remaining, but it's a significant one and being able to deal with it aside on honest merits rather than as a precondition to a START treaty is certainly a step forward.

UTLEY: Do you see it likely that there will be an agreement by the summit next summer?

SCOWCROFT: I think that the particular time set for the summit is designed on the presumption that by that time there would at least be significant progress, if not the conclusion of, an agreement on that. As the President said yesterday, arms control is not the only issue worthy of discussion between the two sides. But certainly, major progress or conclusion of START treaty is a major issue which would be dealt with at any summit.

KAISER: Let me ask if the Soviet Union has really changed its position on Star Wars or whether it's really the Bush Administration that's changed....

SCOWCROFT: I think it is clearly the Soviet Union that has changed its position. We have always said that the two should be dealt with separately and that negotiations on strategic defense should go forward on their own momentum and START on its own, and the Soviets have now said go ahead.

KAISER: Hasn't the Bush Administration pretty much given up on the original Reagan idea of a strategic defense that would really protect the United States from attack? That's out the window now, isn't it?

SCOWCROFT: I think it's important to remember how the whole issue of SDI has evolved during the Reagan Administration. And at the end of that Administration there were discussions of a first phase deployment, and so on, so that the original notion, as expressed by President Reagan in 1983, had already been amended significantly.

COCHRAN: I'm told that the Soviet's settlement question of submarine-launched cruise missiles, which has been a real sticking point, that they may be willing to conclude a treaty without even dealing with that. Is that the real news?

SCOWCROFT: I think that's another significant step. That is one of the thorniest issues remaining, principally because of the difficulties, if not impossibility, of verification. The fact that the Soviets are now prepared, perhaps, to set aside that issue and not necessarily include it in the treaty does make even more likely the chances that we could come to an agreement.

UTLEY: ...Is it your understanding that as part of an agreement we will have to sign or acknowledge that we will continue to observe the 1972 ABM agreement? Is that going to be somewhere in the large or small print?

SCOWCROFT: This has not really been negotiated. All we have, so far, is the statement of delinkage. And our assumption is that we can go ahead and conclude the START Treaty regardless of the state of negotiations on the ABM Treaty, on discussions relating to it, and on interpretation of that treaty, and a U.S. SDI program. Now, the Soviets do propose discussions on what is permissible and impermissible, and we have had, for some time, problems with that. And there is also the open question of abiding by the ABM Treaty as signed because there's a different interpretation as to what that means. So those issues are still open, but I think they will not be required to be resolved before the conclusion of a START Treaty.

UTLEY: There seems to be a much more forthcoming attitude from the Soviets. How do you interpret that? What does that signify to you?

SCOWCROFT: ...There was a remarkable lack of what one might call mutual recriminations in these discussions.... Instead, there was a focus on the issues between us and proposals on one side or both sides to resolve or to deal with those major issues. One of the most encouraging things about it all was the atmosphere in which these discussions took place, what I think was a sincere effort to move the issues forward to conclusion.

KAISER: One possible interpretation of all that might be that this is an area in which the United States can actually do Shevardnadze and his boss Gorbachev some big favors.... Is the Bush Administration prepared to help them, not by giving them anything, but just by speeding up the timetable and moving as quickly as possible to get those agreements?

SCOWCROFT: Yes, we are interested in moving forward as quickly as is prudent. Whatever their motivation, the United States is focused on advancing U.S. national interest and in reducing the chances of conflict. Anything that does that, regardless of the motivation, assuming it is sincere, can be verified and is in the U.S. national interest, why we certainly want to proceed as fast as possible.

KAISER: And is it possible that the summit will be at the end of, or at the very last stages of negotiating both a sweeping conventional arms reduction agreement and a START agreement?

SCOWCROFT: Well, I think you have to separate the two because on a conventional arms agreement, the so-called CFE agreement, that is a multilateral agreement being negotiated between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and thus it's on a separate, not a bilateral track. But certainly it is our hope, as the President announced at the NATO summit, that he hoped within six months to a year to be able to conclude that and obviously we're hoping for significant, if not complete, progress on START.

-more-

ON AFGHANISTAN:

UTLEY: ...In our talks now with the Russians, are we willing to come to some kind of political compromise in Afghanistan?

SCOWCROFT: We've always been prepared to come to a compromise. We're not insisting on any particular government in Afghanistan. What we're interested in is a government which broadly respects the will of the peoples there and so far that has not been forthcoming. The Soviets have been pouring equipment in Afghanistan to maintain the Najibullah regime in power and we think that is not compatible with resolving the Afghan problem.

ON NICARAGUA:

COCHRAN: ...We understand the Soviets are saying they can't control Fidel Castro, who is the bad guy sending all these weapons to the Sandinistas. You don't really believe that, do you?

SCOWCROFT: No, I don't believe it. I don't believe they have complete control over Fidel Castro, but they certainly have sufficient leverage, I think, from sending arms to Nicaragua. The two sides did agree on the desirability of free and open elections in Nicaragua. If the Soviets are sincere, that is a step forward.

ON POLAND:

KAISER: Your administration has been criticized in Congress...for timidity in dealing with the historic changes that seem to be going on in the Soviet Empire.... Aren't you being too timid? Isn't this an historic chance being missed?

SCOWCROFT: ...I think we're moving at a pace which is prudent and which is calculated to bring about the best results. We have never said we would not provide more aid to Poland. What we have in mind is a sequential plan which links the extent to which the United States and the free world can and should aid Poland with the kind of steps that only Poland can make to restructure its economy and make that aid useful. If there's nothing that happens other than we're pouring money and butter and so on into Poland, as happened to a certain extent in the early 1970s, we are contributing to a negative outcome, not a positive outcome.

KAISER: Does that mean you might be willing to accept an increased aid package that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved... Are you prepared to negotiate on that and accept more?

SCOWCROFT: We are certainly prepared to negotiate on the issue and we would hope that instead of a kind of competitive, domestic political issue we could look at Poland as a national, bipartisan issue for the United States and look at what we ought to do, not who can make the biggest headline.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

U.S. ENDORSES SOVIET PROPOSAL TO MOVE AHEAD ON ARMS PACT

KENNEBUNKPORT -- The Bush Administration Sunday vigorously embraced the Soviet Union's offer to move ahead on a strategic arms treaty without resolving the differences over defensive weapons, but a key House Democrat raised questions about the wisdom of the Soviet proposal.

