New York: Today, partly cloudy, a bit

milder. High 48. Tonight, mostly clear

skies, light winds, cold. Low 31. To-

morrow, clear. High 50. Yesterday,

high 48, low 35. Details, page C17.

50 CENTS

Gotti Confidant Tells Courtroom Of Mafia Family's Violent Reign

Describes in Detail a Plot to Murder Castellano

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

Salvatore Gravano, the man who | was gunned down outside Spark's says he was John Gotti's underboss, Steak House in midtown Manhattan on took the witness stand against him Dec. 16, 1985, said Mr. Gravano, who is yesterday to paint a violent portrait of under close guard. loan-sharking, armed robberies and murders inside the Gambino crime hoarse voice inside a packed courtfamily.

As Mr. Gotti sat at the defense table F.B.I. agents, Mr. Gravano glanced 20 feet away with a tight smile on his quickly at Mr. Gotti after taking the face, Mr. Gravano told of his early days stand. It was his first public testimony, as a Brooklyn mobster, admitted to and prosecutors hoped it would play a participating in 19 murders and de- major role in convicting Mr. Gotti of. scribed the plot to kill Paul Castellano, racketeering and murder charges. He the Gambino boss Mr. Gotti is alleged had been acquitted three times before to have succeeded.

He was in a car with Mr. Gotti less than a block away when Mr. Castellano



Salvatore Gravano in 1990 with John Gotti, rear. Mr. Gravano testified against Mr. Gotti yesterday.

Speaking in a calm, soft, slightly

room lined with Federal marshals and

of racketeering and assault charges.

said, identifying Mr. Gotti as the head

of the Gambino organization at the

time of his arrest in December 1990. "I

Mr. Gravano is to testify about the

actual slaying of Mr. Castellano when

the racketeering-murder trial of Mr.

Gotti and a co-defendant, Frank Locas-

cio, resumes today in Federal District

Helped 'Run the Family'

Gravano said, explaining his role as

underboss before he turned informer in

a plea bargain. He was with Mr. Gotti

and Mr. Locascio when they were ar-

Yesterday he described Mr. Locas-

cio as consigliere, or counselor, of the

crime family. "Frankie is the one

Continued on Page B2, Column 4

rested on the charges in this case.

was the underboss."

Court in Brooklyn.

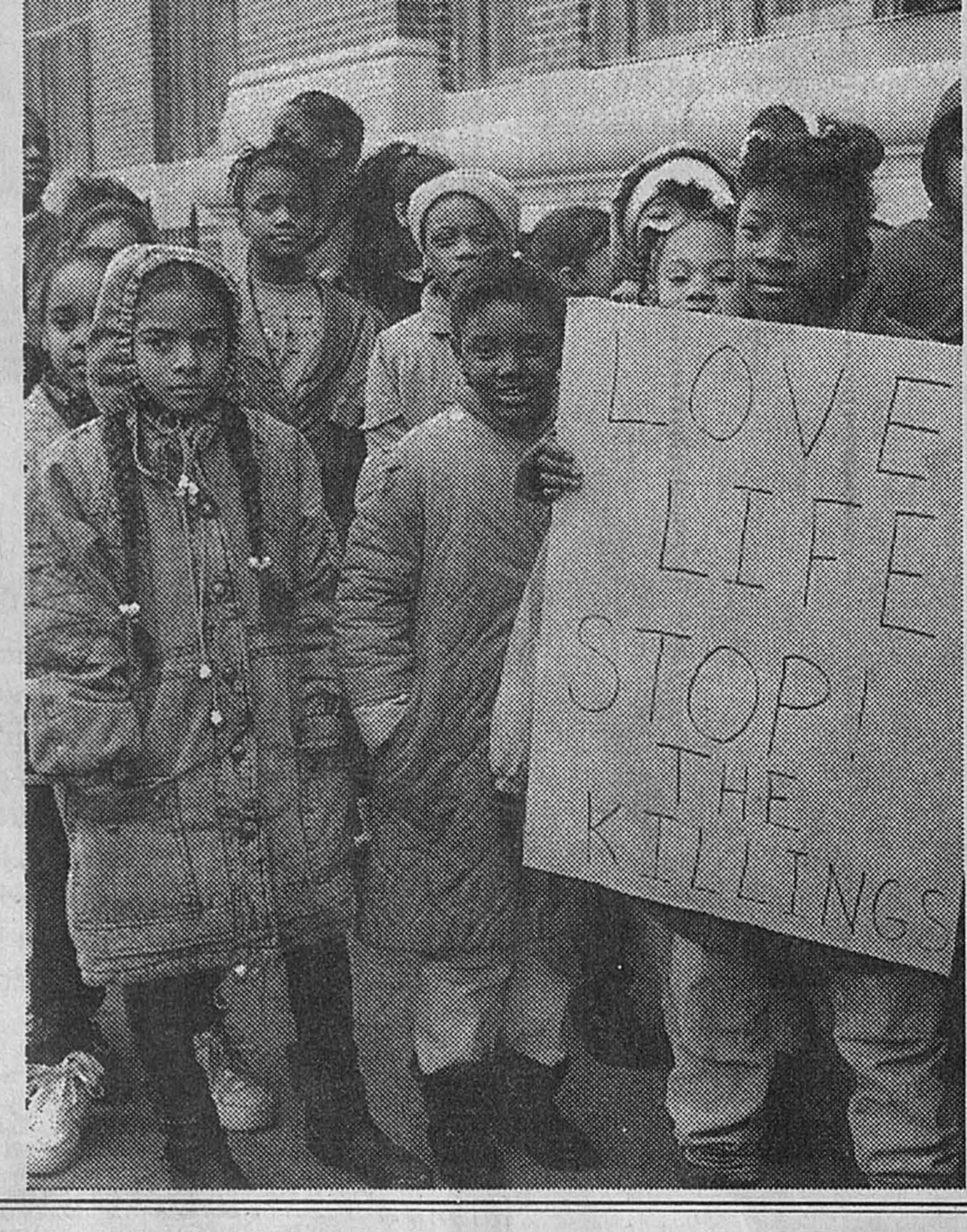
"John was the boss," Mr. Gravano

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1992

Photographs by John Sotomayor/The New York Times A Call for an End to Violence

Mayor David N. Dinkins was joined by Bill Cosby yesterday outside Thomas Jefferson High School in calling for an anti-violence crusade. Nearly 800 people demonstrated outside the East New

York school, where two students were



"I helped John run the family," Mr. In Poll, Voters Are Unhappy With All the Choices ton, Mr. Tsongas is described by local rayang said explaining his role as

is handling his job as President?

Approve

Disapprove

100%

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush

March 1991

88%

Bused on nationwide polls by The New York Times and UES News.

After gulf war

By ROBIN TONER Special to The New York Times

killed last week. Page B1.

ATLANTA, March 2 — Americans enter the busiest stretch of the primary season in a frustrated mood, dissatiswho's smiling at you right now," the fied with President Bush but overwhelmingly convinced that none of the prosecutor, John Gleeson, noted, pointcandidates for President really understand their lives, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

> Mr. Bush's approval rating stands at 40 percent, a new low for him in the Times/CBS News poll, although it was unchanged from his reading last month when the poll's margin of sampling

> There are many signs of public anxi-

Democrats Are Unhappy

Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, with they are not satisfied with the candi- help the economy. [Business Day, page ways" on tax and nuclear policy. Jr., the convicted savings and loan ex- routine operations. But the case will the support of 28 percent of the likely dates running and wish someone else D1.] nonetheless test the firm's ability to Democratic voters, and former Sena- would enter the race. And that level of The lawsuit is the largest ever to be keep its clients, which include the Equi- tor Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, dissatisfaction is up from the 45 per- ing of sampling error of plus or minus

October

Latest

40%

1992

The New York Times

67%

In short, the poll, which has a margbrought by the Government against an table Life Assurance Society, the Ma- with the backing of 19 percent, are at cent who felt that way a few weeks ago. three percentage points, includes wor-

The level of concern about the econto feel their anxieties and the Presiden- trated on Georgia. President Bush is tial campaign are disconnected. Sixty- considered the likely winner here, but four percent said they did not think any his aides expressed considerable nercandidates "really understand what vousness, even after a late endorseeveryday life is like for people like yourself." When asked what they wished the candidates understood,

most cited their economic problems. While Mr. Bush's allies are focused on wearing down his primary opponent, Patrick J. Buchanan, the new poll

Continued on Page A18, Column 1

TSONGAS APPEARS WITH VOTING TODAY

CLINTON LEADS IN GEORGIA

In G.O.P. Contest, Bush's Aides Express Nervousness Amid New Buchanan Attacks

By R. W. APPLE Jr. Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, March 2 — On the eve of the most important day so far in the 1992 Presidential campaign, Paul E. Tsongas's bid for the Democratic nomination was reported tonight by politicians and poll takers to be gaining rapidly in the seven states scheduled to hold primaries and caucuses.

Polls in three states show the former Massachusetts Senator, whose campaign was derided by many a month ago as an impossible dream, in the lead. Those are Maryland and Colorado, with primaries on Tuesday, and Utah, which has a caucus. In two other caucus states, Minnesota and Washingpoliticians as the strongest candidate; in a fourth, Idaho, officials said no contender had caught fire.

Clinton Leads Nationwide Poll

Only in Georgia, whose primary will provide the first test of Southern sentiment this year, do the state polls show Mr. Tsongas trailing his main rival, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, and there are indications that even here, Mr. Clinton's margin might not be as large as had seemed certain a week

A New York Times/CBS News poll of voter sentiment nationally shows Mr. Clinton on top, with the backing for Mr. Tsongas, which grew after the New Hampshire primary, now leveled off.

Traveling between Macon and Columbus, Ga., today, Mr. Clinton lashed out at Mr. Tsongas, accusing him of "blatantly false" advertising. As if to prepare his supporters for bad news, Mr. Clinton said he had not fared as well as he had hoped in Georgia, Maryland and Colorado because his opponent had been able to "have it both

Intense Schedule for Incumbent

"This guy gives nothing to the middle class except more pain and more ered to reporters as his plane idled on a runway in rural Georgia.

While the Democratic contenders

Continued on Page A18, Column 1

Tsongas Petitions Upheld

The New York State Board of Elections ruled that Paul E. Tsongas had collected enough petitions to remain on the primary ballot, but a court appeal is expected. Page B1.

Russian Computer Scientists Hired by American Company

By JOHN MARKOFF Special to The New York Times

MOUNTAIN VIEW, Calif., Feb. 27 — A Silicon Valley company has hired the Russian scientist who created the supercomputers used by the Soviet space program and by the Soviet military to design nuclear weapons.

The contract is one of the first examples of an American business tapping the wealth of scientific talent that until recently was dedicated to the Soviet Union's vast military program.

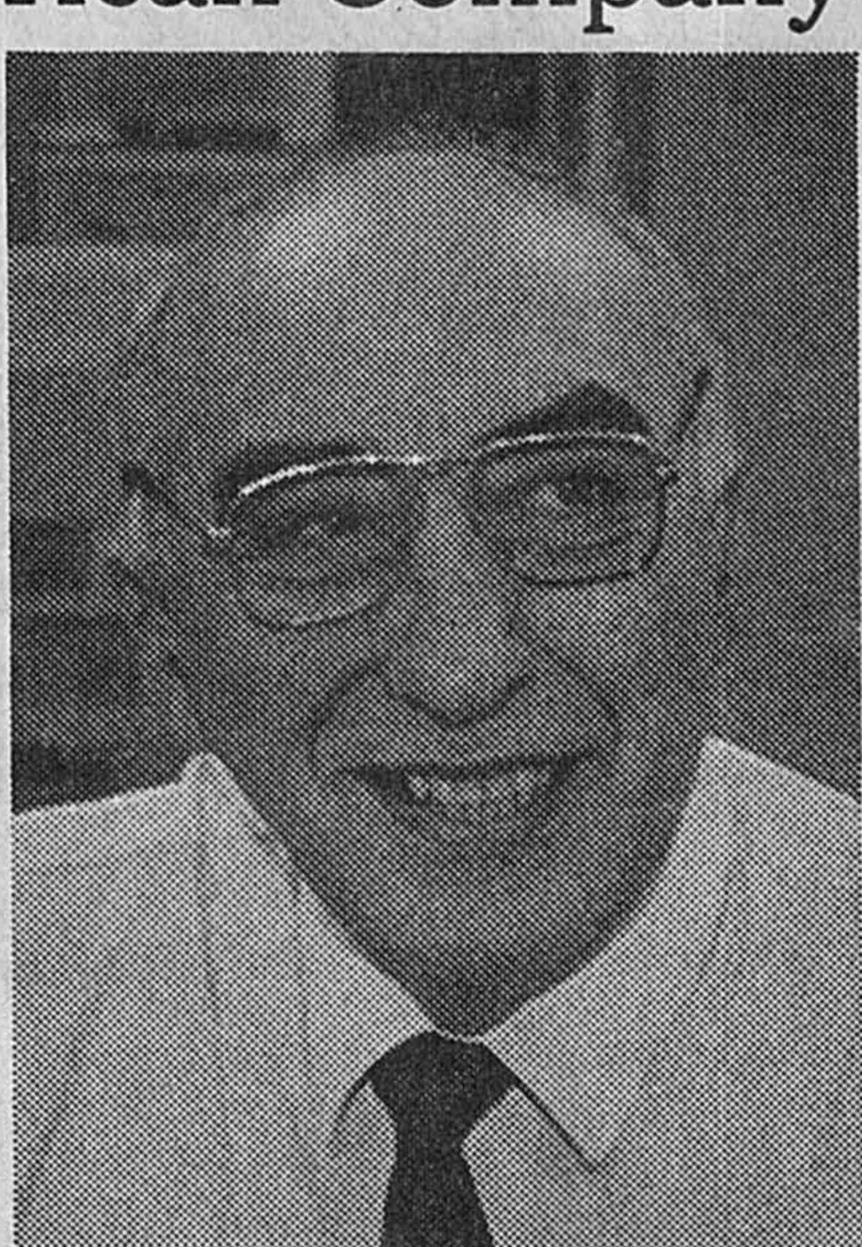
The Russian scientist, Boris A. Babayan, will set up a laboratory in Moscow for Sun Microsystems Inc. that will employ his team of about 50 software and hardware designers.

Bargain-Basement Wages

The team's full-time efforts will come at an astoundingly low price for Sun: Its members will be paid a little more than their current salaries of a few hundred dollars a year in American dollars.

Top American computer designers sell their services for \$100,000 a year or more, but both Sun officials and Mr. Babayan (pronounced bob-ee-YON) said the Russians could not be paid That is only about \$15, but still a that handsomely without engendering princely sum in a country where the bitter feelings among their colleagues average wage is 800 to 1,000 rubles a or exacerbating inflation in the Russian economy, where price controls

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Boris A. Babayan, a Russian scientist hired by a U.S. company.

Jim Wilson/The New York Times

were lifted on Jan. 2.

Mr. Babayan said that in January, a month's wages for one of his most highly paid scientists was 1,500 rubles. month and a Big Mac costs 59 rubles.

Other high-technology companies are searching for similar scientific windfalls. But while the United States Government supports efforts to keep Russian scientists away from h

Continued on Page D5, Column 1

U.S. Moves to Freeze Assets Of Law Firm for S.& L. Role error is taken into account.

By STEPHEN LABATON Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 2 - The Fed- advocacy can go before crossing over eral Covernment sued a leading New the line from zeal to deception. York law firm and its former manag- The order freezing the firm's assets

role in representing Charles H. Keating | allow Kaye, Scholer to spend money for ecutive.

yers and accountants linked to the sav- the Government. ings and loan scandal, have tried to freeze a firm's assets before going to

Throughout the 1980's, the firm, Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler, and its managing partner, Peter M. Fishbein, represented Mr. Keating, the founder of the Lincoln Savings and Loan Association, who was convicted of fraud in one of the costliest of savings failures.

In Administrative Court

In their lawsuit filed today in an administrative court, the Office of Thrift Supervision and the Justice Department contend that Mr. Fishbein and other lawyers at Kaye, Scholer repeatedly misled thrift examiners by overstating Lincoln's worth, and engaged in obstructionist tactics that kept the institution open and hemorrhaging for many more months and at a much greater cost than necessary.

The suit is sure to raise difficult questions about how far a lawyer's

INSIDE

Tariff Ruling Against Honda

Honda owes millions of dollars in tariffs, the U.S. ruled, because Civics from Canada did not contain enough North American parts Page D1.

Do Japanese Work Too Hard?

The legendary willingness of Japanese to toil without complaining is giving way to a debate over whether they are working too hard. Page A8.

Reclaiming Broken Lives

On a side street in the South Bronx, Franciscan friars minister to those who live in poverty. Page B1.

Baseball's \$7 Million Man

The Cubs' Ryne Sandberg became baseball's highest-paid player with a four-year contract extension averaging \$7.1 million annually. Page B11.

| News Summary | A2 |
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| Obituaries | B8 |
| Weather | C17 |
| Arts C13-18 | Letters A22 |
| Bridge C17 | Media D24 |
| ALC RESIDENCE TO A SECOND RESIDENCE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PRO | Op-Ed A23 |
| Chronicle B6 | Politics A18-20 |
| Crossword C18 | Sports B10-15 |
| | TV Listings C19 |
| 945-521-22-368-1-5-32-1-5-1-5-1-5-1-5-1-5-1-5-1-5-1-5-1-5-1- | Word and Image C18 |
| Classified B15 | Auto Exchange B15 |

DOMSDAY IS COMING! WATCH THIS PAPER March 5th for all the details. - ADVT.

ing partner for \$275 million today and is expected to be challenged before it moved to freeze their assets for their takes effect next week. It is tailored to

Continued on Page D8, Column 5

ety over the economy and the President's response to it. Still, the Democratic alternatives to Mr. Bush remain murky and ill-defined for most Americans, according to the telephone survey of 1,673 adults, conducted Wednesday through Sunday.

adviser to a failed saving institution. It rine Midland Bank, Bankers Trust and the front of the pack in the struggle for The poll also found that Americans risome news for both parties that tranis the first time the authorities, who are Texaco, and to woo new ones in the face the nomination. Mr. Tsongas's surge in overwhelmingly support the kind of tax scends the voting over the next few commentary on Mr. Tsongas, delivstepping up their prosecution of law- of accusations that it repeatedly misled polls after his victory in the New cut for the middle class that Demo- weeks. Hampshire primary has stabilized, but crats in Congress propose, but they do Government lawyers said today that | could take another jump if he does well | not give the Democrats credit for the | omy remains remarkably high: 82 perin the round of primaries on Tuesday. idea, and most believe Democrats pro- cent say it is either "fairly bad" or have crisscrossed the nation in the last Still, 52 percent of the Democrats say posed the cut more to win votes than to "very bad." But most Americans seem | 72 hours, the Republicans have concen-

Agence France-Presse

Evidence of a Massacre Emerges in Azerbaijan

New evidence emerged yesterday of a massacre of civilians by Armenian militants in Nagorno-Karabakh. The body of a child was removed from a hillside where dozens of bodies were found. Page A3.

Europeans Worry About Ozone-Eating Chemicals

By MARLISE SIMONS Special to The New York Times

PARIS, March 2 — Concern over a possible depletion of the protective ozone layer over the Northern Hemisphere as early as this spring has jolted politicians and commentators from Britain to Russia and prompted damage around the Arctic Circle, calls for more stringent environmental laws.

In recent weeks scientists and environmentalists have debated the startling message that a weakening ozone shield is no longer just a problem in far-off Antarctica: it could be about to occur overhead, above densely populat-

ed zones. American and European research-

ers said in early February that they ation would penetrate over Britain, had detected alarming concentrations Belgium, the Netherlands, Scandinaover the North Pole of the same syn- via, parts of Germany, Poland and thetics that are believed to be depleting Russia and North America down to the the ozone shield over Antarctica.

With the chemical stage now set, they said, they expect to see similar reaching as far south as 50 degrees north latitude. Such damage, they said, would mean that more ultraviolet radi-

European Pledge at U.N.

European nations said they would offer money to help poor countries protect the environment. They urged Washington to do the same. Page All.

United States-Canadian border region. Higher doses of radiation can in-

crease skin cancer, cause cataracts, impair the immune system and disrupt agriculture and natural ecosystems. The news has come as a shock to Northern Europe's environmentally

aware public. In France, the weekly L'Express declared a "Threat Over Europe." The German weekly Der Spiegel asked: "The devouring of Ozone: Is this the

Continued on Page A11, Column 1

Cartier

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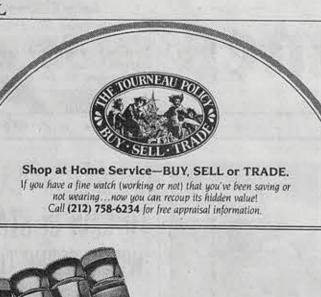
#2003, \$295.

Pair of button

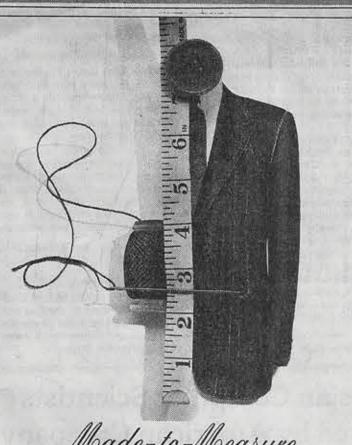
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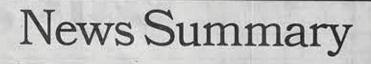
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International

ONCERN OVER OZONE HEIGHTENED ective ozone layer may develop over the Northern Hemisphere this spring has jolted politicians and opinion-makers from Britain to Russia and prompted calls for more stringent environmental laws. A1 Europe backed helping poor coun-

A DEAL FOR RUSSIAN KNOW-HOW

A Silicon Valley company has hired the Russian scientist who created the supercomputers used by the Soviet space program and by its military to design nuclear weapons. Al

MASSACRE REPORTED IN CAUCASUS Fresh evidence emerged of a massa cre of civilians by Armenian militants in the Caucasus enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh as the last of the former Soviet troops began pulling RUSSIA HUNTS MISSING BILLIONS

Russia has hired a New York investigative company to help it track down and reclaim billions of dollars thought to have been siphoned out of the country by corrupt officials in that would have put conditions on the BATTLE IN ISRAELI PREMIER'S PARTY

Israel's governing Likud Party, whose name in Hebrew means "unity," found itself badly splintered as it put together its lineup of candidates for elections to be held in June. A3 DEBATE OVER GERMAN DRUG LAWS

A German judge has set off a nation-

possession of marijuana and hashish is on the rise. DO THE JAPANESE WORK TOO HARD? guage gains in an unlikely city. A4

A3-11

ing too hard?

nese workers to toil long and hard without complaining is giving way to a new debate over whether they are **BUSH VETOES CHINA TRADE CURB**

President Bush vetoed legislation renewal of China's favorable trade access to the United States. A7

U.S. REJECTS LIBYAN PROPOSAL The State Department said a Libyan offer to turn over the two suspects in the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am jet to a neutral country for trial was merely a delaying tactic.

al debate by ruling that laws against A new mood of Scottish nationalism A5 Paris Journal: The English lan-

Despite recent official comments, Armed Serbs blocked the routes to the legendary willingness of Japa- the Bosnian capital.

National

THE BIG 'MO' FOR TSONGAS

Poll takers and politicians said Paul Tsongas was gaining support in the seven states scheduled to hold primaries and caucuses today.

VOTERS IN A FRUSTRATED MOOD Americans entered the busiest stretch of the primary season dissatisfied with President Bush but convinced that none of the candidates for President really understand their lives, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

JACKSON TOURS TRIUMPHANT Though Jesse Jackson went to South Carolina to help Senator Tom Harkin, he looked like a man campaigning for the role as the éminence grise of the 1992 campaign.

The South has seen the campaign, and it is not pretty. Forget whether he's Presidential. Is he pronounceable?

U.S. SUES KEATING'S LAW FIRM The Federal Government sued a leading New York law firm and its

former managing partner for \$275 million for its role in representing Charles H. Keating Jr., the convicted savings and loan executive. Al

QUESTIONS ABOUT ADAMS'S POST A day after Senator Brock Adams's bid for re-election collapsed under the weight of published accusations that he had sexually harassed or abused eight women, Washington Jacksonville Journal: Southern sons residents turned to the questions of change their appearance.

A12-20 who would succeed him and whether

he should resign. The thorny ethical issue of usinganonymous sources.

CASEY'S VISIT TO NORIEGA

Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega supcy with information about Fidel Castro from 1971 to 1986, an agency official testified, adding that the information was so useful that the agency's director, William Casey, visited the general in Panama, A12

COURT ACCEPTS THERAPY CASE The Supreme Court agreed to decide whether sex offenders can be required to undergo therapy as a condition of staying out of jail if the therapy requires the offender to acknowledge guilt denied at trial

REINVIGORATING JUSTICE DEPT. The new Attorney General William Barr, appears to be trying to move the Justice Department back to the center of legal authority in the Gov-

SERVICE ACADEMIES DIG IN The end of the Soviet threat brought. new worries to the nation's military service academies: fears that careers may be lost before they have barely begun.

