

IN THE MATTER OF
REPRESENTATIVE GUS SAVAGE

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



JANUARY 31, 1990.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be
printed

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

JULIAN C. DIXON, California, *Chairman*

VIC FAZIO, California

BERNARD J. DWYER, New Jersey

ALAN B. MOLLOHAN, West Virginia

JOSEPH M. GAYDOS, Pennsylvania

CHESTER G. ATKINS, Massachusetts

JOHN T. MYERS, Indiana

JAMES V. HANSEN, Utah

CHARLES PASHAYAN, JR., California

THOMAS E. PETRI, Wisconsin

LARRY E. CRAIG, Idaho

FRED GRANDY, Iowa

RALPH L. LOTEIN, *Chief Counsel*

MARK J. DAVIS, *Counsel*

DAVID J. MCCARTHY, *Counsel*

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT,
Washington, DC, January 31, 1990.

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: By direction of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, I herewith submit the enclosed report, "In the Matter of Representative Gus Savage."

Respectfully,

JULIAN C. DIXON,
Chairman.

Enclosure.

CONTENTS

	Page
I. Introduction.....	1
II. Highlights.....	1
III. Results of Investigation.....	2
A. Facts not in dispute.....	2
B. Interview of Ambassador William Harrop.....	3
C. Interview of Peace Corps Volunteer.....	4
D. Deposition of Daniel McGaffie.....	7
E. Deposition of Bruce J. Cohen.....	9
F. Deposition of Louanner Peters.....	10
G. Interview of Representative Savage.....	12
IV. Legal Analysis.....	13
V. Conclusions.....	14
A. Factual Conclusion.....	14
B. Legal Conclusion.....	14
VI. Recommendation.....	14

EXHIBIT

A. August 3, 1989, Resolution of Preliminary Inquiry.....	15
---	----

APPENDICES

1. July 19, 1989, article in the Washington Post.....	16
2. November 20, 1989, letter of apology to Peace Corps Volunteer from Representative Savage.....	19

IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE GUS SAVAGE

JANUARY 31, 1990.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Mr. DIXON, from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct,
submitted the following

REPORT

I. INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (the "Committee") is authorized by the Rules of the House of Representatives (House Rule X, clause 4(e)(2)(B)) to investigate any alleged violation by a Member, officer, or employee of the House, of the Code of Official Conduct (House Rule XLIII). In addition, alleged violations of any law, rule, regulation, or other standard applicable to the conduct of such Member, officer, or employee, in the performance of his or her duties, or the discharge of his or her responsibilities are within the Committee's jurisdiction.

The July 19, 1989, edition of *The Washington Post* contained a news article about an incident which occurred on March 19, 1989, involving Representative Gus Savage. Specifically, the newspaper reported that while in Kinshasa, Zaire, the congressman behaved improperly towards a Peace Corps Volunteer by making repeated sexual advances. (See App. 1.)

On July 20 and 21, 1989, the Committee received complaints from two Members of the House seeking the Committee's investigation of the accuracy of the *Post* news report. The complaints were deemed to be in proper form under House Rule X and Committee Rule 9.

On August 3, 1989, the Committee adopted a Resolution of Preliminary Inquiry to initiate a formal investigation of "the actions of Representative Gus Savage while that Member traveled to Africa in connection with his official duties and responsibilities in March 1989." (See Exh. A.)

II. HIGHLIGHTS

The Committee concluded that Representative Savage subjected a Peace Corps Volunteer to improper advances. The Committee

also concluded, based upon the circumstances giving rise to Representative Savage's travel to Africa, that the subject conduct occurred in a setting which cannot be deemed wholly separate and apart from his status as a Member of Congress. The events giving rise to the Peace Corps Volunteer having met and joined in Representative Savage's visit to Kinshasa indicated a governmental purpose—an opportunity to brief the congressman on Peace Corps activities in Zaire. No prior personal or private social relationship between the congressman and the Volunteer was either asserted or established. The circumstances under which the Volunteer joined Representative Savage on the evening of March 19, 1989, indicate that her presence was, at a minimum, a mix of social and official activities; that is, a continuation of the basic purpose for which she had been invited to meet with the congressman—to describe her activities as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Zaire.

By letter dated November 20, 1989, Representative Savage apologized to the Peace Corps Volunteer for his words and actions on the evening of March 19, 1989. (See App. 2.)

The Committee clearly disapproves of Representative Savage's actions. However, his self-initiated letter of apology acknowledging improper conduct has rendered unnecessary a Committee direction that he do so. Under these circumstances, the Committee believes that full public disclosure of the results of the Preliminary Inquiry is appropriate in this matter and that no further action is warranted.

III. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

The Preliminary Inquiry focused on Representative Savage's alleged improper conduct towards a Peace Corps Volunteer.¹ To this end, the Committee deposed and/or interviewed a number of individuals.

Information obtained from all sources indicated that there is no factual dispute with respect to the events which occurred prior to the alleged incident regarding Representative Savage. Accordingly, such uncontradicted matters are summarized below.

A. FACTS NOT IN DISPUTE

The idea of Representative Savage visiting Zaire was first raised by Mr. Mamadi Diane, the President of the Zaire-American Research Institute, in late 1988. According to Representative Savage's Chief of Staff, Ms. Louanner Peters, the primary objective of the congressman's traveling to Africa was to "look for avenues for establishing broader and more productive relationships with the Africa-American business community and Africa." Ms. Peters also said the Ivory Coast was another location to be visited.

In early March 1989, the U.S. Ambassador to Zaire, William Harrop, was informed that Representative Savage, accompanied by Mr. Diane, was to visit Zaire and then to travel to the Ivory Coast. The Ambassador observed that Representative Savage had ex-

¹ In order to safeguard the identity of the Peace Corps Volunteer, the Committee has not named that individual but emphasizes that the information obtained from her was sworn to under penalty of perjury. See footnote 2, *infra*.

pressed an interest in obtaining information on trade and small business opportunities, and that the congressman also would be interested in seeing the nightlife in Kinshasa, Zaire.

