

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0275-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0275-S

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Scowcroft, Brent, Collection
Series: Media Articles Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 85044
Folder ID Number: 85044-008

Folder Title:
May 1992

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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MAY

may 7, 1992

Bush Likely to Attend Environmental Parley

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of a boycott while seeking major concessions on environmental agreements to be signed in Rio.

"It would be hard to imagine a more important event for the future of the global environment than this one," James Gustave Speth, president of the Washington-based World Resources Institute, said in an interview. "And so it's been one of the most discouraging experiences of my 10 years of working on international environmental issues to see my Government fail to give the kind of leadership that it gave 20 years ago."

Mr. Bush has yet to declare his intention to attend the Brazilian meeting, although White House officials have said for some weeks now that a decision was close. But several Administration officials, who refused to be named, said in interviews this week that Mr. Bush almost certainly will attend the meeting, although his stay may be brief.

Mr. Bush's aides insist that the United States has been a leader in negotiations leading up to the meeting by battling against treaties that would dictate rigid goals and methods for reducing global pollution; at the same time, it has advocated the sorts of free-market environmental strategies that the

Administration has tried to push at home.

"My sense is that he will attend," said one Administration official at the center of the debate. "The President has nothing to be ashamed of — we've got a good environmental record — and we've told him he ought to make the case for the good methods of achieving these goals rather than the command-and-control methods they've been talking about."

Agreement on Warming

The meeting, formally called the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, will be attended by at least 100 world leaders, including most Western leaders, and 6,000

experts on the global environment. Its centerpieces, now being negotiated, are a worldwide agreement to slow the production of chemicals that have accelerated the warming of the Earth's atmosphere and a second agreement on means to preserve plants and animal species.

Mr. Bush has repeatedly voiced great skepticism about the conference. For most of this year, while his aides haggled over the fine points of treaties and declarations, he has publicly fretted that the conference would become a soapbox for poor nations to demand billions in environmental technology and cash handouts that the White House neither has nor intends to pledge.

Some aides also expressed alarm that the conference would commit the United States to actions intended to avert global warming, like reductions

in emissions of carbon dioxide, that would cripple major industries at a time of fragile economic growth.

"I am not going to go to the Rio conference and make a bad deal or be a party to a bad deal. I'm not going to sign an agreement that does not protect the environment, and the economy of this country," the President told business executives last month.

But he is apparently going anyway, in no small part because a curious alliance of political advisers and policy experts has convinced him that he cannot afford to stay home.

That alliance includes his campaign manager, Robert M. Teeter; his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft; senior officials at the State Department and the Environmental Protection Agency.

It also features a rising young offi-

cial at the Office of Management and Budget, Robert Grady, who was the architect of not only Mr. Bush's environmental policy but his use of pollution in Boston harbor as a campaign issue in the 1988 presidential election.

A Question of Leadership

That group is bound by an array of interests. State Department diplomats and Mr. Scowcroft are said to believe that Mr. Bush's absence would be an abdication of global leadership, since most major leaders will be at the conference and strongly support its goals. The meeting also bears potentially huge political implications for Mr. Bush. Aides believe that his failure to attend would blot his environmental record at a time when the issue has become a major factor in the votes of young people and in some large states, like California and Florida.

Gonzalez and Administration Head For Constitutional Blow-Up on Iraq

Roll call, May 21, 1992

By Glenn R. Simpson

The tension between House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez (D-Texas) and the Bush Administration over the committee's investigation of pre-Gulf war dealings with Iraq edged closer to a major constitutional confrontation this week as the two sides sparred over Congressional subpoenas for classified documents and the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate possible criminal conduct within the executive branch.

Gonzalez, whose year-long expose of efforts by the Bush Administration to aid the regime of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein has finally begun to draw blood, disclosed on the floor Monday that he was informed May 15 by Attorney General William Barr that the Administration will no longer turn over classified information to the Banking Committee.

Barr said repeated insertions in the Congressional Record by Gonzalez of classified documents "have raised serious concerns" and demanded assurances that no further classified documents would be made public. A Treasury Department official had expressed similar sentiments in an earlier letter (Roll Call, April 13).

Gonzalez has been investigating \$2 billion in pre-war loans to Iraq by the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank, the Banco Nazionale Del Lavoro, and alleged obstruc-

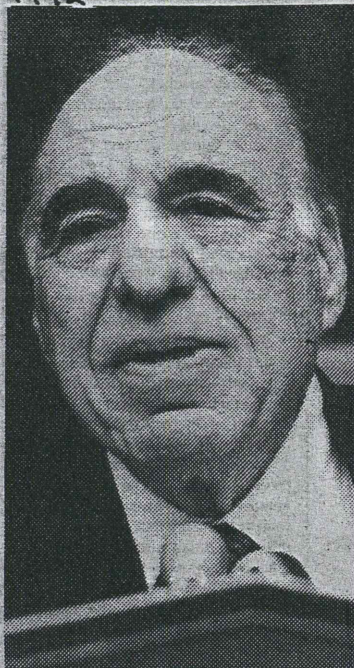


Photo by Laura Patterson

Rep. Henry Gonzalez asked the Judiciary Committee to launch the process that leads to appointing an independent counsel. A hearing is set June 2.

tion of justice by the Justice Department of an investigation of the allegedly illegal loans, which purportedly were used by Iraq for its military buildup.