Virginia lottery officials sought to thwart Australian investors. A13

Digest, D1

A22-23

Metropolitan

Digest, B1

A CONFESSED MOBSTER TESTIFIES The man who says he was the underboss of the reputed Mafia leader

John Gotti for years, took the witness stand to testify against him, painting a picture of violence inside the Gambino crime family.

Arts/Entertainment C13-18

Theater: A London writer's three-

Photography: A debate over nega-

The Willie Horton of 1992.

Topics: History's pickpocket.

Sensitivity about Asians.

Incentive for Hussein

Business

Science Times C1-11 Fashion Page The new white-collar epidemic of Galanos for Spring.

repetitive stress injuries. Teaching emotional literacy in pub-The latest wrinkles in magnetic levi- A "Star Trek" exhibition. C13 tation for high-speed trains. C1 Experiments toward retarding the show coup.

B10-15 Editorials/Op-Ed Sports Baseball: Sandberg signs record Yanks try to fit Barfield into role.

Basketball: St. John's shuts down Georgetown, A lot of winning solves a lot of Letters Nets' problems. B13 Russell Baker: Just regular guys.

Hockey: Rangers rout Devils. B15 A.M. Rosenthal: The President's Swimming: 15-year-old breaks breast-stroke record. David H. Sawyer: A loser's guide to Obituaries

Jeffrey Bell: The wrong man on the

Quotation of the Day

Patterns

'John was the boss. I was the underboss.' SALVATORE GRAVANO. testifying against John Gotti. [A1:2.]



U.N. Welcomes 9 New Members, 8 From the Former Soviet Union

The flag of Azerbaijan being raised yesterday on world's oldest independent republic, San Marino, which was also admitted, was raised on the pole at First Avenue as the General Assembly welcomed eight former Soviet republics as new United Na- right. The admissions raised to 175 the number of countries in the United Nations. tions members. Moments later, the flag of the

Likud Is Split by Levy's Downgrading

erning Likud Party, whose name in his party's best hope to attract moder- and uncaring. ternal politics is fractured all the same, otherwise turn to Likud.

from second place on the party's par- | Even in the best of times, these ana- | so will they. liamentary list, just behind Prime Min- lysts argued, Likud's internal maneu-Mr. Levy, who had held the second lent of a barroom brawl. position for years, was so upset that he accused Mr. Shamir and his allies of conspiring against him. "We are facing

telling his backers. Many of them were angry enough to really changes their minds."

forces determined to eliminate all our candidates," he was quoted today as fessor at Hebrew University. "They In the election voters a

favor of the opposition Labor Party.

If they do walk away, it would obviously complicate matters for Mr. Sha
ously complicate matters for Mr. Sha
Nonetheless, the Likud batting light
lighted several fault lines in both Israage of the vote, its candidates will enter
Parliament in the order in which they
are ranked by the party. Since Likud is

Karabakh have killed 1,500 to 2,000 mir, who had already been dealt a blow el's most successful political figure expected to win well over 40 seats, none people. The last week's fighting has by a recent vote of the Labor rank and file to install Yitzhak Rabin as party were in the Middle East and northern ger of being shut out of Parliament.

Corrections

he would not seek re-election referred incorrectly in some copies to his resexual advances. Mr. Adams said the accusations were "absolutely false." In some copies, the article also misstated the background of Washington's other Senator, Slade Gorton. He is not a former astronaut.

An article on Saturday about the Presidential candidates' use of negative tactics to attract news coverage misidentified the Government agen cy that helped finance a film cited in a commercial for Patrick J. Buchanan. The film was subsidized by the National Endowment for the Arts, not Design Ltd.

An article vesterday about Senator the National Endowment for the Hu-

Because of an editing error, an on Saturday about the appointment of Henry C. (Ric) Duques to be chairman and chief executive of the First Data Corporation misstated the number of his children. In addition to 12year-old triplets, he has a 20-year-old son in college.

An article on Wednesday about parties for the Grammy Awards referred incorrectly to the decorator of the party given by the Warner Music Group and Elektra Records at Rockefeller Center. It was Anthony Ferraz

ago and not blessed with much formal forms.

ister Yiizhak Shamir, to the No. 4 spot. | vering tends to be the political equiva- | ried enough about this group's sensibil- | lim Azerbaijan. ities to try to soften the blow by making sure that even though Levy followers were excluded from the rank of top ment, the last frail buffer separating "People expect this of Likud," said candidates, they were well-represented the two warring ethnic groups, started

and depending on how many seats Li- said threaten to abandon Likud in June in Nonetheless, the Likud battling high- kud wins, based on its national percent

Being ranked No. 4, however, means at Mr. Levy has fallen behind Defense Minister Moshe Arens and Housng Minister Ariel Sharon, ranked secpetition for Likud leadership after Mr. Shamir, 76, leaves the scene.

Mr. Levy had considered the second spot to be his due after a central committee vote for party leader two weeks ago in which he finished behind Mr. Shamir but ahead of Mr. Sharon. cance in the fact that the Foreign Minister has been his party's most conspic-

uous proponent of the Middle East peace process, and is considered more dovish than the three men ahead of him on the Likud slate. Mr. Rabin of the Labor Party seized on this as evidence of Likud's "move to the extreme." But others argued that the candi dates' lineup had less to do with ideology than power politics.

— M€N —

745 Fifth Ave at 58th S

SHORT CUT

Massacre by Armenians Being Reported

AGDAM, Azerbaijan, March 2 (Reuters) — Fresh evidence emerged today of a massacre of civilians by Armenian militants in Nagorno-Karabakh, a presidence were killed late last month.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan criticized the withdrawal from the enclave of the commonwealth's last troops. "This regiment, though not involved ininantly Armenian enclave of Azer-Speaking to his Parliament in Yere-in military operations, was a stabilizing. Speaking to his Parliament in Yere-in military operations, was a stabilizing factor," Mr. Ter-Petrosyan said.

The Azerbaijani press agency Azer-inform reported renewed Armenian missile fire on the Azerbaijani-populated town of Shusha on Sunday night. It said several people had been wounded

The republic of Armenia reiterated denials that its militants had killed 1,000 people in the Azerbaijani-populat ed town of Khojaly last week and had massacred men, women and children fleeing the carnage across snow-cov ered mountain passes. But dozens of bodies scattered over

the area lent credence to Azerbaijan eports of a massacre.

Scalping Reported

Azerbaijani officials and journalists who flew briefly to the region by heli-copter brought back three dead chiliren with the backs of their heads blown off. They said shooting by Armeians had prevented them from re-

scalped," said Assad Faradzhev, an aide to Nagorno-Karabakh's Azerbaiani Governor. "When we began to pick bodies, they began firing at us."

The Azerbaijani militia chief in Aglam, Rashid Mamedov, said: "The bodies are lying there like flocks of sheep. Even the fascists did nothing

Truckloads of Bodies

gorno-Karabakh, a Reuters photographer, Frédérique Lengaigne, said she had seen two trucks filled with Azer-

oked as though there were almost as leader. Opinion polls suggest that Mr. Rabin, a former Prime Minister and an for Likud against a Labor Party that many in the second," she said. "Some had their beads out off and many had JERUSALEM, March 2 — The goviron-fisted former Defense Minister, is
they consider Europe-oriented, elitist
been burned. They were all men, and a
been burned. They were all men, and a Hebrew means "unity" but whose in- ately right-of-center votes that might Mr. Levy, born in poverty 54 years few had been wearing khaki unity to the state of the found itself badly splintered today as it | "If I were Shamir, I wouldn't count | education, offers himself as the eternal | Ethnic violence and economic crisis

put together its lineup of candidates for on the Levy camp," Zvi Gilat wrote outsider who stands as champion of the threaten to tear apart the Common today in the newspaper Hadashot. | underdog. He is a proud man. His re- | wealth of Independent States, created The main source of friction was a central committee vote on Sunday that dropped Foreign Minister David Levy were really about to defect en masse.

Itoday in the newspaper Hadashot.

Other commentators were less convented that Mr. Levy's supporters and if he feels wounded and inclined to see an anti-Sephardic plot, powerless in the face of the ethnic other Likud elders were clearly wor-between Christian Armenia and Mus-

> its withdrawal, the Itar-Tass press In the election voters are to cast agency said. The two sides made no are so used to it that I don't think it, ballots according to party preference, attempt to interfere, the news service

sacre in Nagorno-Karabakh.

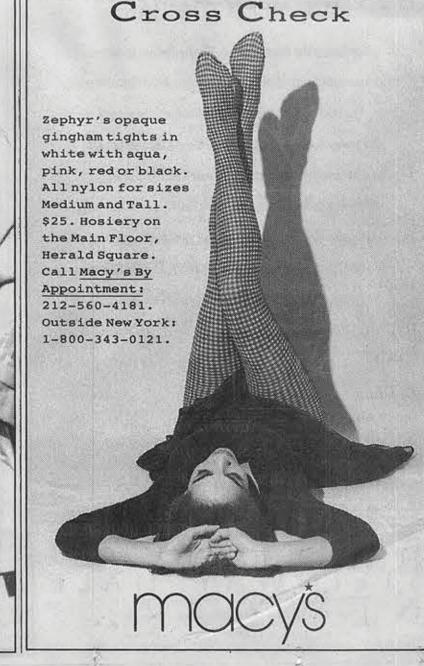
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Paris Journal

Coffee With Roll, Garçon, and Hold Your Tongue

PARIS, March 2 - Only a generation or two ago, snooty Parisian waiters would reserve their most disdainful looks for American tourists who were so evidently lacking in culture that they had to order their coffee and croissant in, mon Dieu, English. But even then, far from the side-

walk cafe battlefront, English was already pushing French aside as the language of international diplomacy and commerce. Soon afterward it began infiltrating the French language itself with words like "le weekend, "le blue-jean" and "le sandwich."

The revenge of the tourist was not long in coming. First, many of the French came to realize that if they wanted to be understood by foreigners, speaking French no longer sufficed. Then came the de facto surrenif they could not beat English, well, they might as well learn it. Significant Shift

Last month, citing both public demand and the need to compete in a fast-integrating Europe, the French Government decided to give new importance to the teaching of foreign anguages in primary and secondary schools. And English is overwhelmingly the language of first choice. It is not a great reversal in policy because language teaching is already extensive. But it represents a signifi-cant shift in emphasis in a country that still spends heavily on keeping the French language alive in its former colonies and stolidly defends its use in international organizations

Under the new plan, French children will start learning a first foreign language at the age of 9 and should be fluent enough to carry on a conversation by the time they are 12. From the age of 13, they will be required to study a second foreign language, i practice usually German or Spanish The main change is that foreign language teaching will start two years earlier than before and that a

second foreign language will become bligatory throughout high school. But there is another difference, too. "Until now, language teaching was perhaps too theoretical, too focused on grammar," said Claude Lambert, the Education Ministry official who developed the program. "Now we're going to stress communication skills by hiring 3,500 native speakers to

Certainly in the past, here as in so many countries, students would spend several years learning a foreign language, usually English. But they would leave school unable to make themselves understood. And within a few years, their rudimentary knowledge of the language would fade



Last month the French Government instituted a years earlier than before. The results of an experinew plan under which French children will start mental language class in 1989 for children in primary learning a first foreign language at age 9 - two school, above, helped lead to the change.

France strikes the flag, giving a new emphasis to English.

resent in daily life here that young people have both incentive and opporunity to become fluent. They hear it in movies, television programs and popular music. They need it to comnunicate with, say, Germans and apanese, and they know that comnand of the language will help them

In fact, English is so fashionable among French teen-agers that the use of English words and phrases has created a sort of "Franglais" slang peppered with the likes of "cool et stroy" and, as the French Academy must feel as it tries to defend linguistic purity, "c'est too much."

So, while their French may be worse, today's French teen-agers already speak far better English, and generation. A recent poll showed that

of a foreign language, compared with 42 percent of those 50 or more years

Nonetheless, French youths are a poll carried out by the European Community's Eurobarometer unit that showed that the region's most polyglot teen-agers came from Luxembourg, Denmark and the Netherlands. These finding were not unexpected. People from small countries with languages that are not widely used are obliged to learn those of their larger neighbors.

Across the community, English is by far the most dominant foreign nguage, with French usually sec ond. Only in Portugal is French still spoken more than English, but this is a result of the large number of Portuguese immigrants in France. In contrast, German ranks second to English in Denmark and the Netherlands The popularity of German is also growing quickly in Eastern Europe, although even there English is still the first language to learn.

Even the Waiters Cave In In announcing France's new plan to start 670,000 9-year-olds in a foreign language, Education Minister Lionel Jospin pointedly avoided mentioning

by now even Parisian waiters have accepted this reality and can manage

Perhaps surprisingly, given Gerlagging behind many of their Western many's growing political and eco-European counterparts, according to nomic weight in Europe and Bonn's determination to have its language used more widely at international or ganizations and in meetings, Spanish is preferred here to German as a second foreign language. It is gener ally considered easier to learn than German. Under the new program, though, senior high school students in France will now also have the option of learning a third foreign language.

French pragmatism, it seems, has finally won out. Even the prestigious Pasteur Institute has begun publish ing its main scientific journal. An nales, in English so French research can become known, and win recognition, abroad. And now the Govern ment is responding to what parents and students want. "It would be just as pointless to

oppose the international use of Eng lish today as it would have been to oppose the worldwide use of French in the 18th century," Maurice Allais, a French economist and Nobel laureate, wrote in Le Monde some tim ago. "We must take the world as it is and not as we would like it to be."

A Pro-Drug Ruling Stirs the Pot in Germany | used hashish herself. | The Social Welfare Minister of Low-er Saxony, Walter Hiller, said it was "a dumber of Parliament, Gudrun Schaich dumbargument" to say that hashish ber

By STEPHEN KINZER

about one-twenty-fifth of an ounce. alcohol or 20 cigarettes."

has set off a national debate by ruling that laws against possession of marijuana and hashish are unconstitutional. Leaders of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Leaders of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's he decision, but many senior opposi- law. He also said it violated a provision for Mr. Kohl's party, remarked: "Gov- lice and judicial functions. The decision was handed down last use are relatively limited," Judge Nes- come a mecca for drug users."

week by Wolfgang Nescovic, an appeals-court judge in Lübeck. The case cal study that concluded that smoking concerned a woman who had been send concerned to the woman who had

Walch, advocated a drug policy like marijuana use normally leads to the The New York Times (ISSN 0362-4331) is p possession of 1.12 grams of hashish — gerous than the daily consumption of that in the Netherlands, where more use of more dangerous drugs. He said than 2,000 Dutch coffee shops offer that if the substances remained illegal, that in the Netherlands, where more use of more dangerous drugs. He said | Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at marijuana and hashish for sale. The they should be "unofficially tolerated." BONN, March 2 — A German judge In his decision, Judge Nescovic ap- Conservative politicians criticized trade is regulated by the Government, Newspapers and magazines have rehas set off a national debate by ruling praised the dangers of alcohol, and the ruling. A Christian Democratic leg- and about half the marijuana sold is cently expressed support for legaliza-

overning coalition have condemned teeing all citizens equality before the land Sauer, spokesman on drug issues where responsibility lies for most potion figures have endorsed it. A final guaranteeing personal freedoms that ernment involvement in distributing "It is high time to take cannabis that current drug laws are constituruling from Germany's highest court is do not infringe on the rights of others. drugs means, in essence, that the state products out of the zone of illegality," tional, the political debate over legal-"The physical effects of cannabis becomes a dealer. Germany would be-said Christiane Krajewski, Health Min-ization is likely to go on. Officials in the ister of Saarland. The state's Interior state of North Rhine-Westphalia said week by Wolfgang Nescovic, an ap- covic wrote. He cited a German medi- But an unexpected number of elected Minister, Friedel Läpple, told a radio last weekend that they would submit a

Even if the German high court rules

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By CELESTINE BOHLEN
specialto The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 2 — The Russian
Government has hired a New York
investigative company to help it track
down and reclaim billions of dollars
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and Communist Party Officials in recent years.

In an interview on Russian television
on Sunday night, First Deputy Prime
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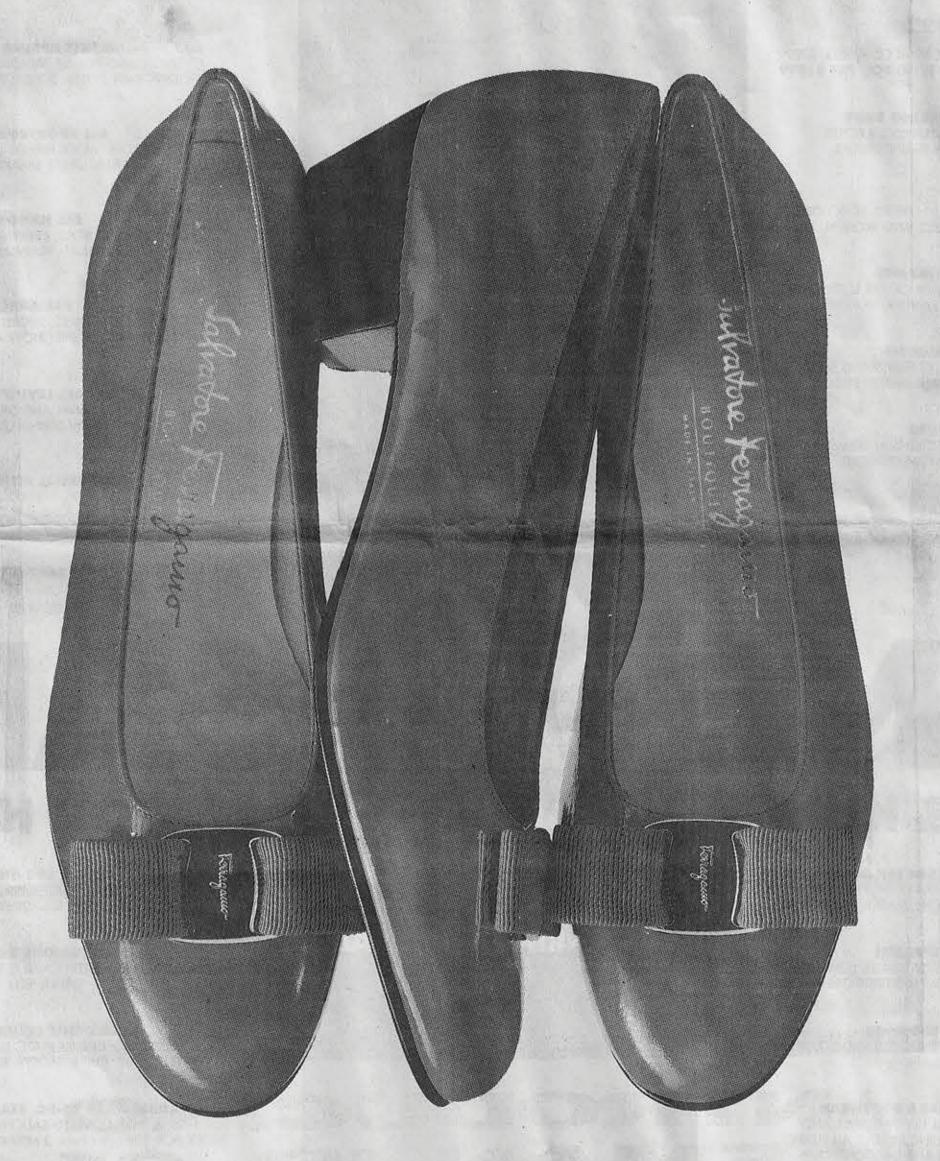
The search for foreign assets is part of a broader campaign against corrupt.

The search for foreign assets is part of a broader campaign against corrupt.

The search for foreign assets is part of the Russian dec

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1992





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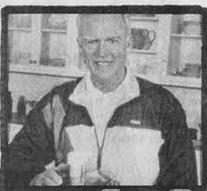
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where joblessness is already high.



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More Japanese Workers Demanding Shorter Hours and Less Hectic Work

annual hours

manufacturing

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Japanese Ministry of Labor

toward midnight. They go on weekend

reasons, armies of commuters heading

seem crazy," said a young bureaucrat

ally does not get home until midnight

The dilemma of white collar workers

its has produced an unusually bitter

argument in public between two re-

On one side is Takeshi Nagano, presi-

dent of the Japan Federation of Em-

ployers Association, who is battling the

have been part of a corporate strategy

The strategy, he said, has led t

stockholders and employes," he said in

is much higher than in the United

States, their purchasing power is well

Mr. Morita's comments in favor o

"A few years ago, when the economy

workers have gotten widespread pub-

below that of American workers.

is that they dislike working late, but

Two Industrialists

In Bitter Debate

viewed as less than voluntary.

consider real work.

On the Job

TOKYO, March 2 - In self-satisfied tones, Japanese leaders have recently been calling Americans lazy and praising their own workers' eagerness to toi

and sacrifice for corporate Japan. But these days, despite the comments of some Japanese spokesmen, the legendary willingness of Japanese workers to toil long and hard without complaining is giving way to a new debate over whether Japanese are working too hard. Increasingly, Japanese are willing to answer yes.

Take Takechi Kikuchi, for instance. On a routine day, Mr. Kikuchi recalled recently, he had only two and a half minutes to bolt in the gasoline tank and hurriedly attach 10 other parts to each automobile moving down the Nisprocess was speeded up, and he had to put in up to 12 hours a day.

"We used to mutter plenty of complaints, but we knew nothing would happen," Mr. Kikuchi said. "At the end of the day, I was so tired that I only felt

Because of complaints from workers like Mr. Kikuchi, unions have begun demanding shorter hours, and workers are saving more openly that their long hours on the job have not yielded sufficient benefits or improved standards of

'The Japanese are clearly oversistant general secretary of Rengo, the nation's largest trade union federation. "After all these years of prosperity, we are at a turning point. From now on,

Average Hours Have Been Falling

Mr. Kawaguchi's prediction may be is that they dislike working late, but overstated, but the downward trend in they haven't found a practical alternawork time is clear and has been for some time. Many offices and factories that used to be open on Saturday have started to stay closed all weekend in the last couple of years. The average from 2,432 hours a year in 1960 to 2,009 last year, according to the Ministry of

The Ministry has set a target of 1,800 hours next year and is pushing for legislation to achieve the goal. Few believe that it can be reached, but it has become politically popular in Japan to call for everyone to stop working hours and higher wages.

"Shorter working hours and more Morita, the chairman of Sony Corporacomfortable workplaces are national goals to make our working lives less stressful," Prime Minister Kiichi and given speeches demanding that Miyazawa said in a recent speech, anding a note that contrasted sharply with his recent comment that Americans may lack a "work ethic."

Despite the decline in work hours, Japanese still work harder than Americans. By some calculations, they work the equivalent of a month more than ir American counterparts every

While it is difficult to quantify the average Japanese workweek, auto are spreading alarm as well as envy. workers at peak periods typically work of cash, Japanese companies should 12-hour shifts with any time put in after the standard 8-hour shift paid at 125 percent of the normal pay. White collar workers typically put in 13-hour days a speech. or more with no overtime paid.

In 1990, Japanese workers in the showing that Japanese work shorter manufacturing sector earned an aver-The Labor Ministry's statistics showing that Japanese work shorter hours probably exaggerate the trend \$10.84 an hour in the United States. But because Japanese companies routinely underreport the hours their employees work. A recent survey found that 55 percent of employees worked unpaid — percent of employees worked unpaid — were much lower than American hour-Last month, labor inspectors raided ly wages. Japanese workers also say and unrecorded - overtime.

80 branches of a dozen big financial institutions, where a third of the employees were found to have been improperly required to put in large amounts of unpaid overtime. The Government reprimanded the offending companies — many of them licity and support. "Japanese workers are getting kind of fed up with the hard

carried out no punishments. But the work," said Haruo Shimada, professor of economics at Keio University in Tocompanies were clearly embarrassed. kyo, who studies labor issues. So was Hitachi Ltd., which was recently sued by a factory worker claiming started to boom, unions actually cooperated with companies to step up the fused to work overtime work," Mr. Shimada added. "Everyone worked liked crazy for a few years, but

More Identification With the Company

Part of the reason that Japanes seem to work harder relates to cultural distinctions, including the fact that Japanese identify more with their companies than workers in other countries do and therefore accept and enjoy a great deal of socializing connected to the office or factory.