In connection with the pending visit, the Peace Corps Country Director, Mr. Bruce Cohen, informed the Ambassador that a Peace Corps Volunteer who was a constituent from the congressman's congressional district would be in Kinshasa and suggested that she too might meet Representative Savage to discuss her experiences. The Peace Corps Volunteer was described by Mr. Cohen as having been in Zaire for a short period of time; that she had completed her 12-week training; and that she was considered "conscientious * * * basically a solid volunteer." Mr. Cohen said that he felt that this individual was mature enough to "convey her own impressions of the Peace Corps and do it in a positive sense." He also noted that the individual was going through the typical transition period as a new volunteer and appeared to be doing well. Mr. Cohen's suggestion was agreed to by the Ambassador and the Peace Corps Volunteer.

Ambassador Harrop stated that the Embassy planned what he described as a "team briefing" for the congressman on Monday, and then, on Tuesday, he would be taken around to "see the town."

Representative Savage arrived on Sunday, March 19, 1989, and a dinner in the congressman's honor was held that evening at the Ambassador's house. In addition to the Ambassador and his wife, the dinner was attended by Information Officer Daniel McGaffie, Mr. Diane, Ms. Louanner Peters (the congressman's Chief of Staff), and the female Peace Corps Volunteer who had earlier been described by the Peace Corps Country Director.

After dinner, Representative Savage indicated that he wanted to go to various clubs in the Kinshasa area. Two vehicles, and perhaps a third, were available for this purpose: A car provided by the Government of Zaire; a U.S. Embassy car; and possibly a third automobile. Ambassador Harrop further recalled that Representative Savage took the Peace Corps Volunteer "by the hand" and got into one of the cars—possibly the car provided by the Government of Zaire. The congressman's party, which included the Peace Corps Volunteer, Ms. Peters, Mr. Diane, and Mr. McGaffie, then departed from the Ambassador's residence.

B. INTERVIEW OF AMBASSADOR WILLIAM S. HARROP

On July 31, 1989, Ambassador William S. Harrop, U.S. Ambassador to Zaire, informally met with the Committee. Relevant portions of the Ambassador's interview are set forth below.

On the morning of Monday, March 20, 1989, Ambassador Harrop said he was called by Mr. Bruce Cohen, who stated the Peace Corps Volunteer had informed him that she had a bad experience the prior evening. The Ambassador requested a briefing by Mr. Cohen.

Ambassador Harrop stated that Mr. Cohen had met with the Peace Corps Volunteer who asserted that Representative Savage had been aggressive with her, suggesting sexual activity. Mr. Cohen reportedly told the Ambassador that the Peace Corps Volunteer said that when she and Representative Savage were alone in

the car—while traveling from club to club—Representative Savage was verbally and physically aggressive.

The Ambassador stated that, according to the Peace Corps Volunteer, after returning to the hotel at which Representative Savage was staying, the congressman unsuccessfully attempted to have her to join him in his room. Mr. Cohen reported that Information Officer McGaffie took the Peace Corps Volunteer home.

Ambassador Harrop stated that he met with the Peace Corps Volunteer. The Ambassador said he asked the Volunteer why she kept getting back into the car during the evening instead of leaving the congressman's party. He said she responded that she was scared, Kinshasa was a strange city to her, she had no money, and that she was intimidated by the prospect of causing a scene or angering the congressman.

The Ambassador said that he spoke privately with Representative Savage. The Ambassador told Representative Savage that the congressman had been characterized as conducting himself improperly the prior evening with the Peace Corps Volunteer. The congressman denied any impropriety and called his Chief of Staff, Ms. Peters, over to the conversation to support his assertion that nothing had happened. The Ambassador did not recall any clear response, whether in agreement or disagreement, by Ms. Peters, but that perhaps her equivocal reaction implied agreement with the congressman.

The Committee subsequently communicated with Ambassador Harrop regarding his assessment of the Peace Corps Volunteer's credibility and the accuracy of what she had described during her evening with Representative Savage. In a cable received by the Committee on September 25, 1989, Ambassador Harrop stated that he believed the Peace Corps Volunteer's description of the events of March 19, 1989.

C. INTERVIEW OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER ²

The Peace Corps Volunteer recalled that the congressman and his party arrived at the Ambassador's residence for dinner at approximately 8:00 or 8:30 P.M. on March 19, 1989. After dinner Representative Savage indicated that he was interested in going out. A party of five left the Ambassador's residence to visit various nightspots—Representative Savage, Ms. Peters, Mr. Diane, Mr. McGaffie and the Peace Corps Volunteer. She recalled that two cars were available, and possibly a third, but she distinctly recalled two cars.

Representative Savage said to the Peace Corps Volunteer that she should ride with him in one of the vehicles, and perhaps indicated that this would be an opportunity to discuss "Chicago politics or village life." Thereupon, the individual and Representative

² The Peace Corps Volunteer submitted to an interview in the presence of her attorney on September 14, 1989. While this individual's identity is being protected, the Committee notes that the individual was provided with a copy of a tape recording of the interview, as well as a transcript prepared from that recording. On October 11, 1989, this individual declared under penalty of perjury that the transcript provided to her for review, revision, and return to the Committee, accurately reflected her interview. Accordingly, the information obtained from the Peace Corps volunteer is accorded the same weight as if that individual had been deposed by the Committee under oath.

Savage got into one of the cars alone, except for the driver which had been provided for that vehicle.