Such U.S.-Soviet disagreements have been a major roadblock in recent years to completing a treaty limiting strategic, or long-range, weapons.

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze announced after talks with Secretary of State Baker that Moscow would be willing to move ahead with talks about reducing strategic offensive nuclear weapons without resolving disagreements about research and testing of space-based weapons....

Shevardnadze said the Soviets would continue to insist on the right to pull out of any strategic arms treaty later if the U.S. moved to deploy the space-based SDI....

But the House Armed Services Committee Chairman Aspin cautioned that the Soviet offer was a "very, very clever move" in which Moscow has changed the "form of what they're asking, but not the substance" of its opposition to SDI.

Aspin said that by agreeing to remove the link between the two issues, the Administration would lose any leverage it might have to use SDI as a bargaining chip in the talks on reducing offensive weapons. "We could ask the Soviets to give something up like all SS-18 (missiles) or whatever else we want" in exchange for limits on SDI. "The difficulty with the situation now is -- they delink it...but we're not getting anything for it on the offensive cuts."

National Security Adviser Scowcroft told reporters here the Soviet offer was motivated by "an increased interest" in achieving a strategic arms accord. "They no longer have the leverage they thought they had" in trying to halt SDI, he said. (David Hoffman, Washington Post, A1)

TWO DAYS ALTERED RELATIONS BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS

JACKSON HOLE -- In two short days of meetings and recreation in this unlikely Old West setting, James Baker and Eduard Shevardnadze may have altered the course of relations between the world's nuclear superpowers.

Moving at a breathless clip that contrasted sharply with the usual stodgy pace of U.S.-Soviet diplomacy, the two foreign secretaries reached new agreements limiting chemical weapons and nuclear testing and made unanticipated progress toward a treaty on strategic nuclear arms.

With the striking Grand Teton mountains as a backdrop, they worked to remove travel restrictions in the two nations, allow one another's skies to be intruded upon by inspecting aircraft and pledged to cooperate on global problems ranging from the "greenhouse" effect to driftnet fishing....

What appeared striking here this weekend, and perhaps significant in the long run, were the open discussions and give-and-take -- unimaginable a year or two ago -- on issues outside the formal agenda.

Shevardnadze, whose boss is beset by economic stagnation and...calls for autonomy from the Soviet Union's...minorities, asked for American advice on the first count and, U.S. officials say, was exceptionally candid on the second.

(Warren Strobel, Washington Times, A8)

SCOWCROFT HAILS U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENTS

National Security Adviser Scowcroft said "clearly progress has been made" between the Soviet Union and the U.S. on arms talks as a result of agreements announced by the two sides in Wyoming.

Scowcroft made the remarks Sunday to reporters in Kennebunkport, where President Bush is spending the weekend before addressing the U.N. General Assembly in New York Monday.

Secretary of State Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze ended two days of intense talks in Jackson Hole Saturday that resulted in a breakthrough in strategic arms negotiations and the removal of a major irritant in superpower relations.

In a surprise announcement at the end of the two-day summit, Shevardnadze told a news conference the Soviet Union "will dismantle the facility at Krasnoyarsk," a huge radar station that the U.S. has declared to be a clear violation of the 1972 ABM treaty.

The two sides also announced that there will be a superpower summit "in late spring or early summer" in the U.S. between President Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev.

The American side revealed, and the Soviets confirmed, that Shevardnadze had told Baker that the Soviet Union had dropped its insistence on linking the U.S. SDI with an agreement on long-range offensive ballistic missiles.

(UPI)

MOUNTAIN AIR APPEARS TO INVIGORATE U.S.
RELATIONSHIP WITH SOVIET UNION

NEW YORK -- Eight months after taking office, the Bush Administration last week finally found a solid footing in its most strategically important international relationship, that with the Soviet Union. It was a cautious and restrained beginning, but under pressure from the Soviets and U.S. politics, the pace is beginning to pick up....

Gorbachev's summit in the U.S. will come 15 to 18 months after Bush's inauguration and about two years after the 1988 Moscow summit, hardly a high-speed move to continue the momentum of the Reagan Administration's last years. This seems to suit the Bush-Baker team just fine, since many of its leading officials were uneasy with the euphoria and some of the finish-line decisions of President Reagan's final year....

In their proposals to delink strategic arms cutbacks from the space issues and to dismantle the Krasnoyarsk radar in Siberia, the Soviets showed they are eager to move quickly to complete the landmark Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty after a slow START in the Bush Administration.

There is serious debate among U.S. experts about the significance of Moscow's delinking move, which the Gorbachev letter alluded to in vague terms but which Shevardnadze made explicit for the first time Friday morning in Wyoming. However, comments by top U.S. officials, including those on Sunday's television public affairs programs, leave little doubt that the Administration has decided, in the words of a senior official, "To declare victory and move on" from this previously intractable problem.

(Don Oberdorfer, news analysis, Washington Post, A20)

EARLY BIRD

MONDAY, September 25, 1989

WASHINGTON TIMES

SEPT. 25, 1989

Pg. 6

Cheney cites dip in Soviet tank production

By Peter Almond
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Soviet tank production — a key indicator of the Soviet Union's commitment to shifting resources from military to civilian uses — finally is declining, according to Defense Secretary Richard Cheney.

Until recently, administration officials had maintained that Soviet tank production had not dropped, despite a December announcement by Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev that he was cutting 10,000 tanks, 500,000 troops and 14 percent of the defense budget.

The apparent failure to accomplish the cutback was cited by senior Pentagon officials as a major reason for intense caution about Soviet intentions and a warning not to cut the U.S. defense budget any further.

But yesterday Mr. Cheney said there has been a change.

"There is evidence that the production rate of certain conventional systems, such as tanks, is, in fact, declining," Mr. Cheney said on the ABC-TV's "This Week."

He said modernization of strategic intercontinental nuclear ballistic missiles "is more robust today than it was when Mr. Gorbachev came to

power," and cautioned that information on the entire Soviet defense budget "is still shaky" because of a lack of data on previous budgets.

