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OA/ID Number: 90674
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Folder Title:
Wednesday, April 29, 1992 [3]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

APRIL 29th, 1992

	TIME		DISC	NAME	ACTION
	PLACED				
OUT	7:20 AM		7:21	MR. GEORGE W. BUSH WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 599	TLKD-OK 7:21 A.M.
XNC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
XOUT	10:48 AM			MRS. DOROTHY LeBLOND OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-877-1778	TLKD WITH MS. ROBIN A. MACLEAN 10:49 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
XOUT	12:08 PM		12:12	MRS. DOROTHY LeBLOND OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-877-1778	TLKD-OK 12:08 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
XOUT	12:18 PM		12:32	MR. JIM OBERWETTER OFC: DALLAS, TX. 214-978-8534	TLKD-OK 12:21 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
XOUT	1:25 PM		1:28	MR. MARVIN BUSH OFC: ALEXANDRIA, VA. 703-684-1335	TLKD-OK 1:27 P.M.
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
XOUT	3:09 PM		3:16	MR. ROBERT M. TEETER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-336-7090	TLKD-OK 3:10 P.M.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

APRIL 29 th , 19 92

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	AM		MR. ROONE ARLEDGE BALTIMORE, MD. 410-675-3389	MESSAGE PASSED TO MR. ROONE ARLEDGE BY MS. NANCY KIPPAX
INC XXX	3:17 PM			
OUT	AM			FROM PRESUS 4:36 P.M.
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 620	TLKD-OK 4:36 P.M.
INC XXX	4:36 PM	4:36		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		JUDGE RONALD BRUCE LEIGHTON. OFC: TACOMA, WA. 206-572-5050	TLKD-OK 5:33 P.M.
INC XXX	5:33 PM	5:37		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		MR. JOHN E. BUSH RES: MIAMI, FL. 305-663-3212	TLKD-OK 6:35 P.M.
INC XXX	6:34 PM	6:40		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		MRS. PATRICIA A. PRESOCK RES: FAIRFAX, VA. WHITE HOUSE SIGNAL EXT. 7-3804	TLKD-OK WITH MS. TRACY PRESOCK 6:57 P.M.
INC XXX	6:55 PM	6:59		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

APRIL 29th , 1992

[illegible]

[illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 29 April 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0714	South Grounds
0719	Oval Office
0818	Rose Garden
0819	Oval Office
0957	South Grounds
1002	Diplomatic Reception Room
1005	South Grounds
1025	State Floor
1032	Rose Garden
1033	Oval Office
1100	Cabinet Room
1144	Oval Office
1146	South Grounds
1205	Oval Office
1333	Roosevelt Room
1403	South Grounds
1416	Oval Office
1532	South Grounds
1541	Depart South Grounds via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1548	Arrive Naval Observatory (LOW KEY)
1611	Depart Naval Observatory via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1620	Arrive South Grounds (LOW KEY)
1659	Oval Office
1742	South Grounds

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Washington, D.C.

DATE 29 April 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mr. Sheldon M. Atlas
211 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Sheldon,

Thanks for the copy of my eighteen-year-old note to you. That and your letter jogged fond memories of our China days. What a very special time it was for us.

Here's hoping all is well with you, and thanks again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton".

CC: (in/out)
Rose Zamaria
(lcc)

Handwritten initials in black ink, possibly "RZ".

Not on PCOM

J. Burnette

92 APR 16 PM 3:17

211 Central Park West
New York, NY 10024
March 31, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C

Sir:

Please permit me to send you this letter.

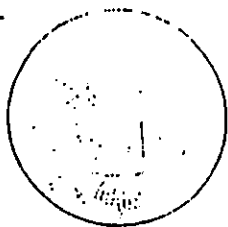
Yesterday I was rummaging through some old files and came across the enclosed note from you. I do remember mailing your letters from the Brooklyn Main Post Office -- this must go back close to twenty years ago!

With fondest memories of the pleasant evening my wife and I spent with you and Mrs. Bush in Beijing -

Respectfully yours,


Sheldon M. Atlas

SMA:GF



GEORGE BUSH

Mon 11-10

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
KUANG HUA LU, 17, PEKING
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Sheldon -

Will you do me a big
favor. The letters have
some degree of urgency.
If you could mail them

in N.Y. City it would be
great - Many thanks,

Aug B/

enjoyed our
visit yesterday -

Hope your talks went well.

UNITED STATES LIAISON OFFICE
KUANG HUA LU, 17, PEKING
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Mr. Sheldon Atlas

country Jennifer Fitzgerald

=====

DRAFT-Pers. Corres.

=====

INITIALS: SMG / cap / *DF*

DOCUMENT TITLE: /pc/draft/atlas

DRAFT DATE / LETTER DATE: Apr 21 1992 /

CORRESPONDENCE #: 702614

CLEAR WITH:

WHCC:

CC:

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:

Mr. Sheldon M. Atlas
211 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024

ENCLOSURES AND SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

GB SIG

NOTECARD

cc: Jennifer Fitzgerald

Dear Sheldon,

~~Belated thanks for your letter. It brought back many memories of our days
spent in China. I can't believe it has been almost twenty years.~~

~~Thanks again for taking the time to write. Barbara joins in sending best
wishes.~~

Sincerely,

Dear Sheldon,

Thanks for the copy of my eighteen-year-old note
to you. That and your letter jogged ~~from~~ fond
memories of our China days. What a very special
time it was for us.

Here's hoping all is well with you, and thanks
again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
Courtelis Company
Suite 1400
701 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131-2822



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Alec,

Just a quick note to say that it was great to see you in Miami for the F.I.U. commencement. I am always happy to visit the sunshine state and to see old friends and, of course, my Jeb.

Barbara and I send our best wishes to you and Louise.

Warm regards,

*Thanks, old
friend -*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Bill Clinton, written in dark ink.

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
✓ Bill Farish

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
Courtelis Company
Suite 1400
701 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131-2822



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

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Warm regards,

*Thanks, old
friend -*

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CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Bill Farish

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. Modesto A. Maidique
President
Florida International University
University Park
Miami, Florida 33199



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

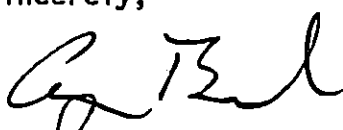
Dear Mitch,

Just a quick note of thanks for those kind words in your introduction at the F.I.U. commencement. It was great to be with such an enthusiastic crowd.

I wish you and the university continued success in the years to come. And, again, thanks for a great day.

Sincerely,

Teb tells me the press was great. What a job you've done here at FIU!!



CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
✓ Bill Farish

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. Modesto A. Maidique
President
Florida International University
University Park
Miami, Florida 33199



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Mitch,

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Sincerely,

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Ag. TE

CC:
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Bill Farish

daily

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

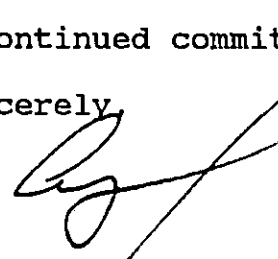
April 29, 1992

Dear Howard:

The 1992 President's Dinner was once again a spectacular success due to your dedication and leadership. Barbara and I would like to thank you for your phenomenal work as Chairman for the past three years. In this pivotal year, the record-breaking proceeds will certainly increase our chances to gain a majority in the House and Senate this November.

I greatly appreciate your continued commitment.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Suite 800
801 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(2 copies)

*Bar - I loved seeing Toy -
again, well done on that dinner*

Outgoing letter given to OPA for transfer to B/Q for dispatch

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 29, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CHAIRMEN OF THE
SENATE COMMITTEES ON ARMED SERVICES
AND FOREIGN RELATIONS
AND THE HOUSE COMMITTEES ON ARMED SERVICES
AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

April 29, 1992

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Pursuant to section 64 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2595b-1(a)), I hereby transmit the enclosed report on the activities of the On-Site Inspection Agency of the Department of Defense.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 29, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President met for approximately one hour with President Richard von Weizsaecker of Germany, who is in the U.S. on a State Visit. The discussion focused on the nature of the new partnership between the U.S. and united Germany. The President stressed our intention to maintain a strong presence in Europe, along with the importance of NATO and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. He also reiterated our support for reforms and controlling nuclear weapons in Russia and the other Republics. President Bush said it was important to reach an agreement on GATT soon, and that he looked forward to addressing these and other issues at the upcoming G-7 meeting in Munich.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 29, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON REGULATION REFORM

The Rose Garden

2:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, a warm welcome to the White House for all of you. And first, I want to salute the three generals in the war for regulatory reform: our Vice President, Dan Quayle; Boyden Gray, and Dr. Michael Boskin. (Applause.)

We also have here some of the front-line troops actively engaged in this process -- members of my administration and Cabinet: Andy Card and Barbara Franklin, and Jim Watkins, and Lynn Martin, and Dick Darman, Pat Saiki, Bill Reilly, and many others out here that are working for these kinds of changes. I also appreciate all efforts for fundamental reform of government regulation. That's what brings us here today.

Regulation imposes what we see as a hidden tax on all Americans. This reform is one of the top priorities that I stressed in my State of the Union message, and it's a vital element of our national reform agenda.

Two hundred years ago our Founding Fathers championed a whole new way of thinking about man's relationship to government by unleashing forces of social and economic freedom. They made the United States a haven for the poor and the oppressed -- indeed, a land of opportunity.

Our system did not promise material well-being, but it guaranteed personal freedom. In just one century's time, millions of poor people came here from every corner of the Old World. And because America empowered them to use their God-given talents to the fullest, people who came to our shores with nothing but faith and imagination made us the strongest and freest nation on Earth.

Since the '30s, when a great economic shock hit the world, government has often turned to projects of social engineering. And too often, in my opinion, government embraced the notion that human actions, human choices, could be organized to good effect only through bureaucratic blueprints.

This posed a challenge to our precious heritage of limited government and the rule of law. It veered us away from the tradition of the accountability of citizen legislators. When Congress shirks the responsibility for leadership, it tends to embrace many premises of the command economy. For example, when Congress passes laws mandating Americans to dance to the tune of arbitrary social and economic goals, it leaves the details of this choreography to the bureaucracy. This is not right. The bureaucracy is not accountable in the same way a legislature should be or a President should be.

Over the years, many Americans have felt the growing burden of regulation's tax in disguise. And we learned some hard

lessons. We learned that lonely keepers of the flame of economic reform -- men like the late Friedrich von Hayek -- were right. The era of bureaucracy and regulation produced one example after another validating von Hayek's observation: Rule by bureaucracy undermines the true rule of law and runs headlong into the iron law of unintended consequences.

Let me tell you what this means in the real world. Take a common concern about safety: Inflexible safety rules can undermine safety in unforeseen ways: If government mandates make ladders more and more costly to consumers, just for example, more people will turn to cheaper substitutes. They'll climb on chairs or step-stools -- which are far less safe. Of course, regulators creating such a rule would not intend to make people less safe -- but that's just how it works in practice. That's what we mean by unintended consequences.

Consider another example, this time with environmental rules. Command-and-control environmental rules actually can harm the environment. Regulations under the old Clean Air Act, for example, required new power plants to install scrubbers to clean up air pollution. Not only did this increase the cost of electricity, but it also generated scrubber sludge to be disposed of in landfills. Now we have a much better, market-based program which provides companies more options in how they reduce pollution -- for example through our innovative emissions trading program, or through increased use of cleaner burning natural gas.

I could go on all day with examples of inflexible rules that impose hidden taxes and costs on society. I could cite any number of abstract rules in collision with how things actually work: How highway fatalities can increase and American auto workers can lose jobs when Congress tries to legislate the fuel efficiency of cars. How a regulation system, plump with noble intentions, can keep life-saving drugs and medical devices from patients who need them. And let me add a personally gratifying note: The speed-up of approval for new "breakthrough" drugs for AIDS and for cancer and other life-threatening diseases is the culmination of the work that I was active in, that I helped begin almost 10 years ago.