Upon getting into the back seat of the car, the Peace Corps Volunteer stated that Representative Savage leaned across the seat and asked, "Do you have to report back everything we do?" Noting that this question made her uncomfortable because "it was kind of a strange thing to say at that point," she replied that they were not going to do anything she could not report back and attempted to make light of the congressman's inquiry. The cars departed the Ambassador's residence.

The Peace Corps Volunteer stated that soon after the car began to move Representative Savage grabbed her around the shoulders and tried to pull her up against him. She stated that she was shocked and that she pushed away from the congressman.

The individual said that the congressman stated he was not interested in discussing business matters; that he works long days and when he gets off work he likes to relax—that she should help him do so. She then indicated that the congressman pulled her up against him, grabbed her face, and forced her to kiss him. She stated that she was very frightened, was pushing Representative Savage away, but that he was not listening and did not stop.

When questioned about why she did not attempt to terminate the evening, the Peace Corps Volunteer stated that she was not familiar with Kinshasa, and that the area in which they were traveling was a poorer section of town.

Upon arriving at the first nightspot, the individual stated that she "jumped" out of the car and went to Ms. Peters. While she did not specifically inform Ms. Peters what the congressman had been doing, and because she was not certain of her position in the situation, she did not accuse him of any particular conduct or describe his actions in detail. The Peace Corps Volunteer stated that Ms. Peters responded with a look and laughter and then walked away from her into the nightclub. Consequently, the Peace Corps Volunteer stated that she joined the Congressman's party which only stayed at the club a few minutes.

The Peace Corps Volunteer stated that the congressman's party returned to the cars. The individual said that Representative Savage came out from the club, took her by the elbow stating to her, "You are my date," and started walking her towards one of the vehicles.

She stated that as soon as they were seated in the car, the congressman renewed his earlier behavior, and again grabbed her and pulled her up against him, placing his hands around her waist and shoulders. This time, however, he asked her to have sex with him and tried to persuade her to do so. She said she resisted him and recalled to his attention a discussion which took place earlier in the evening in which she had mentioned some of the things she had done prior to her Peace Corps assignment—such as working in a shelter and in the Black community. She said the congressman responded by saying, "Oh, someone with your background, you should understand the way the world works. You should know that there are rewards to people who give their all to the movement, give everything to the movement." She said the congressman stated that he had given everything to the movement and that

people who do so can expect rewards. She recalled that he stated, as he was pulling her over to him, that one should be prepared to give their all to the movement and, if one is not prepared to do so, they are not really members of the Black movement but are, rather, traitors to it. The Peace Corps Volunteer stated that she continued to resist the congressman's advances.

The party arrived at and went into a second club and sat around a small table. She said that, not by choice, she was seated between the congressman and a wall. The congressman placed his hand on her leg and thigh, and told her she was beautiful and he wished her to have sex with him. She was very upset and not responsive.

Representative Savage noted that the second nightspot at which the party had arrived was unsatisfactory and that the group should go to another place.

The Peace Corps Volunteer stated that having again returned to the car alone with Representative Savage, he renewed his advances. The party ultimately returned to Representative Savage's hotel.

(The Peace Corps Volunteer reiterated that the congressman's conduct during the evening frightened her and that she was also afraid because she had been sick. Specifically, she noted that she was weak from having suffered illness due to parasites and that was the reason for her being in Kinshasa—medical treatment.)

The group went to a disco bar on an upper level of the hotel, The Intercontinental Hotel. The congressman again stated to the Volunteer his desire for her to spend the night with him, commenting on her being attractive. She was not sure whether the other individuals in the party observed or heard the congressman in making these comments.

In the hotel disco, Representative Savage reportedly said to the Peace Corps Volunteer that he wished to speak to her outside. She stated that she was thinking of leaving the hotel because she had obtained no assistance from any of the other members of the party. Consequently, when Representative Savage said he wanted to speak with her outside, she and the congressman left the disco bar. She described a conversation during which she said Representative Savage apparently made a "last-ditch pitch," saying that he was attracted to her; that she should join him on the rest of his trip as a companion. She rejected his suggestion, saying that she wished to spend no more time with him, and that she did not want ever to see or to hear from him again.

The individual said that she walked through the hotel lobby and out to the front of the building with Representative Savage following her. In the front of the hotel, he continued his advances.

The Volunteer said she told Representative Savage to get away and that she did not want to talk to him. After some period of conversation in front of the hotel, Mr. McGaffie appeared.

The Peace Corps Volunteer stated that Mr. McGaffie walked up to her and the congressman and asked if she was ready to go home. She said that she was. At this point, Representative Savage reportedly took her hand and shook it, saying it was nice to meet her. She left with Mr. McGaffie.

Once in Mr. McGaffie's car, the Peace Corps Volunteer said that Mr. McGaffie expressed regret about what happened to her. He

also stated that he would report to the Ambassador in the morning. The individual reacted that that was the first time that she had heard anyone in the party express any awareness of what had transpired during the evening.

When questioned whether Information Officer McGaffie had asked her whether she was enjoying herself during the evening, the Peace Corps Volunteer stated that Mr. McGaffie at one point, perhaps at the first stop (after her attempted discussion with Ms. Peters), asked if she could "handle" the evening. She said that she did not clearly understand his question but responded that she could. The Volunteer recalled that she might have "been thinking that he was talking about the diplomatic things that he had talked about earlier, about knowing what to say, that kind of thing, so I said yes, I could handle the evening." She said that she had no other conversations with Mr. McGaffie.