Pentagon and other experts on the Soviet military said yesterday there is new intelligence information that reportedly confirms a cutback from the annual production of 3,500 tanks — almost six times the U.S. rate of 600 M1-A1 tanks a year.

The new rate was unknown yesterday, but one source said it appears to be on track with a statement by Marshal Sergei Akhromyev, senior military adviser to Mr. Gorbachev, to the House Armed Services Committee in June. He said the rate would be down to 1,700 — half the U.S. estimate — by the end of the year.

Soviet tank production has been difficult for U.S. intelligence analysts to gauge. In May, in an exclusive report for The Washington Times, the Defense Intelligence Agency concluded that production had increased in the first quarter of the year from an annual rate of 3,500 to about 5,000.

That analysis alarmed Army and congressional leaders but later was disavowed by the Pentagon, whose spokesman said a further review appeared to reveal a flawed analysis. The figure, he said, was probably

closer to the Central Intelligence Agency's estimate of 3,500 — no change.

What has worried military officials is that even with no change, the Soviets were producing enough brand-new T-80 tanks with their shell-resistant reactive armor to replace the 10,000 old T-55 and T-62 tanks they are withdrawing in the next three years. The Soviets, therefore, would be in a stronger position than they were before.

U.S. experts, however, have been relieved this summer to find that the Red Army is deeply involved in restructuring itself along more defensive lines and appears to require fewer tanks than originally thought.

But the cutback still doesn't convince Mr. Cheney.

Two weeks ago he said he believed the Soviet military is supporting Mr. Gorbachev's reform efforts in order to gain access to Western technology and to bring the Soviets back to a technological level comparable to the West.

And yesterday Mr. Cheney said he has not changed his controversial view expressed last May that Mr. Gorbachev ultimately would fail to achieve the reforms he seeks and would be replaced by a hard-liner.

NEW YORK TIMES
SEPT. 25, 1989

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U.S. ASKS SOVIETS TO AGREE TO CUTS IN CHEMICAL ARMS

GLOBAL BAN STILL SOUGHT

New Proposal Comes During
a Weekend of Progress on
Disarmament Issues

By MICHAEL R. GORDON
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Wyo., Sept. 24 — The United States has asked the Soviet Union to consider a proposal under which the two sides would make deep cuts in their arsenals of chemical weapons before a global treaty is reached on banning poison gas.

The unexpected American proposal, which is to be announced by President Bush in his United Nations address on Monday, was conveyed to Soviet side during the weekend talks here, diplomats said.

Bush Administration officials portrayed the proposal to slash the American and Soviet chemical arsenals as a means of lending momentum to the 40-nation negotiations in Geneva on a global ban on poison gas and not as a substitute for those negotiations.

The proposal was put to the Soviets during a weekend in which the two sides reached agreements or made progress on an array of arms issues, including nuclear testing and strategic arms as well as chemical weapons.

Officials said the new proposal on chemical arms was part of a broader plan that would deal with ways to strengthen the emerging global treaty. Such measures could involve sanctions against countries that violate a ban and

WASHINGTON POST

SEPT. 25, 1989

Pg. 1

U.S. Endorses Soviet Proposal To Move Ahead on Arms Pact

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine, Sept. 24 — The Bush administration today vigorously embraced the Soviet Union's offer to move ahead on a strategic arms treaty without resolving the differences over defensive weapons, but a key House Democrat raised questions about the wisdom of the Soviet proposal.

Such U.S.-Soviet disagreements have been a major roadblock in recent years to completing a treaty limiting strategic, or long-range, weapons.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced after talks with Secretary of State James A. Baker III that Moscow would be willing to move ahead with talks about reducing strategic offensive nuclear weapons without resolving disagreements about research and testing of space-based weapons.

The United States so far has observed a narrow interpretation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty in developing its antimissile Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). But official U.S. policy, set by the Reagan administration, is that the treaty permits far more

advanced testing of space-based antimissile weapons than the Soviets say it does.

Shevardnadze said the Soviets would continue to insist on the right to pull out of any strategic arms treaty later if the United States moved to deploy the space-based SDI, often called "Star Wars."

The Soviet offer was hailed as a "positive development" by Baker, who said in a television interview on CBS News's "Face the Nation" that the Soviets had removed "a major stumbling block" to moving ahead on a strategic arms treaty. Baker said the Soviet offer means a strategic arms treaty could be "negotiated and implemented without having a defense and space treaty."

But House Armed Services Com-

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ARMS...Pg. 2



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NEW YORK TIMES

SEPT. 22, 1989

Pg. 10

Norway Mistakenly Exports Barred Computers to Soviets

OSLO, Sept. 21 (Reuters) — Norway broke Western export rules by mistakenly sending high-tech computers to the Soviet Union, believing it was flying supplies to a Red Cross hospital in Armenia, Norwegian customs officials said today.

There were 27 packages of computer equipment involved, and 18 have already been returned by the Norwegian-built Red Cross hospital. The rest will follow, the officials said.

The computers, which were meant to have been shipped to an American producer, got mixed up with the Red Cross shipment of washing powder and medicines in an Oslo airport storeroom.

PACT...

from Pg. 1

Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) cautioned that the Soviet offer was a "very, very clever move" in which Moscow has changed the "form of what they're asking, but not the substance" of its opposition to SDI.

Aspin said that by agreeing to remove the link between the two issues, the administration would lose any leverage it might have to use SDI as a bargaining chip in the talks on reducing offensive weapons. "We could ask the Soviets to give something up like all SS-18 [missiles] or whatever else we want" in exchange for limits on SDI. "The difficulty with the situation now is—they delink it ... but we're not getting anything for it on the offensive cuts."

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft told reporters here the Soviet offer was motivated by "an increased interest" in achieving a strategic arms accord. "They no longer have the leverage they thought they had" in trying to halt SDI, he said.

Scowcroft, interviewed on NBC News's "Meet the Press," acknowledged that another factor in the Soviet offer may be that the ambitious plans for SDI that then-President

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controls on the export of chemicals to nations that will not agree to a ban.

Soviet officials reportedly indicated that they were taking the American proposal under advisement. Moscow has been very receptive to many recent American arms control initiatives.

The Administration's new chemical initiative follows the signing here on Saturday of an American-Soviet understanding that provides for early inspections.