A recent survey by the Hakuhodo Institute for Life and Living, a research institute, said Japanese are far more dedicated to their workplaces,

Turkish Planes Attack Bases Of Rebel Kurds in North Iraq the union is useless and powerless,

ANKARA, Turkey, March 2 (Reu- management wants.' ters) - Turkish planes attacked bases Further, Japan has pioneered in of rebel Turkish Kurds in northern Iraq | breaking work forces down into small for the second day today, and Prime units responsible for keeping output up Minister Suleyman Demirel said that In such a setup, fellow workers suffer the air strikes had been completed. someone takes a day off, even for ill Mr. Demirel told reporters that the ness. Absenteeism and sick leave are

planes had hit Kurdish Workers Party | very low in Japan, compared with othcamps in the Hakurk area, six miles er industrial countries. south of the border, but he gave no Another Nissan worker, interviewed Officials said earlier that planes had colleague recently wanted to leave at 5 blasted targets on Mount Cudi inside P.M. after a long day to attend a par-

Turkish territory, as well as across the ents night at school. But he succumbe border. They gave no casualty figures. to the pressure of other workers to stay Mr. Demirel said the raids, the first on the job. this year, had been intended to head off "We felt bad, but that is the way the attacks by the Kurdish rebels.

Head Bands Reduce Mopping of Brows

Not surprisingly, critics on the left in Japan see such techniques as exploitive. A Communist member of Parliament, Tetsuzo Fuwa, recently accused Toyota and Nissan of working factory employees in long shifts "as though they are living in the 19th century."

'The company supplies workers with head bands to save the seven seconds necessary for workers to mop their sweating brows," he added. Not everyone feels exploited, however. Mr. Kikuni, the Nissan worker who

got tired when his assembly line was speeded up, said he managed to get used to the faster pace during the time it was in force last year. "I didn't really mind too much because I needed the extra money," he said. More recently, the pace has slack-

ened because car sales have slumped, and Mr. Kikuni has transferred from the speeded-up plant, in Tokyo, to another Nissan factory, this one assen bling engines, in Yokohama. "I don't routinely go out evenings with their | think anyone feels overworked now," bosses or colleagues, returning home he said of his eight-hour shifts.

In the automobile industry, one widework, even though their attendance is tually worked against employees.

In the late 1980's, when demand for ers want our cars.' Most office workers in surveys also cars soared output increased from 3.4 million cars to 5.1 million in 1990. Companies were reluctant to hire new even if there is no work to do. For these workers for fear they would have too nany when output fell off, so they home late at night do so after what simply had everyone work longer workers in other countries might not "By objective standards, it may



and hard is giving rise to a new debate over whether years, and projecting further changes, calls on they work too much. A poster in Tokyo showing workers to pursue non-job-related interests.

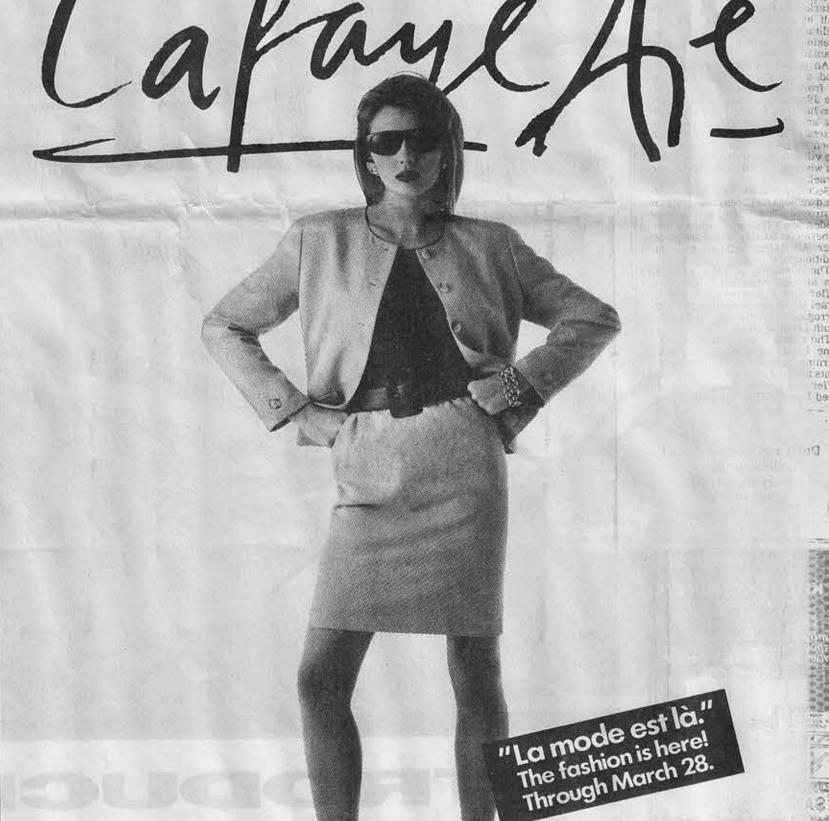
outings, golf games and other activily praised feature — the system of Aihara, secretary general of Nissan's Japanese "workaholics" was breaking ties, not considering this to be part of lifetime employment guarantees — ac- labor union. "Our workers feel they down. cannot refuse overtime when consum-

> Looking for More Out of Life

Going against such demands, many udies have found that Japanese are

"Rank-and-file members generally looking for something more out of life or Americans work harder is clouded agree that they should make an extra than toiling at the factory or office. The finally by definitions of what constiffort when the cars made by our com- Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, tutes work. Japanese work long hours, and pany are selling well," said Katsutoshi in its study last year, said the myth of but a lot of it is spent going through the lding, exchanging business cards, having tea and building relationships.

they are not ants slaving away for the company at the expense of their prinay work fewer hours, but they work and vate lives and families," the institute said. "A growing number are begin- Masamoto Yashiro, executive vice il ning to pursue non-job-related interests president at Citicorp in Japan. "In the and are beginning to enjoy their family United States, you know, you can get straight down to business. You just



Unions Considered Part of the Problem

then they realized they were actually

Often, however, the unions are re garded as part of the problem, not the solution. This is because almost all unions for private companies in Japan are company unions. Their officers are be rewarded by the company if they do a good job in curbing union militancy. and like to spend more time there than said that at the height of car production A Nissan auto worker, for instance Americans. For instance, a majority felt that group morning calisthenics on the job and singing the company song were entirely appropriate. Japanese white collar workers also tasks were eliminated and that workers had to carry parts on their belts to save the time taken to get them from

> "The workers were totally uninter ested in what the union does, because said the worker, speaking on condition

system works," he said.

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Rebel Serbs Disrupt Travel Into Yugoslav Republic regoving is not untied to the satisfaction of all three nations, then we will part of the world," Mr. Silajdzic said. Like the Serbian rebels in neighbortion of all three nations, then we will image Croatia, Serbs in Bosnia and Herze-

Well over 60 percent of the republic's majority.'

By CHUCK SUDETIC

SARAJEVO, Yugoslavia, March 2 - 3.1 million eligible voters cast ballots in Serbian leaders in Bosnia and Herze-Gangs of masked and armed Serbs, favor of independence, according to govina have proclaimed their own Serangered by the results of a weekend referendum on independence for the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbs boycotted the referendum.

bian polity, which they define as covering about 60 percent of the present republic's Serbs boycotted the referendum. set up barricades today and blocked all transportation routes leading to this Croatia from Yugoslavia, Muslim arms to keep the republic inside the

But by late tonight, television reports govina fear the prospect of being left said the Serbian guerrillas had agreed behind in what is certain to be a Serbian guerrillas had agreed behind agreed behind guerrillas had agreed guerrillas had to lift the seige and that some of the dominated rump Yugoslav state. everyone living in this highly charged parriers were being dismantled. At the On the other hand, Bosnia and Herze- territory, which has a grim history of same time, bursts of gunfire continued govina's Serbs reject the notion of be- internecine violence, including atrocreported killed and at least seven two nations are forcing independence to 1945. The blockade prevented trains from

ntering, and only a few ambulances nd police cars were allowed to pass the barricades for most of the day. The action also choked roads in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the main highway to Croatia. Muslim Slavs and Croats had also erected barricades near some of their enclaves in

Sending a Message

The well-coordinated effort was clearly intended as a signal by the Serbs, who make up almost a third of republic's population, that they were not only dissatisfied with the vote for secession but that they were also ready to stall or derail efforts to carry

The message was intended for the Muslim Slavs and Croats, the two ethnic groups that account for 60 percent of the republic's four million people. They favor independence and are eager to have the European Community recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as

Rebuilding in Lebanon By Party of God Teams

BEIRUT, Lebanon, March 2 - An Iranian-linked engineering group has begun rebuilding two Shiite Muslim attacked by Israeli troops a week and a half ago, and the new leader of the militant Shiite Muslim Party of God is seeking further help in meetings with Iranian leaders.

ed from Teheran, said a group called the Jihad Foundation for Reconstruction had sent 20 working teams to Kafra and Yater to rebuild and repair dozens of houses that were demolished when an Israeli armored force raided the villages in search of Shiite guerrillas who had fired rockets into northern

Security officials said 60 percent of the dwellings had been totally or partly destroyed. The Party of God's new Teheran on Sunday with Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati to request additional aid.

The rebuilding at Kafra and Yater has aroused suspicion in the border buffer zone in southern Lebanon that Israel maintains in conjunction with a surrogate Christian-led militia, the South Lebanon Army.

The militia's commander, Gen. Antoine Lahd, today issued his second warning in three days to Shiite resi dents north of the zone that they would suffer dire consequences if they sheltered Party of God militants.

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Slavs and Croats in Bosnia and Herze- frontiers of what is left of Yugoslavia.

have here, I assure you, Belfast or govina have been armed by Serbia and on them by using the "tyranny of the Beirut," said Rajko Dukic, a member the Yugoslav National Army. But the

of the Serbian Democratic Party's so- army disavowed the blockade. In a called crisis committee, which organ- local radio broadcast, the commander zed the barricade action. "There is of the army's Sarajevo garrison called little room to iron out a compromise." the action "sheer banditry. The party has demanded that Bosnia "The army is not involved in these republic's territory. They have warned and Herzegovina's government halt all activities as far as we know," said the

But Bosnia and Herzegovina's for-eign minister, Haris Silajdzic, a Mus-eration in finding a solution to this im, said there was no chance that the situation. We have decided to refrain Most of the Yugoslav Army's forces

"Immediate recognition of Bosnia- including an estimated 100,000 troops to echo off the mountains that surround ing cut off from Serbia by an internatities committed here during the civil Herzegovina would be the best contrithis city, where four people had been tional frontier and argue that the other war that gripped Yugoslavia from 1941 bution the European Community could govina. The republic is also the site of make towards peace and order in this most of the army's weapons factories.





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With a New Fervor, the Scots Eye Independence

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT

KILMARNOCK, Scotland, Feb. 27 -Each morning, when Alastair Macnnes arrives at the Scottish National Party's cramped office here, he finds a of cards pushed through the postal slot, sometimes as many as 20, mailed by people who want to join the

"Suddenly people are realizing they are Scots, first and foremost," said Mr. MacInnes, a longtime party stalwart, as he stuffed envelopes beneath a baner displaying the blue and white St. indrew's cross, the ancient emblem of ething powerful is nanging in Scotland, and it is more For nearly 300 years, Scotland has

een the northern division of the United Kingdom, joined in peace and war to England in a union that also includes Vales and Northern Ireland. But in the erns and factories and housing esates of this working-class town, as in cores of others across Scotland, a new mood has been quietly growing, fanned by the nationalist winds blowing from

In recent months, more and more cots have begun to say openly that they they want to sever or, at the very bound Scotland to England and the rest of Britain. In the new Europe, they argue, Scotland should have its own

A Quiet Revolt

So far it has been a peaceable, even iet, revolt compared with the nationlist tumult on the Continent. But its ents can be heard clearly, not only in the oratory of politicians but also in the lyrics of Scottish rock musicians and the public pronouncements f Scottish celebrities like Sean Connery, the actor, who has already lent is voice and prestige to the nationalist

It can also be measured in public ion polls. Although Scots seem diided on whether they want outright ndependence or just a greater stake in their own affairs within Britain, only one in four say they want to continue the existing arrangment within the

phase, an emotional flirtation with naionalism, or in fact a serious political challenge to the union will be measured n the coming months when voters cross the United Kingdom cast ballots | taxing powers and a separate governr a new Parliament. Prime Minister ing assembly.

Although he opposed similar initiahn Major is expected to call a nationelection no later than early May. But already the shift in the Scottish hopes to please both Scottish and Engood has colored the British political lish voters by proposing to turn over bate, raising alarms among those who say they fear for the future of the ion, and suggesting opportunities half-way measure between full union, ong those who sense in the Scots' on which the ruling Conservatives ineness an opening for electoral

Tory Leader in Warning

In a speech last weekend, Mr. Major, their preference for some kind of alwhose party commands a majority of the House of Commons but holds only 9 of the 72 parliamentary seats from Scotland, warned darkly that the disintegration of the union with Scotland would be "pure poison" because it nfluence and weaken Scotland. than it contributes itself in taxes. head of the rival Labor Party, says that | yearnings.

now known as the United King-

dom is made up of England.

Wales, Scotland and Northern Ire-

three centuries, beginning in 1536

when King Henry VIII, the son of

Henry VII, a Welsh prince,

merged England and Wales under

Scotland was joined to England

in the early 17th century by King

James I, who was the first to refer

o the union as the United King-

dom. James had become King

James VI of Scotland in 1567 when

his mother, Mary Queen of Scots,

gave up the throne; he became

King James I of England after his

cousin, Queen Elizabeth, died in

In 1707, after a century of strife

between the two nations, the Scot-

would diminish Britain's international not the United Kingdom remains a cient throne of Scottish kings. tives argue that independence, or other head of St. David's University College a referendum on an independent legisforms of autonomy, would cost Scot- in Wales and an expert on the history of lature for Scotland. Although a major land jobs and bring higher taxes, since the United Kingdom. Among other ity of those who voted approved the the central Government each year debate in Scotland will stir the waters fell short of 40 percent of the registered in Wales and Northern Ireland, where electorate. At the same time, Neil Kinnock, the there are also deep-seated nationalist if Labor wins the national election this Over the years, support among the ment appears to have more bite, re-

Nationalism has been on the rise

tives in the past, Mr. Kinnock now

Westminster to Edinburgh, a kind of

sist, and outright independence, as fa-

vored by the Scottish National Party.

election should voters in Scotland show

Stirring Other Waters

Even Mr. Major conceded that he

ould have to "take stock" after the

in Scotland in recent months.

spring, he will introduce legislation | Scots for independence, or some form | flecting, in part, the miserable state of

All Under the Union Jack

LONDON, March 2 - What is Great Britain with a unified Par-

land. The union took place over ing what became officially known

tish Estates narrowly ratified an about 5.2 million live in Scotland

Act of Union with England, for- 2.8 million in Wales and 1.6 million

mally creating the Kingdom of in Northern Ireland.

liament in Westminster

Britain and Ireland.

own legislative systems.

The population of Great Britain

is about 57 million. Of that total

In 1800, the island of Ireland

was joined to Great Britain, form-

as the United Kingdom of Great

But in 1921, the largest part of

tered relationship by voting even more conservative politicians out of office. Waned. Its theatrical high came on Christmas morning in 1950 when a Christmas morning in 1950 when a "I think you can say that whether or removed the Stone of Scone, the state depends on what happens in Scot- Then, in 1979, a growing restiven Among other things, the Conserva- land," said Prof. Keith Robbins, the about binding ties to Britain resulted in

nalysts say, the independence move- | songs.

"Suddenly people are realizing they are Scots, first and foremost," said Alistair MacInnes, left, at the

Scottish National Party's office in Kilmarnock, Scotland, with Danny Coffey, a local city council member

within a year to give Scotland its own of greater autonomy, has waxed and Britain's economy and a conviction among Scots that given control of their own resources, in particular North Sea oil and Scotch whisky, they would be better off on their own rather than aboard a foundering British ship. Scottish resentment of England also stems from the 1979-90 tenure of Mr. the Labor Party, which has 48. Major's Tory predecessor, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who ushered n the widely unpopular community charge, or poll tax. When it was im-

> effect elsewhere in Britain, Scots felt | Labor Party. they were being used as guinea pigs for the tax, and many refused to pay. Influence of the Young lic opinion polls, is the growing influ-tionalis

Ireland won its independence as the Irish Free State, now known as the Republic of Ireland. The northern six counties of Ireland, a ence of younger voters, a majority of mained part of the United Kingdom and that province is now known as Northern Ireland. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man are not part of the United Kingdom but direct depen-"I'd rather be out riding my motor- got the Tories. dencies of the Crown, with their

'Hey, we want a bit of that too.' "



Annie McKie, a resident of a public-housing project who vows to continue voting Labor, showing her leaky ceiling to James Todd, left, a 32-year-old paper mill worker and avid motorcyclist who is running as a nationalist candidate for a local council seat in Kilmarnock

'Suddenly people are realizing they are Scots, first and foremost.'

lar rock groups, like Deacon Blue and Hue and Cry, which employ Scottish themes in their music, and in the grow This time, advocates and political | ing popularity of Gaelic poetry and

> Buoyed by what they are hearing Mr. MacInnes and others in the Scottish National Party are trying to cast endum of sorts on independence. Until now, the nationalists have not fared well in elections: they hold only 5 of the 72 parliamentary seats in Scotland, a delegation that is dominated by

As a result, the nationalists are pick ing their biggest battles this spring not so much with the despised Tories, those posed here in 1988, a year before it took | arch foes of independence, but with the

Here in Kilmarnock, a town of 85,000 people that produces both Scotch whis ationalist candidate is Alex Neil, a Still another factor, reflected in pub- former Labor Party official turned na-

"What we are telling people is that a whom say they are in favor of inde- vote for Labor is throwing your vote pendence. James Todd, for example, is away," said Danny Coffey, a local city a 32-year-old paper mill worker and council member and Mr. Neil's aid avid motorcylist who is running as a | "Labor says, 'Vote for us and get rid of nationalist candidate for a local council the Tories.' Well, Scots have voted for Labor three times now, and we've still

cycle," said Mr. Todd, who wears his But the Labor Party has a formidahair in a pony tail and favors jeans and | ble hold over the Scottish voter. "I've leather jackets. "But I see all these voted Labor all my life and I will other countries in Europe getting their | again," said Annie McKie, who lives in independence and I can't help but say, Shortlease, a public housing project southeast of town. "I'd never vote Tory The purchase of the nationalist cause and I can't give it to the National among young people is reflected in the music of some of Scotland's most population afford to go by ourselves yet."

U.S. Dismisses Libyan Offer on Neutral Trial Site for Bomb Suspects

WASHINGTON, March 2 - The state Department said today that a Libyan offer to turn over to a neutral ountry for trial the two suspects in the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am jet was nothing more than a delaying tactic. But the department spokeswoman, Foreign Minister, did appear to be an and monitored in Britian.

ssion that Libya "recognizes that it does have mechanisms for surrendering Libyan nationals." shari, was quoted as saying that his ments, he said that only the Libyan which exploded over Lockerbie, Scoten tried "in front of a neutral court in decide to turn over suspects, but that any neutral country." Egypt has been the process could take months. Libya is

a U.N. order.

the Libyan leader, seemed to be tem-Libyan Legislature to Recess

Although Colonel Qaddafi did not deny involvement in the bombing of The Foreign Minister, Ibrahim Bi- mention his Foreign Minister's com- New York-bound Pan Am Flight 103, overnment was ready to have the two People's Congress had the power to land, in 1988, killing 270 people. anxiously looking for ways to avert an about to enter the Muslim holy month American-Libyan confrontation on this of Ramadan, when the legislature,

over suspects in several airplane Bush Administration had not changed bombings and end support for terror- its demand that the bombing suspects ism or face international sanctions. be extradited for trial in the United Among the attempts was an effort by States, Britain or France. She said

> **Britain Reiterates Demand** In London, a Foreign Office spokesmand that a trial be held in Britain or the United State Colonel Oaddafi has said the two

suspects will not get a fair trial in the United States or Britain

Europeans Worry About Ozone-Eating Chemicals

Chemical Mix Over the Arctic

monoxide are represented by the darker shades.

Unusually high levels of the ozone-destroying chemical chlorine

Continued From Page AI

last act?" In Denmark, Government officials went on television to calm people and urged them to use sunscreens and hats when spending a lot of

Carlo Ripa di Meana, the environment commissioner of the European Community, last week put on bright green sunglasses and called for more laws to protect the environment. "European cities, for example, London, Amsterdam and Moscow, appear to have a very-high-risk future," he said. Official reaction has been quick. Ger-

immediately announced new deadlines for banning the chemicals that are ban the chemicals by 2000, and in dewidely blamed for destroying ozone. veloping nations, including China, India "We get calls saying, why don't you on the premise that deadlines are use-Setting the toughest deadlines any- and former Soviet republics. where, the three governments said But European officials say that if Nick Sommers, a spokesman for Akzo, they would halt production and use of countries elsewhere continue to use the the Dutch chemical company. "We say such chemicals by the end of 1994. The chemicals, the products will be barred we will, but we have a certain responsi-United States had already decided to from the European Community. phase out the chemicals by 1996.

The 12-nation European Community, North Pole will be as dramatic as that if it was not refrigerated." found over the last five years around which normally has a more cumbersome gait, also acted swiftly. Environ- Antarctica. ment ministers last week agreed to

A danger once limited to the South Pole moves north.

harmful chemicals throughout the But American and European recommunity. This month, a community searchers all agreed that they had decision is expected to bring forward found exceptionally high levels of chlothe current ban two years, to 1995. rine monoxide, which destroys ozone, Such new deadlines will put enor- and that this could lead to significant mous pressure on Europe's chemical ozone loss as early as this spring. They industries, which will be expected to warned that the chemicals have long step up production of the substitutes life spans so that even if damage does needed for equipment such as freezers not appear immediately, all the ingre-

dients are there for this to happen in This will also mean that hundreds of the next few years. makers of foam upholstery, fire extin-guishers, insulation materials, solvents ed to approve more funds for the 250 and many other items will have to scientists working from various northmove much faster to redesign their ern airbases, including Siberia for the products. Allowing for some exceptions, such as medical products like working with United States teams led asthma relievers, the ban will apply to by NASA scientists, who have the use chlorofluorocarbons and other chlo- of a new American satellite and special rine- and bromine-based chemicals which are believed to be the main agents attacking the ozone

If the European Community adopts pean environmentalists have increased an earlier ban on chlorofluorocarbons, their pressure on industrial giants like which is likely, this would remove 30 ICI, Hoechst, Akzo and Du Pont, depercent of the world's production by 1995. The United States manufactures close to 25 percent. The remainder is made in other industrial countries, been scaling down output rapidly, but

Europe Spurs U.S. to Act Urgently

Changing Formulas Fast

Since the new threats to the Earth's

support system were disclosed, Euro-

less stable conditions around the North

Good Cyclone, Bad Volcano

ozone from other regions. However,

some scientists say that harmful chen

ical reactions could be speeded up by

the vast clouds of sulfurous drople left in the stratosphere after last year's

volcanic eruptions in the Philippines.

An anticyclone last month may alleviate the situation by bringing in extra

UNITED NATIONS, March 2 — European nations said today that they were prepared to offer more money to help developing countries comply with

U.N. Opens Environment Talks;

trial world by reaffirming their commitment to hold emissions of gases that warm the atmosphere in the year 2000 to 1990 levels - a pledge that the Bush Administration has so far refused

The Europeans' positions were outlined on the opening day of a five-week | Community, Portugal's Environm conference here to prepare for a world tal Minister, Carlos Borrego, agreed environmental summit meeting in Rio that new financial resources would be de Janeiro in June. The purpose of the needed to help developing countries

Will the rich reduce warming gases, the poor spare resources?

June meeting is to forge a consensus on making world economic growth eco-logically safe and sustainable. a general statement of environmental development. principles, to be called the Earth Charter, and a detailed plan of action for the the Intergovernmental Panel on Cli-

The extraordinarily high cost of stabilizing the climate and fighting meeting such goals was re-emphasized | global warming. today by Maurice F. Strong, a Canadian who has been named secretary gen-

sources to have the chance to be protected, poverty would have to be alleviated. World population would also have to be stabilized, easing stress on the environment, he said.

As European countries pressed the United States to change its positions sources and develop their economies in were stopped after mobs damaged environmentally sustainable ways. eight trains and burned three cars.

International talks are under way to try to do more to preserve animals

and plants, Science Times, page C4. Senegal's Minister of Tourism and proposed new treaties on the environ- Baudin, said third-world countries had ment, and they urged the United States | "a right and a duty to develop." argued that they could do so either by The Europeans called attention to using environmentally friendly techanother major difference between the nology or by taking the damaging United States and others in the indus- routes to riches that many of the northern countries had used.

Altruism and 'Planet Earth'

"Africa is looking to the developed ountries to curb their national egois o save planet earth." Mr. Baudin said. Speaking on behalf of the European meet the Rio de Janeiro goals, and he urged "other industrialized countries" - an allusion to the United States - to adopt a similar position.

While European and other industrial itions have committed \$1.5 billion to a and to help developing countries mee their obligations under these convenions and are prepared to give more, the United States at first refused to contribute anything. Last week, though, it offered \$75 million.

Briton Subtly Prods U.S.