The Peace Corps Volunteer said that the next morning, March 20, 1989, she reported her experience to Mr. Cohen, the Peace Corps Country Director. Mr. Cohen told her that he would immediately inform Ambassador Harrop. The individual left Mr. Cohen's office and waited for later contact by Mr. Cohen. That afternoon, Mr. Cohen and the Peace Corps Volunteer met with Ambassador Harrop, where she once again recounted in detail the events of the prior evening. She said the Ambassador informed her that he had already spoken with Representative Savage, inquiring of the congressman about his conduct. She was told that Representative Savage informed the Ambassador that he had not been alone with her and that he did not do anything inappropriate. The Ambassador said Representative Savage called Ms. Peters, his Chief of Staff, to join the conversation, and asked her if he was ever alone with the Peace Corps Volunteer or did anything wrong. Her understanding was that Ms. Peters responded in the negative to both questions.

The Peace Corps Volunteer said she was informed by Ambassador Harrop that he criticized Representative Savage for his conduct.

D. DEPOSITION OF DANIEL MC GAFFIE

On September 21, 1989, the Committee deposed Mr. Daniel McGaffie who was the Information Officer, Press Attache, at the U.S. Embassy at Kinshasa in March, 1989.

Mr. McGaffie said that after dinner at the Ambassador's residence as the congressman's party was preparing to visit clubs in Kinshasha, he "motioned to the Peace Corps Volunteer to come to my car and the Congressman said he preferred she ride with him and I should ride with Ms. Peters", indicating that he [Representative Savage] saw Ms. Peters all the time. Apparently, Mr. Diane, alone, got into the third automobile. The group traveled to a discotheque but did not stay very long—ten minutes—because Representative Savage was not satisfied with the club. The group then went to a second night spot staying approximately 10 to 15 minutes, then went to a third club and stayed another 10 to 15 minutes.

As the group departed from the second club, Mr. McGaffie said that he noticed that "the Peace Corps Volunteer seemed uneasy." He said he asked if there was a problem to which she reportedly replied, "Well, I didn't know my job description included all of this." Asking her what she meant, the Peace Corps Volunteer did not provide a meaningful response. Mr. McGaffie said that he told her that if she was having a problem that, "I have a car and driver. I can take you home at any time." The Peace Corps Volunteer indicated that she understood his comment but did not express a desire to leave.

Mr. McGaffie said that when traveling to and between clubs, the Peace Corps Volunteer rode with Representative Savage, that he rode with Ms. Peters, and that Mr. Diane went by himself.

After several stops, the group went to the Intercontinental Hotel where Representative Savage, Ms. Peters, and Mr. Diane were staying. Mr. McGaffie stated that the group went to the hotel discotheque and that shortly after arriving, the Peace Corps Volunteer left. He said that the individual indicated "she wanted to get some fresh air or something."

Representative Savage left the discotheque just after the Peace Corps Volunteer. Because they had not returned some 15 minutes later, he told Ms. Peters and Mr. Diane that it was late and he was going home. Mr. McGaffie went through the main entrance of the hotel where he saw the Peace Corps Volunteer and Representative Savage talking outside. He said that he approached them and stated that he was ready to go and said goodnight. He asked the Peace Corps Volunteer if she was ready; she said "Yes"; they said goodnight to the congressman and got into Mr. McGaffie's vehicle. Mr. McGaffie said that, "as we were pulling away, the Peace Corps Volunteer sort of broke down. She didn't cry or anything, but she started complaining a bit."

The Peace Corps Volunteer told Mr. McGaffie that Representative Savage was "all over her, that it was one of the most terrible experiences she had ever had in her whole life." Mr. McGaffie said that he was surprised and stated to her that if she were having a problem, she could have said so and he would have taken her home. Mr. McGaffie took the individual to the Peace Corps house, saw that she entered the building and then he went home.

The next day, Mr. McGaffie said he was called by Mr. Bruce Cohen, the Peace Corps Country Director, who asked what had happened the prior evening—the Peace Corps Volunteer had told Mr. Cohen that Representative Savage was "all over her." Mr. McGaffie told the Peace Corps Director, "I didn't see anything."

Mr. Cohen said that the congressman's alleged offensive conduct had occurred in the car. Mr. McGaffie replied that he had not been in the car with Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer, "so I didn't see anything like that." The Peace Corps Country Director said that the Volunteer was very upset and that an appointment had been made with the Ambassador to discuss the matter.

Mr. McGaffie said he was later informed that the Ambassador "supposedly chewed him [Representative Savage] out."

Mr. McGaffie did not recall any particular conversation between the Peace Corps Volunteer and Ms. Peters in which Ms. Peters re-

acted with laughter and walked away from the Peace Corps Volunteer. Again, Mr. McGaffie stated that he told the Volunteer that "if anything was wrong or if she felt uneasy, if she didn't feel comfortable, I would take her home."

Mr. McGaffie recalled that Representative Savage mentioned "something about going to the Ivory Coast and he invited the Peace Corps Volunteer to go with him." Specifically, the congressman said, "Why don't you come with us and spend a couple of days in the Ivory Coast." The Peace Corps Volunteer said "No, I just couldn't do that."

Mr. McGaffie said he asked the Peace Corps Volunteer why she didn't leave earlier in the night. She responded that she did not know what to do. "I didn't know what was expected of me." The Peace Corps Volunteer did not describe what she meant by "he was all over me."

Subsequent to the September 21, 1989, deposition, Mr. McGaffie provided the following additional written information to the Committee:

With respect to the deposition I gave on September 21, I'd like to add that I had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Peace Corps Volunteer when she told me during our drive to her residence that the Congressman was "all over" her. She was so upset that I had no reason to doubt her credibility.

E. DEPOSITION OF BRUCE J. COHEN

On September 26, 1989, the Committee deposed Mr. Bruce J. Cohen, the Peace Corps Country Director in Zaire. The following summarizes relevant portions of Mr. Cohen's testimony.

On the morning of March 20, 1989, when Mr. Cohen arrived at his office, the Peace Corps Volunteer was waiting. He described her as angry and upset. She proceeded to tell him what had occurred the prior evening. While she described dinner as pleasant and enjoyable, she said that when the group went out on its sightseeing activities, she joined the congressman alone in one of the vehicles and he began to make sexual advances.