Reforming regulation is a huge and time-consuming task -- presiding over the Task Force on Regulation during the '80s was, for example, one of the most important assignments that President Reagan gave me when I was Vice President. And I've given a similar assignment to Vice President Dan Quayle and my Council on Competitiveness -- and I am very grateful for his leadership and for the work of the Council.

Today regulation is facing a heightened public concern, and a growing public impatience. Many times this manifests itself in the phrase, "Get the government off our backs." More and more people are sending Washington an unmistakable message: Over-regulation costs jobs. And thanks to this rising sentiment, we are able to accelerate needed reforms.

In my State of the Union Address, I lit a fire under our regulatory reformers, gave them 90 days to produce dramatic results. Today marks the 91st day -- and let me report our reformers have come through with flying colors.

From biotechnology to banking to energy, we've made achievements that will lower costs and increase choices for American consumers. We've carried out reforms that will create and preserve good jobs for Americans and help us stay competitive in the world. We estimate that the reforms we've set in motion

just since January 28th will save consumers about \$15 billion to \$20 billion a year -- that's a savings of \$225 to \$300 per year for the average American family. And this is just a down payment on savings to come.

Every agency that I asked to participate has responded with action. Some agencies already have accomplished important reforms, and all agencies have completed a reform agenda which they will carry out in the months ahead.

To help us move forward with our reform agenda, today I am ordering a 120-day extension of the moratorium on new regulation. (Applause.) And I am directing the Competitiveness Council to take the lead in implementing these reforms. Our objective must be to stop new rules that hurt growth while speeding up new rules to help our economy. During the next 120 days I expect many more gains for freedom and common sense.

And I'll ask the United States Congress to do its part. I'll be working with regulatory reformers in every federal agency to propose new legislation where needed to eliminate unreasonable regulatory burdens that are now mandated by statute. And Congress also should pass legislation that has been pending for three years to reauthorize the Paperwork Reduction Act.

And further, I'm putting Congress on notice: I will veto any bill that attempts to put excessive new burdens of regulation on the backs of our families, our consumers, our workers, and our businesses. There will be no -- and I repeat, no -- return to business as usual. (Applause.)

Let me be very clear about our aims: We cannot and will not abolish all regulation. I have responsibilities as Chief Executive to enforce sound regulations for the health and safety of the American people -- and I'll keep that trust. The best way to keep that trust is through a fundamental reform of our system of regulation. This is more than a three-month or even a three-year effort. This is more than an exercise in adjusting or fine-tuning the system. The economy is beginning to recover now. To ensure that recovery continues and is strengthened -- to ensure that we can create new jobs -- we must continue our course of regulatory reform.

Our campaign for regulatory reform meshes with our efforts for government reform -- like our proposal to limit the terms of congressmen and make them more accountable. It fits also with our crusade for reform of the civil justice system -- against the tyranny of these nuisance lawsuits that mock our time-honored traditions of justice. And it goes hand in hand with our efforts to reform American education -- by allowing parents, not governments, to choose their children's schools. In short, there's a common purpose linking the all of our efforts to renew the spirit and practice of limited government.

So let's take heart -- and let's get to work. We can see the future, and it is a freer future. There is no doubt in my mind: The day is coming when we will put the final wrecking ball to the discredited system of the social engineers. We will restore this country. We will build it back, sturdy in the radical faith in freedom that is the legacy of our Founding Fathers.

Now I'm going to have the honor and privilege of signing the memorandum extending the regulatory moratorium. Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1992

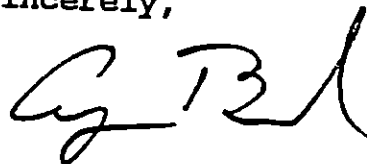
Personal

Dear Suzanne:

Barbara and I were pleased to receive your thoughtful letters and the gifts that you sent with them. You were kind to share your product with us, and we appreciate it.

My gratitude for your support, and our best wishes.

Sincerely,



Ms. Suzanne Somers
Suite 250
10850 Wilshire
Los Angeles, California 90024

920430

*Martin is looking rather
svelte. I wonder if he's
using his thigh master.
Thank for thinking of him too*

cc: Rose Zamaria

APR 29 1992

Personal

Dear Suzanne:

Barbara and I were pleased to receive your thoughtful letters and the gifts that you sent with them. You were kind to share your product with us, and we appreciate it.

My gratitude for your support, and our best wishes.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Ms. Suzanne Somers
Suite 250
10850 Wilshire
Los Angeles, California 90024

GB/CMF/CH/jt (Corres. #: 699061)

✓ cc: WH Gifts

CLEAR THRU PHILLIP D. BRADY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

SUZANNE SOMERS

March 24, 1992

President George Bush
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington D. C.
20500

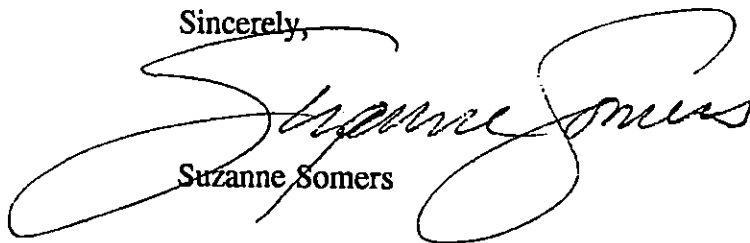
Dear Mr. President,

I was lying awake watching a C-Span repeat at 4:00 AM the other night (now you know you are not the only one who lies awake at night) and I heard you make a joke about how Marlin Fitzwater's Thigh-Master had busted. I thought to myself, "I can solve Marlin's problem." I have a warehouse full of Thigh-Masters as you might know from watching late night television. I have sent him a brand new one and I thought you might like one, too.

As the commercial says, "You can do it anywhere," - even in the Oval Office. Please accept this with my best wishes. It's inexpensive, only \$19.95, so no one can get on your back for accepting gifts. And I'm sure you'll find that it really works.

By the way, you have my vote.

Sincerely,



Suzanne Somers

SS\cs

SUZANNE SOMERS

March 24, 1992

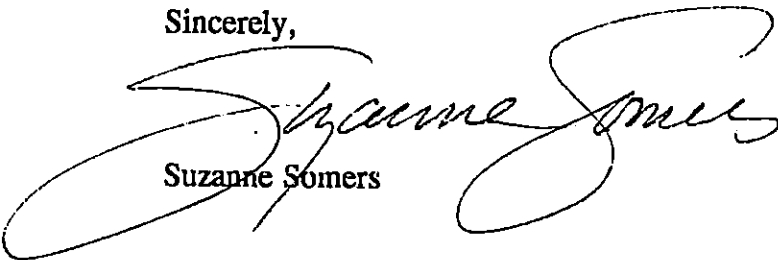
Mrs. Barbara Bush
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington D.C.
20500

Dear Mrs. Bush,

I was watching a C-Span repeat on television the other night (at 4:00 AM to be exact) and your husband jokingly said that Marlin Fitzwater had busted his Thigh-Master. Upon hearing this I realized I could remedy the problem.

I have sent one to Mr. Fitzwater and to your husband and I thought you might like one too. As the commercial says, "You can do it anywhere," - even in the White House. Please accept it with my most sincere compliments.

Sincerely,


Suzanne Somers

SS\cs



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Brad,

Thank you so much for your supportive letter and your wonderful drawing of Desert Storm. I always enjoy hearing from young people like you.

I hope you enjoy this photo of me and my dog Ranger.

Sincerely,

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

THE W.
WAS

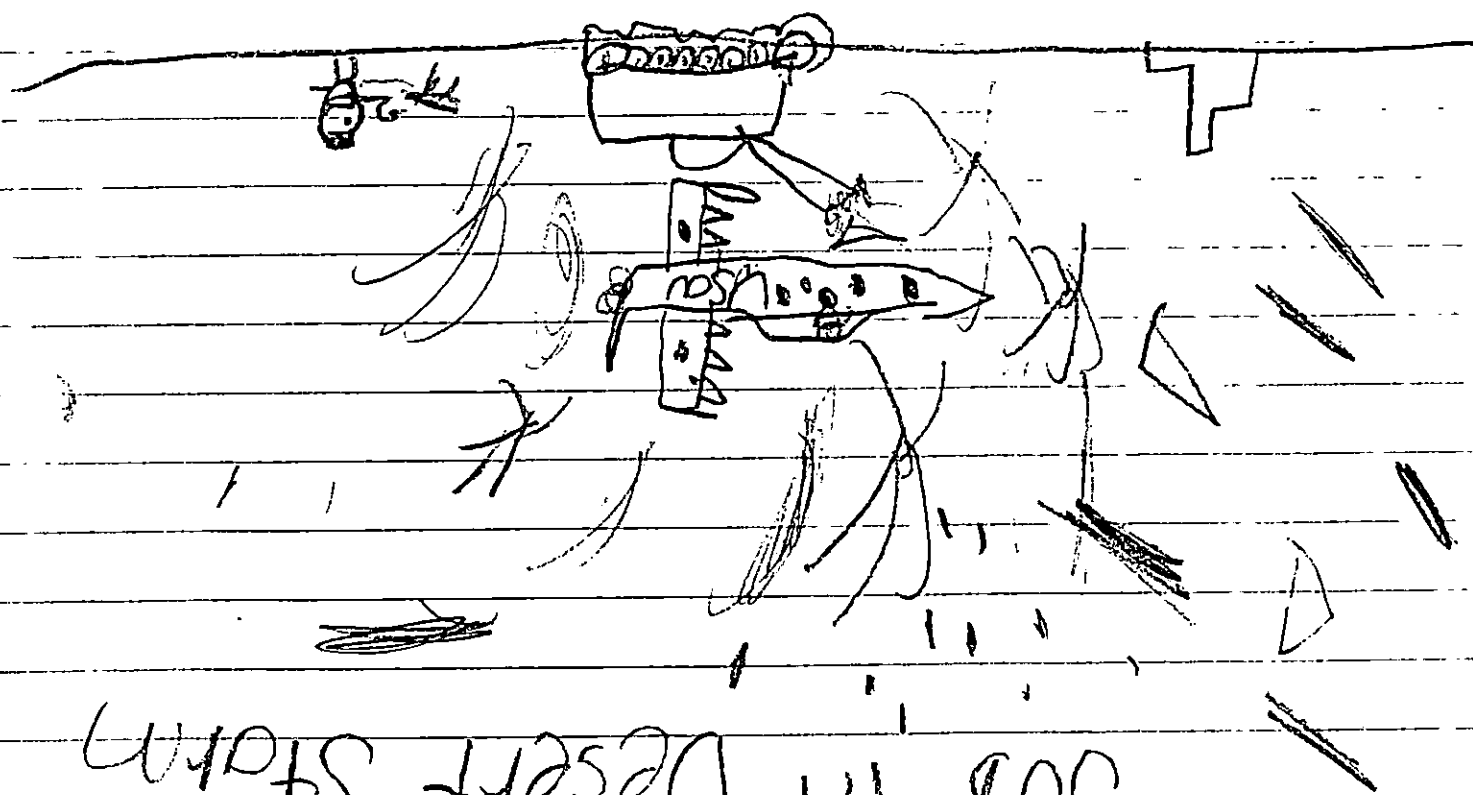
Master Brad Federico
4817 Augusta
Frisco, Texas 75034

10 Bnad -
But Wilsno
4-29-92



4817 August 17, 1967

Food FedeRico



President Bush, I thought you did a great job in Desert Storm

daily 428

April 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

SUBJECT: Visit of Chris Evert and Andy Mill
Wednesday, April 29 - Sunday, May 3, 1992

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

4:55 p.m. Chris Evert and Andy Mill arrive Washington National Airport aboard Delta Flight #378 accompanied by their 6 month old son, Alex, and his nanny Josette Scmoll. They depart National Airport by van enroute the White House where they will overnight.

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1992

to be Chris Evert and Andy Mill depart the White House (sometime
determined Thursday morning), accompanied by Alex Mill and Josette Scmoll, enroute the Marriott Hotel where they will stay until Friday afternoon.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1992

2:40 p.m. Chris Evert and Andy Mill, accompanied by their son Alex, arrive the White House by car (North Grounds).