Ronald Reagan once envisioned—a global umbrella against nuclear attack—have been sharply scaled back by Reagan and Bush. "The original notion as expressed by President Reagan in 1983 had already been amended significantly" when Bush took office, he said.

Scowcroft, Baker and other officials added, however, that major hurdles to achieving a strategic arms accord still remain—including the difficult issue of air- and sea-launched cruise missiles.

Scowcroft also said Bush is open to negotiations with Congress over additional aid to Poland, which was recently approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Also today, Baker said that Shevardnadze had told him that the Soviet leadership has explicitly decided against the use of force to crack down on internal unrest. There has been speculation that further strikes and demonstrations among the nationalities could lead to a sharp crackdown, but Baker said Shevardnadze "specifically rejected the use of force as not being a feasible alternative."

Bush today waded into the frigid Atlantic Ocean, trying in vain to land a bluefish, and he worked on final drafts of his planned speech to the U.N. General Assembly on Monday, in which aides said he would offer a new initiative to limit the spread of chemical weapons. The United States and the Soviet Union reached some bilateral understandings on limiting chemical weapons in the Baker-Shevardnadze meetings, but officials have said the challenge is to persuade Third World nations like Libya to adhere to restrictions on chemical weapons.

tions of chemical weapons stockpiles.

This agreement is important because it may help resolve the dispute between Moscow and the West over the size of the Soviet stockpile.

While the proposal for reductions in the American and Soviet chemical arsenals has not been made public, the Bush Administration has mounted a public relations campaign to draw attention to its chemical weapons efforts.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said here on Saturday that President Bush planned to offer "a new initiative at the United Nations on Monday that will move the world closer to a ban on chemical weapons." Mr. Baker provided no details.

The national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said in television interviews today that Mr. Bush planned a major initiative on chemical weapons. Administration officials said the details of that initiative were being withheld to provide an element of surprise in Mr. Bush's United Nations address.

Under the new initiative, the United States and the Soviet Union would agree to cut their arsenals of poison gas to a level that is far below the stocks on hand in the United States, American officials said. The United States is believed to have about 30,000 tons of chemical weapons, and one American official said such reductions would require cuts in the American arsenal of more than 75 percent.

The Soviet Union has a greater arsenal of chemical weapons and would have to make greater reductions under the American proposal. The Soviet Union says it has 50,000 tons of chemical weapons. Western nations say Moscow may have more than 300,000 tons.

Congress has passed legislation requiring the Administration to destroy old chemical weapons by 1997 as more advanced chemical weapons are fielded. It was not clear to what extent President Bush's new proposal was making a virtue of that necessity.

In recent months, there have been disagreements within the Bush Administration about what approach to take on chemical weapons.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have reportedly argued that the United States should pursue an agreement with the Soviets on reducing chemical weapons stocks as an alternative to completing a global ban. Some Pentagon officials say a chemical-weapons ban cannot be effectively verified and favor an agreement on reductions because it would allow the United States to keep a small supply of poison gas.

But State Department officials argued that the United States could not effectively dissuade third world nations from acquiring chemical weapons unless Washington demonstrated that the United States was willing to give up its chemical arsenal.

Details of the accords released Saturday and today indicate that progress was made in these other areas:

Nuclear Testing

The two sides agreed in principle on an approach for monitoring an unrati-

fied treaty that limits the size of underground nuclear blasts to 150 kilotons.

Agreement in this area is significant because the United States has said it will not ratify the 1974 agreement until verification is improved. After the treaty is ratified, the two sides have pledged to negotiate further limitations on nuclear testing, but it is not clear what such limits would be.

Verification Measures

The two sides agreed to try out verification measures for a new strategic arms treaty before an accord is completed. That understanding is noteworthy because the Bush Administration has argued that such trial inspections could speed the completion of a treaty and help its prospects for Senate approval.

The two sides, however, do not agree on what specific monitoring measures should be carried out.

Strategic Exercises

The two sides agreed to notify each other of major strategic exercises involving flights of bombers. This is intended as a confidence-building exercise to reduce the risk of misunderstanding and accidental war.

'Open Skies'

The Soviet Union agreed in principle to President Bush's suggestion that countries should allow surveillance flights over their territory. Under the American approach, countries would allow observers from other nations to fly anywhere over their territory that air safety considerations would permit. The number of flights allowed would be in relation to the size of the country to be observed. Details of the plan have yet to be worked out among NATO and Warsaw Pact nations.

Human Rights

The United States noted that it had made some progress but many cases remained unresolved. Of the 54 cases in which the United States suspect prisoners are being held on political grounds, the Soviet Union has released 12 and freed 20 pending trial. On another matter, the two sides announced that they had agreed on conditions under which disputes could be taken to the International Court of Justice in the Hague.

Regional Issues

Mr. Baker said in his press conference on Saturday that Mr. Shevardnadze had told him that Moscow supports free elections in Nicaragua. Mr. Baker also said that the Soviets had said that "they are committed to do what they can to stop the flow of weapons to the insurgency in El Salvador."

Mr. Baker, however, reiterated concern about supplies of Cuban weapons to Nicaragua and said that Washington wanted Moscow to use its influence with Cuba to halt such supplies.

The two sides also discussed Eastern Europe, Afghanistan and the Soviet and American economies.

NEW YORK TIMES SEPT. 23, 1989 Pg. 22

A Correction

Because of an editing error, a letter Sept. 16 from Adm. C. A. H. Trost on

the Navy's Trident II missile program incorrectly identified the submarine Tennessee as a battleship.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The letter referred to was published in the CURRENT NEWS Early Bird, Sept. 18, 1989, Pg. 17

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Bush as U.N.'s Host With the Most

By MAUREEN DOWD

Special to The New York Times

KENNEBUNKPORT, Me. Sept. 24 — When George Bush was American representative to the United Nations in the early 1970s, he gave so many cocktail parties and dinners at his Waldorf Towers residence that he became known as "Perle Mesta Bush."

The strain on his liver and comparisons to the legendary Washington hostess, he confided as he left the job in 1972, was well worth the knowledge that "a sympathetic understanding is a very important part of the process of establishing a foreign policy."

The President who is scheduled to speak at Monday's opening of the General Assembly is a politician whose approach to world affairs was shaped by his time at the United Nations.

Enhanced Role for U.N.