Mr. Cohen stated that the Peace Corps Volunteer said she told Representative Savage she was not interested, notwithstanding his expressed desire to have sex with her. Upon hearing the Volunteer's summary of the evening, Mr. Cohen said he informed her that he would notify the Ambassador. The individual said she too would like to speak with Ambassador Harrop. Mr. Cohen thereupon notified Ambassador Harrop about his conversation with the Peace Corps Volunteer.

Later on the afternoon of March 20, Mr. Cohen and the Peace Corps Volunteer met with Ambassador Harrop, where she recounted the events of the prior evening. Ambassador Harrop apologized to the Volunteer for her having been subjected to the events which she described.

Mr. Cohen stated that he also spoke with Mr. McGaffie regarding the prior evening. He said Mr. McGaffie noted that his sense of the conversation with the Peace Corps Volunteer was that she was not

happy with her evening, but he was not aware that it was as traumatic as now described.

Mr. Cohen said that Ambassador Harrop informed him about a conversation that he had with Representative Savage regarding the alleged incident. The Ambassador reportedly indicated that the congressman said that he was misunderstood, "I am just a very friendly person and I may have put my hands on her." The Ambassador also informed Mr. Cohen that, during the conversation, Representative Savage turned to his aide (Ms. Peters) who also indicated that the Peace Corps Volunteer probably misunderstood the congressman's intentions.

Mr. Cohen said that he had no reason to doubt the accuracy or the veracity of the Peace Corps Volunteer's statements regarding the evening of March 19, 1989—"My only personal feeling from my contact with her is that she was totally truthful in what happened."

F. DEPOSITION OF LOUANNE PETERS

On September 27, 1989, the Committee deposed Ms. Louanner Peters, Representative Savage's Chief of Staff. Following are highlights of Ms. Peters' testimony.

Ms. Peters recalled that after dinner at the Ambassador's residence the Peace Corps Volunteer rode with Representative Savage, and that "Mr. McGaffie and Mr. Diane and I, I believe, were in the same car." Ms. Peters was certain that Representative Savage was alone in one of the vehicles with the driver and the Peace Corps Volunteer.

When the group left the Ambassador's residence, Ms. Peters said that she was able to observe Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer sitting in the backseat, "each sitting on their side of the car." She said she could not hear any conversation, nor did she see any gestures or physical interaction between Representative Savage and the individual.

When the party arrived at the first stop, Ms. Peters said she did not recall any conversation with the Peace Corps Volunteer. The individual was described as "about the same as she was at the Ambassador's residence."

Ms. Peters said the group did not stay long at the first nightspot, indicating that the congressman desired to visit another club. She said the group got back into the same cars which brought them to the first stop.

Ms. Peters again stated that she could not hear any conversation between Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer while they were riding in their vehicle between the first and second nightspots. Again, she recalled that they were sitting in the backseat of the automobile and that she did not see the two individuals close to one another.

Ms. Peters approximated that Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer were together alone in the backseat of the automobile for perhaps a total of half an hour from the time they left the Ambassador's residence to the time they arrived at the second nightspot.

While at the second club, Ms. Peters did not recall the congressman making any flattering comments to the Peace Corps Volunteer. Ms. Peters said the party left to go to a third nightclub, and that the group went into the same vehicles they had at the outset of the evening. As with before, Ms. Peters said that she could see, but not hear, Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer in the backseat of their automobile. She said that she did not notice any close physical interaction between the two individuals. Ms. Peters said the group stayed at the third club for about forty-five minutes to an hour.

The group got back into their respective vehicles and went to the congressman's hotel. During this approximate 15-minute ride, Ms. Peters said that she could not hear any conversation between Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer. She did not recall whether they were sitting close together.

The group went to the hotel disco. Ms. Peters said that the congressman and the Peace Corps Volunteer left about 15 minutes after the group had arrived at the hotel nightclub—that they “walked out together.”

Ms. Peters said that after approximately 10 minutes she, Mr. McGaffie, and Mr. Diane left the disco together and walked out to the front of the hotel. She said they saw Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer standing and talking. She said that Mr. McGaffie indicated that he would take the Peace Corps Volunteer home.

Ms. Peters said that after a meeting the next day, March 20, 1989, Ambassador Harrop asked the congressman to join him in a private conversation. She said that she could not hear what was being said. After two or three minutes of discussion, Representative Savage asked Ms. Peters to join them. She recalled that the congressman said that “the Ambassador indicated that the young lady had been—had expressed discomfort with the way the previous evening had gone.” Ms. Peters did not recall the Ambassador having said anything about the congressman making sexual advances to the Peace Corps Volunteer. She said, “I think it was the congressman who said that the Ambassador expressed that the young lady was uncomfortable with how she thought the congressman had been assertive in his advances toward her.” Ms. Peters testified that the congressman denied such activity. Ms. Peters also stated that she was asked whether she observed any such conduct by Representative Savage, to which she responded that she had not, although she would have acknowledged that Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer were alone in one of the cars (except for the driver). She again reiterated that she could not hear any discussion between Representative Savage and the Peace Corps Volunteer while they were traveling alone in one of the vehicles the prior evening.

Ms. Peters also testified that later, on March 20, 1989, Representative Savage expressed concern to her about “what it was that would have made her [the Peace Corps Volunteer] think that he was being disrespectful to her or imposing anything upon her and asked me did I get a sense or feel at any point along the way that she was distressed, if you will, and I said no, I didn't recall her being distressed.”

G. INTERVIEW OF REPRESENTATIVE SAVAGE

On October 11, 1989, Representative Savage was informally interviewed by the Committee. The congressman, who submitted voluntarily to the interview and was not accompanied by an attorney, provided his perspective of the events of March 19, 1989.