3:00 p.m. Chris Evert and Andy Mill, accompanied by their son Alex, depart for Camp David with the President and Mrs. Bush. (Josette Scmoll will fly to Camp David on the back-up chopper.)

SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1992

12:30 p.m. Chris Evert, Andy Mill, Alex Mill and Josette Scmoll depart
approx. Camp David by van enroute Washington National Airport. They will depart Washington, D.C. on American Flight 433 at 3:10 p.m.

Patty Presock

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Wednesday, April 29, 1992

Volume 28, Number 63

News From the Hill

SENATE FLOOR: Coin bill cleared, campaign finance debated.

The Senate cleared, 75-22, a commemorative coin bill (HR 3337) after re-buffing a last-ditch effort by Alan Cranston, D-Calif., to require a redesign of the back sides of circulating coins.

Cranston tried to the very end to persuade colleagues to insist upon the coin redesign, which he has steered through the Senate a total of 13 different times in recent years.

But the House has opposed any tinkering with the existing design of the nation's circulating coins. The House on April 8 stripped the redesign language from the bill.

As cleared, the legislation authorizes the Mint to strike collector coins to commemorate the White House, James Madison, Christopher Columbus, the World Cup Soccer Games and American soldiers who served in the Persian Gulf War.

Campaign Finance. Members began debating the conference report on a bill (S 3) that would establish voluntary spending limits for House and Senate races.

House and Senate candidates would be offered incentives, including matching funds, discount television air time and subsidized postal rates, if they abide by the

limits. Senate limits would range from \$950,000 to \$5.5 million, depending on the size of a candidate's state. And House campaigns would be limited to \$600,000.

Democrats say the legislation is needed to put an end to the ever-increasing costs of running for office. But Republicans, by and large, oppose provisions that would allow partial public financing of campaigns.

HOUSE FLOOR: Generic drug fraud penalties cleared.

The House yesterday cleared legislation (HR 2454) to deter fraud by generic drug companies.

Under the bill, generic drug manufacturers convicted of fraud or bribery in drug approval cases could face up to \$1 million in fines. They could also be barred from applying for approval of their products in the future.

By voice vote, House members approved Senate amendments that would expand the Food and Drug Administration's authority to penalize fraudulent activity.

The Senate had approved the bill on April 10.

A recent congressional inquiry uncovered evidence that some drug companies bribed federal officials and submitted false drug samples in order to win speedy approval of generic drugs.

ENERGY SAVINGS in public buildings mandated by broad bill.

After little debate, the House Public Works Subcommittee on Public Buildings and Grounds approved, by voice vote, proposals to boost energy conservation in public buildings.

The provisions are part of a broad energy policy bill (HR 776) that is working its way through numerous House committees.

Members approved, by voice vote, an amendment by subcommittee Chairman

Today

House Floor: Funding for the space station *Freedom* is expected to draw fire today when the House takes up legislation (HR 4364) that would reauthorize the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) through fiscal 1995.

Tim Roemer, D-Ind., plans to offer an amendment that would strike the bill's proposed \$2.3 billion in spending authority for the space station in fiscal 1993. The space station is expected to cost about \$40 billion before it is completed.

This is the second straight year in which funding for the station has come under attack. In 1991, the House Appropriations panel cut funding for the project, but it was restored by the full House.

Roemer wants to use about half of the fiscal 1993 funding for the space station for deficit reduction and allow NASA to use the other half for other space programs.

If approved, Roemer's amendment would cut \$1.2 billion from the \$15.3 billion proposed in the bill for fiscal 1993. The measure includes \$14.4 billion for NASA's so-called core programs and \$872.1 million for discretionary programs in fiscal 1993.

Senate Floor: The Senate is scheduled to vote on the conference report on legislation that would dramatically change the way candidates run for Congress.

The bill (S 3) would set voluntary spending limits for congressional campaigns and would reward those who abide by them with partial public funding, discount television air time and lower postal rates. Senate campaign limits would range from \$950,000 to \$5.5 million, depending on the size of the candidate's state.

The bill would also limit contributions allowed from political action committees.

Energy Bill: Several House committees and subcommittees with jurisdiction over parts of a sweeping energy bill (HR 776) will act on the measure today.

The most significant action will occur in the Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over revenue-raising portions of the bill, including a controversial proposal that would require oil refiners and importers to set aside 1 percent of their products to fill the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

The provision is vehemently opposed by the oil industry and has drawn a veto threat from President Bush. Critics say the provision would be an unfair tax on the industry, and that the burden should be shared by all taxpayers. An amendment to strike the language is likely to be offered.

The Merchant Marine Committee will

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TODAY from p. 1

mark up provisions to earmark \$100 million to \$120 million of revenues from offshore oil and gas leases for grants to coastal and Great Lakes states to be used to help manage and preserve coastlines.

The committee will also mark up language that would place 10 percent of the offshore oil and gas lease revenues into a fund aimed at easing global warming. The fund would help less affluent nations obtain technologies to curb their production of carbon dioxide and other gases believed to contribute to global warming. Rep. Jack Fields, R-Texas, is expected to try to strike this provision.

In other action, the Surface Transportation and Water Resources subcommittees of the House Public Works Committee will mark up provisions governing federal regulation of oil pipelines and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

In addition, the Foreign Affairs Committee will mark up portions of the

bill that would promote the export of coal and renewable energy technologies.

RCRA Rewrite: A bill to revise the nation's principal solid waste law will be marked up by a divided Senate Environment and Public Works Committee.

The measure (S 976) would rewrite the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), which regulates the disposal of solid and hazardous wastes. A principal focus of this year's effort is to ease a shortage of landfill space by promoting recycling and by beefing up state and local government management of solid waste disposal.

The bill is generally opposed by industry as too burdensome, and the Bush administration has given it a cold shoulder.

The committee will mark up a new draft of the bill, which was still being revised yesterday. The new version is expected to retain language requiring industry to use more recycled materials and states to develop plans for more efficient and safe solid waste disposal.

James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., is expected to offer an amendment to create a nationwide beverage container deposit program. The amendment would require a state to adopt the deposit program unless the state can achieve a 70 percent recycling rate without it.

Another controversial section of the bill governs trash imports and exports by states. The new version of the bill would allow states to consider local government requests to ban trash imports from other states. An earlier draft would have allowed local governments to directly bar such imports.

Water projects. The committee will also mark up a draft bill to authorize Army Corps of Engineers water projects. One of the biggest new projects in this year's bill would restore wetlands along the Kissimmee River in Florida that were damaged by a corps navigation project in the 1960s.

Airport Construction: The House Ways and Means Committee will mark up

Appropriators Seek to Cut Fiscal 1992 Tab

The House Appropriations Committee today is scheduled to mark up legislation to trim spending in fiscal 1992.

The measure, House Democrats' response to President Bush's call to rein in wasteful spending, would rescind almost \$6 billion in funds already appropriated by Congress. It is likely to include cuts in areas ranging from construction of submarines to infrastructure improvement on Indian reservations.

Since his State of the Union address, the president has sent to Congress more than 100 proposals to cancel fiscal 1992 spending. Each of the cuts has been introduced as a separate bill. To date, the administration has asked Congress to rescind more than \$7.9 billion in fiscal 1992 budget appropriations.

In a partisan speech March 20, the president derided many projects that have received federal funding, including research on asparagus and prickly pears. He blamed the Democrats in Congress for the spending allocations and vowed to work with Hill Republicans to force votes on each of his proposed cuts.

Congressional Democrats hope that their omnibus spending cut measure — which would contain some, but not all, of Bush's proposals along with many cuts of their own — will forestall individual votes on each of Bush's proposals.

Bush's threat to force votes relies on a never-used budget rule that allows one-fifth of either the House or the Senate to discharge rescission bills from the House Appropriations Committee within 25 days of continuous session after referral. The procedural tactic could be used beginning May 6. If the bills came to the floor, lawmakers would face the politically unpopular prospect of voting publicly during an election year on spending for local projects.

Bush Targets Local Favorites

In his largest package of proposed cuts, announced on March 20, Bush asked for \$4 billion in rescissions, including cutbacks in small-fruit research in Oregon and funding for improvements to an Ashland, Ky., parking garage. But the bulk of the savings from those proposed rescissions would come from a proposed \$3 billion reduction in spending on

construction of the *Seawolf* submarine.

The March 20 proposal followed a March 10 package of 30 rescissions totaling almost \$2.1 billion, with almost \$2 billion coming from defense.

The latest package, which Bush proposed on April 9, was introduced in the House and Senate by two Republicans, Sen. John McCain, Ariz., and Rep. Harris W. Fawell, Ind.

The McCain/Fawell cuts are entirely out of defense programs, totaling about \$2.2 billion. The largest reduction would come from a halt in the accelerated modernization of the C-130H aircraft, a military cargo and transport plane. According to a McCain aide, the needs of the National Guard and the reserves do not justify the approximately \$800 million allocated for the program.

The newest cuts would achieve savings of \$225 million by canceling the program to upgrade M-1A tanks and approximately \$250 million by terminating the Small Intercontinental Ballistic Missile program.

Appropriations Panel Work. In the past several weeks, House Appropriations subcommittees have marked up the Bush packages, accepting some cuts and substituting their own proposals for others. Unlike the administration's proposal, the House committee legislation would retain \$1 billion in funding for the *Seawolf* submarine program, would cut \$100 million in foreign assistance, some out of aid for Peru, and would impose a 4 percent across-the-board cut in assisted housing.

The bill is likely to go to the floor sometime next week. On Thursday, the Senate Appropriations Committee is scheduled to mark up four bills rescinding 1992 budget authority. Like the House bill, the Senate committee measures are likely to contain some of the administration's proposals, but substitute other cuts to achieve similar savings.

Both the president and Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman have promised that more rescission proposals are to come, though a spokeswoman for OMB said recently that no date has been announced for the introduction of any additional domestic spending cuts.

—Laura Michaelis

TODAY from p. 2

provisions of a Federal Aviation Administration reauthorization measure dealing with the Airport and Airways Trust Fund.

As approved by the House Public Works and Transportation Committee on April 8, the bill (HR 4691) would authorize \$2 billion in fiscal 1993 and \$2.1 billion in fiscal 1994 for the fund, which pays for airport and air traffic control system improvements and development.

The fund is primarily financed by a 10 percent tax on airline tickets.

While the Ways and Means Committee must sign off on HR 4691 because of the ticket tax, it is not expected that panel members will make any modifications to the version of the bill approved by the Public Works panel.

Indian Health: The House Interior Committee will mark up a measure (HR 3724) to reauthorize Indian health-care programs through fiscal 2000.

The committee will expand upon the version of the bill approved by the Energy and Commerce Committee on April 7. The Interior panel will add provisions to authorize Indian health programs that are conducted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, over which the committee has jurisdiction.

The committee will also add language to the bill to authorize several programs to combat fetal alcohol syndrome, which causes birth defects in children whose mothers abuse alcohol during pregnancy. It affects a far greater proportion of Indian children than non-Indian children.

The Interior Committee bill would boost funding for alcohol and substance abuse programs.

The bill sets no specific authorization levels — current funding is \$140 million — but the Congressional Budget Office estimates that the programs under the bill would require about \$221 million by fiscal 1996.

Clinton Visit: Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton will be on Capitol Hill today wooing uncommitted Democrats. The Arkansas governor, who holds a commanding lead in convention delegates, will meet with House Democrats in the morning and Senate Democrats in the afternoon. More than four-fifths of House and Senate Democrats are delegates to the Democratic National Convention in July.

Clinton has won the endorsement of more than 90 of the 275 congressional superdelegates — Democratic members of Congress who have been selected to attend the convention as unpledged delegates separate from any state delegation. He may schedule meetings with uncommitted superdelegates.