Although he left that job frustrated and disgusted, feeling that the United Nations had failed to live up to its potential as a positive force for peace, he returns feeling that conditions are now favorable to improve the reputation of the world organization and to have it play an enhanced role as a mediator in international disputes.

When he was the delegate, he observed that "the U.N. is like a ball club — a high-potential club that hasn't won as many as it should."

Now Mr. Bush feels that there is a chance now to get the world's ball club out of the cellar. He will tell the delegates today that, with the world changing at a breathtaking speed and with the Soviet Union and the United States no longer on the opposite side of every issue, he wants the United Nations to turn from peacekeeping mission to a peacemaking one.

"He is very fond of the Secretary

General and he wants to involve the Secretary General in more issues," said Brent Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser. Indeed, Mr. Bush turned to Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar during the hostage crisis last month, asking if he could help get Lieut. Col. William Higgins's body returned.

"The President wants to turn to the U.N. as more and more issues develop in which the U.S. and the Soviet Union

are not on opposite sides," Mr. Scowcroft said. "He wants to use the U.N. as a real arbiter."

Mr. Bush feels that if the Soviets have really changed their attitude toward the United Nations, and plan no more rhetorical or real shoe-banging sessions, then the organization could be used more "as a responsible instrument that can be more helpful on the major issues," as one adviser puts it.

Dues Withheld Under Reagan

Mr. Bush's aides say that, while he understands the organization's flaws and limitations, he wants to have "a more positive attitude" about it than did Ronald Reagan. The Reagan Administration withheld payment of the United States' dues in 1987 and 1988 because it disapproved of some of the organization's administrative practices.

In its budget for the 1990 fiscal year, the Bush Administration requested \$228 million for the United Nations, \$205.5 million of which is to meet the full assessment for the new year and \$27.5 million of which is to help repay the millions withheld by Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Bush feels nostalgic about the organization, his aides say, even though the most important event during his tenure there was a bruising defeat for the United States and a personal betrayal of sorts for Mr. Bush.

It was Mr. Bush who led the fight to stop the entry of China into the United Nations and the expulsion of the Nationalist Government on Taiwan. Although Washington lost, the Chinese press said that Mr. Bush's floor debating style had been so frenetic that it resembled "ants on a hot pan."

Mr. Bush bitterly noted in his autobiography, "Looking Forward," that while he was urging nations to stick by Taiwan, President Richard M. Nixon and his national security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger, were making their first overtures toward Beijing.

During his tenure as United Nations representative, Mr. Bush recognized the value of informal contacts. He once took a couple of dozen fellow ambassadors to a night game at Shea Stadium to see the Mets play.

Mr. Bush also learned the value of looking at a problem from someone else's point of view.

"A lot of his understanding of different people's perspectives and of the value of direct and personal communication comes from his being in the middle of that environment, of being with people from all over the world," Mr. Scowcroft said. "He doesn't automatically think that everybody will look at events or issues the way Americans do."

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 24 — Mexico's chief debt negotiator said during the weekend that the move by three large American banks to increase their cushion against bad third world loans could make it more difficult for some nations to get new loans.

The negotiator, José Angel Gurria, a deputy finance minister, suggested that the increase in reserves would mean more flexibility for the banks to pursue their own policies.

The result, he said, could be that new loans to countries like Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela will depend much more on how well their economies are growing and being managed, which means some countries could have trouble getting new loans.

"After this, they can choose to do new-money deals on the basis of the merits of each deal," Mr. Gurria said of the banks in an interview late Saturday night. He is one of the first senior officials of a large debtor nation to comment on the effect of the reserve move.

But Mr. Gurria said the move, which other banks are expected to follow, was a positive step that should help debt-reduction efforts in other countries. He added that he did not expect the reserve decisions to decrease the new money that would be lent to Mexico under a \$54 billion debt agreement reached in July.

Mr. Gurria contended that setting aside the larger reserves, although it forced the banks to take losses, would make them healthier financially in the long run. They also would be better able to help developing countries that were performing well, he added.

The decisions by the Manufactur-

Chase Manhattan Bank and J. P. Morgan & Company to increase their reserves dramatically has raised some doubts about the effectiveness of the Bush Administration's debt strategy, which puts new emphasis on reducing debt but also depends on new lending.

Some bankers and analysts have said that with the larger reserves, more banks were likely to accept debt reduction and, at the same time, decide not to make new loans. The banks' stronger financial position would also make it easier for them to resist pressure from the Bush Administration to provide new money.

The finance ministers and bankers here who are participating in the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank differed over the effects of the move.

Among the bankers, those who have already decided to take debt reduction in the Mexican deal tended to think that the move would hurt new lending, while those considering new loans did not. But they all emphasized the importance of the economic health of the developing nations as a factor in deciding on new loans.

Brady Sees New Lending

Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, for whom the debt strategy is named, said the move by the banks should not hurt new lending. He made his comments in a briefing on Saturday night, after a meeting of the Group of Seven, which is made up of the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Canada.

But he seemed to agree with Mr. Gurria when he indicated that the banks' lending decisions would depend upon the economic outlook for a particular country.

If a country has a bright future, he said, "banks will want to be a participant in that."

The increased reserves, Mr. Brady added, "will put those banks in a position to do whatever they want."

A senior Treasury official pointed out on Friday that until the Brady plan began this year, commercial banks had made almost no new net loans to developing countries over the last several years. Some banks, he said, made loans to countries so they could pay interest on existing loans.

Thomas C. Theobald, the chairman of the Continental Illinois Corporation in Chicago, the parent of the Continental Bank, said: "I don't think it means anything for new lending. I

don't think the level of reserves determine your choice."

Mr. Theobald said his bank, which has a 50 percent reserve against losses on third world loans, would probably choose some debt reduction and participate in new loans. He said that he thought that J. P. Morgan's move to a 100 percent reserve was excessive. Chase increased its reserve to 46 percent, and Manufacturers Hanover to 36 percent.

But as to lending in the future, Mr. Theobald said, "The critical fact has been, and will always be, the performance of the country itself."

Deutsche Bank's View

Asked about the future of new lending, Hilmar Kopper, the managing director of Deutsche Bank A.G. of Frankfurt, said: "That remains to be seen. That will depend on the economic development and the economic restructuring. No one should expect private bankers to throw good money after bad."