In discussing whether he may have acted inappropriately towards the Peace Corps Volunteer, Representative Savage emphatically denied that he was "overly aggressive or offensive socially"; denied that he "sexually assaulted" the Peace Corps Volunteer; and denied that he "acted in a way verbally or physically that would bring disrespect or disrepute upon this institution or my colleagues."

Representative Savage acknowledged that he was alone in the backseat of an automobile with the Peace Corps Volunteer and that, had the Peace Corps Volunteer considered his actions offensive, she "could have simply got into another car at any time."

At the conclusion of the evening, the group went to the hotel at which he, Ms. Peters, and Mr. Diane were staying. He said that he and the Peace Corps Volunteer "left under the most cordial circumstances." He said the individual departed with Mr. McGaffie.

Representative Savage stated that the next day Ambassador Harrop said he wished to have a private conversation with him. He said the Ambassador asked whether the congressman had "any problem last night," regarding the Peace Corps Volunteer. Representative Savage said the Ambassador apparently had been informed that the congressman was "a bit aggressive" with the Peace Corps Volunteer the prior evening. Representative Savage said he called Ms. Peters, his Chief of Staff, over to join the conversation. Representative Savage said he asked the Ambassador to repeat his question, at which time the congressman said that, while he could answer the question, he was seeking Ms. Peters' response. ". . . I didn't want to leave it to my interpretation because maybe I was."

Representative Savage said Ms. Peters "said to him in essence, you know—well, no, just what I've told you pretty much."

During the course of the interview, Representative Savage said he did not consider that he had engaged in any "serious flirtation" with the Peace Corps Volunteer. He further stated that he did not invite the individual to spend the night with him, or to travel with him to another country, or that he kissed her, or that she complained to him about his conduct at any time during the course of the evening.

Subsequent to the October 11, 1989, interview, Representative Savage wrote to the Peace Corps Volunteer in care of Mr. Paul Coverdell, the Director of the Peace Corps. The congressman explicitly apologized for his conduct:

While in Zaire earlier this year, if you felt personally offended by any words or actions of mine, I apologize, because I never intended to offend and was not aware that you felt offended at that time.

IV. LEGAL ANALYSIS

Representative Savage stated that the primary reason for his traveling to Zaire and the Ivory Coast in March 1989 was to explore opportunities for African-American businesses. By letter of March 8, 1989, the congressman wrote to the Chairman of the Committee on Small Business, Representative John LaFalce, seeking that Committee's authorization to:

* * * sanction my upcoming trip to Zaire and the Ivory Coast as official business.

I am requesting this authorization because I plan to gather information related to my work on the Small Business Committee. Specifically, I intend to learn, at the source, about the possibilities for American minority businesses in terms of exports to Africa.

As a result of Representative Savage's request, Chairman LaFalce wrote to Secretary of State Baker on March 9, 1989, notifying the Secretary of the congressman's upcoming travel to Africa. Chairman LaFalce requested "transportation and local currencies for per diem, to include additional subsistence allowed for meals and lodging, be made available in accordance with section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended by Public Law 95-384, section 22(a)."

In light of the above, the Committee concludes that the purpose and circumstances surrounding Representative Savage's travel to Zaire and the Ivory Coast were clearly associated with his status as a Member of Congress and, more particularly, his membership on the House Committee on Small Business. In point of fact, the transportation costs incurred in connection with Representative Savage's and Ms. Peters' trip to Africa was borne by the Zaire-American Research Institute as a consequence of what Ms. Peters described as that organization's invitation to the congressman to engage in fact-finding travel.

Based upon the foregoing, the Committee concludes that while overseas on this particular trip, Representative Savage should be regarded as having been an emissary of the Committee on Small Business.

The Committee further concludes that the circumstances giving rise to Representative Savage having met with the Peace Corps Volunteer clearly indicate a governmental purpose—an opportunity for the Volunteer to foster a good impression about Peace Corps activities in Zaire. Furthermore, but for such underlying governmental purpose, Representative Savage and the individual would not either have met or have visited together various nightspots in Kinshasa as part of the congressman's trip to Zaire. Accordingly, it is the Committee's view that Representative Savage's conduct on the evening of March 19, 1989, must be viewed in the light of his status as a Member of Congress and applicable House rules.

Having so concluded, House Rule XLIII, clause 1, states:

A Member, officer, or employee of the House of Representatives shall conduct himself at all times in a manner which shall reflect creditably on the House of Representatives.

In that the Committee concludes that Representative Savage was in Zaire for reasons directly associated with his office and membership on the Committee on Small Business, his conduct should be evaluated in the context of House Rule XLIII, clause 1.

V. CONCLUSIONS

A. FACTUAL CONCLUSION

Based upon its review of available information and the congressman's November 20, 1989, letter of apology, the Committee believes that Representative Savage did, in fact, make sexual advances to the Peace Corps Volunteer. In reaching this conclusion, the Committee has taken into consideration the testimony of all individuals interviewed and deposed. In particular, the Peace Corps Volunteer was characterized as a creditable individual. Indeed, Representative Savage himself has acknowledged that he may have acted inappropriately as evidenced by his letter in which he apologized to the Peace Corps Volunteer for "any words or actions" that were offensive.

B. LEGAL CONCLUSION

The Committee concludes that Representative Savage's sexual advances to the Peace Corps Volunteer were contrary to the standard of conduct expressed in House Rule XLIII, clause 1.

VI. RECOMMENDATION

The Committee clearly disapproves of Representative Savage's conduct—the incident here—involved occurred while he was on a trip to a foreign country undertaken in his capacity as a Member of the House of Representatives. However, the Committee has not had occasion either to focus on or to address such a matter in a prior case report. Therefore, the Committee must not only respond appropriately to the facts in this case but also place other Members on notice that future conduct of the type herein described will be viewed in the context of this Report with the clear possibility that additional action might be pursued.