Gonzalez is also looking into whether high-level Administration officials, such as National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and Secretary of State James A. Baker III, had conflicts of interest in their involvement in Iraq policy, and is seeking a vast amount of

secret White House documents.

The iconoclastic Gonzalez fired back at Barr by calling on the House Judiciary Committee to consider launching the process that leads to appointment of an independent counsel to probe allegations of Justice Department misconduct lodged by Gonzalez and Rep. Charles Rose (D-NC). Judiciary Chairman Jack Brooks (D-Texas) on Tuesday set a hearing for June 2.

Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn), who has also pursued the potential scandal for some time through his Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international economic policy and trade, joined the document fray yesterday, demanding that the Administration declassify pre-war internal documents dealing with Iraq policy.

Like Gonzalez, Gejdenson has long had outstanding subpoenas for a host of materials. Unlike Gonzalez, Gejdenson has not released any information he has obtained that is still classified.

Both Gejdenson and Gonzalez are now arguing that the Administration is obligated to declassify pre-Gulf war policy documents on Iraq because the papers no longer are important to national security, since the pro-Iraq policy was abandoned when Saddam invaded Kuwait. But Barr, in his letter to Gonzalez, declined, stating that "disclosure of classified information harms the national security."

Meanwhile, the simmering tension between Gonzalez and House Intelligence Committee Republicans, which foreshadowed the Administration action against Gonzalez, came into the open last Friday at a Banking Committee hearing on weapons proliferation.

Rep. Doug Bereuter (R-Neb), a member of both Intelligence and Banking, said the intelligence

Rep. Gejdenson joined the fray yesterday, demanding the Administration declassify pre-war internal documents.

community was "deeply concerned" by disclosures, and said the acts "could certainly have an effect upon the response to future requests for information by this committee and other Congressional offices and committees."

Gonzalez testily responded by blasting "the so-called Intelligence Committee," which he termed "an oxymoron in itself," and said he had received no information "having to do with such

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Showdown Nears Over Documents

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matters as are privy and within the rather confidential and secret recesses such as may be received by the Intelligence Committee."

Bereuter said he took exception to the reference to an oxymoron (a combination of contradictory words) but did not pursue the matter. Responding to the implicit criticism by Gonzalez of the Intelligence Committee's seeming lack of involvement in ferreting out the scandal, he noted that committee members "serve only a maximum of six years so we do not become co-opted or in any way unduly influenced by the in-

telligence [community] for which we exercise the oversight...."

Several Banking Committee Democrats lauded Gonzalez at the hearing, suggesting that the Chairman's shaky standing at the committee has improved. Rep. Jim Slattery (D-Kan) said he was "very concerned when I hear discussions about the cloak of national security being used to cloak colossal political blunders. And that is what we see here, my friends."

Slattery added what many insiders have been saying for weeks: "I think [the Iraq scandal] is one of the central issues in this election, that has not yet fully developed," he said.

The subpoena confrontation comes on the heels of the Justice Department's unprecedented victory in obtaining access to all of the records of the defunct House bank. Gonzalez, who had no overdrafts, was the most prominent opponent of turning over those records, and the blunt-spoken Texan linked the two matters in letters and briefs filed with the courts earlier this month.

He claimed that the Justice Department's possession of the sensitive personal financial data undermines the balance of powers and could make Members reluctant to support Gonzalez in his pursuit of the scandal.

BUSH LIKELY TO GO TO ECOLOGY TALKS

Dispute in the Administration Is Reported to Be Settled

By **MICHAEL WINES**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — Ending one of the more fractious debates within his Administration in recent months, President Bush is expected to announce soon that he will fly to Brazil for a United Nations environmental conference that his conservative advisers call a trap and his economic experts see as a fiscal debacle.

The prospect of that announcement is likely to cheer a worldwide alliance of environmental advocates and political figures involved in environmental issues, who have long feared that Mr. Bush might single-handedly wreck the meeting simply by staying home.

Environmentalists have resorted to advertising on national television to press Mr. Bush to attend, and the issue loomed as an important factor in the presidential campaign.

World's Biggest Polluter

As the world's largest industrial economy and its largest energy user, the United States is both the Earth's most prolific polluter and far and away its prime source of clean-up technology and money, and thus is regarded as indispensable to the meeting, which convenes in Rio de Janeiro next month.