Under the debt plan, the banks must choose between accepting a 35 percent cut in the value of existing loans or making new loans. Mr. Gurria said he thought that most of the banks had made up their minds on new lending to Mexico before the reserve increases were announced.

"Banks do new money because they have a longer-term view of things, not because of their reserves," he said.

Bush Urges Chemical Arms Cuts

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 25—President Bush proposed today that the United States and the Soviet Union cut their chemical weapon arsenals by at least 80 percent in an effort to persuade other nations to do the same.

In his first address to the U.N. General Assembly as president, Bush said "the world has lived too long in the shadow of chemical warfare" and added: "Let us act together—beginning today—to rid the Earth of this scourge."

In his speech calling for the reductions, Bush did not mention that he is under a congressional mandate to eliminate at least 90 percent of the older U.S. chemical weapon stocks by 1997. This was a condition of congressional approval for modernizing the U.S. arsenal by building new binary weapons in which two ingredients are combined at the time of use, making them relatively safer in storage. [Details, Page A10.]

White House officials said Bush also has ordered more intensive efforts to improve techniques for monitoring and verification of chemical weapon stockpiles around the world.

But Bush did not offer any specific new solutions today to the vexing problem of proliferation of chemical weapons into such nations as Libya and Iraq, which have rejected international control efforts.

"We know that monitoring a total ban on chemical weapons will be a challenge," Bush said. "But the knowledge we've gained from our recent arms control experience—and our accelerated research in this area—makes me believe we can achieve the level of verification that

Superpowers Can Set Global Example, U.N. Assembly Told

gives us confidence to go forward with the ban."

In the past, the United States has expressed doubt about whether a chemical weapons ban could be verified. Officials said Bush's proposal relied chiefly on what Secretary of State James A. Baker III described as the "force of public opinion" to persuade other countries to give up chemical arms.

"The Bush proposal really attacks the proliferation problem by making it impossible for these countries to argue that major countries have them and are just dragging their feet in chemical weapons negotiations," Baker said. Baker, who presented the Bush proposal to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze over the weekend, refused to predict what the Soviet response will be to the offer. Tonight, Shevardnadze, passing through a reception line, told Bush and Baker, "We have some news from Moscow." Baker replied that he and Shevardnadze should meet again this week to talk.

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft said Bush would support sanctions against nations that defy international control of chemical weapon stocks.

"For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this threat," Bush said, noting that 20 nations now possess chemical weapons or the ability to produce them. "And these horrible weapons are now finding their way into regional conflicts. This is simply unacceptable."

Bush said his initiative would move toward a treaty to eliminate all chemical weapons from the Earth "10 years from the day it is signed."

The new thrust of Bush's proposal today appeared to be his push for

Bush, in U.N. Speech, Urges Deep Cuts Of Chemical Weapons by Superpowers

bilateral U.S.-Soviet reductions of chemical weapon stocks even before completion of an international treaty by the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. Last weekend, Baker and Shevardnadze reached agreement in Wyoming on verification measures and data exchanges, including on-site inspections, on chemical weapons. Bush's proposal today would move a step beyond this to an agreement to make deep cuts in the two nations' arsenals.

Bush suggested that the United States and Soviet Union cut their existing arsenals to equal, interim levels. He proposed this be 20 percent of the current U.S. level. Because the Soviet arsenal is larger, the Soviets would "have to destroy a great deal more" weapons than the United States would to reach equal levels, Scowcroft said.

The United States has never acknowledged the size of its chemical weapon stockpile, but outside specialists have estimated it to be about 30,000 tons of chemical agents. The Soviets have said their arsenal is no more than 50,000 tons, but U.S. officials have expressed skepticism, suggesting the estimate may be far too low.

Lee Feinstein, senior research analyst at the Arms Control Association, called the Bush proposal "a step forward," noting that "it makes bilateral a weapons cut—most or all of which we had been required to do unilaterally" by Congress.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) described Bush's proposal as a "good move," especially in light of the requirement for unilateral U.S. reductions. "When you do what you have to do by law . . . anything you get the Soviets to do is a plus," Nunn said. Moreover, he said, a superpower agreement is necessary

to "get Third World [support] at all" for control of chemical weapons.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), a member of the Armed Services panel, also hailed Bush's proposal as a "a good move . . . a bold stroke." But he warned that verification problems "cannot be underestimated" and said an 80 percent cut "still leaves a lot of chemical weapons."

Shevardnadze welcomed the Bush proposal, on which the Soviets were given extensive details over the weekend. "We have a positive view of these proposals," he said.

Bush also said that the United States is prepared to destroy 98 percent of its current chemical weapon stockpile within eight years after the Geneva conference approves a treaty banning such weapons—if the Soviet Union signs the agreement. The remaining 2 percent would be destroyed only after all nations that have chemical weapons agree to ban them, Bush said.

Scowcroft said the related issue of biological weapons was not covered by today's proposals.

Bush made outlawing chemical weapons a theme of his 1988 campaign, and many of his advisers felt the topic had languished in the Reagan years in part because the White House was more focused on nuclear arms issues.

Bush, who served as ambassador here in 1971-72, reveled in something of a homecoming today, lingering to greet old friends after his speech and speaking to workers at the U.S. mission. Bush was received with applause for his comments on chemical weapons and a reference to the summit with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev that Bush has agreed to hold next year.

Staff writer Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

Will do it immediately if the Kremlin 'joins us'

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — President Bush, saying chemical weapons must be eliminated "for the sake of mankind," challenged the Soviet Union yesterday to join the United States in an immediate, drastic reduction in chemical arsenals.

Addressing the opening meeting of the 44th session of the United Nations, Mr. Bush said the United States will begin an 80 percent reduction while a treaty is being worked out — "if the Soviet Union joins us in cutting chemical weapons to an equal level . . ."

The 80 percent proposal, aides said, is aimed at speeding up stalled talks in Geneva on a global chemicals arms ban. The Soviets, with a larger stockpile of chemical weapons, would have to cut by more than 80 percent to reach the promised U.S. level.

Mr. Bush also repeated U.S. commitments to eliminate all chemical weapons after a treaty ban is agreed to by the 20 nations — including the Soviet Union — that have or are thought to have the deadly arms.