The Committee has determined that Representative Savage's actions should be the subject of a publicly available report describing his behavior, including his letter of apology. Had the congressman not taken the initiative to send such a letter the Committee would have directed that he do so.

The Committee expects that its Report in the instant matter will suffice to avoid any future such conduct by Members.

This Report was approved by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct on January 31, 1990, by a vote of 12 ayes; 0 nays.

STATEMENT UNDER RULE XI, CLAUSE 2(1)(3)(A)

The Committee's oversight findings and recommendation are as stated above. No budget statement is submitted.

ONE HUNDRED FIRST CONGRESS
 JAMES C. OGDEN, CALIFORNIA, CHAIRMAN
 VIC KAZIO, CALIFORNIA
 HAROLD A. DRYER, NEW JERSEY
 ALAN B. HOLLANDER, WEST VIRGINIA
 JUSTIN H. GAYDON, PENNSYLVANIA
 CHESTER G. ATORNE, MASSACHUSETTS
 (202) 226-7103

EXHIBIT A

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
 Suite 20-2, U.S. Capitol
 Washington, DC 20515

JOHN T. MYERS, INDIANA
 JAMES W. HANSEN, UTAH
 CHARLES PASHAYAN, JR., CALIFORNIA
 THOMAS F. PETER, WISCONSIN
 LARRY E. CRAIG, IOWA
 FRED UNANDY, IOWA
 RALPH L. LOTKIN, CHIEF COUNSEL

August 3, 1989

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct has been presented with complaints concerning the actions of Representative Gus Savage while that Member traveled to Africa in connection with his official duties and responsibilities in March 1989; and

WHEREAS, if shown to be true, the actions of Representative Savage implicate the Code of Official Conduct or a law, rule, regulation or other standard applicable to Representative Savage's conduct in the performance of his duties or in the discharge of his responsibilities, and

WHEREAS, pursuant to Committee Rules 10(b) and 13, the Committee determines that the matters merit further inquiry;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this Committee conduct a Preliminary Inquiry pursuant to Committee Rule 11(a) to determine whether violations have occurred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member are authorized to issue subpoenas on behalf of the Committee, either for the taking of depositions or the production of records, and that all testimony taken by deposition or things produced pursuant to subpoena or otherwise shall be deemed to have been taken, produced, or furnished in Executive Session; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Representative Savage be immediately notified of this action and informed of his rights pursuant to the Rules of this Committee.

Peace Corps Worker Alleges Rep. Savage Assaulted Her

By Jim McGee
Washington Post Staff Writer

On the night of Sunday, March 19, in the African capital of Kinshasa, Zaire, a 28-year-old Peace Corps volunteer walked out the front door of the grand residence of the U.S. ambassador.

She had just enjoyed a rare treat for a Peace Corps volunteer, a private dinner at the ambassador's home in honor of a visiting congressman, Rep. Gus Savage (D-Ill.), who, she was told, earnestly desired a briefing on the work of the Peace Corps in Africa.

She was selected to give the briefing by a supervisor who repeatedly stressed that making a good impression on Savage could help the agency win additional funding in Congress and warned her to

avoid making controversial statements, she said.

But she never gave the briefing, which had been scheduled for a few days later. After the ambassador's dinner, she agreed to accompany Savage and several others on a tour of Kinshasa's night life. Savage insisted that the woman ride alone with him in a chauffeur-driven car, according to a U.S. diplomat.

During the next two hours, according to the woman, Savage aggressively and repeatedly fondled her in the back seat of the embassy car despite her strong spoken protests and physical resistance. Finally, an information officer from the U.S. Embassy in Kinshasa, who realized the woman was "uncomfortable," escorted her away from Savage and took her home, according to the information officer.

The woman said in an interview



REP. GUS SAVAGE
... visited capital of Zaire in March

that she considered the episode an assault, but she chose not to file a formal complaint because she did not want to publicize the incident and risk damaging the Peace Corps. She did report the incident to the

See SAVAGE, A8, Col. 1

Peace Corps Volunteer Alleges Assault by Rep. Savage

SAVAGE, From A1

information officer and to the Peace Corps country director. About a week later, she was medically evacuated back to the United States, where she underwent six weeks of intensive therapy designed for victims of sexual assaults, which was paid for by the Peace Corps. Although she had completed less than half of her two-year tour, she never returned to Zaire.

The morning after the incident, U.S. Ambassador William Harrop took the unusual step of privately rebuking the congressman for his conduct. According to two officials, the ambassador confronted Savage partly because he was angered by the possible implication that the embassy was involved in a "procurement operation" for a member of Congress.

"He [Harrop] spoke very strongly . . . and chewed him out as much as an ambassador chews out a congressman," said an informed U.S. official.

A senior official familiar with the ambassador's meeting with Savage said that during their talk, the 63-year-old Savage, a widower, acknowledged being attracted to the volunteer, but denied that his conduct was improper. "He [Savage] did not feel it had been as extreme as she suggested," the official said.

When questioned by a reporter last month, Savage angrily declined to discuss the incident.

"Why don't you ask me about economic development projects? . . . Ask me something constructive. I'm not interested in all that . . . I could care less what . . . it is. I don't want to talk about that

Ask me the same kind of questions you ask white congressmen. You don't ask white congressmen questions like that . . ." said Savage, who is black.

The inspector general of the State Department, Sherman Funk, yesterday described the incident as "pretty egregious," adding, "I'm taking action myself in the matter." He did not elaborate. The Peace Corps' inspector general has taken a statement from the woman, who is now in this country but plans to go abroad again on another Peace Corps assignment.