Some of the same environmentalists pressing the President to attend, however, now complain that Mr. Bush's own hardball negotiating tactics may make the conference more a symbolic triumph than a substantive success. The President has dangled the threat

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Administration Considers Limiting Nuclear Tests

Options Prepared for Bush as Summit Nears

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

Under growing pressure from Congress, allied nations and former U.S. adversaries in the aftermath of the Cold War, the Bush administration is considering proposals to limit U.S. nuclear weapons testing, officials have disclosed.

High-ranking U.S. officials 10 days ago completed work on an "options paper" listing alternative nuclear testing constraints that President Bush could put forward at or before next month's summit in Washington with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the officials said.

The proposals range from a unilateral U.S. pledge to halve the number of its underground blasts—from six to three a year—to a more sweeping plan that would virtually halt U.S. nuclear testing by 1995.

All the initiatives are said to be opposed by the Defense Department, while senior officials of the State Department, Energy Department and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency have indicated in the paper that they support some new nuclear testing constraints.

But no U.S. agency supports Yeltsin's demand that Washington immediately join the nuclear testing moratorium that Russia announced last October, the officials said on condition that they not be named.

Proposed legislation requiring a U.S. nuclear testing moratorium is supported by at least half the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate, including the Democratic leadership in both chambers. That creates substantial pressure on Bush to take some action to deflect a total cutoff of U.S. nuclear tests.

Yeltsin, whose government recently notified Washington that its nuclear testing moratorium will be extended through the end of the year, is expected to raise the issue during his visit here. Domestic opposition has blocked Russia from conducting tests at a remote site within the Arctic Circle and its weapons designers no longer have access to a testing site at Semipalatinsk in newly independent Kazakhstan.

Last month, France announced it was halting nuclear tests this year to spur a universal moratorium, and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney last week also called for a moratorium. China, in contrast, last week conducted its largest underground nuclear blast—with a force equivalent to just under 1 million tons of TNT—to test a thermonuclear warhead meant to be deployed on a new intercontinental ballistic missile, U.S. analysts said.

Former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Thomas R. Pickering, designated by Bush as the next ambassador to India, was asked about the growing international pressures for a nuclear testing halt after speaking to the Arms Control Association in Washington last Thursday. He said it was his view that "with changing times and

changing circumstances, all states," including the United States, "are obliged to take another look at it."

U.S. nuclear tests are constrained by the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty barring blasts in Earth's atmosphere, outer space or underwater; by a 1974 accord with the Soviet Union—amended in 1990—barring blasts larger than 150 kilotons, equivalent to 150,000 tons of TNT; and by a 1976 accord regulating nuclear blasts for nonmilitary purposes.

For more than two decades, disarmament groups have made achievement of a comprehensive nuclear test ban among the five major nuclear powers a preeminent goal—arguing that it would block development of new nuclear weapons and discourage Third World nations from seeking nuclear arms.

In 1968, when it signed the global Non-Proliferation Treaty aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear arms, the United States pledged to negotiate in good faith on measures to halt the arms race, such as a comprehensive test ban. Washington and Moscow negotiated inter-

mittently until the late 1970s, but the idea failed to win broad support, partly because of problems in verifying Soviet compliance that experts say have only been resolved in the past five years.

President Ronald Reagan halted the talks in 1981 so U.S. weapons designers would not be constrained from pursuing so-called third-generation nuclear arms (after the first generation of atomic or fission bombs designed in the 1940s and the more powerful second generation, known as thermonuclear or hydrogen bombs, designed in the 1950s).

Officials say that several political, economic and technical developments have since made it much easier for the Bush administration to consider new test limitations. Scientists largely failed in a decade of research costing billions of dollars to bring to fruition the third-generation U.S. weapons, which were to generate powerful and carefully calibrated laser or kinetic energy from the relatively indiscriminate force of a nuclear blast.

So little progress has been made on one of the most widely publicized toward negotiations on new testing limitations once the 1974 accord was amended.

Rep. John M. Spratt Jr. (D-S.C.), chairman of a House Armed Services Committee panel on U.S. defense nuclear facilities, said in an interview that "I think that we should probably be on a course that leads us towards fewer and fewer

Also, because safety and environmental problems forced a shutdown of warhead production factories, the United States stopped making new thermonuclear warheads in July 1990. Bush subsequently announced last January, as part of a series of unilateral disarmament moves by Washington and Moscow,

that he was canceling plans to make the sole U.S. warhead remaining on the order books.

Defense spending cuts also have reduced the number of U.S. nuclear tests to six a year, the lowest level since the 1958-61 U.S.-Soviet test moratorium, according to Energy Secretary James D. Watkins. He told Congress recently that the tests planned for next year, at an estimated cost of \$473,800, are needed to incorporate safer components into old bombs, examine the reliability of an existing weapon and simulate "nuclear effects on troops."