Britain's Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine, implicitly criticized Such an agreement would be codified | American reluctance to accept clearthe form of conventions curbing green- cut goals for reducing greenhouse house gas emissions and protecting emissions, saying "clear and ambiplants and animals. At the June meet- tious targets" offer the best way to ing, participants also hope to agree on promote sustainable world economic

> mate Change leave governments little choice but to establish a process for

He said the climate negotiations were "at a critical moment," with the news conference, he said the total bill majority of the richer countries ready to cooperate with the third world in drawing up the needed convention. Un spoken but implicit in his remarks was Mr. Strong said that for natural reinto step with other industrial nations.

Commuters Protest in India BOMBAY, India, Feb. 29 (AP) -Angry commuters set fire to coaches for the Rio meeting, third-world coun- and hurled stones at suburban trains tries made their case to the relatively today to protest a fare increase, forcwell-off nations of the Northern Hemiling the suspension of some rail service sphere. These poorer countries are in India's largest city. The protests seeking a global compact under which disrupted life in a city where 5 million rich nations would provide them with people depend on rail service. A Cenmoney and technology to protect re- tral Railway spokesman said all trains

ICI of Britain says there are only enough replacements for refrigeration gases to meet 5 percent of Europe's Ask About Safety and Cost Germany's Environment Minister

have told him they are adapting s quickly that they might give up C.F.C.'s ahead of schedule. Others argue that too much of a rush may be good politics but not safe chemistry "Most companies have not finished

loxicity and safety testing of the replacement products," said Mr. Somners at Akzo. "We are almost putting the cart before the horse." But policymakers in various North European capitals want to move ahead

stop making C.F.C.'s right now," said ful catalysts. that just five years ago, when the need bility to deliver until society makes the makers balked and argued that substi-Scientists, both European and Amer- switch-over. Take heavy-duty refriger- tutes were not available and that any ican, have been reluctant to predict ators in meat and other markets: 40 change would cost billions and would whether the ozone depletion around the percent of the world's food would spoil put companies out of business.

"That attitude has changed dramati Industrialists seem divided whether cally," said the official. "And experithe earlier deadlines are realistic. ence has shown that it's better French and British researchers who Some note that chlorofluorocarbons governments to crank up the pressur worked in a team based in Kiruna, have already been practically phased. Then companies will find a way to Sweden, say that new factors have re- out from use in aerosols. Producers of invent new products or solve problems. cently appeared that may affect the plastic foam are switching to other Some always do."



Jews Protest Planned Mall Over Cemetery

Orthodox Jews protested yesterday at the construction site of a planned shopping mall in Hamburg, Germany. The site, a cemetery destroyed by the Nazis, was given back to the Jews after 1945, but then sold by the Jewish Trust and covered mostly by asphalt

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Revolving Chairs, Lo-Back, Asst. Fabrics

Executive Chairs, Traditional Glazed Leather

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\$ 403.00

283.00

\$1,313.00

\$1,117,00

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\$ 262.00

\$ 472.50

\$ 238.00

\$1.893.00

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\$ 692

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269 Madison Avenue at 39th Street

By BARBARA CROSSETTE The Libyans have tried a number of accused by France of bombing a Again, Libya tactics to evade compliance with Unit- French UTA airliner over Niger in ed Nations Security Council Resolution | 1989, killing 170 people. tries to avoid 731, which demands that Libya turn | Miss Tutwiler said today that the

Margaret D. Tutwiler, said the offer, made on Sunday in Cairo by Libya's speech broadcast by Libyan television died or been killed.

The two suspects, who have been identified as Abdel Basset Ali al-Megrahi and Lamen Khalifa Fhimah,

Libyan agents to spread the apparently moving the suspects to a neutral counfalse information that the suspects had |try was never part of the plan.

In adopting the resolution last | Miss Tutwiler declined to comment month, the Security Council warned on what steps might be taken if the Libya that it could face trade sanctions delays continue. "There are a lot of ssue.

Today, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, will be in recess.

more or less beholden to Colonel Qaddafi, will be in recess.

or worse by refusing to turn over the two suspects and four other Libvans leads.

could be as high as \$600 billion a year, with developing countries requiring \$70

Witness at Trial of Noriega Tells of Visit by C.I.A. Chief

MIAMI, March 2 - Gen. Manuel before Mr. Casey is said to have trav-Antonio Noriega supplied Washington eled to Panama, was not a normal from 1971 to 1986, a former head of the part of an effort to resolve a dispute Central Intelligence Agency's opera- between the Panamanian leader and a tions in Panama testified today, and drug cartel in Medellín, Colombia. the information was so useful that in The Government contends that the 1984 William J. Casey, then Director of dispute was over the destruction of a Central Intelligence, traveled to Pana- Panamanian cocaine laboratory oper

Donald H. Winters, who was the had agreed to play a mediator's role C.I.A.'s station chief in Panama from after leaders of the cartel threatened to June 1984 to July 1986, also testified at assassinate General Noriega. General Noriega's trial on drug-trafficking charges that he met with the ters said the C.I.A. had prepared a former Panamanian leader "every 10 | briefing paper for General Noriega t to 15 days," often at the general's take to Havana for that meeting, home, to discuss "political events."

said, touched on American relations with Cuba and on other issues, including the civil wars that were going on in licaragua and El Salvador.

A briefing on a meeting with Castro.

Castro. Mr. Winters said he did not when asked to name the most senior of know if General Noriega's offer had them, he said it was Mr. Casey.

In an unusual statement that the more substantial than a courtesy call," read to the jury just as Mr. Winters which had not been reported publicly dering what the future holds. was beginning his testimony, prosecu- before. He said the 90-minute meeting, tors acknowledged that the United held in a building in the former Canal worry about getting a job in a reces-States had "encouraged and appreciat- Zone that had been converted by the ed" General Noriega's assistance in gathering intelligence on Mr. Castro, center for officers, provided "an oppormies fear their careers may be impermies fear their careers may be impermies fear their careers may be imperbeginning when the general became tunity for the general to brief Casey on iled before they have barely begun. head of military intelligence in the ear- his trip and other points."

and Mr. Castro on July 5, 1984, a month | cover story.

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ated by the cartel and that Mr. Castro.

Questioned by the defense, Mr. Winwhich American views on the crisis in

Those conversations, Mr. Winters | Central America were expressed.

The former C.I.A. official said Gen eral Noriega reported after his return to Panama that Mr. Castro was willing to take back some of the Cubans wh the American Government and Mr. still being held in American jails. Mr Winters also said Mr. Castro had ex pressed a willingness to use his influ ence to try to reduce the flow of arms to rebels in El Salvador.

Shortly after General Noriega's report, Mr. Winters said, he and two not identify the officials at first, but

"I would describe it as somethin

also proved to be a useful source of eign policy interests buttresses a cen- nista National Liberation Front in Nic- cold-war world.

emphasis on Mr. Castro and Central core of leaders from their ranks.



At the nation's military academies, cadets and midshipmen fear for future careers while remaining confident that the armed forces will always rely on a core of leaders from their ranks. At the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, cadets traversed the campus in formation

General Noriega offered to act as a courier, carrying messages between the American Government and Mr. Still being held in American jails Mr. Still being held in American jails Mr.

would think," Midshipman Flores said. Reserve Officers Training Corps schol-"But that emphasis is gone now." The arships generate most of the commis 21-year-old native of Fort Worth leaves | sioned officers in the armed forces. for training in nuclear submarine propulsion after he graduates in May, won-

While students at civilian colleges mies fear their careers may be imper-A Fast-Shrinking Fleet

information on events in Nicaragua | Navy that Midshipman Flores will join | emy in 1954, the military has covete The Government's admission that and El Salvador, at one point passing is shrinking fast, roiling the waters of its academies as "leadership laborate the C.I.A. had encouraged General Nor- on two secret memorandums about a uncertainty at the service academies. ries," producing a long and distiniega's relationship with Mr. Castro in visit to Panama by Bayardo Arce, one And the academies are digging in and guished line of military and naval lead the hope of advancing American for- of the nine commanders of the Sandi- defending their position in the post- ers.

Noriega, who is charged with 10 counts | In other conversations, Mr. Winters | tary Academy at West Point, the Air | year college education and a monthly of cocaine trafficking, racketeering said, General Noriega noted divisions Force Academy at Colorado Springs or salary of \$543.90 in exchange for a and money laundering. Mr. Rubino has | within the Nicaraguan Government | the Naval Academy comes away with a contended since the trial started in and offered suggestions as to how the sense that these elite institutions, built after graduation. September that General Noriega met United States could exploit them. on honor, duty and tradition, are grapregularly with Mr. Castro to discuss On cross-examination, Myles Mal- pling with change — fearing for future matters of state and to convey mes- man, an Assistant United States Attor- careers while stubbornly confident that cants, whose combined college board sages between Washington and Ha- ney, suggested that General Noriega's the armed forces will always rely on a Prosecutors contend that a meeting America in his meetings with Ameri- Congress has ordered the Army, in Havana between General Noriega can intelligence agents was merely "a Navy and Air Force academies

by 1995, to 4,000 students each, to con- his commission as a second lieutenant me that's not a problem, but a chal-

Flores entered the United States Naval And two Congressional agencies as an instructor. Academy here four years ago, he and have questioned the value of the Pentahis first-year classmates spent six gon's spending \$650 million a year on budget cuts, so who really knows what ships and submarines, most of the miliweeks memorizing details of Soviet institutions that produce only 10 per- will happen," Midshipman Dupre said. tary instruction that cadets and midships and aircraft, and even the speeds cent to 15 percent of the military's total "At least I know for the next five or six shipmen receive is very basic, and that active officer corps, but 30 percent to "We learned how the Soviet psyche 50 percent of its generals and admirals.

> 'Leadership Laboratories' "If we don't re-examine our purpose and look to see how our graduates are emy," said Brig. Gen. Ruben A. Cubero, the faculty dean at the Air Force

llowed by the Naval Acad-The Soviet threat is gone and the emy in 1845 and the Air Force Acad-

A visitor to the United States Mili- and Navy midshipmen receive a four-

The academies accept about 10 per cent of the 12,000 to 16,000 annual appliwith such universities as Duke, Cornell

men in 1976, and female stu- cers through R.O.T.C. Interviews with dozens of students at

nan from Columbia, S.C., is following television news. iduation this spring he will receive up with what's going on in the world. To want you.'

Jacksonville Journal

oama college town. The tulip trees

leshy pink blossoms, and the daffo-

dils are up in the busy town square,

dier stands above the following in-

where the statue of a Confederate sol-

scription: "Times change, men often

change with them. Principles never.

Times have changed in Jackson-

rille. Just down the street from the

Confederate monument, in a gray

rame house with a cannon out front,

surrender took place the other day

the war over Southern memory.

Last Sunday members of the all-

white chapter of Kappa Alpha frater-

nity at Jacksonville State University oted not to wear the traditional Con-

ederate uniforms or display the Con-

In years past, they would assemble

out front by the cannon and march to

he nearby campus in gray Confeder

ate uniforms with bright yellow sash-

es around their waists. Their dates

waited for them there in hoop skirts.

loff their hats and sing "Kappa Al-

their dates' hands. A few used the oc-

casion to propose marriage. For oth-

ers, the march was a first date. Pho-

dulged. The couples would file arm in

arm beneath crossed swords to Bibb

Graves Hall, the campus administra-

tion building, where the university

president would greet them and ac-

rom the university for a week.

knowledge their symbolic secession

The presidential greeting was later

liscontinued, and two years ago, dur-

ing a black lecturer's visit to campus,

the university asked the fraternity to

edule its march. It was the first

tographs were taken, civilities in-

As in all masquerades, there were

ments of comedy. The men would

federate flag during their annual

spring march at the start of what

hey used to call Old South Week.

along Highway 21 have filled with

VILLE, Ala., Feb.

29 - It is already

spring in this

northeast Ala-

form to personnel cuts in the armed in the Marine Corps. Eventually, he lenge hopes to return to the Naval Academy | Despite the long hours that Midship-

years I'll have a paycheck coming in. A is not likely to change substantially in

Critics of the academies contend that | which are not affected by political upeducation, and call on Congress to ities disciplines study the feasibility of combining the strongly oppose such a plan.

An Interservice University

Midshipmen and cadets fear for their careers.

Congressional Budget Office reported last year that the Defense Department spends \$155,000 to \$230,000 to produce at Annapolis, when graduating seniors through R.O.T.C. programs at civilian The room oozes testosterone as Nav colleges. But Academy officials say admirals welcome their younge hose calculations fail to include other brethren to the "top gun" frater sources of Federal financing at those "The world is a very unstabl

e academies show a wide array of lapse of Communism in Eastern Eu- East.

easons for selecting the service acad- rope and the former Soviet Union has In Capt. Howdy Belknap's American mies over civilian colleges, reasons the service academies scrambling to history class at West Point, plebes hat range from a desire for discipline rewrite parts of their curriculum, par- pause in a discussion of counterinsur nd direction to the academies' reputa- ticularly in history and political sci- gency tactics in the Spanish-American ence, where instructors are relying Marcy Dupre, a 24-year-old midship- more on newspapers, magazines and

the steps of five grandfathers, great- "We just redid the syllabus over the and then get kicked out later," said randfathers and other relatives who summer," said Capt. Deborah Charron Brian Perez, an 18-year-old plebe from ended the Naval Academy. "It's in of the Air Force, a political science Huntington, L.I. "It seems now you by blood to go here," he said. At his instructor. "But books aren't keeping have to be perfect or the Army doesn't

Confederate Bastion Lowers the Flag

linked to issues of racial sensitivity.

But by means of gentle persuasion,

the university continued to press the

fraternity to end display of the flag

from regional and national leaders of

Kappa Alpha and a lengthy debate

in the towel. The vote was 41 to 3.

The entire affair was less than a

Sons of the South

reluctantly forgo

bump on the topography of change.

But it raised the question of what was

For the most part, the Kappa Alpha

brothers at Jacksonville State are

wiry country boys from towns like

their vote to dispense with the uni-

Ider, Hokes Bluff and Rainsville, and

forms and flag appears to have had

more to do with concern about their

own futures than with the burden of

Southern history. They still see a col-

lege education as a ticket off the farm

and out of the town square, and they

say they did not want to be thought of

as rednecks. They also did not want,

even unintentionally, to give offense.

that's great," said the chapter's pres-

ident, Russ Means, 21 years old. "But

our goal has been to get on track

about what K.A. is about. It's not

the ideals of Robert E. Lee."

about a flag or a uniform, but about

at Washington College, later Wash-

ington and Lee, in Virginia by four

Kappa Alpha was founded in 1865

Confederate veterans who wanted to

preserve the idea of the Southern gen-

"If racial harmony comes out of it,

wrong with the act of remembering.

the past.

The fraternity reluctantly agreed.

"President Bush talks a lot about studying the characteristics of Soviet

are heavily weighted toward academic

hree academies into one interservice sion is not likely to change drastically, restigative arm of Congress, and the Howard D. Graves, the superintendent

But decades of classroom and field raining focused on Soviet-style doc ine, tactics and weaponry will make difficult for the services to change their orientation overnight.

In the end, the question rests on future opportunities, and here students give differing views.

agencies said the Pentagon room fills with the smell of new leather only about one-third that jackets, the emblem, along with avia

colleges that would increase the Gov- place," said Midshipman Todd Finkler ernment's actual cost for training offi- 21, of Chester, Va., who was accepted a stead. "The threat will still be th As in universities nationwide, the col- Russians and instability in the Middle

put in four years of hard work here

chapters and 85,000 living members.

brother and former dean of men at

the idea of the Southern gentleman

alry, courtesy and high regard for

not begin until the late 1930's, said

Kappa Alpha's national executive director, Richard A. Barnes. By the

Alpha began urging its chapters not

o display the battle flag or uniforms

n public, and many had agreed. Al-

was founded in 1976, Mr. Barnes said

the vote was "not anything anybody's

The changes have come none too

ministration and for the many black

at the display of what they consider to

"It makes me think people hadn't,

decision. "It was great," said Anissa

needs work, but I'm optimistic about

esidents along the parade route,

said a neighbor of the fraternity

house, Margaret Saterfield, 69.

"I always thought it looked nice,"

Even Kappa Alpha members with

Northern roots found themselves re-

acial about getting dressed up in uni-

gretting the vote. "There's nothing

form and impressing the girls," said

Toby Schwartz, 21, a descendant of a

But all were reconciled to the

colonel in the Union Army.

Grimes, 21. "The racial climate

be symbols of a slave-owning past.

modernized and civilized and don't

accept us as equals," said Shandala

soon, though, for the university ad-

going to write home about.'

rough he was pleased by the decision

Jacksonville State, said he associated

with "moonlight and magnolias, chiv-

The tradition of Old South Week did

Gus Edwards, 74, a Kappa Alpha

Lottery Chiefs to Confer Lottery officials said that he group bought tickets at at 125 sites all gro-

Open House Diner, a 24-hour breakfast house in Virginia Beach, sold 75,000 tickets in the 48 hours before the drawing. The average sale for a Virgin a lottery outlet in that period was 5,100. A manager at the diner said the investment group's couriers dropped off plastic-wrapped bundles of 200 com puter-card lottery slips

At a meeting of the state Lottery Board today, Mr. Thorson said Farm

the Iowa Lottery, said the directors of the 16 lotteries that make up the Lotto "Our intent is to insure that every-

one that plays the game is buying a chance, not a sure thing," he said. Investigators said that the large Vir ginia purchase was paid for by the International Lotto Fund of Melbourne,

the end of this week, his secretary said. Virginia officials said the fund's purchase was organized by Anithalee S. Alex Jr. of Teutopolis, Ill. Mr. Alex, 53 years old, is president of the U.S. Oil and Gas Corporation, which has the same address as his home.

Mr. Alex's lawyer when he declared ians would have a news conference or have no public statement until then.

for a prize of that size.

Whistleblower Wins Study of 'Star Wars' Program

A Congressman

wants a delay in

scientist.

the dismissal of a

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN r.

WASHINGTON, March 2 - A Fed eral office that assists whistlblow has ordered the Pentagon to revie assertions of mismanagemer in t "Star Wars" program. The accusa-tions were made by an Army cientist whom the military tried to dismiss after he repeatedly criticized the pro

The scientist, Aldric Saucer, has been engaged in disputes wit Pentagon officials since 1987, when e comcials were not harassed when they took and biased research in the Str Wars program to develop a shield gainst a about waste, fraud and abuse. missile attack. Mr. Saucier, a hysical scientist with decades of experience in space research, was shifted in 1987 from a senior management position in urged Defense Secretary Dick Cheney matter is under investigation. the organization's office to a les signif- to suspend Mr. Saucier's dismissal un til all the reviews were finished. "It

In affidavits Mr. Saucier las sub- would be a travesty to fire someone lems with the military boiled wer last Mr. Conyers wrote. year. He was dismissed last nonth by Mr. Saucier has asserted that for the Army Ballistic Missile Defense several years, the Star Wars program Command, which said he had vritten a office and its contractors repeatedly After Representative John Convers and engaged in wasteful and duplica

Jr. of Michigan, the chairma of the tive research while refusing to conduc tests of some Star Wars ideas. House Government Operations Committee, objected to the Secretary of the Army, Michael Stone about the dis- shifted millions of dollars in research missal, the Army temporarily uspend- funds from one program to another, which found that for the first time ed it. Mr. Saucier is on paid leve until emphasizing projects that were fa- more than half of Americans lived in Friday, the date by which the Army vored by its leaders. This practice, he cities, were opened to the public today said it would decide whether o he was said, was informally known in the Star by the National Archives. The individ-

Friday, after the Federal Offic of Spe- though such money juggling is not nec- wraps for 72 years by law. The census cial Counsel determined that tlere was essarily illegal, Mr. Saucier said it was results became available to genealo a "substantial likelihood" thatsome of done in a way that improperly misled gists, historians and others at the Arhis allegations were well founded. The Congress about how money was being chives' headquarters here and at the new study will go beyond theissue of spent Mr. Saucier's dismissal, and investi- Mr. Conyers's committee is also which counted 106 million people, were

looking into Mr. Saucier's assertions recorded on microfilm in 1945 and 1946.

that the military needlessly bought millions of dollars of duplicative research from contractors, only to literally throw away many reports.

Inflated Claims Asserted And Mr. Saucier contended that a

'Star Wars' director in the Reagan Adminstration, Lieut. Gen. James Abrahamson, and other officials im-The office, an independent agency in of a "Star Wars" program to build 1979 to help insure that Federal offi- gram is a system of space-based inter ceptors, the Brilliant Pebbles program unpopular positions or complained is favored by conservatives who want quick deployment of a missile defense

Pentagon officials today declined to Today, Representative Conyers comment on these assertions while the overturn Mr. Saucier's dismissal or tween him and the Pentagon, said Lau

counsel. But its order that the Penta gon review the case means that it mus flawed report about technologies for made false or misleading statements of the inquiry must be approved by be investigated fully and that a repor

1920 Census Records Opened WASHINGTON, March 2 (AP) -Wars office as using "i.o.u.'s" or "tax- ual names, addresses and other pe The newest review was oriered on es" to pay for favored research. Al- sonal information are kept und

MOOMSDAY IS COMING MARCH 5TH,

The carpet and rug sale to end all carpet and rug sales is coming on Thursday, March 5th (5pm-10pm); on Friday, March 6th (12 Noon-10pm); Saturday, March 7th (9:30am-6pm) and Sunday, March 8th (11am-5pm).

Be prepared! Watch this paper March 5th for all the details on our Moomentous Warehouse Sale at Einstein Moomiv.

The Carpet Department Store.

Einstein Moomiy The Carpet Department Store

Warehouse: Route 80 West at Hook Mountain Road (Exit 48), Pine Brook, N.J. (Montville Township), (201) 575-0895.

\$27 MILLION WINNER MAY LOSE JACKPOT

Virginia Lottery Agents Fight Effort to Buy All Numbers

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, March 2 - Virginia lottery officials said today tlat they might invalidate the winning tiket in a \$27 million drawing that investigators say included a \$5 million purchase by

The state lottery director, Cenneth W. Thorson, cited a regulatior requiring that tickets be paid for at he store

where they are issued.

The sole winning ticket in the Feb. 15 drawing was sold by a supermarket chain, Farm Fresh Inc., which accepted \$3 million at its Norfolk hedgua ters from a group that bought fiv million tickets. The group was rying buy one each of the game's seen lion numerical combinations b insu in the \$27 million jackpot. Lotery offi cials say they believe the tictet was sold to the mass buyer, but noone has

claimed the prize. Otto, said the ticket's validity ould not be determined until the jackoot was claimed. Winners have six months t come forward. If the tickets vere im properly sold, Ms. Otto said, tie group

Michael E. Julian, chairman Farm Fresh, has said he onsulted lottery officials after a customer ap proached him about buying millions of ickets. Farm Fresh said that t refunded \$300,000 to the group when all the tickets could not be issued in time.

cery and convenience stores in eight

Fresh had not been warned about the on-site purchase requirement. William S. Bergman, executive director of the North American Association of State and Provincial Lotteries, said several state lotteries were considering rule changes after the Virginia incident. Edward J. Stanek, commissioner of

America consortium planned a telephone conference in the next week to discuss their laws.

Australia. The fund's founder, Stefan Mandel, will not have a comment unt

William K. Thomas of Robinson, Ill.

bankruptcy last year, said Mr. Alex called Friday to say that the Austral-Wednesday. Mr. Alex said he would The wide attention to the bulk sales seems to have increased interest in the

Virginia game. A lottery spokeswoman said sales for the two weeks leading up to Saturday's jackpot of \$7 million were 15 percent above the usual level

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NEW ORLEANS \$198 Roundtrip

WASHINGTON D.C.

7:00 a.m., 8:00 a.m., 8:40 a.m. with 10 Additional Flights Daily.

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Fare Conditions: Fares shown are non-refundable. No advance purchase is required, but tickets must be purchased within 24 hours after reservation is confirmed and no later than March 21, 1992. Saturday night minimum stay is required for roundtrip tickets. Fares shown are valid for travel any day of the week beginning March 2, with all travel completed by March 21, 1992. Change of itinerary penalties apply. Seats are limited and are not available on all flights or days. Fares/service vary by airport. Saturday/Sunday service may vary. All or a portion of travel to certain cities may be on Trans World Express®, Inc., an independent contractor offering connecting service with TWA. Albany and Providence service commences 2/14.

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ATTENTION SHIFTS TO ADAMS'S SEAT

Washington State Colleagues Suggest That Accusations May Hamper Senator

By ROBERT REINHOLD

SEATTLE, March 2 - A day after enator Brock Adams's bid for re-eleccollapsed under the weight of published accusations that he had engaged in sexual misconduct with eight women, the initial shock turned today to the lestions of who would succeed him and whether he should resign.