Under a twofold approach, the president's proposal would:

- Promote a quick cut by the United States and the Soviet Union to 20 percent of current chemical weapons stockpiles after the two nations agree on verification.

- Call for a further reduction to 98 percent of superpower chemical weapons after other nations follow the U.S.-Soviet lead and agree to an eventual ban, including verification measures.

- Eliminate all chemical weapons 10 years after a global treaty ban is signed by the 40 nations now negotiating a pact in Geneva.

"The world has lived too long in the shadow of chemical warfare. Let us act together, beginning today, to rid the earth of this scourge," Mr. Bush said to applause — but not from the Soviet delegation led by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

U.N. delegates from Iraq, accused of using chemical battlefield weapons against Iran, applauded Mr. Bush's initiative.

A Soviet official said Moscow had a "positive" view of Mr. Bush's chemical arms plan.

Mr. Bush said that more than 20 nations have chemical weapons.

"For the sake of mankind, we must halt and reverse this trend."

Mr. Bush also pressed the delegates to encourage democracy. He called dictatorships "out of step with the steady advance of freedom."

And in an impassioned plea, he called on the Moslem terrorists responsible for killing Marine Lt. Col. William Richard Higgins, captured while on duty with a U.N. peace-keeping force and apparently hanged, to return his body.

While Mr. Bush's presentation was unspectacular in nature, it was the first time the administration has claimed that a chemical weapons ban can be mutually verified.

"We know that monitoring a total ban on chemical weapons will be a challenge," he said. "But the knowledge we've gained from our recent arms-control experience — and our accelerated research in this area — gives us confidence to go forward with the ban."

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft admitted it would be difficult to win support for a ban from nations with chemical weapons — such as Libya and Iraq. "Of course it's going to be difficult, but we think there's a chance to make it effective," he said of a verifiable treaty.

Mr. Bush has advocated a ban on chemical weapons for years but critics of such a move argue that a ban cannot be verified. The reason: Two chemicals made for peaceful purposes can be mixed at a minute's notice to create a deadly gas.

"Verification is complicated by the ability of ordinary chemical and pharmaceutical plants to produce chemical agents [and] uncertainties as to the size and composition of current stocks," the Arms Control Association said in a newly released report.

The association's chemical weapons expert, Lee Feinstein, said it was "positive" that Mr. Bush believes a treaty can be verified.

He also described as encouraging Mr. Bush's partial "de-linking" of an agreement with the Soviets on an immediate cut in chemical weapons with a multilateral ban. "That may speed progress," he said.

Mr. Scowcroft said, "If the Soviets are prepared to join us in this bilateral destruction, it not only would significantly reduce the threat we face, but give a spur to the multilateral convention."

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Washington Times **A1**
The Wall Street Journal _____
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

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Mr. Bush's proposal comes just days after Mr. Shevardnadze and Secretary of State James A. Baker III signed agreements that call on both superpowers to exchange data on chemical weapons and verify the other's experiments.

"This reflects an effort by the United States and the Soviet Union to facilitate . . . a comprehensive, effective verifiable and truly global ban on chemical weapons," a joint statement said.

The United States has some 30,000 tons of chemical weapons, according to reports, with the vast majority being single-agent chemical arms. Congress has mandated destruction of some of those weapons — many in place in Europe — and the United States is beginning production of new "binary" weapons such as the Bigeye artillery shell. Those weapons mix safe chemicals together during an attack to create a deadly mixture.

Mr. Scowcroft said the initial cut proposed by Mr. Bush would target only non-binary chemical weapons. He added that the proposal does not cover biological weapons.

Mr. Scowcroft said the chemical weapon ban proposal was delivered to the Soviets by Mr. Baker during weekend diplomatic meeting in Wyoming. While he said the Soviets haven't yet reacted to the plan, Mr. Bush told U.N. delegates that "I think they will" join in a ban.

On other points, Mr. Bush in his speech to the General Assembly:

- Told poor nations to take heart in the so-called Brady plan that the administration is drawing up to relieve Third World debt.

- Urged everyone to stop polluting air and water.

- Praised Mr. Shevardnadze and arms control initiatives approved in Wyoming.

Mr. Baker told reporters that a multilateral chemical weapons ban would include sanctions on nations that don't abide by a pact. "Certainly we would consider economic sanctions," Mr. Baker said.

Personalities

By Chuck Conconi
Washington Post Staff Writer

They try so hard over at U.S. News & World Report with all these new lists and charts and graphs, but sometimes they try too hard. In last week's issue of the magazine, there was a listing of what various jobs pay around the country, but the map of Tennessee was upside down and backward and **Sen. Al Gore** was quick to notice the slight to the home state.

In a humorous protest letter to U.S. News Editor in Chief **Mort Zuckerman**, Gore pointed out the magazine's error, explaining that though no one might notice if one flipped Wyoming or Colorado, that isn't so when Tennessee is turned inside out. "I hope the magazine didn't mean to move Memphis," Gore wrote. "As you know, every Federal Express package in the country must first pass through Memphis. Put the city in the wrong place and the entire U.S. economy would fall apart. Memphians are glad to see Memphis as the city of the future. But the birthplace of the blues is doing just fine where it is."

Out and About

More **Sting** sightings. On Sunday night, the star of the "3 Penny Opera" and six others from the cast dropped by the 9:30 club on F Street, where he first performed in 1978, when he was lead singer with Police. The rock spot was then called Atlantis Club. Sting was there to see **Chris Difford** and **Glen Tilbrook** of Squeeze, and during the encore he joined them on stage to sing "Tempted," the group's big hit. . . .

This is not to be seen as a rock sightings column, but it was that kind of weekend. The Rolling Stones' stretch limo dropped by the Old Ebbitt Grill after their Sunday night show at the RFK Stadium, but the patrons became so excited it didn't look as though the rockers would get a chance to eat. **Kevin McCarthy**, the Old Ebbitt manager, accustomed to feeding big stars from the National Theatre, moved **Mick Jagger** and the group to the Oyster Bar in back of the restaurant, put up a



SEN. AL GORE

"closed for private party" sign and personally stood guard while the Stones had a light supper of soup and salad, Saratoga water and a little wine. . . .