Clinton also plans to hold a press conference and meet privately with selected lawmakers. ■

NEWS from p. 1

Gus Savage, D-Ill., that would extend from the year 2000 to 2005 the time by which federal buildings must install energy and water conservation measures that are intended to pay for themselves in 10 years.

Democrat Eleanor Holmes Norton, the delegate from the District of Columbia, said that provisions allowing federal buildings to compete with the private sector for rebates and other cash incentives for applying efficient energy controls could hinder the private sector's ability to win rebates.

Nearly 80 percent of all federal buildings are in the District of Columbia, Norton said.

Savage said the committee will include report language to avoid the possibility that private sector companies, especially those located in and around the District of Columbia, would be disadvantaged by the large number of federal agencies that would be competing for energy rebates.

The full committee will take up the bill on Thursday.

HOUSE BANK data release pressed on Speaker Foley.

Pressure grew yesterday on House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., to comply with a special counsel's request for access to all House bank records.

Just one day after saying that Special Counsel Malcolm R. Wilkey's request for the records of the House bank was an invasion of members' privacy, Minority Leader Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., yesterday wrote Foley saying that the House should comply with the subpoena.

Michel's letter came after a GOP leadership meeting and after he found little support for resisting Wilkey's request from rank-and-file Republicans returning to Capitol Hill after the two-week recess.

"The House cannot at this time hide behind a technicality," Thomas J. Bliley Jr., R-Va., said in a floor speech. "The public will perceive it as nothing but a cover-up."

Democratic leaders also met yesterday and plan to discuss a range of options with the full caucus today. Foley has been unwilling to go along with Wilkey's request, saying as recently as yesterday that it was overly broad.

If the House does agree to give up the documents, members would be able to avoid a politically difficult floor vote. Both Foley and Michel said the dispute could be resolved by Thursday.

EEOC CHAIRMAN criticized for lax enforcement of civil rights law.

Evan J. Kemp Jr. yesterday defended his record as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission at an

oversight hearing before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity.

But members of the subcommittee charged Kemp with lax enforcement of the 1991 Civil Rights Act and took him to task for holding only a handful of public hearings since he became EEOC chairman in 1990.

Kemp submitted to the subcommittee a statement of more than 40 pages outlining the EEOC's efforts to enforce laws against job discrimination.

"EEOC has made extraordinary progress as the nation's lead civil rights enforcement agency," Kemp said in a prepared statement. He praised his investigators for resolving a record number of job discrimination cases.

Members of the subcommittee, however, were not impressed by Kemp's testimony.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said the EEOC, under Kemp's leadership, "has been abdicating its statutory responsibility" to fully implement the Civil Rights Act.

Kennedy said the EEOC, siding with the Bush administration, has refused to apply the law retroactively even though some courts have upheld such application.

"Regrettably, the once proud EEOC has become a Trojan horse in the battle against discrimination in our society," Kennedy said.

Sen. Paul Simon, D-Ill., criticized Kemp for holding only six public EEOC meetings in two years. The EEOC had 60 public meetings each in 1980 and 1981, Simon said.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS complex downsizing pushed by Watkins.

Energy Secretary James D. Watkins came to the Hill yesterday to brief members of the House Armed Services Committee on the department's efforts to scale down the nation's beleaguered nuclear weapons complex.

Watkins also pressed members to pass legislation that would allow the opening of a controversial nuclear waste dump in New Mexico. The Energy Department has already spent more than \$1 billion to build the facility, which would hold low-level nuclear waste from the nation's weapons plants.

But opposition from the state of New Mexico and a standoff with Congress have blocked the dump's opening. Watkins threatened to begin laying off employees at the facility, the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant.

"I'm not going to continue to spend \$15 million a month for nothing," said Watkins. "I don't know what more I can do."

With the end of the Cold War, the department is planning to shift a considerable portion of the \$12 billion budget

for defense programs, spending more on cleaning up waste and shutting down obsolete weapons plants and less on producing weapons.

Watkins warned against further cuts in fiscal 1993 spending for the department's defense-related activities.

He also opposed any ban on nuclear weapons testing.

DRUG LABELS for non-prescription medicines get scrutiny.

Physicians, drug researchers and consumer groups told two House subcommittees yesterday that much of the labeling on over-the-counter drug products is too small to read, does not adequately describe reactions with other drugs or illnesses, and does not take into account the specific needs of the elderly.

The testimony came as the subcommittees reviewed the safety of over-the-counter drugs, with particular emphasis on their use by the elderly, who consume one-third of all prescription and over-the-counter drugs sold each year.

Ron Wyden, D-Ore., chairman of the Small Business Subcommittee on Regulation, said that inadequate labeling of non-prescription drugs contributes to the public's mistaken belief that these drugs pose no dangers, by "omitting serious side effects warnings from container labels altogether, or by listing the warnings in fine print." His subcommittee held the hearing along with the Select Committee on Aging's Subcommittee on Housing and Consumer Interests.

Kwai-Cheung Chan of the General Accounting Office (GAO) told members that a recent study of the non-prescription drug industry found that there is no requirement that non-prescription drug manufacturers report adverse drug reactions to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and that the FDA has no authority to require manufacturers to provide them with critical records, such as complaint files about certain drugs.

But James D. Cope, president of the Nonprescription Drug Manufacturers Association (NDMA), said that the GAO report is "riddled with error, with misconceptions and with misinformation." He said the FDA system to regulate the safety, effectiveness and labeling of non-prescription drugs is equal to that used for new prescription drugs.

SMITHSONIAN FACES fiscal 1993 budget cuts, Reid says.

The Smithsonian Institution and all other agencies funded by the Interior Department spending bill should expect a 2 percent cut in fiscal 1993 funding, a Senate appropriator said yesterday.

That blunt warning came after a two-hour grilling of Smithsonian Secretary Robert McC. Adams by several senators during an Interior Appropriations

Subcommittee oversight hearing.

Harry Reid, D-Nev., who served as acting chairman for the hearing, told reporters that the budget squeeze made the reduction necessary. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., who is chairman of both the subcommittee and the full committee, was not present and has not indicated whether cuts would take place.

Smithsonian representatives said this was the first they had heard of such a cut being proposed. In fact, far from paring the Smithsonian's request, Adams walked into the hearing with a request for the institution's largest-ever appropriation — \$364.7 million, or 9.9 percent higher than the fiscal 1992 appropriation.

Adams said even with the increase requested, the Smithsonian has "virtually no major new initiatives" in store, though the higher appropriation would allow some expansion in global change research and cultural pluralism initiatives.

JFK DOCUMENTS' release opposed by Justice Department.

The Justice Department came out strongly yesterday against a joint resolution to make public thousands of documents on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Supporters say disclosure of the long-secret information is vital to dispelling the public's cynicism about the government's truthfulness and laying to rest — or proving — conspiracy theories such as those alleged in the 1991 movie "JFK."

But in a letter made public yesterday, the Justice Department said the resolution (H J Res 454) violates the Constitution. It encroaches on the president's authority to protect confidential information and sources and wrongly gives the judicial branch power over an independent review board, the department said.

The Justice Department said the president should be responsible for overseeing the board, which would review documents proposed for disclosure.

The opposition was a surprise: The CIA and FBI had pledged to cooperate with the move for disclosure, and Government Operations Committee Chairman John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., said he had been negotiating with Justice officials until the last minute.

At a hearing yesterday by the Legislation and National Security Subcommittee, members expressed concern that fear of a veto would force members to water down the disclosure requirements until they were meaningless.

MIA/POW DELEGATION returns with mixed results.

Five members of the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs yesterday said their trip through Southeast Asia over the spring recess offered them unprecedented access to Vietnamese

prison camps and to senior military officials from the Vietnam War.

But they added that no conclusive evidence was found to support claims that American military personnel, either prisoners of war (POWs) or those missing-in-action (MIAs), may still be alive and held against their will in Southeast Asia.

The Defense Department lists 2,268 servicemen from the Vietnam War as being POWs or MIAs.

Panel Chairman John Kerry, D-Mass., said the delegation inspected four military bases near Hanoi that Americans had never before been able to gain access to.

Some of the inspections were done without any advance notice or request, Kerry said. "All the prisoners were Asians," he said.

Charles S. Robb, D-Va., said the trip "on balance was worthwhile" but that he was disappointed with the Laotian government's failure to produce records or detail its knowledge about American MIA/POW cases.

Several members said they wanted to investigate further whether American prisoners were still being held in remote areas of Laos.

Ranking panel member Robert C. Smith, R-N.H., said that the committee's investigation will also begin placing more emphasis on declassifying and making public as many Defense Department files as possible on POW/MIA cases. The committee is authorized to operate until December.

FLORIDA'S SMITH latest to announce plans to retire.

Florida Democrat Lawrence J. Smith, whose involvement in the House bank scandal made him politically vulnerable, said yesterday that he would not seek re-election.

Smith, a 10-year House veteran, wrote 161 overdrafts at the now-closed bank and faced stiff primary and general election challenges. "The truth is, those who hold public office are not perfect. Surely, I'm not. I've made mistakes, and I regret them," he said.

Last week, Common Cause, a self-styled citizens lobby, requested that the House ethics committee investigate allegations that Smith converted campaign funds to personal use.

Smith said that while he thought he could win re-election, he decided to call it quits "because the job I love has become impossible to do. Washington doesn't work anymore, and the public arena is increasingly frustrating and bitter."

After years on the Foreign Affairs and Judiciary committees, Smith won a slot on the coveted Appropriations Committee last year. Smith, who is Jewish, has been one of the most vocal supporters of Israel and has accused the Bush administration of having a pro-Arab tilt. ■

Committee Meetings Scheduled Today

Senate Committees

FY93 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE & JUDICIARY APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee (Chairman Hollings, D-S.C.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am S-146 Capitol Bldg. April 29

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: U.S. Information Agency; Board for International Broadcasting

Henry Catto - director, U.S. Information Agency; Malcolm Forbes, Jr. - chairman, Board for International Broadcasting

BASE CLOSURES

Senate Armed Services Committee

Readiness, Sustainability and Support Subcommittee (Chairman Dixon, D-Ill.) will hold a hearing on military construction, bases closures and the Defense Department's role in community-impact assistance programs.

2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. April 29

CALIFORNIA DESERT PROTECTION

Senate Energy Committee

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) will continue hearings on legislation (S 21; HR 2929; S 2393) to provide for the protection of the public lands in the California desert.

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:

RCRA

Senate Environment Committee

The full committee (Chairman Burdick, D-N.D.) will mark up pending legislation.

9am SH-216 Hart Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

S 976 - reauthorizing the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, which regulates disposal of solid wastes.

S — the Judicial Space and Facilities Management Act

S — Kennedy Center reauthorization

S — reauthorization of water resource development projects

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ISSUES

Senate Finance Committee

The full committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on unemployment compensation issues, including proposals to further extend benefits.

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Lynn Martin - secretary of Labor; Warren Blue - senior vice president and general counsel, Harrington Services Corp. (representing National Association of Manufacturers); William Cunningham - legislative representative, AFL-CIO; William Grossenbacher - president, Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies and administrator, Texas Employment Commission

PANEL: Isaac Shapiro - senior research analyst, Urban Institute

★ New listing

FARM TAX FAIRNESS

Senate Finance Committee

Energy and Agricultural Taxation Subcommittee (Chairman Daschle, D-S.D.) will hold a hearing on tax incentives for first-time farmers, estate and gift tax issues of transferring a farm to children and capital gains and debt relief.