The 65-year-old Democrat ended his campaign Sunday afternoon after The Seattle Times quoted the women as saying the Senator had sexually harissed them at various times from the early 1970's until a few years ago. One woman said he had raped her. Several of the women said he had fondled them

Kari Tupper, who accused Sena-

tor Brock Adams of sexual inde-

Governor Might Name Himself

A G.O.P. rival

says, 'I don't see

how he can be

effective.'

scretions in 1987.

campaign to avoid further damage to challenge for the Democratic nomina- sources his family and supporters.

across the state of Washington and now considered the favorite. He could through the halls of Congress a conti- not be reached for comment today. attle this morning to bid farewell to his tive Chandler. campaign staff and then spent the rest of the day working quietly on Senate matters at his district office here. Refuses to Resign Early

the end of his term because he had have to run in a special election within had been under investigation since work to continue. As a member of the Appropriations Committee, he has sought legislation to protect ancient forests and money to clean up the Hanford nuclear site. The Senator has also worked hard for women's issues in recent years, securing more money for breast cancer research.

At a news conference at the state Capitol in Olympia, Gov. Booth Gardner, a Democrat who has not been a close ally of the Senator, left open the possibility of running for the seat himself but said he would make no move

other top state Democrats, declined to would be such a focus. He had previous- be professionally pilloried by party call for Mr. Adams's immediate resig- ly ruled out a Senate primary race leaders for bringing down Mr. Adams. nation, he questioned whether the Senator could effectively represent the whether he is, in fact, serving effective- music-store owner in Seattle, who con- stance, one woman mentioned in passly and if he is not, I think he'll be the siders himself a Republican usually, ing that the Senator had been in Seattle

Removing a 'Pall'

The state Democratic chairwoman, knowing men, I figured he's probably Karen Marchioro, expressed sadness guilty. was up to Mr. Adams to decide if he should resign. But a leading Republi-mained dubious. "I think he's being forward if necessary at a trial if Mr. can contender for Mr. Adams's seat, persecuted," she said. "We don't know = Representative Rod Chandler, said any of the facts. We've just heard one hat the Senator could no longer be side. He is denying it, so who is to say effective. Mr. Chandler said that ending the campaign removed a "pall" over the state's political life but that the state needed good representation in current Congressional issues of timber, water and land. Resignation, he said, serving as Secretary of Transportation 'would be best for the delegation, for | in the Carter Administration. He was

"I don't see how he can be effective," Representative Chandler said.

Whether or not they wanted the Sen- of voters who were questioned wanted Angeles police officers accused of beatator to resign, it appeared that most Washington residents gave the accusa
**S240,000 in television advertising in re
**Although blacks had been among the spent in the sp tions of sexual impropriety consider- cent weeks to reverse this trend, with- 2,000 prospective jurors who were able credibility, even though The Se- out discernible results in the polls. attle Times published them without It is unclear what will happen with chosen. using the names of the women making the rest of Mr. Adams's campaign Lawyers for both sides discounted the complaints. "In politics, there is chest. He raised \$100,000 only last Frithe importance of the jurors' race. only one court, the court of public opin- day at a dinner attended by the Senate "Fair and impartial knows no ethnic ion," said Robert Gogerty, a veteran Democratic political consultant here. Maine. Laura Altschul, his campaign prosecutor, Deputy District Attorney "People believe where there is this manager, said the campaign was much smoke, there must be fire."

manager, said the campaign was checking with the Federal Election

prosecutor, Deputy District Terry White, who is black.
Opening statements are seen to be a second to be a se Allegations of sexual misconduct dispose of this money, some of which dispose of this money, some of which dispose of this money, some of which torist, Rodney G. King, was clubbed reports of an accusation by a former was only in pledges, not actual cash. and kicked by officers who had stopped

House aide who said that Mr. Adams earlier. The aide, Kari Tupper, brought which would be returned to donors. lived nearby videotaped the incident her complaint to the District of Columbia police, but prosecutors said there was not enough evidence to bring a case. Ms. Tupper held a news confe ence here this afternoon to say she was 'relieved' that the new accusa had come out and that the Senator had ended his campaign. "It is tragic that a man in power could be protected b those close to him for so long," she said, adding that she felt the Senator

should resign immediately. Statements From Accusers

Mr. Adams denied Ms. Tupper's accusations, and no charges were ever brought by the police in Washington. Following Senator Adams's withdrawal on Sunday, The Seattle Times reinterviewed the women whose comments formed the basis of the Sunday article. The paper said they included two women who worked for Mr. Adams at the Transportation Department, a former corporate lobbyist and a former personal secretary. Mr. Adams had called their accusations "hypothetical comments by hypothetical peo ple" and suggested they were political-

The newspaper quoted one woman as saying: "It's amazing he doesn't recognize his own former secretary Where was he when I was there all those years?" The paper said seven of the women had signed statements affirming the truth of the charges and acknowledging that they could be required to testify publicly should the Sendtor sue The Times. The eighth woman said she was willing to sign

such a statement. Mr. Adams's withdrawal changes the complexion of politics in this state, which holds Presidential caucuses of

Weighing the Thorny Issue of Anonymous Charges

Did The Seattle Times act properly on Sunday when it published a report in which eight unidentified women accused Senator Brock Adams of sexual isconduct, in one case, rape? Or was the Senator a victim of the press, as he angrily asserted at a news

conference on Sunday when he also announced that he would not seek re-Senator Adams, a Democrat, denied the accusations but said he could not elaborate because there was no real

way to rebut accusations that were There is no thornier issue in journalism than the ethics of when and how to use anonymous sources.

Timing Is at Issue

Editors must weigh the public's inerest in learning vital information

against an individual's legitimate expectation that damaging, unproven accusations made by people unwilling to be identified should not appear in a respectable daily newspaper. Editors must also consider their own vulnerability to libel suits that such an

or kissed them against their will, and | Tuesday. Even before Sunday's pub- | article might create, and the damage four of them said he had used or tried lished reports, Mr. Adams was widely that may be done to a newspaper's considered vulnerable politically, both He denied the accusations at a news | in the September primary and the No- | members who may view as unfair an conference but said he would end his vember general election. His main article that depends on unidentified In the Adams case, the stakes were

tion was expected to come from former As the disclosures reverberated Representative Mike Lowry, who is particularly high because the accusations were published as Senator Adams was campaigning for re-election in a nent away, Mr. Adams visited his cam- The Republicans have a four-way contested primary race and was leadpaign headquarters in downtown Se- race, led at this point by Representa- ing in the polls. The Senator assailed the paper for the timing of the report. The Times's report, which began of the front page and comprised six arti Should Senator Adams resign more cles, included detailed accounts by than six months before the November eight women and accompanying disgeneral election, Governor Gardner cussions on related aspects like why He said he would not resign before would appoint a successor, who would the report was published. The report 1988, when a women accused Mr. Ad ams of molesting her.

"The bottom line is that we though the basic choice we had was to withhold an important story we believed to be sources, and it was a reluctant choice," said Michael R. Fancher, executive editor of The Seattle Times.

Mr. Fancher said the paper initially tried to persuade the women to agree to be identified in print or at least to Mr. Adams. But he said that after 90 days. There is some speculation that | years of attempts, he and his top ediuntil after the Legislature adjourned he would appoint himself. At his news tors had concluded that that could on March 12 while he worked on the conference today, the Governor, who is never be achieved. He said the women, state's current fiscal crisis and other not seeking a third term, said he had who were almost all lobbyists or were wanted a "different focus" in his life involved in Democratic Party matters, Although Governor Gardner, like for some time and that a Senate seat were mainly concerned that they would

Mr. Fancher said the paper had The extent and gravity of the accusa- checked the women's accounts to the tions appear to have stunned voters. extent possible and was satisfied that "He can make the judgment as to Donald Smith, a musician and former they were telling the truth. For infirst to know," the Governor was said he believed the accusations. "The for a particular event when she said quoted as saying. "But on speculation that he doesn't see that and others of us is some validity; they are not just checked. Similarly, husbands and do, then I would talk with him by private phone before making a public statement."

Is some validity, they are not just unfounded charges," he said.

Mr. Smith's wife, Bonnie, said: "I they had been told of the incidents, though police reports were never filed.

and something to make it concrete The decided they would proceed if the wom-But Geneve Schultz, a bookkeeper in en signed affidavits detailing their as-

Trial Jury Is Selected It's too bad all the way around." Slipping in the Polls In Videotaped Beating The gregarious Mr. Adams, a liberal, has been a leading Democrat for years,

elected to the Senate in 1986, but public _ A jury of 10 whites, 1 Asian and approval has sunk recently. Recent Hispanic American was chosen today polls showed that only about 25 percent in the assault trial of four white Los

Opening statements are scheduled to She said the campaign had a general his car after a 15-minute, high-speed had drugged and molested her a year fund of \$50,000 to \$100,000, some of chase. An amateur cameraman who

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The question of the ethics of when and how to use anonymous sources rose again after The Seattle Times ran allegations of eight unidentified women who accused Senator Brock Adams of sexual misconduct.

A lawmaker's fall raises questions of journalists' ethics.

O' No Statistical and Company of the

Adams sued the paper. Seven women appear to be politically motivated. signed statements, and the eighth He said he was particularly troubled woman said she would sign, that paper by the sexual nature of the accusations,

until January, when his term expires, Bill Kovach, curator of the Nieman to decide whether to sue the paper. Foundation at Harvard University, Through a spokesman, Mr. Adams de- said that he was concerned that the The Seattle Times's decision to pub- occurred from 5 to 20 years ago. ish the accusations prompted debates among journalists all over the nation, here," Mr. Kovach said. often with no firm resolution.

"We argued about it in our editorial print it." He added that others on the tain conditions. anonymous sources, which is allowed report

But Mr. Barnes said the situation was extraordinary because the accusaons were very serious and they in-On the other hand, Ben H. Bagdikian, former dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, argued that the fact that a political campaign was underway would have made him less likely to publish the report, because it could

because there is no objective evidence Mr. Adams has said he would wait as to what really happened. lined to be interviewed yesterday. accusations all involved incidents that

"You're dealing with an old record

Some Others Would Publish board meeting and I came away think- But both Mr. Kovach and Mr. Bagdiing I would twitch a lot and then do it." kian, as well as all the other journalists said Andrew Barnes, editor of The St. contacted, said that despite reserva-

publishing such an article would vio- series of decisions and judgments that them. Inthis case, the boys and their late the paper's standards for using lead The Seattle Times to publish the accusations were made known to the

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Federa attorney for the district investigated the case said it had no merit. Mr. lancher said that, soon after Ms Tuppercame forward. The Times be gan geting anonymous telephone calls from wmen who made similar accusations but declined to give their names. Under the direction of David Boardran, the city editor, a threeperson eam of reporters began conacting ormer associates and employ-

ees of the Senator to see if other wome

who sail they were victims of sexual parassnent could be identified. He sad a number were found, including mot of the eight who eventually told ther accounts. But none was will ing to b identified in print or to Mr. Adams. After a year, with no one willing to ome forward, the investigation

Then ast fall, at a staff meeting, Mr. Fanchersaid the subject under discussion wa how the paper fulfilled its responsibility to its readers who count on it to ell the truth.

He realled that Mr. Boardman at one poin said,"We know what the truth is on the Brock Adams story, but we,

Jsing a 'Critical Mass'

That comment prompted a renewed forwardor be identified to Mr. Adams but within the last month the editors decided hat that standard could not be met. A rew standard - that "a critical nass" d women signed affadavits and would come forward at a trial if necessary - vas adopted as a compromise Therewas no specific number men-

tioned a a "critical mass." Mr. Fancher said that the women were wiling to sign the affadavits mostly because they feared Mr. Adams

Mr. Fincher said that he decided not o wait and try to get more women to come foward because he did not want it to appar even later in the primary campaig. The primary election is in

Adding to Mr. Fancher's confidence in the tuth of the women was that many ofthem told similar stories, aslruggedby Mr. Adams by a red substance it wine or champagne. He said most of he women had been located by the pape, rather than vice versa, and were notseeking publicity. And he said that ther common Democratic background nade him believe that they

The poential effect of such an article s well known in Seattle. In 1987, The ersburg Times. "If it happened in tions, they might well have published Post-Inteligencer, the competing paour territory, you'd just about have to such a report themselves under cer- per, published an article in which several boy, whose names were not pubboard strongly disagreed, saying that Mr. Fancher said that there was a lished, acused a judge of molesting judge beore the article was published. only under the most extraordinary cir- In 1988, Kari Tupper, a former con- On the lay the article appeared, he Supreme Court Roundup

Legality of Therapy Requirements to Be Addressed

whether sex offenders can be required to undergo therapy as a condition of staying out of jail if the therapy restaying the property that the judge to go ahead with the trial. The many property that the judge to go ahead with the trial is a second to the judge to go ahead with the trial is a second to the judge to go ahead with the trial is a second to the judge to go ahead with the trial is a second to the judge to go ahead with the trial is a second to the judge to go ahead with the judge to go staying out of jail if the therapy requires the offender to acknowledge

Custody of Alien Children

Therapy programs as conditions of Accepting a Bush Administration approbation are widely used alternatives peal, the Court agreed to decide the tana, the Justices will decide whether requiring such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions and the such acceptance of responsitions are such as a such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions are such acceptance of responsitions are such ac

tana's appeal of a ruling by the Montana Supreme Court. The case could tion hearing, they are confined in a male friend, an indicted narcotics dealhave broader implications for the influ-special shelters for a month or more er, provided more than \$200,000 for the Without comment, the Court turned ence of the Fifth Amendment's protec- until guardians are appointed.

condition that he take part in an outpalin California, ruled that the policy vio-

After four months, the therapist refused to treat the man, Donald Imlay, them to detention without sufficient because Mr. Imlay was still denying justification. dered him to serve the rest of his five- interest. Writing for the appeals court question.

aside the sentence on the ground that not "entitled to any deference." in a Federal district court in Minnesota 31-6990. the Fifth Amendment prohibits increasing a defendant's sentence as a penalty for refusing to confess to a

In appealing that ruling to the United States Supreme Court, Montana is arguing that the decision "effectively eviscerates sex offender programs and other similar therapy programs" that require participants to accept respon-

sibility for their behavior. Montana is arguing that the selfincrimination clause is not even appli cable to a case like this, in which a person has already been convicted and does not face a threat of further prosecution from any incriminating statements to a therapist.

But Mr. Imlay's lawyer told the Court that his client might face perjury charges if he confessed to events that he had denied during his trial. The state's argument would force Mr. Imlay "to provide the rope for his own

hanging," the brief said. Beyond the therapeutic situation presented by this case, judges fre quently take into account defendants willingness to acknowledge responsibility for their actions when deciding on a sentence. The Supreme Court has not directly addressed the implications defendant who has exercised his const tutional right against compelled selfincrimination. The decision in this case, Montana v. Imlay, No. 91-687, might shed light on the broader ques-

These were among the other actions the Court took today

Ban on Broadcasts

The Court refused to hear the Bus court ruling that struck down a pro posed ban on the radio or televis proadcast of all "indecent" material. The case, Federal Communication Commission v. Action for Children's

Television, No. 91-952, was an appeal from a ruling last May by the United States Court of Appeals for the Distric of Columbia Circuit, which found the ban unconstitutional under the Firs Justice Clarence Thomas, who as a member of the appeals court sat on the

unanimous three-judge panel that in whether to hear the appeal. Justices Byron R. White and Sandra Day O'Connor voted to hear the case. The Federal Communications Com mission defines indecent material as

that containing "patently offensive" references to "sexual or excretory ac tivities" although it falls short of being obscene. The commission had prev ously permitted such material to b broadcast late at night, on the theory that children would not be listening o watching. In 1988, Congress ordered the commission to extend the ban to 24 hours a day.

In its ruling last May, the appeal court interpreted previous Suprem Court decisions as providing that inde-cent material is entitled to at least some First Amendment protection and

Court Upholds Restrictions On Insurance for Abortions

ST. LOUIS, March 2 (AP) - A state law that bars routine health insurance policies from financing elective abor tions was upheld today by the Unite States Court of Appeals for the Eighth

The court struck down a Federa District Court decision that the 1983 law was an unconstitutional infringe ment of a woman's right to an abortion The three-judge appellate panel ser the case back to the lower court. The law was intended to redu

health insurance costs and to guard the interests of consumers who object to indirectly helping pay for abortion ums. The appeals court found that th woman who challenged the law shower no evidence that insurance polici covering abortions were unavailable and thus did not prove that the law placed a "severe limitation on he abortion decision."

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cannot be completely banned. The appeals court ordered the commission to peals court ordered the commission to in another Government appeal, the trial. Three co-defendants did appear,

drug trafficking subject to forfeiture. next year and sent to Federal prison to The 1978 law on forfeiture includes serve a 20-year sentence imposed after an "innocent-owner defense," which the trial. His conviction was upheld by

requiring such acceptance of responsibility can violate the constitutional right against compelled self-incrimina- limit again

tion against self-incrimination on crimThe immigration service asserts Appeals for the Third Circuit, in Phila- Alton Harris, a convicted murderer and sentencing.

In this case, a man who was convicting a 7-year-old of carrylly accoulting a 7-year-old of carrylly accoulting a 7-year-old of carrylly accounting a 7-year-o ed of sexually assaulting a 7-year-old adults or social service organizations. The court rejected the Government's in 1978, he is now likely to become the girl despite his assertion of innocence, The policy was challenged in a 1985 argument that because the money had first person executed in California was sentenced to five years in prison, but the sentence was suspended on the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, er had a valid title to the property. lated the children's constitutional right Trial of Absent Defendant

The Montana Supreme Court set nothing about child welfare and was ried and convicted of mail fraud The case was Harris v. Vasquez, No.

WASHINGTON, March 2 — The Su-give broadcasters a "safe harbor" pe-Court agreed to decide whether a per-and were tried and convicted. The prospreme Court agreed today to decide riod, a time of night when the material son who receives a gift of property that ecution had called dozens of witnesses

to prison sentences. Many therapists constitutionality of a Federal policy property they own has been used in the the Eighth Circuit, in St. Louis. shields people who do not know that the United States Court of Appeals for view acceptance of responsibility as an that provides for detaining children in narcotics trade. But the lower Federal Rules of Crimessential part of the treatment. In an shelters if they are illegal aliens facing courts disagree on how this defense inal Procedure requires a defendant's

ice. Under the policy, if no immediate cel of Land, No. 91-781, the Government tended even the beginning stage. Twenty other states joined Mon- family members are available to care tried to take a house in Rumson, N.J.

The therapist said no progress could take place in light of the continued take place in light of the continued take place in light of the continued the appeals court should have deferred to the appeals court should have a shou denial. After a hearing, the trial court to the immigration service's judgment Somewhat surprisingly, the Supreme time that his death sentence was invarevoked Mr. Imlay's probation and orthat the policy is in the children's best Court has never directly answered this lid because he had received an inadeyear sentence in the Montana State majority, Judge Mary M. Schroeder The case, Crosby v. United States, failed to document his psychiatric im-



purchase. The United States Court of down the latest appeal by a Robert

The Harris case has been before the ipreme Court several times and, in its latest phase, provoked an emotional split in the Ninth Circuit. A divided The Court agreed to decide whether panel of that court last fall issued a

In its appeal, Barr v. Flores, No. 91the Constitution or the rules governing stay of execution to permit Mr. Harris criminal procedure in the Federal to file another Supreme Court appeal in

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New Attorney General Shifts Department's Focus

WASHINGTON, March 2 — Almost everybody heard of Edwin Meese 3d. He was President Ronald Reagan's ongtime political sidekick. A lot of people knew something about Dick Thornburgh. He was the former Gov-ernor of Pennsylvania. But William

As the new Attorney General, the conservative 41-year-old from Manhattan is the youngest and one of the least-known members of the Bush Cabinet, a Beltway lawyer who lacks close personal ties to the President and was named to office last year lacking a high-profile reputation in legal or political circles.

He has taken over a department that has ceded some of its power over legal policy to the White House. Mr. Thornburgh, Mr. Barr's immediate predecessor and former boss, never reclaimed the Attorney General's influence and prestige, which eroded in Mr. Meese's fractious tenure in the

Skill and Flexibility

In the broadest sense, the issue confronting Mr. Barr is whether he can restore the traditional primacy of his office as the center of legal authority in the Government or instead merely manage the department's increasing, if unglamorous, law-enforcement duties: policing, prosecuting and imprisoning drug dealers, gang members and other

If Mr. Barr's prospects seem un certain, his supporters say he has some advantages. As a former deputy to Mr. Thornburgh, he is a departtermine his success. ment insider, and since he joined the Government in 1973, he is a popular figure in the career ranks. He has a long association with staff members in the White House, and allies inside blends legal skill with a usually flexi-

"The test of him will be whether he can stand up for the Justice Department or compromises its position said Griffin B. Bell, Attorney General under President Jimmy Carter, who chances but warned that the new Attorney General must quickly assert his control over the department and his authority within the Administration or will risk losing both.

Mr. Barr has begun his tenure with mainly redeploying existing manpow-

The top priority: stronger law enforcement.

er on his violent-crime priorities: gangs, drugs and guns. Each step appears modest, but together his proposals suggest that Mr. Barr is trying I believe deeply that the first duty

of government is providing for the personal security of its citizens," Mr. Barr said. "Therefore I would naturally place the highest priority on strengthening law enforcement. His early steps reflect the department's repositioning after a decade in which it was the fastest-growing Cab inet department. According to statistics by the Office of Personnel Management, its 85,000 employees are while its \$11 billion budget represents a nearly five-fold increase, almost all of it dedicated to building more prisons and combatting drugs, violent criminals and financial fraud.

Two Decades in Washington The second of four brothers, Mr. Barr is a Roman Catholic, and his father, Donald Barr, was once headmaster at the Dalton School in New York. He is a bagpipe player and a China scholar with a master's degree from Columbia University and a law degree from George Washington Uni-

Mr. Barr joined the Central Intelligence Agency in 1973 and has spent is professional career inside the Beltway, working for either the Government or a law firm. He injects moralistic messages into his speeches, decrying the permissiveness of the 1960's and dismissing what he calls "half-baked solutions" to social problems like dispensing "needles to addicts and condoms to kids." Aides say Mr. Barr still calls Con-

ressmen by their titles instead of their first names, gets up at 5 A.M. to buff a speech and turns down more linner invitations than he accepts. His wife, Christine, is a librarian at a private elementary school. In a series of conversations in Washington and on a recent trip to

managing the department, emphasizing action and purpose. "There are limitations to what you can do as deputy," he said, referring to his most recent job as Deputy Attorney General, where, as the department's day-to-day manager, he

California, New Mexico and Texas, Mr. Barr discussed his approach to

was credited with helping Mr. Thorn-burgh regain his balance after a rocky start. Now, he said, he does not have to sell his ideas to anybody. Except, of course, to the White House. Mr. Barr said he consults frequently with Samuel K. Skinner, the President's chief of staff, who as a former United States Attorney in Chi cago, is an emerging ally on Justice Department issues, and with C. Boyden Gray, the White House counsel.

As a result of shifting power alignments, Mr. Gray sometimes pushed Mr. Thornburgh aside on civil rights, judicial selection and departmenta appointments.

Mr. Barr has counted Mr. Gray

among his most influential friends in the Administration. Now in title, Mr. Barr outranks his benefactor and the Attorney General's aides say he is less willing to yield to White House intrusions than Mr. Thornburgh was, although Mr. Gray, with his immedi-



William P. Barr, the new Attorney General, is, at age 41, the youngest and one of the least well-known members of the Bush Cabinet.

ate access to the Oval Office, remains General and his aides engage in a a powerful Presidential adviser on running banter and, in the privacy of legal matters. How Mr. Barr handles his plane, even members of the Attorhis relationship with Mr. Gray and ney General's F.B.I. security detail the White House may ultimately de- address him as "Bill.

'I never managed anything before I became deputy," said Mr. Barr, who Stylistically, Mr. Barr represents a sharp break from the past. Where Mr. has compensated with seven-day Thornburgh was formal, enigmatic, work weeks, deep immersion in crimoften prickly, Mr. Barr is affable, inal justice issues and free-wheeling animated and loose. The Attorney meetings beginning late last year

when he called in top managers to review the operations of the depart-ment agencies like the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immi gration and Naturalization Service.
The results became evident whe

Mr. Barr reassigned 300 F.B.I. agents from counterintelligence work to investigations of gang violence in the largest single manpower shift in the bureau's history. Later, he doubled the number of agents investigating health care fraud to 100, set up a prosecution unit in the department's criminal division and organized task forces in a dozen cities to prosecute health care crimes.

In February, he juggled the budget of the immigration service, finding money to hire 300 more agents to staunch the flow of hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants a year across the border with Mexico.

He has also reversed a longstanding Justice Department policy and omised to help states fight courtordered limits on prison overcrowd ing. The shift highlighted a central theme of Mr. Barr's tenure so far: his educed only by expanding Federal and state prisons to jail habitual, vio-

In other areas, Mr. Barr seems less adroit. In a television interview last weekend, the Attorney General afirmed that he was likely to abandor idelines adopted in 1988 that made t harder for the department to apply antitrust laws against foreign cartels that restrict American exports.