None of the planned tests are for "shiny new bombs," Watkins said. "We're out of that business."

Although national security adviser Brent Scowcroft has sought since last October to push the administration toward a new testing policy, Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney has blocked any movement on grounds that test limitations would be difficult to reverse were a change in world conditions to require the production of new weapons, officials said.

A senior administration official said yesterday that the new review was prompted by Scowcroft's conviction that not enough had been done in policymaking to reflect improvements to national security "in the real world." But another official said, "I wouldn't encourage our readers to expect any big proposal on this," noting that there remains "strong [Pentagon] opposition."

Under one idea in the options paper, weapons designers would be allowed to continue testing only to modify existing bombs to lessen the likelihood of any accidental release of their nuclear materials or to verify computer calculations of the workings of nuclear bombs so scientific research could continue even if testing were halted.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and Sens. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) recently wrote Scowcroft that "we cannot overemphasize the implications for possible legislative action by Congress in the nuclear testing area of this year were the Bush administration to renege" on a 1986 commitment by Reagan to move rapidly toward negotiations on new testing limitations once the 1974 accord was amended.

Rep. John M. Spratt Jr. (D-S.C.), chairman of a House Armed Services Committee panel on U.S. defense nuclear facilities, said in an interview that "I think that we should probably be on a course that leads us towards fewer and fewer

tests, and culminates where we have only a couple of tests annually, and those are for safety and reliability purposes."

Spratt said the need for nuclear blasts today is "clearly more attenuated than it has been at any time in the past 40 years."

Officials said Scowcroft also has prodded the administration to take a fresh look this month at declaring a formal end to production of fissile material such as plutonium and highly enriched uranium for nuclear warheads, other officials said. Neither material has been produced by the United States for years, but Cheney has opposed Russian requests for a formal bilateral, production cutoff on grounds that it would limit future U.S. options.

U.S. Says There Are No Plans To Cut Nuclear Tests in Half

By ERIC SCHMITT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Bush Administration has no immediate plans to place new limits on United States tests of nuclear weapons, the White House said today.

The comments by the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, appeared to reject possible restrictions on testing that were outlined in an "options paper" that the Administration had prepared. But other officials said there had been no final decision.

Some officials seem to support limitations on the size and number of underground tests, but Mr. Fitzwater's remarks, coupled with strong opposition from Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, suggest any curbs face an uphill battle.

Talks in June With Yeltsin

Nuclear testing is expected to be discussed by President Bush at a meeting next month with President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, who has imposed a moratorium on Russian testing through the end of the year.

"While I'm sure there are those within the Government who consider this matter on a continuing basis and have changing views, there is no change at this time," Mr. Fitzwater told reporters today.

The proposals range from reducing the number of underground tests to 3 a year, from 6, in the next few years, to a broader policy that would eliminate virtually all testing by the United States by 1995.

"We feel we're down to a very low level right now," Mr. Fitzwater said. "There's no plans in the works at the moment to change that."

Some Seek Total Ban

Opponents of nuclear testing said today that anything short of a total moratorium would represent stalling tactics.

"If it's not a cessation of testing, it's a put-off that tries to take the pressure off the Administration for complete cessation," said Jack Mendelsohn, deputy director of the Arms Control Association, a private research organization here that promotes disarmament.

The Administration is coming under growing criticism from Democrats as well as from some allies to curb its nuclear testing in the post-cold-war era. France has said it would halt nuclear testing; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada has sought a moratorium.

But last week China set off a one-megaton test, the largest underground test it had ever conducted and exceeding the 150-kiloton limit that Washington and Moscow agreed to in 1990.

Earlier this year, Mr. Yeltsin reportedly ordered a second underground

testing site prepared at Novaya Zemlya, a Russian arctic island, in case the current moratorium is lifted. The former Soviet test sites in Kazakhstan are no longer available to Moscow.

Democratic leaders in the House and Senate support legislation imposing a moratorium. A bill in the House has gained 218 supporters and could be considered by the full House as early as next week.

Opposition From Cheney

On March 31, three Democratic Senators — Sam Nunn of Georgia, Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee and Paul Simon of Illinois — warned in a letter to the President's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, that the White House was coming close to reneging on an agreement the Reagan Administration had made in 1986 to pursue "progressively more stringent limitations on underground nuclear tests."

Despite the collapse of Communism and the breakup of its Soviet rival, the Pentagon has vigorously fought any attempts to limit the nation's underground nuclear tests, in the Nevada desert.

The United States, however, has gradually reduced the number of underground nuclear tests from 18 in 1982 to 7 in 1991, according to the Arms Control Association. Six are scheduled for this year.