The Peace Corps' spokesman, Lee Raudonis, said yesterday that the agency had not established independently just what happened between the volunteer and Savage, but that if the incident occurred as she described, "it is totally reprehensible to us that a Peace Corps volunteer would be confronted with a threat to her well-being from a fellow American citizen."

The Washington Post does not publish the names of those alleging sexual assault, and the woman, who reluctantly agreed to be interviewed after The Post located her in this country, requested that she not be identified. The Post first learned of the incident from an anonymous tip.

At the time of the incident, Savage was on an official visit to Africa. Upon his arrival, he asked for a

briefing on the Peace Corps, according to U.S. officials. The volunteer chosen to give the briefing was "considered very stable by her peers," according to one official, and holds a master's degree from a prestigious American university.

Savage's party that Sunday night in Kinshasa included Louanner Peters, Savage's chief of staff; a Washington businessman, Mamadi Diane; and an embassy information officer, Daniel McGaffie. As they approached three chauffeur-driven cars parked in the ambassador's driveway, McGaffie directed the Peace Corps volunteer toward the car in which he himself would be riding, he said in an interview.

But Savage insisted that she ride with him instead, according to McGaffie. As the congressman and the volunteer settled into the car's back seat, according to the woman, Savage asked, "Do you have to report back everything we do?" Within minutes, she said, he began touching her suggestively and urging her to have sex. At various times over the next two hours, according to the woman, Savage aggressively fondled her in the back seat and ignored her repeated attempts to make him stop. "He kept saying, 'That's the way the world works,'" she said.

"As soon as the . . . cars pulled off from the ambassador's residence, he grabbed me," said the woman, who provided a detailed account in a two-hour tape-recorded interview. "He tried to force me to have sex with him."

"He touched me against my will," she said. "He grabbed me. He put his arms around me. He pulled me up against him. He made me, he forced my mouth, I mean he forced me to kiss him, physically, forced me, pulled my mouth onto his, felt my body He was trying to lean over, get on me, lean over on me in the car. He pulled on me, grabbed on me."

"I would define it as definitely an assault," she said.

She said she "tried everything I could think of, short of hitting him, or hurting him physically, to make him stop He kept touching me, after I told him to stop, many times, loudly."

In addition to pushing Savage's hands away from her thighs, shoulders and face, the woman said, she endured his taunts about her religion and her attitude toward sex. "He told me I was a traitor to the black movement if I didn't go along," she said.

The woman said that in the course of the two hours—during which the

Savage party visited three or four bars and ended up at the hotel disco—she complained about Savage's conduct to Peters, Savage's aide, and tried unsuccessfully to switch cars. She said Peters, who runs Savage's Washington office, ignored her. "She just laughed," the woman said. Peters did not return repeated telephone calls.

"I was still representing the Peace Corps," the woman said. "I realized I would not be able to [change cars] without causing a scene." She did not jump out of Savage's car, she said, because she had no money and was unfamiliar with Kinshasa. "Women do not walk alone at night in Zaire It is very dangerous," she said.

McGaffie eventually interrupted a tense public encounter that began, according to the woman, when she walked out of the disco bar at Savage's hotel to escape further contact with the congressman. She said Savage followed her out of the disco—leaving behind McGaffie, Peters and the businessman—and through the hotel lobby and urged her to join him in his hotel room. At one point, she said, he tried to pull her into an elevator.

The businessman, Mamadi Diane, said in an interview that the night on the town "was a whole jok-

ing mood . . . good old boys finding themselves overseas having a good time." Diane said he never heard Savage make any sexually explicit remarks to the volunteer. "I was told later that something happened, but I really didn't see anything She looked happy to me," he said.

The woman reported the incident early the next morning to Bruce Cohen, Peace Corps director in Zaire, and after making initial inquiries, Ambassador Harrop confronted Savage. Cohen declined to comment.

Within days, a Peace Corps doctor in Zaire became alarmed at the woman's physical and emotional reactions to the incident and decided, over the woman's protests, to send her to Washington, where she received counseling and underwent tests at George Washington University Hospital. She said the tests ruled out any physical cause for symptoms that included anxiety, depression, dehydration, weight loss and loss of appetite.

The ambassador did not mention the incident in his cabled report to Washington recounting Savage's visit, officials said. "I think there probably was some pressure put on her," Harrop said in an interview. "There was clearly an incident here that was a problem."

But he said he had no way of

knowing exactly what transpired between Savage and the woman. He said it was possible the woman overreacted and "may have exaggerated in her own mind what happened" during a "hard come-on from a member of Congress, which she had not anticipated." The woman said she did not overreact and added, "Even if I did, that wouldn't make it any less of an assault."

At the end of six weeks of treatment in Washington, she was separated from the agency under terms that make her eligible to return. Peace Corps spokesman Raudonis said that she was "being reassigned to another post. We would not make such an assignment if we had any doubt about her capabilities or about her ability to serve," he said.

Savage is a five-term congressman from Chicago known for his outspokenness. He is a member of the Public Works and Small Business committees. Just before his trip to Africa last March, he became an issue in the Chicago mayoral campaign after charging that Richard M. Daley, then a candidate for mayor, "represents racism in Chicago." Eugene Sawyer, Chicago's black mayor who was seeking reelection, denounced Savage's remark, but his supporters said the congressman had hurt Sawyer's chances in white neighborhoods. Daley subsequently defeated Sawyer.

Staff writers Bill Peterson and Ruth Marcus and researcher Melissa Mathis contributed to this report.

APPENDIX 2



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

GUS SAVAGE
2ND DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

November 20, 1989

TO:

While in Zaire earlier this year, if you felt personally offended by any words or actions of mine, I apologize, because I never intended to offend and was not aware that you felt offended at that time.

Sincerely,

Gus Savage
Gus Savage, M.C.