Other Administration officials

seemed caught off-guard, and the remarks drew condemnation from the apanese Foreign Ministry. Later, Mr. Barr seemed to back off slightly, romising a Congressional panel that f he loosened the guidelines he would consult trade and diplomatic officials

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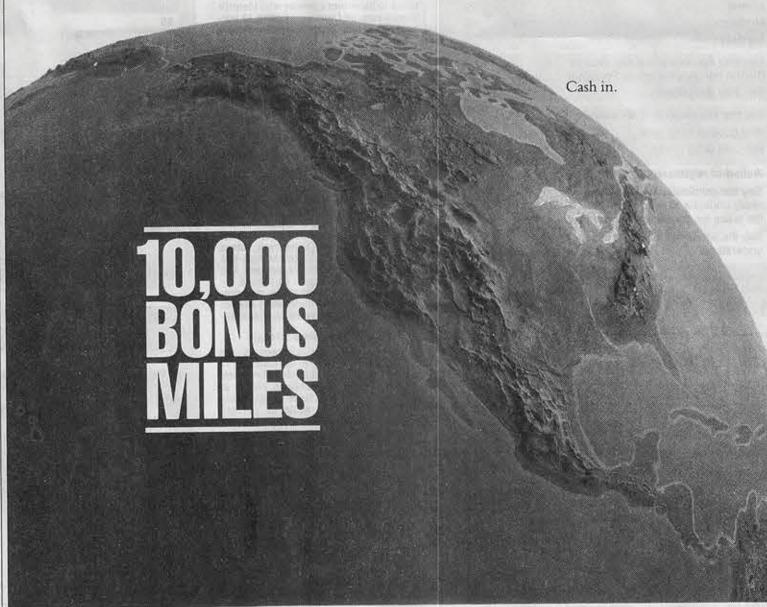
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at stake (Eastern time) vote

Polls close

Polls close

Polls close

Polls close

10 P.M.

begin 8:30 P.M.

Determined

by counties

Polls close

Polls close

Polls close

8 P.M.

7 P.M.

8 P.M.

9 P.M.

7 P.M.

8 P.M

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUSES*

REPUBLICAN PRIMARIES

Georgia

Primaries and Caucuses: What's at Stake Today

Democrats

Independents

All voters; no

Democrats

All voters;

All voters

All voters; no

Republicans

Independents

All voters; no

Republicans

party registration

There are Republican caucuses in Minnesota, which will have 32 delegates, and Washington, which will have 35,

but primaries will decide who gets the delegates. Minnesota's Republican primary is April 7. Washington's is May 19

begin 11 P.M. party registration

*American Samoa has caucuses beginning at midnight to select six delegates, each with

half a vote at the convention. Four more delegates, sharing one vote, will be chosen later.

no party registration

and others who pledge

pledge party support.

no party registration

Democratic-Farmer- 2,830,649

Labor Party members (1990)

Kerrey had targeted this state but polls show him fourth

. Brown is the big surprise, with a big downtown

State Democratic chairman expects Tsongas to win by

Salt Lake Tribune poll shows Tsongas well ahead of

Clinton and Brown, but almost 40% are undecided.

With 78 delegates, this state's caucuses choose the

largest block today . . . Harkin had been seen as sure

winner, but polls show Tsongas with better favorability

Randy Stapilus, author of books on state politics, says

Brown strong at university . . . Clinton doing well with

professional politicians, Tsongas comfortably ahead,

scores . . . Harkin is struggling to keep morale up.

outcome is "very much up in the air". . . Governor

Andrus, other officials, sitting it out.

Bush leads in Denver Post/KCNC poll

Potomac Survey Research has

Bush ahead with 64%

Buchanan people hoping for 40%, and White

House aides concede it just could happen.

according to one analyst.

67% to 20%

8 to 10 percentage points . . . Clinton needs big turnout

of black voters in Baltimore and Prince George's County.

Denver rally last weekend Tsongas leading.

Among Democrats, Clinton is the strong favorite

but by how much?

Primaries and Caucuses

Impossible Tsongas Dream Picks Up Steam for Votes

Continued From Page Al

ment from opponents of abortion. Mr. Bush spent the day in Washing- At his last stop of the day in Marietton, but his principal challenger, Patrick J. Buchanan, crossed this state one more time, sounding the racial themes that he hopes will persuade conserva-

Georgia Profile

All figures are for 1990 except where indicated. Georgia's population in 1990, excluding people living abroad, was 6,478,216 or 2.6 percent of the U.S. total. It ranks 11th among

the states in population.

Ga. Growth since 1980 18.6% 9.8% 31.6 32.8 Married couple households

55.2% 59.7% Unemployment rate Dec. '91 3.9% 6.8% Per capita income \$16,944 \$18,685

71.0% 80.3% 27.0 12.1 American Asian 1.2 0.7 Other Hispanic 1.7

People of Hispanic origin can be of any race. Sources: Census Bureau; The Almanac of American Politics, 1992; The World

Almanac and Book of Facts, 1992; Bureau of Labor Statistics

mitted by Georgia law, to support him in the Republican primary.

that he hopes will persuade conserva- of about two dozen Jewish hecklers. He looked out at them and said, "This is a rally of Americans, by Americans and for the good old U.S.A., my friends." A strong showing by Mr. Buchanan, anything in the area of his New Hampshire total of 37 percent, would be counted another setback for Mr. Bush. The President's approval rating has fallen to 40 percent in the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll, and he no longer has much hope of knocking Mr. Buchanan out of the race in the next

> One reflection of concern in the Bush camp is a campaign schedule of rare sity for a sitting President that will take Mr. Bush into seven Southern states before the Super Tuesday votes next week. Until recently, he had taken victory for granted in this region. On the Democratic side, victories by Mr. Tsongas in contests in the Mid-

states would banish the notion that he is no more than a regional candidate. They would eclipse Mr. Clinton's anticipated victory here, and give him a port Mr. Clinton because of his angry head start on the 11 states that vote in a week. That would be even more true if first state in his home region to vote, of Iowa. Mr. Clinton dismissed th

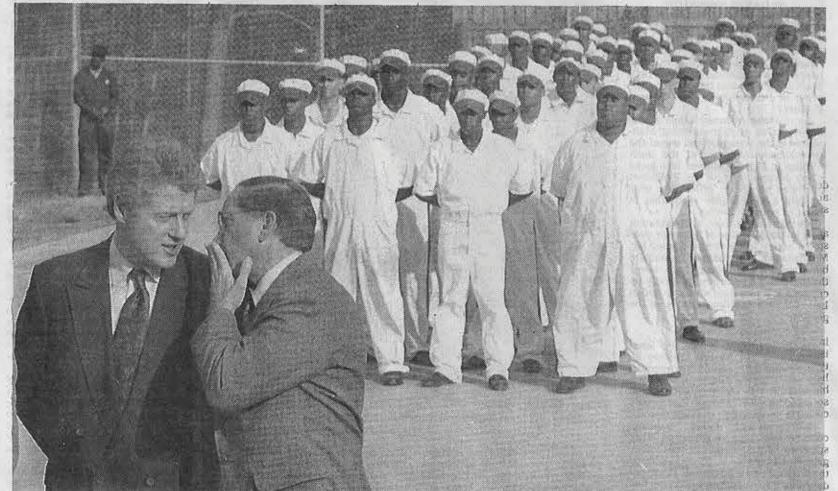
continue to consider him unelectable. Mr. Clinton said.

conference in Maryland, declined to have made in the last 48 hours to shift make any predictions. "I am a prisoner attention away from this week's voting of your expectations and judgments," and toward Super Tuesday next week he told reporters. Although he said and the Illinois and Michigan primaearlier that he needed to win Maryland, ries a week later, Mr. Clinton said, "I this time he said only that he needed to think that as time goes on after Geor-

Mr. Clinton was particularly scathing in his denunciations of radio commercials that Mr. Tsongas is running in Maryland and Georgia. The advertisements urge black voters not to sup-tisements urge black voters not to sup-tisements with Mr. Bush's effort to hold onto right-wing voters who in Mr. Clinton was particularly scathing as the could win here to be in Mr. Isongas is running and Mr. Clinton. As in Maine, where he stop the use of taxpayer money for day shifts in voting sentiment showed and Mr. Tsongas is running abortion, and the White House said it should prove helpful in Mr. Bush's effort to hold onto right-wing voters who with Mr. Brown at 18 percent. In Maryland and Georgia.

The Nation and

The South



On the eve of primaries and caucuses in seven states, polls in one of them, Georgia, showed Gov. Bill Clinton to be leading Paul E. Tsongas. Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia talked with Mr. Clinton yesterday during a visit to the Stone Mountain Correctional Facility.

Clinton's margin in Georgia, the about to endorse Senator Tom Harkin commercial as "a low-class thing." In anticipation of a strong showing "It's a hazardous thing to go ou

by the former Senator, several ranking there and say you ought to be elected Democrats said they intended to an- President because you're the truth tellnounce their support for him after the er, and then you're the first one to run a voting on Tuesday, although others negative ad which is blatantly false," Mr. Tsongas, speaking at a news As part of an effort he and his aides

gia, we'll build strength in Illinois." In another sign of his campaign's Of the other Democratic contenders,

An intense schedule for an incumbent.

Mr. Brown campaigned today in many promises, but the one that hurts states was large, indicating that turn-Maryland, Georgia and Colorado, while the most is the one that steals hope and outs would probably be relatively light Mr. Harkin stumped through South fairness from our children."

Endorsement for Bush

might otherwise defect to Mr. Buchan- land, a new poll by Potomac Survey, an in Georgia on Tuesday. In both his advertising and his lead, 34.5 percent to 24.3 percent. In speeches, Mr. Buchanan accused Mr. Utah, Mr. Tsongas polled 26 percen Bush of having signed a "quota bill" in twice as much as his closest rivals, in a

Carolina with Mr. Jackson. Mr. Kerrey, A key to the Democratic races in In Idaho, a silent campaign, with whose concentration on the West in Maryland and Georgia will be black candidates spending no more than a recent days seems to have brought few voters. The two states have two million dividends, was in California, Washing-black voters between them, and Mr.

Mr. Bush won the backing of the black figures like former Mayor An- there hasn't been enough time for that growing pains, the candidate barely only Edmund G. Brown Jr. appeared to mentioned an endorsement from The be making much headway. The former news conference in Washington. Rob-Atlanta Constitution, this state's most important paper.

Are Clinton was particularly scath
Mr. Scath
Mr. Scath
Mr.

Judging the Candidates

whether their opinion of each candidate

or whether they hadn't heard enough

about the candidate to have an opinion.

was favorable, not favorable or undecided

Likely primary voters were asked

Favorable

11%

5

7

9

23

Southern and border states.

Research gave Mr. Tsongas a 10-point the Civil Rights Act of 1991. One of his survey last week. But in Georgia, the most pungent commercials, showing latest poll by the Atlanta paper what appears to be an all-white crowd, showed Mr. Clinton ahead by a 2-tocomments, "George Bush has broken ratio. The undecided vote in all four

ton and Idaho, hoping to spring a sur-prise or two in the caucus states and most likely to interest them, both because of his Southern origins and be- tional support groups were not assemcause he has the backing of major bling behind the candidates "because

Total voters

Non-Southern

favorable opinion

61

48

54

81

80

70

64

42

43

25

22%

17

24

13

14

38

68

The New Hork Times | CBS NEWS Poll

DEMOCRATIC VOTERS ON:

Edmund G.

Brown Jr.

Bill Clinton

Tom Harkin

Bob Kerrey

Paul Tsongas

Pat Buchanan

David Duke

Based on telephone interviews conducted Feb. 26-March 1 with 583

states. The 482 Republican primary voters interviewed included 223 in

Democratic primary voters nationwide including 307 in Southern and border

REPUBLICAN VOTERS ON

Survey Shows Unhappiness With All the Choices

Continued From Page Al

outlines a grim landscape for Mr. Bush in the general election. His approval rating for his economic performance hovers at 19 percent, the lowest since Jimmy Carter's.

Fifty-seven percent of registered voters say they think Mr. Bush has a vision of where he wants to take the country, down from 81 percent who felt that way when he took office. And those who said they were regis-

tered to vote are evenly divided when offered a choice between re-electing President Rush or an unnamed Democrat: 40 percent backed Mr. Bush, 44 percent the Democrat.

Edge for Ideal Democrat

Americans give an unnamed, idealized Democratic President the edge over Mr. Bush in a number of areas. When asked whether Mr. Bush or a Democratic President would be "more likely to care about the needs and problems of people like you," 52 percent said the Democrat would, while 29 percent said Mr. Bush would. When asked who would be most likely to end the recession, 43 percent said a Democratic President, while 30 percent cited Mr.

But between the idea of a Democratic President and the reality of the candidates falls a considerable shadow. A majority of Americans say they still do not have an opinion about most Democratic candidates. When people were given a head-to-head choice, Mr. Bush beat Mr. Clinton by 50 percent to 40 percent, Mr. Tsongas by 49 percent to 39 percent, and Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska by 52 percent to 35 percent.

Mr. Clinton's public image seems to reflect a month of attacks from his rivals, in addition to accusations that he manipulated his draft status during the Vietnam War and had a 12-year extramarital affair with a singer, bot of which he denied. Among likely Democratic voters, 28 percent said they viewed him favorably, while 21 percent viewed him unfavorably. Just afte New Hampshire, 33 percent viewed him positively and 16 percent negative

Mr. Clinton is viewed far more positively in the South than elsewhere in the country; he was viewed favorably by 35 percent of the Southern Demo crats and unfavorably by 17 percent. Negative Views of Tsongas Rise

Negative opinions of Mr. Tsongas are also rising. His favorable/unfavor able rating among Democrats was 2 to 16 in the latest poll, compared to 33 to 9 just after the New Hampshire primary. Mr. Kerrey, despite his me ment in the limelight after winning the primary in South Dakota, is still strug- know enough to have an opinion. gling to introduce himself: 13 percent said they were undecided or tid not ences for the nomination. Former Gov. percent.

30% Republican 26% 32% 32 29 35 Independent Democra 20 Liberal 43 Moderate 39 45 Conservative Say they approve of the way George 40 42 Bush is handling his job as President Say they disapprove 46 Say the economy in their state is: Very good or fairly good Very bad or fairly bad Asked of registered voters: Say the candidates for President really understand what everyday life is like for people like themselves Say the candiates for President don't

How the Poll Was Conducted

Based on telephone interviews conducted Feb. 26 - March 1 with 1,673

adults including 801 in the South. Those with no opinion are not shown.

Sunday with 1,673 adults around the Unitd States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii. resented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone num-

The sample of telephone exchanges The exchanges were chosen to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. pers were formed by random digits, thus smaller subgroups is larger. For exam isted numbers. The numbers were then South who say they planned to or usually one adult was designated at random to be he respondent for the poll.

To allow a more designated as a control of the poll. To allow a more detailed examination percentage points. of attitudes in the Southern region, telephone numbers in Southern states were practical difficulties of conducting any

results have also been weighted to take telephone lines and to adjust for varia-In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 th The potential sampling error fo ple, for registered respondents in the

In addition to sampling error, the survey of public opinion may introduce other states. But the results from all other sources of error into the poll.

The rest of the pack fell well behind was third with 12 percent, followed by was third with 12 percent, followed by campaign is trying to use against Mr of the Democrats view him favorably, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas when Senator Kerrey with 6 percent and campaign is trying to use against Mr. 12 percent unfavorably and 7, percent Democrats were asked their prefer- Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa with 4

This survey included an unusually this region for the next two weeks. The additional Southern respondents were used to increase the reliability of the results for that region but were weighted to avoid skewing the national re-

Differences of Degree On a variety of attitudes, the survey found more differences of degree than stark contrasts between the South and the rest of the nation. The region still ends to have more people who identify themsleves as Democrats, with 40 per cent as against 29 percent in the rest o the country, and more people who identify themselves as conservatives, with 35 percent doing so while 29 percent do so in the rest of the country.

The region defied its stereotypes in the former Ku Klux Klan leader and Louisiana State Representative who is seeking the Republican nomination for President, is viewed nearly as negatively by Southern Republicans as by Southern Republicans. The survey did find regional differ-

ences in the views on other candidates. Mr. Clinton, not suprisingly given his regional roots and heavy campaigning here, has much more support in the South than Mr. Tsongas, with 39 percent of the Southern Democratic voters saying they would like to see him win that about Mr. Tsongas. But these results reflect regionwide views, and cannot be projected to individual states. like Georgia, which votes on Tuesday.

Protest Vote Shows Strength

Mr. Bush is also stronger in the South than elsewhere in the country: 75 percent of those who identify themselves as likely Republican voters in view of Mr. Bush, while 68 percent elsewhere in the country say that. Nationally. Mr. Bush remains the favorite of 75 percent of Republicans for their party's nomination, compared to 16 percent who back Mr. Buchanan.

Still, the potential for a protest vote remained clear: 70 percent of Republcian primary voters in the South as well as the rest of the country said they thought Mr. Buchanan was "saying some things that George Bush needs to hear." Moreover, 40 of the likely Re- some doubts if they learned a candi- er. About one in five registered voters in Buchanan could be an effective Presi- ago — as Mr. Tsongas was. dent, while 37 percent said he could not

But only a 10th said they would have

Nearly 60 percent of the registered The survey also sought to test some voters said their votes would be unafpotential liabilities among the various fected by allegations that Mr. Clinton candidates. A third of those who said had had an extramarital affair. But hey were registered voters said they they said they thought it would have a would have doubts about a candidate Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California who had opposed the use of force in the big effect on the votes of other people

publican voters said they thought Mr. date had been treated for cancer years said the allegations that Mr. Clinton lo had manipulated his draft status would make them choose someone else, while 41 percent said it would have no effect and 35 percent said it would be one factor among many. There were no significant differences between Southeners and non-Southeners on this.

> The New York Times Magazine illuminates the news.

. . . Among the Democrats, Gov. Bill Clinton is trying to use this moment of maximum advantage to shape the Democratic field and the debate. On the economic front, he is stepping up his pummeling of former Senator Pau E. Tsongas as a de facto Republican who shares President Bush's view of the sanctity of capital and is willing to spend \$10 billion in investment-linked

> tax breaks. The Clinton forces believe that the best cure for their troubles with the in fidelity and draft issues is to get as quickly as possible to a two-man cor test with Mr. Tsongas. Toward that end, they are spreading the word that a loss in Colorado will doom the hopes of Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska. They are eager to get Senator Kerrey out for

The 1992 Campaign

Hopefuls Turn South,

Taking the Low Road

and his Southern buddies have on tap

Georgia will be a good test for how

much damage Mr. Clinton has suffered

in the South. Representative John Lew-

is, the civil rights hero from Atlanta,

says Mr. Clinton will finish first, with

more than 40 percent. If so, that means

that Mr. Lewis and other black politi-

cians have turned out their vote while

Miller, has brought the old courthouse

Democrats to a native son. But no one

xpects that to cure the walking-on-

scandal watch remains on high alert.

The Congressional Democrats still

dream of getting Senator Lloyd Bent

sen of Texas or Representative Rich

ard A. Gephardt of Missouri into the

whisper of a draft out in the country

perk up at the name of Gov. Mario M.

The continuing concern over the

Democratic field rests on a strong

oundation of feeling among Demo-

crats, independents and a surprising

Mr. Bush can be had in the fall.

umber of worried Republicans that

like Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. of

South Carolina, seem to have tipped to

chanan is pummeling Georgians with

devil's bargain implicit in the Reagan

and Bush campaigns' use of racial

had the spunk and the organizaitonal

muscle to drive a stake through the

lican incumbent or to the long-term

good of their party. But from all the

symbols in the last three elections.

mercials that have laid bare the

The old Bush campaign team of 1988

heart of any political threat to a Repub-

signs here, if Mr. Bush cripples Mr. Bu-

to luck than to what is fast establishing

itself as a memorably lackluster White

Consonant Clusters

with a peculiar consonant cluster?

hanan on Tuesday, he can lay it more

what Mr. Buchanan is doing to their

party's image in the South. Mr. Bu-

But only a few leading Republicans,

mo, but then they quickly nod off.

shells feel of the Clinton candidacy

Back in Washington, the Democratic

the state's durable Governor, Zell

By HOWELL RAINES

Political Week

dential campaign has moved south.

and it is not a pretty sight on either

The battle between President Bush

spirited, low-road contest featuring, in

and Patrick J. Buchanan is a mean-

Mr. Buchanan's attacks on "quota

bills" and the 1965 Voting Rights Act,

the most forthright appeals to white ra-

The Democratic contest on Tuesday

ment over their five-candidate field

cial animosities seen in Georgia since

Lester Maddox's 1966 campaign for

in all four primary states is less brut-

ish, but the disappointment of the par-

ty's voters and its Washington estab-

seems to follow the five all around the

Here in Georgia, the dyspeptic mood

splashes of pansies and daffodils on the

greening lawns. On such a lawn outside

the Carter Presidential Center on Sun-

day, a well-groomed woman with a

Tsongas sign confronted two equally

women wearing Clinton buttons.

supporter. "He's an adulterer."

well-groomed, but somewhat younger

"Don't vote for him," said the Tsongas

Well, politics does tend to be plain

spoken in these parts. The candidates

and their advisers are nerved up, too,

on Tuesday and the 11 contests on

because they know that the 4 primaries

March 10 will determine the first casu-

alties in the Democratic field and, to a

less certain degree, the future of the

Buchanan insurgency.

has become a moveable cloud that

contrasts sharply with the bright

a simple reason. Even though the Nebraskan's on-the job training as a candidate has been painful to watch, his opponents still fear that if allowed to linger he could live up to his early billing as the Demo crat's first New Age superstar. But hat seems unlikely unless Senator Kerrey dumps the ill-fitting pugnacity foisted on him by his handlers and re-

claims his aura of idealism. the glory of making the first cut, but his querulous performance in this weekend's debates has given senior Democrats a bad case of Dukakis flashbacks. Mr. Tsongas's pursed-lip challenge to the other candidtes to "take the pledge" against mean talk and his whining about Mr. Clinton's "attack-

dog" adviser, James Carville, were distinctly Not Presidential. Even so, it will be a legitimate coup if Mr. Tsongas can sneak out a victory in Colorado before his ambivalent stand on nuclear power starts undermini

him in the West. Victories in the Rockies and Maryland would establish Mr. Tsongas as a national candidate, but it is an open question as to whether he is

gus, rhymes with Fungus?' " And Dave Barry, the humorist, cautioned readers of his column that Paul E. Tsongas could be rearranged to spell "Gaseous Plant" or "A Tulsa Sponge." But they probably cannot say anything that

repeating over and over - "Will N. Tissingas

please report to the reservation counter"

Charles Poag, an Atlanta legislator, pro-

nounced the candidate's name Tonsil, Tang and

Tong in a single interview last week. And today

the candidate introduced reporters to a 13-

year-old named Jenny Apel, an eighth grader

his name and he dreamed that, someday, his sonants would be reversed. I thought when I got old enough, I'd change ethnic names are sparse. From Tango to Sinus my name to Stone and have a really American to Zonker to Sixpence, he has heard it all. An

would have been thrown out of my home." He settled for making the "t" silent, and pronouncing his name SAHN-gus, which he thought would be simpler than the Greek pronunciation used by his grandfather and father. Although his aides say the Greek pronunciation is Chungus, the candidate says it is simply the precise use of both consonants. "Like tsetse

'Rhymes With Fungus'

Until now, the apotheosis of silent consonances has been Mr. Psmith of P.G. Wodehouse's comic novel, "Leave It to Psmith." Mr. Psmith changed his name to be different, but then people kept mistaking his name for Peasmith, and he would have to explain "the p is silent, as in phthisis. The comedians have been enjoying the notion at St. Mathias School in Lanham, Md., who was thought who declared the correct pronuncia-

ready for the pounding that Mr. Clinton of another Greek politician with a funny name planning to play Mr. Tsongas in a mock debate tion to be "Tickets." When people called out

for months. As Johnny Carson put it, "What is at her school. "I am going to be the representative for Paul his campaign slogan going to be: 'Paul Tson-

BALTIMORE, March 2 - Never mind character flaws. Is America ready for a President When Paul E. Tsongas was a little boy, he hated it when the other kids would make fun of Mr. Tsongas has not already heard as he

travels the country, often in regions where "Tax-on-gas."

was for her

When Mr. Tsongas calls room service, and a polite hotel employee checks the computer to greet him with his name, Mr. Tsongas says he is greeted with "Good morning, Mr. - gulp." He said his wife, the former Niki Sauvage, had a phonetic shock the first time she was fly," he said, demonstrating in a way that paged in an airport after their marriage and sounded like a snake trapped in a boiling tea

Ton-zagas," she said, beaming proudly at him.

Tsongas or Chungus? Simply a Matter of Who Is Pronouncing It

Zongas all through the PBS debate. But he doesn't bother to correct anyone.