2pm SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Sens. Kassebaum, R-Kan., Conrad, D-N.D.; Jeffords, R-Vt.; Kasten, R-Wis. Reps. Dorgan, D-N.D.; Slattery, D-Kan. James Fields - acting deputy tax legislative counsel, Treasury Department

PANEL: Sarah Vogel - commissioner of agriculture, N.D.; Richard Dees - attorney, Chicago, Ill.; William Greiner - executive director, Iowa Agriculture Development Authority; Brad McNulty - attorney, Rapid City, S.C.; David Saxowsky - North Dakota State University

PANEL: Cheryl Cook - assistant director for legislative services, National Farmers Union; Jim Harris - Union Grove, Wis.; Ferdinand Hoefner - Washington representative, Center for Rural Affairs; Grace Ellen Rice - associate director of national affairs, American Farm Bureau

COMBATING INSURANCE FRAUD AND ABUSE

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on efforts to combat fraud and abuse in the insurance industry.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled:

Edward Stanko - Royalton Financial Group; Samuel Lane - Fairlane Financial Corporation; George Eliades - Fairfax Station, Virginia; Lucille Watkins - Van Wert, Ohio; Tom Gallagher - commissioner of insurance, State of Florida; John Withers - partner, Coopers and Lybrand

JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS

Senate Judiciary Committee

The full committee (Chairman Biden, D-Del.) will hold hearings on pending nominations.

9:30am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

Agenda: Robert Payne to be District Judge, Eastern District of Virginia; Richard Kyle to be District Judge, District of Minnesota; Lee Rosenthal to be District Judge, Southern District of Texas; Joe Kendall to be District Judge, Northern District of Texas

★ PROMOTING EFFICIENCY AT FEDERAL CLAIMS COURT

Senate Judiciary Committee

Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee (Chairman Heflin, D-Ala.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2521) to make technical and procedural amendments pertaining to the U.S. Court of Federal Claims in order to promote efficiency and fairness.

2pm SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Lauren Smith - chief justice, Federal Claims Court; Stuart Schiffer - deputy assistant Attorney General, Department of Justice; John Pachter - chairman, Public Contract Law Section, American Bar Association

■ PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Senate Judiciary Committee

Juvenile Justice Subcommittee (Chairman Kohl, D-Wis.) will hold hearings on preventing juvenile delinquency.

10:30am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: John Collins - executive, Kenosha County, Wisconsin; Lynne Martinez - commissioner, Ingham County, Michigan; Gladys McCoy - Board of Commissioners, Multnomah County, Oregon; Thomas English - executive director, Oregon Council on Crime and Delinquency; Kevin Soucie - intergovernmental relations director, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin; Michael Green - Juvenile Justice Administrator, City of New York, New York; Sally Herrick - president, New York State Youth Bureaus; Carole Carpenter - Maricopa County Supervisor, Phoenix, Arizona

■ CABLE COMPULSORY LICENSES

Senate Judiciary Committee

Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) will hold hearings on cable compulsory licenses. The licenses allow cable companies to carry the broadcast signals of television stations without paying a fee.

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■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. **April 29**

Witness scheduled: Alfred Sikes - chairman, Federal Communications Commission; Fay Vincent - Commissioner of Baseball; Gene Kimmelman - legislative director, Consumer Federation of America; Jeff Treeman - senior vice president, United Video, Inc.; Stephen Ross - professor of law, University of Illinois; Stephen Effros - president, National Cable TV Association; James Mooney - president, National Cable TV Association; B.R. Phillips, III - CEO, National Rural Telecommunications Cooperative

■ LONG-TERM CARE INSURANCE Senate Labor Committee

The full committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2571) that would establish standards for universal access to long-term health care insurance.

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **April 29**

Witnesses scheduled: Richard Gehring - chairman, Board of Directors, Alzheimer's Association; Jim Firman - president, United Seniors Health Cooperative; Gail Shearer - manager, Policy Analysis, Consumers Union; Al Norman - executive director, Massachusetts Home Care; Earl Pomeroy - Insurance Commissioner, State of North Dakota

House Committees

■ AGRICULTURAL CREDIT House Agriculture Committee

Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee (Chairman English, D-Okla.) will hold hearings on legislation (HR 4906), the Agricultural Credit Improvement Act of 1992.

10am 1300 Longworth Bldg. **April 29**

Witnesses scheduled: La Verne Ausman - Farmers Home Administration; John Harman - General Accounting Office

■ ETHANOL FUEL House Agriculture Committee

Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Volkmer, D-Mo.) will hold a hearing on the potential for the use of grain-based ethanol fuel as an element in efforts to meet clean air standards.

9am 1302 Longworth Bldg. **April 29**

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Nagle, D-Iowa; Durbin, D-Ill.; Bruce, D-Ill.; Leach, R-Iowa; Nussle, R-Iowa; Bilbray, D-Nev.; Jim Edgar - governor, Illinois; Amy Stewart - Indian Office of Energy Policy; Richard Wilson - Office of Mobile Sources, Environmental Protection Agency; Roger Conway - Office of Energy, Agriculture Department; Carmen Difiglio - Office of Energy Demand Policy, Energy Department; Jerry Gallagher - Colorado Department of Health Mobile Sources Program; Becky Doyle - National Association of State Departments of Agriculture; Eric Vaughn - National Renewable Fuels Association; Bill Holmberg - Clean Fuels Development Coalition; Byron Fink - Missouri Corn Growers Association; George Kornegay - North Carolina Ethanol Ltd.; Nolan Hancock - AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Corn Milling Council; Allen Kozinski - AMOCO Oil Co.; Jerrold Levine - AMOCO Oil Co.; John White - Illinois Agricultural Association; Shirley Ball - Ethanol Producers and Consumers; Jerry Jacoby - Minnesota Corn Processors

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FISCAL 1992 RESCISSIONS

House Appropriations Committee

The full committee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will mark up a fiscal 1992 rescission bill. 4:30pm 2360 Rayburn Bldg. **tentative April 29**

FY93 AGRICULTURE & RURAL DEVELOPMENT APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Subcommittee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

1pm 2362 Rayburn Bldg. **April 29**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: Edward Madigan - secretary of Agriculture

FY93 DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Murtha, D-Pa.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 1:30pm H-140 Capitol Bldg. **(closed) April 29**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29:

10am: RDT&E, Air Force

Hon. John J. Welch, Jr. - assistant secretary of the Air Force; Lt. Gen. John E. Jacquish - principal deputy to ASAF, acquisition.

1:30pm: RDT&E, Army

Stephen K. Conner - assistant secretary of the Army, Research, Development and Acquisition; Maj. Gen. Richard Beltson - deputy for Systems Management, Research, Development and Acquisition; George T. Singley - deputy assistant secretary for research and technology

■ FY93 INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

Interior Subcommittee (Chairman Yates, D-Ill.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. **April 29**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: John Turner - director, Fish and Wildlife Service

FY93 LABOR, HHS & EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Natcher, D-Ky.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 2pm 2358 Rayburn Bldg. **April 29**

Agenda: Congressional and Public Witnesses

■ FY93 TRANSPORTATION APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

Transportation Subcommittee (Chairman Lehman, D-Fla.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 2pm 2358 Rayburn Bldg. **April 29**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled: James L. Oberstar, D-Minn.; Rob Tober - general manager, Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority; Bart Gordon, D-Tenn.; Tim Johnson, D-S.D.; Doug Bereuter, R-Neb.; Wellington Webb - Mayor, Denver, Colorado; Hector Luis Acevedo -

Mayor, San Juan, Puerto Rico; James M. Bourey - senior assistant county administrator, Hillsborough County, Florida; George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif.; George F. Allen, R-Va.; Kathleen Seefeldt - chairman, Prince William County Board of Supervisors; Bill McCollum, R-Fla.; Glenda Hood - mayor pro tem, Orlando, Florida; Sheridan Rhoads - vice chairman, National Association of Governors' Highway Safety Representatives; Elaine Pontillo - dean, MidAmerican Aviation Resource Consortium (MARC); Richard Pointer - director, MARC; Robert I. Schroder - commissioner, San Francisco Bay Area Metropolitan Transportation Commission; Rod Diridon - supervisor, Santa Clara County CA/Commissioner; John Woodbury - president, Alameda/Contra Costa Transit; Thomas Margroe - assistant general manager, Bay Area Regional Transit; Michael Ehrlichmann - member, American Public Transit Association (APTA); David L. Turney - vice president, APTA; Timothy Hoyt - director of Safety, Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety; Jacqueline Fillan - deputy executive director, Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety; Joan Claybrook - president, Public Citizen; Harry Teter, Jr. - executive director, Atlantic Emergency Medical Services Council; Ed Carter - vice president for Facility Development, Childrens Hospital and Health Center; Milo Kirk - president, Mothers Against Drunk Driving; Paul H. Reistrup - High Speed Rail Association; James V. Hansen - R-Utah; Robert Ervin - University of Michigan, Transportation Research Institute; Rev. William L. George, S.J. - assistant to the president for Federal Relations; Rev. T. Byron Collins, S.J. - assistant to the president for Federal Relations; Peter J. Visclosky, D-Ind.; Bob Wise, D-W.Va.; Louise M. Slaughter, D-N.Y.; Norman Glass - executive director, Greater Orlando Aviation Authority; Paul Helmke - Fort Wayne, Indiana; Edwin Rousseau - president, Allen County Board of Commissioners; Tom Henry - president, Fort Wayne Common Council; Edwin Harper - President, Association of American Railroads; Pete Geren, D-Texas; Martin Frost, D-Texas; John Bryant, D-Texas; Walter Sonneborn - senior vice president, Bell Helicopter Textron, Inc.; David Sweet - Boeing Company; Seth Ellis - Chief Financial Officer, Florida Regional Emergency Medical Services; Howard Yerusalam - Pennsylvania State Secretary of Transportation; Thomas Foerster - chairman, Allegheny County Commission; William Millar - executive director, Allegheny County Port Authority; Louis R. Martin - chief counsel, Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission; Steven M. Sliwa - President, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University; Craig T. James, R-Fla.; Ross Capon - executive director, National Association of Railroad Passengers; Scott Leonard - assistant director, National Association of Railroad Passengers; Miles N. Francis, Jr. - Jacksonville Transportation Authority; Rod Diridon, Supervisor, National Association of Counties; Karen Vialle - mayor, Tacoma, Washington; Greg Nickles - King County Councilman; Vickie Shaffer - Community Transportation Association of America; Bruce M. Fried - executive director, America's Coalition for Transit Now; Janet S. Hathaway - Natural Resources Defense Council; John Cox - chairman, San Joaquin Hills Transportation Corridor Agency; Richard Simonetta - general manager, Central Ohio Regional Transit Authority; Marsha Freeman - associate editor, 21st Century Science and Technology

FY93 VA, HUD APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Subcommittee (Chairman Traxler, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

9am & 2pm H-143 Capitol Bldg. **April 29**

House continued...

Witnesses scheduled: Congressional and Public Witnesses

■ **FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET: ACQUISITION STRATEGY**

House Armed Services Committee

Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems Subcommittee (Chairman Aspin, D-Wis.) and Research and Development Subcommittee (Chairman Dellums, D-Calif.) will hold joint hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request.

2pm 2118 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Agenda & witnesses scheduled: Tactical aviation: Robert Reischauer - Congressional Budget Office; Merrill McPeak - Air Force Chief of Staff; Jerome Johnson - vice chief, Naval Operations

■ **FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET: DRUG INTERDICTION/ SMALL BUSINESS**

House Armed Services Committee

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on drug interdiction and NATO reciprocal defense procurement memorandums.

1:30pm 2237 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Agenda and witnesses scheduled: Stephen Duncan - coordinator for drug enforcement policy and support, Defense Department; Joseph Kelley - General Accounting Office; Al Volkman - director, Foreign Contracting Defense Acquisition, Defense Department

■ **FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET: CIVIL DEFENSE**

House Armed Services Committee

Military Installations and Facilities Subcommittee (Chairman Schroeder, D-Colo.) will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on civil defense activities.

1pm 2216 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Wallace Stickney - Federal Emergency Management Agency; Dale Shipley - National Emergency Management Association; Lacy Suiter - National Emergency Management Association; Ken Schroeder - National Coordinating Council on Emergency Management

FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET: TRI-CARE PROJECT

House Armed Services Committee

Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee (Chairman Byron, D-Md.) will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on the Tri-Care project in Tidewater, Va.