This seems to be becoming a rock column. Members of the Republican National Committee had some help getting tickets to the Stones concert because chairman **Lee Atwater**, one is reminded, is a pal of Stones guitarist **Ron Wood**. The two played together at the inauguration and Wood gave Atwater his guitar. The RNC was able to purchase a block of tickets, so all those square-looking people who didn't look like they belonged probably were from the RNC. Atwater said he went backstage Sunday night and talked rhythm and blues, and when he said how much he admired **Otis Redding**, the group broke into "a note perfect" rendition of Redding's "These Arms of Mine." . . .

Where does all this rock stuff come from? In what could be a landmark case in the entertainment industry, singer/songwriter **Billy Joel** slapped a \$90 million lawsuit on former manager/ex-brother-in-law **Frank Weber** yesterday. The suit, filed in New York State Supreme Court, alleges Weber mis-



BILLY JOEL

managed Joel's millions for nine years until he was fired in late August. "It's not atypical in this industry that a manager has such control over an artist," Joel's lawyer, **Leonard Marks**, said yesterday. "He used Joel as his private bank." . . .

Hospital Report: Singer **Pat Boone** is listed in good condition at UCLA Medical Center where he is recovering from a broken jaw he suffered in an accident. The wheel of the bicycle he was riding caught in a metal grating near his home in Beverly Hills and he was thrown over the handlebars. . . .

That **George Bush** is a funny guy. He and national security adviser **Brent Scowcroft** were playing golf Sunday at the Cape Arundel Golf Course in Kennebunkport. Scowcroft teed off and his golf ball exploded into a cloud of white dust. The president roared with laughter because he had had the club pro plant an exploding chalk ball on Scowcroft's tee. Bush explained he wanted Scowcroft to lighten up after an appearance on NBC. "He had to be on 'Meet the Press'—all that serious stuff, and here he is," Bush said. Can whoopee cushions be far behind? . . .

Bush Offers to Slash Chemical Weapons By 80% if Soviets Accept Cap on Total

By MICHEL McQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—President Bush offered to cut U.S. stockpiles of chemical weapons 80% if the Soviets reduce their larger stocks to an equal level and if the two nations can agree on means to verify compliance with such an accord.

Mr. Bush's initiative, delivered in his first address as president to the United Nations, was intended to give momentum to long-running efforts by 40 nations to sign a treaty to ban production of chemical weapons over a 10-year period. The effort also was meant in part to answer Mr. Bush's critics, both domestic and foreign, who say he has been too timid in responding to changing international developments—particularly to diplomatic initiatives by the Soviets.

Although administration officials touted the initiative as a bold move, U.S. law already requires a substantial cut in chemical-weapons stocks by 1997. As part of a compromise that allowed the Reagan administration to begin producing safer, so-called binary chemical weapons, Congress insisted that the U.S. destroy all of its older chemical-weapon stocks by that year. Binary weapons consist of two separate chemical agents that are harmless until they mix after the shell is fired.

Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, estimated that the weapons already earmarked for destruction roughly would amount to the 80% cuts Mr. Bush promised. "He is making a virtue out of necessity," said Sen. Nunn.

'Positive View'

But Secretary of State James Baker said in a news conference that the president's proposal could lead to a much quicker reduction in chemical-weapons stockpiles than the U.S. law requires. He also noted that the plan would prevent a build-up in supplies of the newer weapons, which he said could grow under the law to levels "vastly greater" than current stockpiles of the older ones.

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft said Soviet leaders had been apprised of the U.S. proposal in advance. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze later said the Soviets have a "positive view of the proposal." At a meeting last weekend in Wyoming, Messrs. Shevardnadze and Baker signed an agreement under which the two nations will exchange information about their stockpiles of chemical weapons and facilities for producing them.

The president's proposed cut in U.S. and Soviet chemical-weapon stocks would come even before a multilateral treaty to end production of chemical weapons is signed. Mr. Bush also offered to eliminate all but 2% of such weapons within eight years of the signing of such a treaty. And he said the U.S. would eliminate the remaining stocks in the next two years, but only if all nations capable of producing them—including such intransigent countries as Libya—agree to a ban.

The White House said 20 nations currently are capable of producing the weapons. The initiative doesn't include biological weapons, Gen. Scowcroft said.

Although the U.S. refuses to disclose the exact level of its chemical-weapon stocks, many experts believe the U.S. inventory totals 30,000 tons. The Soviets claim to have 50,000 tons of chemical weapons, but U.S. experts believe the number could be as high as 300,000 tons.

U.S. officials admitted that the difficulty of precisely verifying current quantities of chemical weapons, or even which nations possess them, has been a major ob-

stacle in reaching the multilateral agreement. Gen. Scowcroft called the search for acceptable verification procedures a "daunting challenge."

The chemical weapons proposal was the only new initiative in Mr. Bush's U.N. speech, which challenged the organization to confront the "global challenges of the 21st century"—including economic growth and environmental problems, drug trafficking and terrorism. He specifically called on the U.N. General Assembly to condemn the killing of U.S. Lt. Col. William Higgins, who was kidnapped and killed by a Shiite terrorist group while serving on a peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

Praise for Free Economies

Mr. Bush also lauded what he called the ascendancy of freedom and market economies around the world, a theme he also sounded during his trip last summer to Poland and Hungary.

Nevertheless, reflecting warming relations with the Soviet Union, the president made only positive references to Moscow. Referring to last weekend's meeting between Messrs. Baker and Shevardnadze, Mr. Bush said, "I am very pleased by the progress we made."

Gen. Scowcroft said the new chemical-weapon initiative was meant in part to take advantage of Moscow's cooperative attitude on arms-control issues. He noted, for example, that the Soviets have already offered to make far larger cuts than the U.S. in conventional weapons.

The Washington Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Washington Times _____
The Wall Street Journal **A-28**
The Christian Science Monitor _____
New York Daily News _____
USA Today _____
The Chicago Tribune _____

Date **26 Sept 89**

Although Mr. Bush was a former U.S. representative to the U.N. in the 1970s, his reception by the General Assembly was tepid. The 40-minute speech was interrupted only twice by applause. But he and Mrs. Bush, as well as Secretary Baker, were greeted warmly by the delegates before the speech.

—Robert S. Greenberger contributed to this article.