"I not only don't enunciate my name. I don't enunciate most of the English language." PAUL E. TSONGAS

In 1988

Dukakis (42%)

Jackson (40%)

(caucus)

registration

537.008

576,494

2,574,296

1,308,239

780,555

(1990)

488,369

(1991)

2,266,617

(1991)

590,725

576,494

2,574,296

(1988)

626,608

Bush (54%)

Bush (53%)

"There are a lot of things in life to worry about, but that's not one of them," he said this morning in College Park, Md., as he rode to the name," he said. He never told his parents. "I opponent in his 1976 House race dubbed him University of Maryland pool to swim his laps.

"I not only don't enunciate my name. I don't enunciate most of the English language His campaign adviser, Ed Jesser, complains

that it is hard to attract a lot of support because people who want more information about the mpaign "keep looking us up under 's' or 'z.' Mr. Tsongas, however, credits his double isonant with getting him elected to both the

His first campaign commercial when he ran finally realized that the message that was for Congress in 1974 was a radio advertisement, which asked Massachusetts citizen "How do you spell Tsongas?" and featured cripted comments like "T-O-G, no, no, no!" One of Mr. Tsongas's Southern supporters, "T-N-G, no, no, no!" and "Oh, boy!

Funny Name Commercials In the 1978 race for the Senate, they did the commercial again on television, ending with a young boy with the scrunched face of deep

And last month, when Mr. Tsongas made his first trip to Georgia, the front page of The Atlanta Journal featured a quote from Lieut, Gov. Pierre Howard, "Tsongas is not Greek for

But the people gathered were not said, "And they always come underes-

there to see the present Presidential timating our intelligence. The fact of

legend "Tsuperman."

Of course, Tsongas is simple compared to the candidate's middle name, taken from his father: Efthemios.

Buchanan and Bush coming South," he

are no ads about that. You look at the

of his address did he mention Mr. Har-

what personal struggle was about. Cit-

"Hey, Tickets!" at parades and rallies, Mr.

and do a similar commercial for the Presiden-

already picking up on the silent "t" theme

gas" and "Tcitizens for Tsongas." Some press

accounts have mentioned "The Tsongas Tsuna-

mi" and the candidate got one T-shirt with the

If his campaign gets national credibility, Mr.

songas may need a funny name commercial

omeone in the crowd willing to make fun of an.

In 1988, Loretta Lynn, the country music,

with George Bush and dismissed Michael S,

Dukakis, saying, "Why, I can't even pronounce

singer, traveled on a bus tour through Illinois

to counteract the fact that there is always

Eastern Democrat with an ethnic name.

He said he would like to keep up the tradition.

The signs popping up at campaign stops are

'Tsoutherns for Tsongas," "Tseattle for Tson-

I songas knew the commercial had worked.

"It's a better middle name than Herbert Walker," Mr. Jesser said.

Democrats

He's Not Running, but Everybody Is Following Jackson Through the South

By RICHARD L. BERKE ORANGEBURG, S.C., March 2 - He

chided the other Democrats for having a "message gap." He accused the Republicans of stoking racism in their television commercials. And all over his native state today, exuberant crowds greeted him like somebody on

The Rev. Jesse Jackson had reason to come here triumphant: He won the South Carolina caucuses in 1988. Though he is not a candidate this time Mr. Jackson could have fooled a lot of people today into thinking that he was. Practically lost in all the attention heaped on Mr. Jackson was why he was here in the first place. He was here to stump for Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa who is desperate to tap Mr. Jackson's reservoir of black support in the South and resuscitate his flagging campaign

Mr. Jackson made clear that he was not endorsing Mr. Harkin, who hopes to make a good showing in the contest here on Saturday. He said the Senator was simply the first to take up his offer to all the Democrats to campaign on their behalf, and later this week he plans to travel with Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska.

Giving Advice and Approval But the campaigning by Mr. Jackson

today was less about Mr. Harkin and more about the onetime Chicago preacher, talk show host, head of the National Rainbow Coalition and twotime Presidential candidate. Always hungry for publicity, Mr. Jackson has sought a role for himself as the émi-



Campaigning in South Carolina yesterday, Senator Tom Harkin greeted Tom Trantham, right, a dairy farmer, before having breakfast on his farm in Pelzer. At left was the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

"It's an attempt to broaden the focus | might not go to ordinarily, to where | For Mr. Harkin, that meant break- candidate at a rally today at South of the campaign," Mr. Jackson said of people live in inadequate housing, peo- fast with a dairy farmer and touring Carolina State University here, where nence grise of the 1992 campaign, the man the candidates come to for advice, able to spend time with each of the streets at noonday, unemployed with housing project this morning in down-town Columbia, S.C., mingling with to be the one running for President. nence grise of the 1992 campaign, the his efforts. "I've made myself avail- ple are homeless, are walking the the sprawling, red-brick Saxon Homes he was greeted with a standing ovation

candidate but the past Presidential the matter is in South Carolina, we've candidate. As residents and reporters lost our textile jobs. And no ads about followed Mr. Jackson into an elevator textiles going abroad. They closed a in one building, Mr. Harkin squeezed in G.M. plant right down the road. There almost as an afterthought. Leonard Brown, a 41-year-old Saxon de-industrialization of our state. There

Homes resident, was one who came to are no ads about that." see Mr. Jackson. As for Mr. Harkin, he Declaring that the nation's economy said: "I know nothing about him, what was "in a state of emergency," Mr, he's doing, what he's about. I don't Jackson put forward a retooled camknow nothing. But Jesse Jackson has paign speech from 1988. Only at the end

It was a fact that Mr. Jackson did not kin, who, he said, "has a tremendous," let anyone forget. He reminded report- track record in social justice, fairness. ers that he drew seven million votes in to farmers and fairness to workers TRIDE the 1988 primaries. He credited himself he deserves your attention." with paving the way for issues like Mr. Harkin got no big ovation when national health insurance and reindus- he rose to speak and allowed that "1, trializing the nation that have become know none of you even know me." staples of this year's campaign dialogue. And he talked of his successes at logue. And he talked of his successes at Mr. Jackson, saying that he, too, knew Mr. Jackson, saying that he, too, knew Mr. Jackson, saying that he took pains to link himself to

Asked if he regretted not running this time, Mr. Jackson was quick to say, "There has been a lot of pressure" "You've got to know where I come say, "There has been a lot of pressure

sentative to the Senate. 'Jesse! Jesse!

Even so, Mr. Jackson's commentary on the Democratic field was hardly

enthusiastic. "These candidates will grow as they go," he said. And Mr. Jackson acted much like a

for me to reconsider." He said he was from I come from the bottom, too." " THE perfectly happy registering voters and Mr. Harkin talked about his support pressing for statehood for the District for civil rights struggles and seemed to of Columbia as its non-voting repre- win over the students with his attacks on President Bush. Pointing to the mostly black crowd Mr. Harkin said of the President: "He'll run against you. He'll find some

> He won't win. Not this time. People want hope, not hate." The students clapped in agreement,

> slogan, some code word, and he'll come

down and divide us so he can lead us.

but when it was all over, it was Jesse Jackson, no Tom Harkin, who seen

The 1992 Campaign

Campaign Finance

Clinton Coalition Proves Effective at Raising Money

in raising money largely because he has put together a coalition of old-time er program that can match up prospective donors with members of Congress Washington lobbyists and younger law- who seek his advice on where to get yers who joined him early because

Mr. Clinton has also benefited from he money-raising skills of his wife. Hillary. She has proven to be an ideal surrogate for Mr. Clinton: someone as appealing to

in February, according to records at candidate. mpaign headquarters in Little Rock, Ark. That is about \$1 million more than Paul E. Tsongas's aides said they ex-

more than \$7 million. Of that, about front-runner, making his campaign a leading.

noney-raisers. Mr. Raiser, the com- its principal money-raiser. ttee chairman, said the group con-

Then, almost as an afterthought, Mr. Raiser introduced a figure sitting be-

A wife is nearly donors as the

Several leading Democrats not affili- in New Hampshire," he said. week of the Clinton other people played important roles in provided an early and strong financial and others pledged to increase their Washington lawyer, looked out at about is Rahm Emanuel, a 32-year-old politi-0 people and told them they were cal consultant from Chicago who is the

The other is Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Eman-

hind him, Robert Barry, Mr. Barry, he Last week, when the organizers of said, and Thomas H. Boggs Jr., would Washington cocktail party and dinner also be involved in raising money for learned that Governor Clinton had cho "They'll be helping with the opera- send his wife in his place, Mr. Raise

TV Coverage

Of Primaries

eorgia primary election will

Network and C-Span today be-

In addition, CNN will have

special reports from Atlanta at

4:30 P.M. and 12:30 A.M. with

live updates through the

C-Span will broadcast its live

The Public Broadcasting

Service will have periodic up-

dates and a special report as

part of the "MacNeil/Lehrer

The three network news divi-

The last debate in the series, in

Maryland, may have seemed to its

audience to be engaging and original.

But for C-Span viewers, it was like

"It's nice to be out of the line of fire

ntal record. While the audience at

here," Mr. Tsongas said at one point,

after watching Mr. Harkin and Mr. Brown attack Mr. Clinton's environ-

the University of Maryland giggled,

Mr. Kerrey declined to participate

in the Maryland debate. But his fa-

vorite phrase popped up anyway -

Mr. Clinton decided to borrow it "You have a chance to vote for funda-

mental change," he told the audience,

one surprise left in the last debate

The surprise was provided not by the

candidates, but by someone who, like

the viewers, had got to know the

number, the moderator, Bob Beckel,

interrupted exultantly, "I just won a

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Near the end of the debate, when Mr. Brown started to recite his 800

andidates a little too well.

\$1,000 bet on that!" he said.

presumably referring to himself. Even for C-Span viewers, there was

heard the line already in Georgia.

watching M*A*S*H reruns.

sions plan live updates through

reports during sporadic interruptions of its coverage from

ginning at 11 P.M.

11 P.M. to 1 A.M.

the evening.

Campaign Journal

3 Debates in 30 Hours: Political Instant Replay

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Participating in three debates in 30

ours, as the Democratic Presiden ial candidates did last weekend, de erves to be classified as an act of lic service. Televising three detively dispelled the myth that television must be entertaining, broadcast the debates in their entirety, all between 9:30 P.M. Saturday and 11 P.M. Sunday. By watching a single debate, viewers could learn something substantive about the candidates' posi-

tions on the issues. By watching all three, they could learn something less savory about the democratic process: how candidates steal lines from each other, recycle their ostensibly spontaneous jokes and generally repeat themselves from one end of the country to the other.

Not surprisingly, the first episode in C-Span's three-part miniseries the Colorado debate — was the most

An Infelicitous Remark

Early on in the episode, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, haunted by accusations of marital infidelity, stumbled into an infelicitous double-entendre when asked if half of his Cabinet appointments would be women. I wouldn't restrict myself to having just half the Cabinet be women." Mr. Clinton said. "I might want

pressed twitter from the audience. Also in this episode, Mr. Clinton issued one of the campaign's more petulant insults, telling former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, "No one can argue with you, Paul; you're always perfect." Mr. Tsongas replied: "I'm not per-

fect. But I'm honest." Sounding like a holdup man in a Bgrade movie, he then challenged his rivals to pledge to give up their at-tacks on one another, "Put up your hands!" he demanded. "Put up your

By the second episode in the series, the Georgia debate, the candidates seemed to be growing self-conscious and even their attacks had a halfhearted quality.

Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska tried to impugn Mr. Clinton's patriotism and accused him of giving a Patents: Saturday in Business Day "baloney" answer on health care. Bu perhaps because Mr. Kerrey was not actually present at the debate - he spoke over a satellite hookup — the jabs failed to draw blood.

They're Hardly Original

Mr. Tsongas repeated his line about giving up attacks and negative advertisements. Senator Kerrey stressed the need for "fundamental change," saying for the umpteenth time, "We've got to shake this government to its foundations." Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of Califor nia gave out his 800 number again, while Governor Clinton looked on laughing. Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa declined to show up altogether.

WASHINGTON, March 2 - As the Barry and Mr. Boggs typified the old. | Clinton substituting.

Arkansas remains the undisputed lead- Barry, a longtime Washington lobbyist Governor, he recalled, and in the end, an extramarital affair and draft evaer among the Democrats in campaign for the General Electric Company. Mr. the events were so oversubscribed that Mr. Clinton is continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a comput- so that paying guests could take them. been using the Greek-American population as a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed ton, Boggs & Blow, even has a computation of the continuing to succeed to the continuing At the events, Mrs. Clinton spoke

("One of the things we've learned in 17 tences with a proper surrogate preface who had pledged to give money and ("Bill Clinton believes. ..."). But most raise money from others in the state. often she spoke in her own voice of her

country could do with a lot fewer of us campaign job for her son. Another ormer Senator from Massachusetts is has said, on the legislation pending at a things," she said. Lawyers outnum- Mrs. Clinton's at Wellesley College, The next morning, Mr. Emanuel met guests would be Wellesley alumnae.

\$1 million has come from the New York area, \$1 million from the Washington were picking a winner early.

"It's not lost on either Bill or Hillary some cases, he telephoned top cambrates what were picking a winner early." ated with the campaign also said two The Arkansas money, especially, some wrote out checks immediately

If the people in the audience repre- committee to discuss whether to post- to spend nearly \$600,000 in the last few sented some sort of new breed, Mr. pone the event or let it go on with Mrs. days of the New Hampshire primary political season moves into a series of For two decades, Democratic candi- No one thought the loss would be Mr. Clinton buy advertising to counter rucial primaries, Gov. Bill Clinton of dates have been eager to recruit Mr. severe if Mrs. Clinton replaced the negative publicity from accusations of

Last week in New Jersey, Mr. Eman-

uel's intense style was on display. He met individually with several people 'investors" in the effort and deserved

nation of reasons, the main one being with Mr. Raiser and his mid-Atlantic To all, Mr. Emanuel promised he The Clinton campaign's total to date that he was labeled for months as the finance committee for a little cheer-would either take care of their requests ple on the line. They were impressed -

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Note: In 1988, the state party charged campaigns \$5,000 for access to a voting list and all other services, including mailing labels. This year, the party charges a basic \$500 access fee, with additional charges depending on the

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mism about the ability of American

values to survive in the face of for

plies pessimism about the ability of

Americans to benefit from interac

ism, high tariffs and nativist restric-

tions on immigration were hallmarks

of Republicanism. This began to

change in 1940, when the party reject

ed isolationism. But for decades after-

ward, the Democrats remained the

But the change in the relative pos-

tioning of the two parties toward the

rest of the world did not come until the

Reagan Presidency. Part of the rea-

opposite direction. In 1984, when Wal-

ter Mondale ran as a mild protection

ist, the Democrats for the first time in

history presented themselves as the

more protectionist of the two parties

More important, Mr. Reagan was the

more internationalist of the parties.

tion with the rest of the world.

The New Hork Times

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JACK ROSENTHAL, Editorial Page Editor

Representative Gingrich sounded the "welfare

The unmistakable implication is that New York

What makes such reckless criticism especially

and other large cities are responsible for their own

cultural vitality, also serve as the nation's poor-

houses, containing a disproportionate share of the

know, probably better than anyone, how harshly the

and other expenditures related to the poor are

soaring. How has Washington responded? In the

last 10 years, the Federal Government's share of

state and local budgets has decreased by about 8

reaches out tensely for support from conservative

Southerners in primaries today and next Tuesday.

Blaming the victims is the wrong way, indeed

President Bush, already rocked by Patrick

dependent population. Messrs. Quayle and Gingrich

Medicaid, AIDS, homelessness, foster care

rapacious unions and welfare cheats.

Government has slashed urban aid.

school custodians.

PHILIP M. BOFFEY, Deputy Editorial Page Editor LANCE R. PRIMIS, President and General Manage. RUSSELL T. LEWIS, Executive V.P., Deputy Gen. Mgr. JOHN M. O'BRIEN, Executive V.P., Deputy Gen. Mgr. WILLIAM L. POLLAK, Executive V.P., Sales JAMES A. CUTIE, Sr. V.P., Marketing ERICH G. LINKER JR., Sr. V.P., Advertising ELISE J. ROSS, Sr. V.P., Systems and Technology MICHAEL J. KURTZ, V.P., Human Resource KAREN A. MESSINEO, V.P., Controller JOSEPH M. MULLEN, V.P., Production CHARLES E. SHELTON, V.P., Circulation is now a recognized crime under inernational customary law.

THE NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS/LETTERS TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1992

The Willie Horton of 1992

Bush campaign broadcast an attack ad about a state" theme again this weekend while campaignblack murderer to inflame voters crudely and un- ing with President Bush for the Georgia primary. fairly against Michael Dukakis. Now the Bush cam- He spoke mockingly, for instance, of New York paign is trying to demonize Democrats again, but City's labor agreements with its controversial this time much more ambitiously. To judge by current evidence, the new Willie Horton is New

As before, the President remains mostly above dire fiscal straits because they are indifferent to any such sordid politics. He sniped at welfare in his State of the Union address. Now his surrogates, Vice President Dan Quayle and Representative Newt galling is that America's big cities, centers of Gingrich, have taken to denouncing and deriding New York in terms so callous that their only readily imaginable purpose is divisive gain.

Michael Dukakis was widely faulted for failing to strike back at such smears in the last Presidential campaign. If there's a bright side to this year's version, it is that Gov. Mario Cuomo, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and other officials have already been quick to respond.

Vice President Quayle launched the first salvos in the campaign in a speech last week before the Buchanan's strong finish in New Hampshire Economic Club of New York. "The liberal vision of a happy, productive and content welfare state hasn't even worked on 22 square miles of the most valuable real estate in the world," he said.

An Incentive for Saddam Hussein

dishonorable way, to turn right.

Saddam Hussein now provokes a new show- compensation terms for victims of Iraqi aggres down with the United Nations. He refuses to cooper-sion. ate in destroying Scud missile plants and other weapons facilities covered by the Persian Gulf war or propaganda ploy. But by responding wişely, the cease-fire resolution. The Security Council is right to warn of serious consequences - read military force — and set an early deadline for compliance.

end to the 18-month economic embargo depends solely on Iraq complying fully with all relevant Security Council resolutions, not on the removal of regime. Logically, full compliance with the world Saddam Hussein. His departure would be widely com applauded, in and out of Iraq. But while he remains in control, there's no harm in providing him some tions against South Africa once President F. W. de incentive to comply with U.N. demands.

The latest confrontation began last week when Iraq refused to cooperate with a U.N. commission to a phased easing of economic sanctions.

Those terms are unacceptable. They amount to elimination of most missiles, intrusive inspections, relief, with or without Saddam Hussein.

Iraq's latest answer may be just one more stall Security Council may be able to break the long impasse. The arrival of a high-level Iraqi delegation in New York next week provides a good opportunit But the U.N. also needs to make clear that an for spelling out what is and is not required to end the

Sanctions are meant to pressure an outlaw munity's demands should bring sanctions to an end. That has been the argument for ending sanc-Klerk abolished the main pillars of apartheid. Congress follows the same logic when it votes to link inimpeded trade with China to Beijing's fulfillmen of a list of conditions.

The same reasoning applies to Iraq. So far oring weapons plant destruction. Iraq's For- Saddam Hussein has resisted cooperating with the eign Minister then sent the Security Council a letter, U.N. But if economic and military pressures compel offering to allow monitoring only if the U.N. linked it him to cooperate fully, the U.N. should be prepared to lift the sanctions.

President Bush and Prime Minister Major of bargaining over issues already settled by the war Britain have pledged to maintain sanctions as long and solemnly agreed to by Iraq. Given Baghdad's as Saddam Hussein remains in power. But for now, long record of duplicity, delay and defiance, it is not they have no obvious way to push him out. It would entitled to any advance installments of relief before be perverse for these veto-wielding powers to disit has delivered on all its pledges - destruction of courage the Security Council from telling Baghdad nuclear, biological and chemical weapons facilities, that full compliance is the only path to economic

Sense, and Sensitivity, About Asians

Asian-Americans suffer from two equally un-struggle to succeed. The report urges political leadfair stereotypes. They're considered a "model mi- ers to "refrain from 'race-baiting' tactics in upcomnority," industrious and resourceful. They're also ing election campaigns." It fails to denounce simiseen as insular and threatening - and not quite lar activities by business leaders, but the message American. They lose on both counts. The "model minority" myth holds them to an unreasonable standard. The hypercompetitive stereotype exposes bigotry and violence against Asian-Americans genthem to abuse and bigotry.

That's the basic conclusion of a report released
Chinese-American by two white automobile worklast week by the United States Commission on Civil ers in Detroit. Other incidents arise from perceived Rights. The report adds a sane and welcome coun-

ria, about Asians and the United States. Like other immigrants, Asian-Americans are

economic challenges - including the 1990 boycott terweight to recent oversimplifications, even hyste- by blacks of two grocery stores owned by Korean-Americans in Brooklyn

applies to them as well.

The commission asks for sense from politicians diverse. Bigotry and resentment undervalue the and sensitivity from the media, employers, the contributions of those who succeed and underesti- police, courts and schools. It's a timely message, mate the needs of those who, like many Americans, especially in this political season.

Simplistic efforts to scapegoat Japan lead to

erally. The commission cites the murder in 1982 of a

Topics of The Times

History's Pickpocket

Late in January, someone swiped George Washington's wallet - yes, the George Washington. It had been on test about such features as a guide to movies "safe for display at the Old Barracks Museum in Trenton, N.J., well known for the Revolutionary collection it maintains in the only British colonial barracks still standing in America. (Hessian troops were quartered there when Washington crossed the Delaware on Christmas night in 1776.)

The wallet resembles a purse more than a modern billfold. Made of leather, it closes with a clasp that's hardly seems moronic: Barbara Bush, because she acengraved "G.W. 1776." When it disappeared, \$1.67 in cepts her age, unlike her husband, who, the editor tartly Continental currency went with it - a 1779 dollar bill and a two-thirds dollar bill from 1776.

the wallet was back, returned by a Pennsylvania lawyer who said he was acting on behalf of someone else. But the their children. thief is still at large - with the cash, which is presumably worth more than \$1.67 these days. Luckily, frugal George carried no credit cards.

Growing Old Disgracefully

Americans on the "wrong" side of 50 can only weltrendy magazines treat aging as a felony; few gray hairs ever grace their covers. But the 54-year-old editor of The in ratio that begins at birth.

Oldie, Richard Ingrams, says his biweekly will engage in full frontal battle with the cult of youth

His first issue has already provoked squeals of prooldies to see" and "Still With Us," profiling seniors

everyone mistakenly believes to be dead. That's "disgraceful," protests one critic, who complains that the editors, who were once young and rebellious, now comport themselves like "babbling, senile morons." But Mr. Ingrams's choice of a model oldie remarks, "keeps jogging all the time."

The Oldie is a logical sequel to the generational wars Lo and behold, three weeks later, on President's Day, of the 1960's: those who once rebelled against their parents, having begun to creak themselves, now mock

Correction

An editorial yesterday titled "Women's Work" erred in asserting that more girls than boys are born. Typically, 105 males are born for every 100 females, reflecting th biological fact that males are more susceptible to fatal come a new magazine in Britain called The Oldie. Today's childhood diseases. Child-rearing practices in poorer countries that favor male children only add to a disparity

International Law Won't Shield Libyan Agents

the suspects to an outside tribunal

None of this has anything to do with

authority for turning over the agents

"must rest on an extradition treaty,

and Libya has none with the United

States or Britain." But even if there

were such an extradition treaty, it

would not likely provide for extradit-

Nor would such a treaty - if it

procedural rights of the accused.

Anthony Lewis incorrectly states under stipulations protecting the full an important point of international law in his "Alarm in Cairo" (column, Feb. 9), regarding the two Libyan extradition. Mr. Lewis writes that the agents suspected of planting the bomb that destroyed Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. He refers to unnamed international lawyers who assert that "there is no basis in international law for the demand that Libya turn over citizens ing one's own nationals to the other suspected of crimes to another coun- party. try." But iternational terrorism especially involving unlawful acts existed - protect the Libyan agents

I am dismayed by "There's a Law

Against Feeding Those Filthy,

Greedy Pigeons," Frances Gold-

stein's unkind Feb. 17 letter. Having

read one hate letter, you have read

them all. People with full stomachs

My wife and I have been rehabili-

tating injured wild birds for 13 years,

and she also works as an animal

technician with birds in a veterinary

nospital. People often try to give us

expensive parrots, but we would take

a street pigeon over a \$10,000 macaw.

Parrots are great, but they bite. Pi-

geons are gregarious, sweet and lov-

ng, easy to tame, enjoy human com-

mine takes a nap with me, takes a

shower with me, rides on my shoulder

in the car and gets along with our

dogs and cats. We wouldn't own a dog

If Ms. Goldstein thinks pigeon drop-

pings are "ugly and offensive to look

what humans have done to the earth.

people are encouraged to feed the

birds. Medical statistics will bear out

Radiation in Smoking

cells from low-level alpha radiation,

was described by R. T. Ravenhol

The New England Journal of Medi-

is in tobacco smoke, resulted in ma-

"carried by the systemic circulation

o every tissue and cell causing muta-

The American public, he believed,

tions of cellular genetic structures."

1977 that smokers consuming 30 ciga-

1985), also citing R.T. Ravenholt.