11am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Barbara Pope - assistant secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs; Rear Adm. Daniel Lestage - Tri-Care Board of Commanders; Lt. Cmdr. John Tempecco - Catchment Area Management; Enrique Mendez Jr. - assistant secretary of Defense for Health Affairs

■ **CRITICAL MATERIALS**

House Armed Services Committee

Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials Subcommittee (Chairman Bennett, D-Fla.) will hold hearings on pending legislation.

★ New listing

1:30pm 2212 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

HR 4695 - to require the president to dispose of materials in the national defense stockpile that are obsolete for military purposes or in excess supply in the stockpile and to acquire strategic and critical materials that are in inadequate supply in the stockpile

HR 4880 - to reduce the stockpile requirement for, and authorize the disposal of, cobalt from the National Defense Stockpile

Witnesses scheduled: Colin McMillan - assistant secretary of Defense for Production and Logistics; Donna Heivilin - General Accounting Office; John Morgan - Bureau of Mines; John Richards - deputy assistant of Commerce for Industrial Resource Administration; Wes Scholtz - Office of International Commodities, State Department

■ **AID TO RUSSIA**

House Banking Committee

International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy Subcommittee (Chairman Oaker, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on the proposed financial aid to the former Soviet Union and the proposed roles for U.S. financial institutions.

10am 2220 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witness scheduled: David C. Mulford - undersecretary of international affairs, Treasury department

■ **INSURANCE LEGISLATION**

House Banking Committee

Policy Research and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Erdreich, D-Ala.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4731) to require the secretary of the Treasury to conduct a study and report to the Congress regarding the insurance industry in the United States.

10am 2222 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: John C. Dugan - deputy assistant secretary for financial institutions policy, Treasury department; James L. Blum - assistant director for budget analysis, Congressional Budget Office

■ **COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS**

House Banking Committee

Housing and Community Development Subcommittee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will continue a series of hearings on the reauthorization of all the housing and community development programs within its jurisdiction, focusing on lead paint hazards and the problems of homelessness.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Arthur Newburg - Department of Housing and Urban Development; William Ewall - Cambridge Public Housing Authority; David Jacobs - Georgia Institute of Technology

PANEL: Wallace Stickney - Federal Emergency Management Association; Fred Karnas - National Coalition for the Homeless; Robert Greenwald - AIDS Action Community of Massachusetts; Jim Reitz - Catholic Community Services; Carol Fennelly - Community for Creative Non-Violence

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

House Budget Committee

The full committee (Chairman Panetta, D-Calif.) will hold hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced

federal budget.

9:30am 210 Cannon Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: William Niskanen Jr. - CATO Institute; Lawrence Chimerine - Radnor Consulting Services

■ **D.C. ANTI-CRIME EFFORTS**

House District of Columbia Committee

Judiciary and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) will hold an oversight and investigative hearing on federal participation in anti-crime efforts in the District of Columbia.

9am 1310-A Longworth Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Robert M. Bryant - special agent in charge, Washington Metropolitan Field Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Peter F. Gruden - special agent in charge, Washington, D.C. Division, Drug Enforcement Administration; Herbert M. Rutherford III - U.S. Marshal for the District of Columbia, U.S. Marshals Service; Todd Dillard - U.S. Marshal, D.C. Superior Court

PANEL 2: David Troy - special agent in charge, Washington, D.C. Division, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; Tom W. Davis - special agent in charge, Washington Field Office, U.S. Secret Service; Ronald F. Minor - Postal Inspector and Projects Coordinator, U.S. Postal Service

REVISING OSHA

House Education and Labor Committee

The full committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will hold hearings on legislation (HR 3160) to revise the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (OSHA).

9:30am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 28.

Witnesses scheduled: Dottie Strunk - acting assistant secretary, Occupational Safety and Health Administration; Rep. Henry, R-Mich.

■ **CLINICAL LABS**

House Energy and Commerce Committee

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on the implementation of the Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act of 1988.

2pm 2123 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Louis Sullivan - secretary of Health and Human Services

■ **FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL**

House Foreign Affairs Committee

The full committee (Chairman Farnsworth, D-Fla.) will mark up legislation (HR 776) to provide for improved energy efficiency, focusing on promoting the export of renewable energy technology.

11am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

IRS TAX MODERNIZATION

House Government Operations Committee

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Barnard, D-Ga.) will hold hearings on recent progress and prospects for Internal Revenue Service's tax modernization program.

9:30am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Howard Rhile - director, General Accounting Office; Frederick Withington - staff member, Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee; Hank Philcox - chief information officer, Internal Revenue Service

■ Revised listing

House continued...

INTELLIGENCE BUDGET

House Intelligence Committee

Program and Budget Authorization Subcommittee (Chairman McCurdy, D-Okla.) will hold hearings on the fiscal 1993 intelligence budget.

1:30pm H-405 Capitol Bldg. closed April 29

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Interior Committee

(Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

10:30am 1324 Longworth Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

HR 3724 - Authorize appropriations for Indian health programs

HR 1183 - Provide for the transportation of the Platoro Reservoir to the Conejos Water Conservancy District of the state of Colorado and for other protection of fish and wildlife habitat on the Conejos River

S 452 - Authorize a transfer of administrative jurisdiction over certain land to the secretary of the Interior

NATIONAL RIVER SYSTEMS RECREATIONAL ASSESSMENT

House Interior Committee

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR —) to authorize the National Park Service and the U.S. Geological Survey to conduct a national river systems recreation assessment.

1:30pm 1324 Longworth Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: James Karr - director of the Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Washington; Judy Meyer - Institute of Ecology at the University of Georgia; Arthur Benke - Department of Biological Sciences at the University of Alabama; James Stewart - assistant director of planning, Interior Department; Robert Saxvik - Northwest Power Planning Council; Barry Beasley - South Carolina Water Resources Commission

CREATING SPECIALIZED JUDICIAL CORPS

House Judiciary Committee

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on pending legislation.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

HR 3910 - Establish a specialized corps of judges necessary for certain federal proceedings:
Rep. Glickman, D-Kan.; Steven Valentine - deputy assistant attorney general, Civil Division, Department of Justice; Melford Cleveland - Association of Administrative Law Judges; Charles Bono - American Bar Association; Victor Palmer - Federal Association of Administrative Law Judges; Bruce Birchman - The Forum

HR 4841 - New Hampshire-Maine Interstate Education Compact:
Reps. Swett, D-N.H.; Andrews, D-Maine

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

House Judiciary Committee

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) will mark up pending legislation.

Follows (above) hearing 2226 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

★ New listing

Agenda:

HR 4209 - Conferring jurisdiction on certain courts of the United States to hear and render judgment in connection with certain claims of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma

HR 4841 - New Hampshire-Maine Interstate Education Compact

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: VOTING RIGHTS EXTENSION

House Judiciary Committee

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) will mark up a committee print of the Voting Rights Extension Act of 1992.

10am 2237 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP OIL & GAS ESTATE ISSUES

House Judiciary Committee

Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee (Chairman Brooks, D-Texas) will mark up legislation (HR 4363) to exclude from the estate of the debtor certain interests in liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons.

9:45am 2148 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

THREAT OF ESPIONAGE TO U.S. CORPORATIONS

House Judiciary Committee

Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee (Chairman Brooks, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on the threat of foreign economic espionage to U.S. corporations.

Follows (above) markup 2141 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Robert Gates - director, Central Intelligence Agency; William Sessions - director, Federal Bureau of Investigations

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY STRATEGY

House Merchant Marine Committee

The full committee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) will mark up national energy strategy legislation (HR 4722; HR 776).

11am 1334 Longworth Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

HR 4722 - to establish an Ocean and Coastal Resources Management and Development Block Grant Program, to protect the marine and coastal environment of the nation by revising the Outer Continental Shelf oil and gas leasing program, and to establish a fund to protect the global environment

HR 776 - National Energy Strategy

HR 3486 - to provide for the examination of the health of marine mammal populations and for coordinated response to strandings and catastrophic events involving marine mammals

H Con Res 177 - resolution calling for a U.S. policy of strengthening and maintaining indefinitely the current International Whaling Commission moratorium on the commercial killing of whales

PARK SERVICE PERSONNEL

House Post Office Committee

Civil Service Subcommittee (Chairman Sikorski, D-Minn.) will hold a series of hearings on the personnel practices of the U.S. Park Service. These hearings will focus on the reassignment and subsequent retirement of Lorraine Mintzmyer, formerly the regional director of the Rocky Mountain Region who was reassigned after her participation in the publi-

cation of a controversial document about the future of Yellowstone National Park.

9:30am 304 Cannon Bldg. open/may close April 29

Witnesses scheduled: George Berkley - chief, public affairs, National Park Service; Steve Goldsteign - director, public affairs, department of Interior; Ben Moffett - public information officer, Rocky Mountain Region, National Park Service; Timothy Elliott - deputy associate solicitor for general law, department of Interior; Robert Moll - assistant solicitor for Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance, department of Interior; Robert Walter - assistant solicitor for administrative law, department of Interior

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL

House Public Works Committee

Surface Transportation Subcommittee (Chairman Mineta, D-Calif.) will mark up provisions of legislation (HR 776) to provide for a comprehensive strategy to improve energy efficiency.

10am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL

House Public Works Committee

Water Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Nowak, D-N.Y.) will mark up provisions of legislation (HR 776) to provide for a comprehensive strategy to improve energy efficiency, focusing on the the Tennessee Valley Authority.

9am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE

House Rules Committee

The full committee (Chairman Moakley, D-Mass.) will meet to consider rules for floor debate for pending legislation.

10:30am H-315 Capitol Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

HR 3090 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the program of assistance for family planning services

HR 2056 - Amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to require that subsidy information regarding vessels be provided upon entry within customs collection districts and to provide effective trade remedies under the countervailing and antidumping duty laws against foreign-built ships that are subsidized or dumped

HJRes 454 - Provide for the expeditious disclosure of records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy

GRADUATE MATH AND SCIENCE

House Science Committee

Science Subcommittee (Chairman Boucher, D-Va) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4595), which is designed to increase the participation of U.S. students in graduate science, math and engineering programs.

1:30pm 2318 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: John C. Hancock - National Science Board; Jules B. LaPidus - Association of American Universities; Stanford S. Penner - University of California, San Diego; William Powers - Michigan Technological University; Frank Morris - Morgan State University

■ Revised listing

House continued...■ **IMPROVING DVA MEDICAL PROGRAMS'****House Veterans' Affairs Committee**

Hospitals and Health Care Subcommittee (Chairman Montgomery, D-Miss.) will hold a hearing on draft legislation to improve medical programs at the Department of Veterans Affairs (DVA).

9am 334 Cannon Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: James Holsinger - chief medical director, DVA; Jack Lanier - principal assistant secretary of Defense; James Christian - director, DVA Medical Center, Asheville, North Carolina; Ronald Cowles - deputy assistant secretary for personnel and labor relations, DVA; Vernice Ferguson - assistant chief medical director, DVA; Bette Davis - president, Nurses Organization of the DVA; Franklin Oliver - member, American Nurses Association; Gregory Haag - director, Healthcare Staff Development and Retention Office, DVA; Frank Buxton - American Legion; Robert Skornik - Paralyzed Veterans of America; Dennis Cullinan - Veterans of Foreign Wars; Michael Brinck - AMVETS; David Gorman - Disabled American Veterans; Tom Miller - Blinded Veterans Association; Frank Rohrbough - Retired Officers Association; Charles Partridge - National Association for Uniformed Services; Erik Johnson - Association of the U.S. Army

■ **SOLDIERS' & SAILERS' RELIEF ACT****House Veterans' Affairs Committee**

Oversight and Investigation Subcommittee (Chairman Evans, D-Ill.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4763) to restate and clarify the Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act of 1940.

8:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: D'Wayne Gray - chief benefits director, Department of Veterans Affairs

PANEL 2: Christopher Jehn - assistant secretary of Defense; George Kundahl - principal deputy assistant secretary of Defense; Adam Sokoloski - deputy assistant director, Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior

PANEL 3: Sydney Hickey - National Military Family Association; Michael Ouellette - Non-Commissioned Officers Association; Robert Miller - Air Force Sergeants Association; Christopher Giaimo - Retired Officers Association; Erik Johnson - Association of the United States Army

PANEL 4: Herbert Tasker - Mortgage Bankers Association of America; Stephen Eisenberg - Credit Union National Association

PANEL 5: John Jenkins - American Bar Association

■ **FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY AND TRANSPORTATION House Ways and Means Committee**

The full committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

HR 4691 - Amend the Airport and Airway Improvement Act of 1982 to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1993 and 1994.

HR776 - Omnibus energy bill

★ New listing

Joint Committees■ **ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA****Joint Economic Committee**

The full committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will hold a hearing on U.S.- Latin American economic relations

10:30am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Witnesses scheduled: Hernando de Soto - president, Instituto Libertad y Democracia and former adviser to Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori; Richard Feinberg - president, Inter-American Dialogue and former vice president, Overseas Development Council; Rionidan Roett - director, Latin American Studies Program, Paul H. Nitze School of advanced International Stud-

ies, Johns Hopkins University; Norman Bailey - former staff members, National Security Council, 1981-83

Party Organizations★ **CLINTON ADDRESS****House Democratic Caucus**

The full caucus (Chairman Hoyer, D-Md.) will meet to hear presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

9:45am, House chamber closed April 29

News & Campaign Events Today

--from Reuters

The *Monitor* has received notice of the following events scheduled to take place in Washington. Associations, non-profit organizations and public interest groups who wish to have events listed in the section should send pertinent information to: The Congressional Monitor, Other Events Editor, 1414 22nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Notices must include a telephone number. Notices may be transmitted by facsimile to 202-728-1862, attn: Robert Healy. Only events related to Congress can be listed. Deadline is noon two days before the date of issue (i.e. Monday noon for Wednesday issue). The editors reserve the right to edit or reject any submission. For further information call 202-887-8686.

SUNBELT CAUCUS

The Congressional Sunbelt Caucus will hold a Southern Legislative Summit to examine the impact of federal laws on the Sunbelt region. The conference will focus on laws that require states, cities and counties to spend funds or to take action that requires expenditures.

8:30am S-207 Capitol Bldg. April 29

1pm H-137 Capitol Bldg. April 29

Agenda:

8:30am: RCRA Mandates: Reps Tauzin, D-La.; Callahan, R-Ala.

1pm: Medicaid Mandates: Reps Rowland, D-Ga.; Bliley, R-Va.; Cooper, D-Tenn.

AEROSPACE INDUSTRY CONFERENCE

The American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics holds its annual meeting, "Aerospace '92: Technology

America's Resource," to examine the challenges facing the aerospace industry. Second of three days.

8:30am Hyatt Regency Crystal City Hotel, 2799 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Va. April 29

Contact: Gayle Armstrong, 202-646-7432, or the hotel, 703-418-1234

Highlights

10:15am: Panel discussion on space defense systems featuring Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), a member of the Armed Services Committee, and Air

Force Assistant Secretary for Space Martin Faga. Regency E Room

10:15am: Panel discussion on international civil aviation issues with Transportation Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy Patrick Murphy and General Aviation Manufacturers Association President Edward Stimpson. Regency F Room

Noon: Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.), chairman of the Defense appropriations subcommittee, delivers luncheon remarks

AUTOMOTIVE CONFERENCE

The Society of Automotive Engineers holds its annual government/industry meeting to discuss such issues as crash avoidance, the Clean Air Act, electric vehicles, and alternative fuel supplies. First of three days.

8:30am Loews L'Enfant Plaza Hotel, 480 L'Enfant Plaza SW April 29

Contact: Debra Jacob (at the hotel), 202-484-1000

Highlights

8:30am, approx.: Rep. John Dingell (D-Mich.) delivers remarks

Noon: National Highway Traffic Safety Administration Administrator Jerry Curry is the luncheon speaker

FORESTS/SPOTTED OWL BRIEFING

The Western Ancient Forest Campaign holds a briefing on the topic, "Owls vs. Jobs: It's Not That Simple," examining the impact of the loss of jobs due to the preservation of ancient forests and the Northern Spotted Owl. Speakers include Stan Shaufler, co-owner of a Bremerton, Wash.,-based small lumber mill; Ann Mosness, president of the Women's Maritime Association; and Mitch Friedman, conservation biologist and executive director of the Greater Ecosystem Alliance. The group held a briefing on the same topic on April 28.

8:30pm 1336-A Longworth Bldg. April 29

Contact: 202-939-3324

COMMUNICATIONS CONFERENCE

The Communications Workers of America holds its annual legislative conference. Third of four days.

9am Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey

■ Revised listing

News Events continued...

Ave. NW April 29

Contact: Jeff Miller or Gaye Williams Mack, 202-434-1172, or the hotel, 202-737-1234

Highlights

9am: Remarks by Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.) on '92 redistricting and House elections

9:45am: Remarks by Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown on '92 presidential politics

DESERT NEWS CONFERENCE

Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.) holds a news conference to voice opposition to the California Desert Protection Act. The news conference will be linked via satellite with citizens of Baker, Calif.

10:30am National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, Zenger Room April 29

Contact: Larry Pintak, 202-628-3373

WETLANDS & AGRICULTURE

The Environmental and Energy Study Conference will hold a briefing on the effects of that federal wetlands protection programs are having on agricultural activities.

Noon B-318 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

AVIATION LUNCHEON

Rep. James Oberstar (D-Minn.), chairman of the House aviation subcommittee, addresses the International Aviation Club of Washington's monthly luncheon. Remarks begin at approximately 1pm. Reporters covering the remarks should arrive by 12:45pm. Cocktails precede the luncheon at noon.

12:30pm 325 Russell Bldg. April 29

Contact: John Moloney, 202-296-6464

GANDER AIR CRASH NEWS CONFERENCE

Rep. Robin Tallon (D-S.C.) holds a news conference to announce the introduction of legislation calling for the formation of a commission to investigate the cause of the 1985 plane crash over Gander, Newfoundland, that killed 256 Americans returning from a peace keeping mission in the Middle East.

1pm 2359 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

Contact: Reba Campbell, 202-225-3315

AERONAUTICS NEWS CONFERENCE

House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., and Rep. Barbara Boxer, D-Calif., hold a news conference to announce the introduction of legislation to revitalize the commercial aeronautics industry. The legislation includes \$5 billion in loan guarantees to businesses hurt

by subsidies to foreign competitors or by the defense build down.

2pm, House Radio-TV Gallery, Capitol Bldg. April 29

Contact: Deborah Johns or David Dreyer, 202-225-0100, or Karen Olick or Courtney Bennett, 202-225-5161

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

The Atlantic Council will sponsor a series of discussions on the reshaping of the foreign policy and international presence of the United States.

3:30pm National Press Club, 524 14th St., N.W. April 29

Contact: 202-347-9353, ext. 6840 (media inquiries to Rian Smith, ext. 32)

Agenda: Beyond Our Shores: The Agenda of a Transforming World

★ HOMELESSNESS & MENTAL ILLNESS

Urban Caucus Housing Task Force and Homelessness Task Force and Working Group on Mental Illness and Health Issues will sponsor a briefing on a report released in March by the Interagency Task Force on Homelessness and Severe Mental Illness.

4pm 311 Cannon Bldg. April 29

Contact: Jeanine at 202-225-7702 or Barbara at 202-225-4741

ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND REPORTS

10am: The Commerce Department releases the personal income report for March.

5pm: The Energy Information Administration releases the weekly report on petroleum inventories.

Campaign: Presidential

CAMPAIGN/ECONOMICS FORUM

The economic policy advisers of the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates attend a forum to discuss their respective candidates' economic policy positions. Sponsored by the Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation, the forum features the economic advisers of Bill Clinton, Jerry Brown, Patrick Buchanan, and President Bush. Beginning at 9:10am, each representative speaks for 20 minutes in an order drawn by lot. At the

11am conclusion of all the panelists' presentations, a question-and-answer session follows.

9am Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Ave. NW, Colonial Room April 29

Contact: Lisa Wright, 202-347-9570, or the hotel, 202-347-3000

Highlight

12:30pm: ABC News White House correspondent Brit Hume is the luncheon speaker

Campaign: Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909, Philadelphia, 215-592-1776, or Pittsburgh, 412-471-8876

April 29

Not immediately available

Bill Clinton

Contact: Richard Mintz, Steven Cohen, or Julia Payne, 501-372-1992

April 29

In Washington, D.C.

9:45am: Addresses a closed meeting of the House Democratic Caucus. The Capitol, House floor. Contact Jay Toscano, 202-226-3210

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Tom Kilgannon 703-790-9292

April 29

In North Carolina

10am: Departs for Salisbury, N.C.

11am: News conference, I-85 Congressional District, Salisbury, N.C.

12:30pm: Departs for Raleigh, N.C.

2:30pm: Arrives Raleigh

6:30pm: Departs for Buis Creek, N.C.

7:05pm: Arrives at Campbell College

7:30pm: Address. Campbell College

8:15pm: Departs for Goldsboro, N.C.

8:50pm: Arrives at hotel

RON: Goldsboro, N.C.

Lenora Fulani

Contact: Madelyn Chapman, Gwen Mandell 212-580-7400

April 29

In New York City

11:30am: Rally with senior citizens, 558 Melrose Ave., Bronx, N.Y.

Senate Committees Future Listings

Appropriations

224-3471

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FISCAL 1992 RESCISSIONS

Senate Appropriations Committee (Chairman Byrd, D-W.Va.) will mark up legislation rescinding fiscal 1992 budget authority for domestic and defense spending.

2pm S-128 Capitol Bldg. April 30

Agenda:

S 2402 - Rescind certain budget authority proposed to be rescinded in a special message transmitted to the Congress by the president on March 10, 1992, in accordance with title X of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

S 2403 - Rescind certain budget authority proposed to be rescinded in special messages transmitted to the Congress by the president on March 20, 1992, in accordance with title X of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

S 2551 - Rescind certain budget authority proposed to be rescinded in a special message transmitted to the Congress by the president on April 8, 1992, in accordance with title X of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

S 2570 - Rescind certain budget authority proposed to be rescinded in special messages transmitted to the Congress by the president on April 9, 1992, in accordance with title X of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, as amended.

FY93 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE & JUDICIARY APPROPS

Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee (Chairman Hollings, D-S.C.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am S-146 Capitol Bldg. April 29, May 7

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

May 7: Legal Services; Federal Trade; Supreme Court

FY93 DEFENSE APPROPS

Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 5

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. (closed) May 7

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 12, 14, 19, 21, July 21

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

May 5: NATO

May 7: Classified Intelligence issues

May 12: Chemical demilitarization

May 14: Outside Witnesses

May 19: Dick Cheney - secretary of Defense

May 21: Dick Cheney - secretary of Defense (alternate date)

July 21: Subcommittee markup

FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPS

Foreign Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Leahy, D-Vt.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on Agency for

★ New listing

International Development (AID) management and reform.