Can Damage Genes

at," she ought to take a closer look at weakened immune systems.

St. Mark's Square in Venice, where room on the page, when we are des-

that bit us when it felt like it!

nionship and don't bite. One of

against the safety of civil aviation - under the "political offense" exception. Relevant international conventions such as the European Conven-It follows that Libya cannot lawfultion on the Suppression of Terrorism ly shield terrorists against interna- of 1976 make it clear that air piracy tional criminal prosecution and aircraft bombing are exception

Pigeons Are Sweet, Loving and Don't Bite

Libya has several choices under to the political offense exception. This last consideration strips away ventions that have attained the status any possible claim that Libya might of customary law. Libya can pros- make that harboring such terrorists ecute the agents under its own law constitutes a justifiable act of politiand must accept assistance from oth- cal asylum. ANTHONY D'AMATO er states (evidence, witnesses) in the Professor of Law, Northwestern U. prosecution. Or Libya can turn over Chicago, Feb. 14, 1992

No Maltese Suitcase

To the Editor: Rational writing on the subject of Libya such as Anthony Lewis's con-Cairo" (column, Feb. 9) is rare and welcome. But Mr. Lewis is perhaps unaware that the Maltese conducted an investigation and found that of Dec. 21, 1988, there was no unaccom nied suitcase on Air Malta Flight KM-180 to Frankfurt (The Times of

Malta, Nov. 16, 1991) The Bush Administration mu have known about the result of the Maltese investigation no later than Dec. 17, 1991, when a Maltese-Libvan joint communiqué was issued. That the Administration went ahead with its accusations against Libva indicates it was motivated more by political vendetta than any desire for jus-ANN LEGGETT

Air Hijacking

Contrary to your report on the brouhaha in France stirred by medical aid for George Habash (news article, Jan. 31), Mr. Habash's Popur ar Front for the Liberation of Palestine was not "the first group to hijack aircraft in the late 1960's." Israe originated the practice in 1954.

Long Island City, Queens, Feb. 13, 1992

On Dec. 8 of that year, five Israell soldiers were captured in Syria, apparently retrieving eavesdropping equipment. On Dec. 12, Israeli jet fighters intercepted a Syrian civilian aircraft flying from Damascus (c Egypt, claiming that the plane had violated Israeli airspace.

The following day you reported that this "development appears to have given Israel an unexpected position of strength for negotiating the release of Syria's prisoners."

Gen. Moshe Dayan was then Israeli, Chief of Staff. The Israeli Prime Min-Moshe Sharett, wrote in his diary, "It is clear that Dayan's intention . . . is to get hostages in order to obtain the release of our prisoners in:

Contrary to General Dayan's hopes, no exchange took place. Prime Minister Sharett added that the United States State Department com-Does Ms. Goldstein think pigeons plained that "our action was without I don't know if Paris enacted an enjoy scrounging each day just to precedent in the SAM HUSSEINI anti-pigeon-feeding law, but look at survive? I am saddened you give this tional practice."

Associate, Fairness and Accuracy vote for (No Nickname) Tsongas. in Reportin The implication was that Geor-New York, Feb. 18, 1992 gians were the true salt of the earth's 992 class structure, in which pure niddle-classness is the absolute top

Blame as Well as Credit for Reaganomics

gan Administration's economic poli- ers are out of business or in bankrupt-The long-term genetic damage to cies with the expansion of the 1980's cy courts. Americans are realizing in "Oovood Economics" (Op-Ed, Feb. that in many cases there were legitiwhich you report in "British and U.S. but he neglects some conse- mate reasons for regulation. Researchers Find a New Form of quences of those policies. Mr. Fried- When Mr. Friedman states "this Radiation Injury" (news article, Feb. man's "four planks" of Reaganomics in a letter published July 28, 1982, in cine: Tests showed that polonium-210, which emits alpha radiation and

droppings, but the droppings must

dry for about a year without sunlight,

normally in close quarters. Even then

it seems to affect only those with

perate for kindness. BUZZ ALPERT

Chicago, Feb. 18, 1992

become airborne and then be inhaled,

tradict Mr. Friedman's claim that lignancies throughout the body when ernment spending grew. The national country in the November election. has been exposed to far more radiation from tobacco smoke than any trillion in the eight Reagan years. other source. The National Council of

Radiation Protection estimated in Government spending rose as a frac-credit for the expansion of the 80's. tion of income until 1985, but then and ignores the huge deficits that rettes a day absorbed 8 rems of alpha dismisses this because Government fueled the expansion, he is letting his radiation a year, more than that perspending as a fraction of income fell political inclinations interfere with mitted for nuclear industry workers. slightly after 1985. This is analogous-I mentioned this unavailingly in to paying \$10,000 for a car with a ing. If we give Reaganomics credit letters to Scientific American (Sep- \$1,000 rebate, and then viewing it as if for the boom of the 80's, we also must tember 1980) and Environment (May you had been given a car and \$1,000, acknowledge that those policies laid ignoring the \$9,000 you paid. What Mr. the groundwork for this recession and Perhaps with the confirmation by Friedman muddles is that Govern-Eric Wright in England and John ment spending as a fraction of in-Little at Harvard that alpha radiation come rose under Ronald Reagan.

can result in delayed cellular muta- If the deregulation of the Reagan Professor of Geology, Hofstra U. \$500 billion taxpayer bailout of failed Great Neck, L.I., Feb. 20, 1992 saving and loans institutions, and for

Milton Friedman credits the Rea- dustry, in which half the major carri-

- lower tax rates, restraint in Gov- the contrary public perception," one ernment spending, deregulation and has to question his perspective. Mr. a strict monetary policy - must bear Friedman is probably surviving the a responsibility for the recession. recession nicely, with a secure job "Reducing revenue available to Con- differ about the severity of the recesgress is the only effective way to limit sion. These Americans, whom Mr. spending." The Reagan tax cuts re- Friedman feels safe in neglecting. duced Government revenue, yet Gov- will decide the future course of the

debt tripled from \$1 trillion to \$3 Mr. Friedman has made valuable Mr. Friedman acknowledges that However, if he gives Reaganomics the science he has spent his life study weakened our economic base. It is a shame when an economist as

gifted as Mr. Friedman mixes his legitimate study of economics with tions, the Ravenholt findings will re- years is a success, the deregulation his personal social and political beceive more attention. JULIAN KANE must also take responsibility for the liefs, for it only detracts from his true TOM RUBEY Centerville, Ohio, Feb. 18, 1992

Department Stores Remain in Grave Condition

To the Editor:

"Department Stores' Fate" states: 'Yet the traditional department store's share of the general merchandise market has declined much less than the highly visible bankruptcies of major stores would seem to indi-

cate" (news analysis, Feb. 3). I believe the writer has confused the Department of Commerce figures for "department stores" with "conventional department stores." Since 1987, the Department of Commerce has broken department store figures into conventional, national chain and discount department stores.

The bulk of the growth has come in liscount department stores - which the article does not mention. For the period 1987-90 total depart-

ment store sales increased 15.8 percent. Conventional increased by 11 percent, national chains by 2.8 percent and discount by 26.5 percent. For the first 10 months of 1991, the sales figures of conventional depart-

ment stores dropped by .2 percent

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge or return unpublished letters. Those selected for publication may be shortened for space reasons.

and national chains dropped 2.2 percent, while discount department stores increased 8.9 percent. For the same period, discount department store sales exceeded the combined total of conventional and national

a statement you quote from a retail- including weekends and holidays, for ing professional, "The reports of the two of New York City's largest law death of the department stores are firms. Why, he asks, should their hard premature." Department stores are work mean more taxes? seriously ill and badly need the medicine suggested by Prof. Walter J. an upstate branch of the State Uni-Salmon of Harvard Business School: echnologies to improve efficiency and lower expenses. ROBERT KAHN

Lafayette, Calif., Feb. 10, 1992 The writer is a retailing consultant.



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RTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Chairma and Chief Executive Officer WALTER E. MATTSON, President LAURA J. CORWIN, Secretary DAVID L. GORHAM, Sr. V.P., Treasurer and Chief Financial Officer MICHAEL E. RYAN, Senior Vice Presiden.

Hard Work for Some Brings Small Returns

I sympathize with the plight Christopher H. Stephens describes in "Cuomo Misdirects His Aim at 'the Rich' for Heavier Taxes" (letter, chain department stores by 4 percent. Feb. 12). Mr. Stephens and his wife These figures would seem to refute find themselves working long hours,

For more than 20 years, I taught at versity of New York. I spent days. teaching, counseling students, working on committees; nights, weekends and holidays I graded exams and essays from 120 to 150 students. I was occasionally allowed to teach a night. course, earning \$800 to \$1,350 for a

Some of my younger colleagues, earning less than \$30,000 a year, still, put in these hours at work. I've paid punishing taxes too, but lo couldn't complain, knowing that some people were living in the streets in cardboard boxes.

I can't do much about Mr. Steri phens's taxes, but I thought his knowing that other people work just as hard as he and his wife do, and probably earn far less, might help him with his self-pity. EDWARD McCAMY Alfred, N.Y., Feb. 12, 1992

press ride before and during a prima-

ple its future.

around Mr. Buchanan, just now beginning to crumble a brick or two, Americans who made the charges believe they are valid and demonstrable on the basis of what he has said and written. Those who accuse Mr. Buchanan do not consider him just one more politician to be yawned at Buchanan - should be President of In 1984 and 1988, the system gave during the campaign and safely forgotten afterward. semester's teaching. After the election, whether Mr.

Bush or a Democrat wins, Mr. Buchanan will go right on campaigning from his TV and newspaper platforms, this time backed by a tested political machine. His goal will be first to remold the American conservative movement in his image and

> a new reactionary American party, his very own. So where is President Bush in all false he certainly should ay so.

dium upper middle class and the upper middle class among themselves? Which brings us to the so-called 'Sonbelt issue." This has been created by press statements that though Bill has yet to win a primary he is the Democratic front-runner because, be ing "a son of the South," he will surely do well (say polls and wizards) in Southern primaries.

cruel strategic decisions to make:

Should they let Bill's claim to the

midmost middle of the middle class

go unchallenged? Or should they div

vy up the lower middle class, the

medium lower middle class, the me-

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Just Regular Guys

ever been a political campaign with Tsongas, Bob, Tom and Jerry with

so many issues? Issues out in the

open. Issues on the table. Issues un-

der the bed. Tired old issues. New

improved issues as well as new mir-

acle issues with twice as many mind-

And what of the issue that dare not

speak its nickname? Yes, you have

been subconsciously aware of it. You

have probably even asked yourself,

"Why do I have this feeling that

there's something wrong with Bush

and Tsongas?" You couldn't explain

It was, of course, the subliminal

nickname issue doing its work. Who

are the only two candidates the press

never calls by a regular-guy nick-

Everybody else is Pat, Bill, Bob,

Tom and Jerry. Don't they sound like

the kind of people you'd like to have

for a President? Pat, Bill, Bob, Tom

and Jerry. Regular guys. The kind of

guys who might live next door, guys

who might hang around the bowling

alley, high-five kind of guys. Guys

whose vision of the future might be

right up there in a class with Jeffer-

Pat, Bill, Bob, Tom and Jerry:

Now put George and Paul on the

squad. Make you nervous, don't they?

George and Paul sound like the kind

f people regular guys nowadays call

'suits." Or maybe a duo that used to

This is the nickname issue and

there is not much Bush and Tsongas

'Paul' don't lend themselves to the

nickname treatment without going to

Mafia extremes, which would only

worsen their predicament. Imagine

Bush trying to survive a campaign

with the press constantly calling him

Another vital issue: Who will speak

for the midmost middle of the middle

class? This issue was injected into

the campaign by Bill when he re-

duced his labors in Maryland to work

harder in Georgia. Marylanders, Bill

than middle-class." hence likely to

profound ignorance of East Balti-

Once again, George Bush is being

given the greatest of all political op-

portunities - to act like a President

of the United States. This time the

donor of the gift is Patrick Buchanan.

against Mr. Buchanan. He stands ac-

cused of being bigoted against blacks,

contemptuous of women, derisive of

democracy, divisive of America, anti-

Semitic, a political jingoist who will

march the United States straight into

an economic war against the world

we do not need and cannot win, a bully

who argues by insult and epithet, and

a demagogue whose slogans about

America First, Second and Third

come out of the past and would crip-

Ouite a list - even in the above

incomplete form. Similar charges

have not been made in modern times

against any major Presidential can-

didate. They were not created out of a

sudden wave of animosity toward the

man. As a matter of fact his televi-

sion-program partners are forever

telling us what a charming fellow he

really is, and no politician ever re-

ceived a more chucklingly gentle free

Speaking up

about Buchanan.

Despite the wall of chumminess

lican candidate or the commander of litical life.

Consider some of the charges

can do about it since "George" and

sing hymns to champagne music on

the Lawrence Welk show.

What a start for a great softball team.

son's or Reagan's.

name? Bush and Tsongas.

that uneasy suspicion, could you?

The issue here is one for Southerners. They must ask themselves, 'Does my loyalty to the Sonbelt and all its progeny outweigh my distaste for being lumped into the dreary common-denominator block of humanity embodied in the concept of midmost

Except Paul and George.

middle of the middle class?" On the Republican side new issues arise every day. Just the other day we saw Pat introduce the art iss

Can America afford a President who grants subsidized artists the same privilege accorded subsidized farmers and subsidized businessmen: to wit, the right to pull stunts that are decidedly naughty? Pat says (No Nickname) Bush has

failed America not just by continuing to remain involved with the rest of the planet, but also by letting subsidized artists do things that would disgust all right-thinking Americans if they could push their way through the mobs of other right-thinking Americans eager to be repelled by the spectacle of such grossness. Meanwhile, back at the Democra-

said, were "more upper-middle-class cy, Bob is trying to deprive Bill of the Sonbelt issue by raising the electability issue, also known as "the soft peanut issue" after Bob's prediction that Bill would "get opened up like a And what of the Mario Cuomo is-

of the heap. Aside from betraying a sue? For that matter, what of the Dan Quayle issue? Moreover, to put the more, Bill's suggestion that he would matter bluntly as Robert Benchley try to seize the midmost middle of the did 60 years ago, after 1903, what?

columns, TV transcripts, magazine

articles, books, speeches, and the

during his years as a White House

But this time it is not good enough

to rely on surrogates - computerized

The one politician who stands to

lose most if Mr. Buchanan increases

in conservative or Republican impor-

tance is the chief surrogate himself

Vice President Quayle. He is indeed a

lot more sophisticated and able than

he is thought to be, as any private and,

open-minded conversation with him

But the Vice President has not yet

shown the gumption to mention such

things as bigotry in his wrist-tapping

of Mr. Buchanan, Maybe that is news,

what he stands for is not what Amer-

thy of a vote, protest or otherwise.

nent would not be "Presidential."

ica stands for or ever should.

up for inquiring reporters.

or human.

would show

being President

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

The President's Job

A Loser's Guide To the Primaries

By David H. Sawyer

In the midst of a recession, with a

weak Republican in the White House, voters worry about the future and want to hear substance from the candidates in their home states. The problem is the primary election process. The artificially front-loaded, compressed Democratic process, built

around early Super Tuesdays, stifles debate. The process cheats the voters, candidates and party out of the dialogue needed to produce the best nominee. Paul Tsongas and Senator Bob Kerrey are barely known in most media markets. Gov. Bill Clinton is But of course, he cannot. The docuknown, but not for his record in office mentation exists in Mr. Buchanan's

and stands on the issues. For any candidate to campaign effectively in all these regions at once, memos, notes and papers he wrote he would need millions of dollars or months of time. With the exception of propagandist for Presidents Nixon Governor Clinton, the field is broke, and Reagan. Most of this is already in and the process restricts candidates the Bush campaign computers and to spending only a few hours in most from time to time some of it is popped of the 25 states.

Thus, most voters in, say, Tennessee, Texas and Michigan won't see Mr. Tsongas and Governor Clinton go

The Democratic selection system is unfair to the voters.

head to head on economic policy. Sen-If that is as candid and direct as Mr. Quayle wants to be seen, it can only ior citizens in Florida probably won't know as much as they should about mean that he has given up thoughts of how Senator Kerrey's health plan dif-Anyway, it is the President's job, fers from those of other candidates. not a surrogate's. It is Mr. Bush's job

The front-loaded primary process to tell Americans of his party, and the was created in the early 1980's by whole country, that the reason to vote national Democratic leaders and ceragainst Mr. Buchanan is because tain state party chairmen, particularly Southerners

The national leaders sought to re-That is the root case against Mr. duce to a minimum the weeks de-Buchanan - the whole man and his voted to contested primaries and to beliefs, not any isolated position. The give the eventual nominee maximum President and his men understand time to prepare for the fall campaign. that. Presumably Mr. Bush would

The theory was that less intraparty competition would favor the national agree that no man who repeatedly and deliberately offends so many establishment's well-known, well-fi-Americans in the political pursuit of nanced candidates. State chairmen other Americans, no man who refuses wanted to maximize their states' into back off these offenses, no man fluence on the process, so they raced who sneers at the importance of de- to move their primary dates up on the mocracy - summed up, no Patrick calendar

the United States, speak for a major the establishment the candidates political party or be considered wor- they wanted (but the nation didn't): Walter Mondale and Michael Duka-I know that his aides tell Mr. Bush kis. The system hasn't really worked that criticizing a Republican oppo- for the state chairmen either: When many states vote on the same day, But Mr. Buchanan is not only the none gets much individual attention. opponent of Mr. Bush but of the Re- The front-loading has magnified publican Party, and of all Americans the worst elements of Presidential opposed in stomach and heart to divi-politics. Money has become more imthen to become either the 1996 Repubsiveness, bigotry and calumny in poportant. Bill Clinton's campaign may

So Mr. Buchanan is everybody's business. The opportunity to say so is David H. Sawyer, chairman of the nominee, it is in the party's best interbefore Mr. Bush now, and in duty and Sawyer Miller Group, a corporate est to change the system. It's high this? If he believes the charges are importance it is a truly Presidential communications consulting firm, is a time for the Democratic Party to ☐ Demogratic campaign strategist.

prove that winning the "money pri-

mary" among fund raisers has more impact than carrying New Hamp-

Early front-runners have a tremendous advantage, which means more power for the media, party insiders and special-interest groups, because they create early front-runners. The field is frozen too early. Filing deadnes for states with almost 60 percent of convention delegates passed before anyone voted in New Hampshire this year. It's virtually impossible for new candidates to enter after the end of January - even if the entire field

Arbitrary regional advantages and disadvantages are magnified because Super Tuesday is focused on the South. Governor Clinton can pick up hundreds of early delegates simply by being a Southerner. Midwesterners such as Senators Tom Harkin eliminated early simply because of where they're from

Worst of all, the nominee can avoid being seriously challenged on issues and character by strong opponents. In 1976, before front-loading took hold, Jimmy Carter ran a five-month regional and ideological gantlet. In 988, Michael Dukakis blanketed the Super Tuesday airways with commercials about the "Massachusetts miracle" for a few weeks and was

assured of the nomination in March. What champions of the system don't seem to understand is that the electorate will eventually always demand an in-depth dialogue with any unknown Democrat who expects to be President, And the Republicans and media are eager to facilitate this dialogue. An untested nominee will not go untested in the fall.

The voters get to know the candidates

first six weeks or so of the campaign

should feature other small- to medi

to narrow the field and sharpen the

and early May.

upon regional balance, with rotating

voting among regions during both

Fourth, the filing process and dead-

signatures from each of 34 Congres-

toward creating real dialogue be-

the April 7 New York primary.

early phases of the campaign.

Third, the entire pro-

campaigning must set in.

The system must be changed. First, we need more New Hampof Equality." shires. Nearly everyone agrees that the state's primary basically works:

The Wrong Man On the Right

vear, Patrick Buchanan's strong showing in the New Hampshire primary means that the war over the future of the Republican Party will be on his terrain.

able to his ideological account.

What is the Buchanan platform? Some of it is a restatement of Rea-George Bush has moved away from his predecessor's policies. These include opposition to the 1990 tax increase, to affirmative action quotas scenity in the arts. These issues have created considerable tension between the President and conservatives.

But the striking part of Mr. Buchanan's platform is elsewhere - in a set of issues where he parts company not just from President Bush but from Ronald Reagan. Mr. Buchanan is the first serious Republican candidate in many decades to run as an isolationist, a protectionist and a nativist. He opposed the Persian Gulf war and favors a sharp cutback in U.S. participation in international alliances, as well as virtually all foreign aid and trade negotiations. He is a militant critic of immigration other than from Europe and would erect a "Buchanan wall" to cut off illegal immigration from Mexico at the same time he would restrict Mexican imports. These elements of the Buchanan

Buchanan's isolationism betrays Reagan's global view.

from most other conservative leaders - are often called "populist." But historically, populism is more than about the ability of people to make political and other decisions, relative

restrictions by U.S. political elites on the freedom of American consumers to buy foreign products - is and war forces in Russia. always has been a form of economic

Jeffrey Bell, an economic consultant. is author of the forthcoming "Populism and Elitism: Politics in the Age

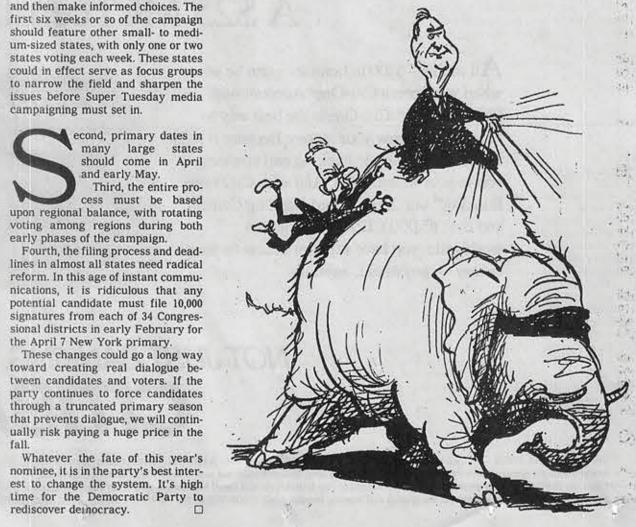
first Republican President ever to make promotion of democracy the centerpiece of his foreign policy. His pro-democratic intervention was at least as evident among American allies such as the Philippines as it was against regimes on the other side in the cold war. Mr. Buchanan was a vehement critic of these efforts. ple — at home and abroad - was one of the keys to his dent that if given the chance, they would readily embrace democratic

values. He was equally optimistic about the ability of Americans to benefit from an integrated world economy. In trade, his major initiative was the promotion of a free-trade zone including the U.S., Canada and Mexico. This accord is now coming to fruition in the Bush Administration. Many conservative leaders who do not share Mr. Buchanan's values seem to take comfort from his candidacy's impact in moving Mr. Bush toward their views on the issues where they feel betrayed. And undoubtedly, the Administration is sounding more progrowth and more hostile to obscenity n the arts than it would have been had . Buchanan not run.

But at the same time, such conser vatives should ask themselves about the impact of the Buchanan challenge

recent inaction of the Bush Administration on this front is dictated at least elite bashing. It involves optimism in part by the Buchanan campaign? Does anyone doubt what the reac-

> Under Ronald Reagan, conservatism advanced an optimistic populist vision for America and the world.



By Jeffrey Bell

ARLINGTON, Va. eign immigration. Isolationism im-

It doesn't matter that his votes may have been cast primarily as an anti-Bush economic protest vote, any more than it mattered that a majority of Eugene McCarthy's 1968 New Hampshire voters turned out to be Vietnam hawks. The candidate who had the ourage to run is the beneficiary of the votes. They are a fungible asset, pay-This would be the case even if (as

proved to be true of Mr. McCarthy) Mr. Buchanan is never able to make another impressive Presidential run. His allies will see to it that his ideas remain very much alive in 1996 and beyond. More likely, the votes and inancial backing that Mr. Buchanan is amassing will leave him as a major political voice after November 1992.

in areas they'd prefer to brush to one side. For example, Mr. Buchanan has taken credit for the President's decision to turn his trip to Japan into a festival of Japan-bashing corporate elitism led by Lee Iacocca. There is talk within the Administration of imposing a 1,000 percent tariff increase

And then there is the issue of aid to Boris Yeltsin and the Russian reformers who are trying to institute Ameriplatform — the ones where he differs can-style democracy and capitalism. Is there anyone who doubts that the

tion of Mr. Buchanan and his camto the ability of elites to make such paign would be should the Presidentmounce aid to try to save Mr. Yel-In this light, protectionism is a tsin's experiment and keep at bay the form of pessimism about American still powerful forces of Russian auproducers and their ability to com- thoritarianism? Mr. Buchanan and pete in the world economy. The pro- his allies say America's victory in the posed solution to this pessimism - cold war demands new thinking. It would be ironic if the first fruit of that. thinking is a comeback for pro-cold

> Patrick Buchanan's isolationism, protectionism and nativism represent a profound departure from this vision and must be rejected.