9am SD-192 May 1

Witnesses scheduled: Gen. Herbert Beckington - inspector general, AID; George M. Ferris - chairman, President's Commission on the Management of AID; Frank Conahan - National Security and International Affairs Division, General Accounting Office

FY93 INTERIOR APPROPS

Interior Subcommittee (Chairman Byrd, D-W.Va.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on the fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

2pm S-128 Capitol Bldg. May 5

9:30am SD-116 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

10am SD-116 Dirksen Bldg. May 19

2pm S-128 Capitol Bldg. May 20

10am & 2:30pm S-128 Capitol Bldg. June 9

Agenda:

May 5: National Park Service

May 12: Department of Energy

May 19: Bureau of Indian Affairs (includes OCM and gaming)

May 20: Fish & Wildlife Service

June 9:

10am: Secretary of Interior

2pm: Members of Congress

LABOR APPROPS

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Harkin, D-Iowa) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 6

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. May 7, 12

2pm SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 13

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 20

2pm Cleveland site TBA May 26

9:30am Los Angeles site TBA May 28

9:30am Iowa site TBA May 29

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. June 9

9:30am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. July 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

May 6: Erosion of Domestic Funding

May 7: Lynn Martin - secretary of Labor

May 12: Louis W. Sullivan - secretary of Health and Human Services

May 13: Public Health Service

May 20: Lamar Alexander - secretary of Education

May 26: Field Hearing: Investing in children

May 28: Field Hearing: Investing in children

May 29: Field Hearing: Investing in children

June 9: Fraud, Waste & Abuse Overview; Panel of Inspector Generals from Labor, HHS and Education

July 21 - 30: Public Witnesses

FY93 TRANSPORTATION & RELATED AGENCIES APPROPS

Transportation Subcommittee (Chairman Lautenberg, D-N.J.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on the fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. May 6, 14, 21

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

May 6: U.S. Coast Guard

May 14: Federal Aviation Administration

May 21: Transportation Secretary Andrew Card

FY93 VA, HUD APPROPS

VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee (Chairman Mikulski, D-Md.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on the fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

9am SD-G50 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

9:30am SD-124 Dirksen Bldg. May 7 & 14

9:30am SD-116 Dirksen Bldg. May 21

9:30am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. May 22

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 30: Jack Kemp - secretary, Housing and Urban Development Department (HUD)

May 7: Veterans Affairs Department, Council of Veterans' Appeals

May 14: Federal Emergency Management Agency

May 21: National Service; Points of Light

May 22: Public witnesses

Armed Services

224-3871

MANPOWER & RESERVE PROGRAMS

Manpower and Personnel Subcommittee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) of Senate Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on manpower and reserve programs.

9am SD-562 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

LTV CORP

PROPOSED SALE

Defense Industry and Technology Subcommittee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on the proposed sale of the missile and aircraft divisions of the LTV Corporation.

2:30pm SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

ENERGY DEPARTMENT

DEFENSE-RELATED ACTIVITIES

Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence Subcommittee (Chairman Exon, D-Neb.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on the Energy Department's budget request for fiscal 1993 and plans for the Energy Department's atomic energy defense activities.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 7.

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

224-7391

JAPANESE STOCK MARKET

Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on the impact of the decline in the Japanese stock market on the American economy.

10am SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

Witnesses scheduled: Jerome Powell - acting undersecretary for Finance, Treasury department; Jeffrey Garten - managing director, The Blackstone Group; Steve Nagourney - senior vice president and chief global strategist, Shearson Leh-

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

man Hutton; Rudiger Dornbusch - professor of economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

AIRLINE EMPLOYEES

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1565) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to ensure fair treatment of airline employees in connection with routine transfers.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. April 30

FAA REAUTHORIZATION

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on draft legislation to reauthorize the Federal Aviation Administration.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. May 5

REMOTE LAND SENSING PROGRAM

Science, Technology and Space Subcommittee (Chairman Gore, D-Tenn.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2297) to enable the U.S. to maintain its leadership in land remote sensing by providing data continuity for the Landsat program and by establishing a new national land remote sensing policy.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. May 6

**1993 REAUTHORIZATION
MARAD/MARITIME COMMISSION**

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Breaux, D-La.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation to reauthorize the Federal Maritime Administration and the Federal Maritime Commission.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. May 13

MARITIME REFORM

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Breaux, D-La.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on maritime reform.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 4

Energy & Natural Resources

224-4971

CALIFORNIA DESERT PROTECTION

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) of

★ New listing

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will continue hearings on legislation (S 21; HR 2929; S 2393) to provide for the protection of the public lands in the California desert.

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. April 29 & 30

GLOBAL WARMING

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold hearings on global climate change.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 6

9am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

Agenda:

May 6: Global climate change science

May 12: International agreements regarding carbon dioxide emissions

ENERGY DEPT. NOMINATION

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a confirmation hearing on the nomination of Linda Stuntz, to be deputy secretary of Energy.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

PUBLIC LANDS

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) of Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will hold hearings on pending legislation.

2:30pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 14

Agenda:

May 12:

S 2021 - to designate a segment of the Rio Grande in New Mexico as a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System

S 2045 - to authorize a study of the prehistoric Casas Grandes culture in the state of New Mexico

S 2178/HR 2502 - to establish the Jemez National Recreation Area in the state of New Mexico

S 2544 - to establish in the Department of Interior the Colonial New Mexico Preservation Commission

May 14:

S 1624 - to amend the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act and to improve the management of Glacier Bay National Park

S 2321 - to increase the authorization for the War in the Pacific National Historical Park, Guam, and the American Memorial Park, Saipan

INTEGRATED RESOURCE PLANNING

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2607) to authorize regional integrated resource planning by registered holding companies and state regulatory commissions.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 14

**ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION
ENERGY DEPT.**

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on the Energy Department's program for environmental restoration and waste management.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 21

Environment & Public Works

224-6176

**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
RCRA**

Senate Environment and Public Works Committee (Chairman Burdick, D-N.D.) will mark up pending legislation.

9am SH-216 Hart Bldg. April 29 additional dates if needed

Agenda:

S 976 - reauthorizing the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, which regulates disposal of solid wastes.

S — - the Judicial Space and Facilities Management Act

S — - Kennedy Center reauthorization

S — - reauthorization of water resource development projects

RUSSIAN NUCLEAR ISSUES

Nuclear Regulation Subcommittee (Chairman Graham, D-Fla.) of Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will hold a hearing on nuclear waste and nuclear power plant safety in Russia.

10am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. May 6

SPOTTED OWL

Environmental Protection Subcommittee (Chairman Baucus, D-Mont.) of Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will hold a hearing on efforts to conserve the northern spotted owl and the ecosystem upon which it depends.

1:30pm SH-216 Hart Bldg. May 13

Finance

224-4515

**★ DEBT CRISIS IN
FORMER SOVIET STATES**

Deficits, Debt Management and International Debt Subcommittee (Chairman Bradley, D-N.J.) of Senate Finance Committee will hold a hearing on the debt crisis in the states of the former Soviet Union.

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. May 1

HEALTH-CARE COSTS

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will begin hold a series of hearings on comprehensive health-care revision.

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. May 6 & 7

Foreign Relations

224-4651

**CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN
NEGOTIATION ISSUES**

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will hold a hearing on chemical weapons ban negotiation issues.

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

Witnesses scheduled: Stephen Ledogar - U.S. representative to Conference on Disarmament,

■ Revised listing

Senate continued. . .

State Department; Michael Krepon - president, The Henry Stimson Center; Matthew Meselson - Department of Biochemistry and Molecular Biology, Harvard University

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

COMBATING INSURANCE FRAUD AND ABUSE

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on efforts to combat fraud and abuse in the insurance industry.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. April 29 & 30
Witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: Jerome Kenney - executive vice president, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith; Richard Allerton - former salesman, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith; Joseph Cote - former co-manager, High Yield Desk, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith; Sam Hunter - former head, Equity and Dept Trading Worldwide, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith; Mark Sanford - president, Transmark USA, Inc.; William Blackburn - former president, Guarantee Security Life Insurance Company; Thomas Gibbs - former president, Guarantee Security Life Insurance Company; William McCartney - president, National Association of Insurance Commissioners

GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE STANDARDS

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 20) to provide for the establishment and evaluation of performance standards and goals for expenditures in the federal budget.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 5

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will mark up pending legislation.

10am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 6

IMPLEMENTING THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

Joint Hearing

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) and Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs (Chairman Lieberman, D-Conn.) will hold a hearing on problems with implementing the Endangered Species Act.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 8 & 11

REORGANIZING McKINNEY HOMELESS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold an oversight hearing on reorganizing the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act programs.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 14

★ New listing

GSA REAUTHORIZATION

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1958) to authorize functions and activities under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 — including the General Services Administration (GSA) — and to amend laws relating to federal procurement.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 19

EFFECTIVENESS OF INSPECTORS GENERAL

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold an oversight hearing on the integrity and effectiveness of the inspector general offices throughout the federal government.

9am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 20

DOD CONTRACTING PROCEDURES

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on problems with the contracting procedures of the Department of Defense (DOD).

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

EEOC COMPLAINT PROCESS

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold an oversight hearing on the Equal Employment Opportunity Office (EEOC) complaint process.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 11

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will mark up pending legislation.

10am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 17

BOXING CORRUPTION

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on corruption in the professional boxing industry.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 18

HEALTH-CARE FRAUD

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on fraud in the health care industry.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 23 & 24

DEBT COLLECTION BY AGENCIES

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on debt collection by federal agencies.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 28.

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on the proliferation of weapons in the post-Cold War world.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for January 21.

Indian Affairs

224-2251

GAMBLING ON INDIAN RESERVATIONS

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold an oversight hearing on the implementation of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA), which governs gambling on Indian reservations.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. May 6

★ INDIAN SCHOOL EQUALIZATION**Joint Hearing**

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Acting Chairman Simon, D-Ill.) and House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will hold a joint oversight hearing on budgeting for the Indian School Equalization Program.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. May 13

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: HAWAIIAN HEALTH

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will mark up the Native Hawaiian Health Care Improvement Act.

2pm SR-485 Russell Bldg. May 13

★ TRIBAL WASTE MANAGEMENT

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on a draft substitute to S 1687, the Indian Tribal Government Waste Management Act of 1991.

2pm SR-485 Russell Bldg. May 14

ALASKAN LANDS**Field Hearing**

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a field hearing on the implementation of section 8 of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, reauthorization of S 2481, the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, and housing issues.

Time & site TBA Anchorage, Alaska May 23

■ INDIAN HEALTH CARE IMPROVEMENT**Field Hearing**

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Acting Chairman McCain, R-Ariz.) will hold a field hearing on legislation (S 2481) to authorize funds for programs of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act.

Time & room TBA Phoenix, Ariz. May 29

Intelligence

224-1700

INTELLIGENCE MATTERS

Senate Select Intelligence Committee

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

(Chairman Boren, D-Okla.) will hold a hearing on intelligence matters.
2pm SH-219 Hart Bldg. closed April 30

Judiciary

224-5225

JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS

Senate Judiciary Committee (Chairman Biden, D-Del.) will hold hearings on pending nominations.

9:30am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. April 29

10:30am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

Agenda:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: K. Coles James to be Associate Director, National Office Drug Control Policy; John Walters - to be Deputy Director for Supply Reduction, National Office of Drug Control Policy

PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Juvenile Justice Subcommittee (Chairman Kohl, D-Wis.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold hearings on preventing juvenile delinquency.

10:30am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. April 29 & May 13

Witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

ANTITRUST LAWS & INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Metzenbaum, D-Ohio) of Senate Judiciary Committee holds hearing on the use of American antitrust laws in assuring fair international competition.

9:30pm SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

HARMONIZING U.S. PATENT LAW

Joint Hearing

Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) of Senate Judiciary Committee and Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on harmonizing U.S. patent law with international standards.

2pm SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

PUBLIC ACCESS TO ELECTRONIC INFORMATION

Technology and the Law Subcommittee (Chairman Leahy, D-Vt.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1940) to amend the Freedom of Information Act to provide for public access to information in an electronic format.

10am SR-328A Russell Bldg. April 30

REAUTHORIZING THE PATENT OFFICE

Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Sub-

★ New listing

committee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on draft legislation to reauthorize the Patent and Trademark Office.

10am Room TBA May 12

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

PROHIBITING ABORTION RESTRICTIONS

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold hearings on legislation (S 25) to prohibit a state from restricting the right of a woman to have an abortion.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Rules & Administration

224-6352

SMITHSONIAN NOMINATION & OVERSIGHT

Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S J Res 221) to provide for the appointments of Hanna Holborn Gray and Wesley Williams to be citizen regents of the Smithsonian Institution. The committee also will hold an oversight hearing on the Smithsonian.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. May 6

House Committees Future Listings

Aging

BREAST IMPLANTS

Housing and Consumer Interests Subcommittee (Chairman Lloyd, D-Tenn.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a hearing on breast implants and the ramifications of the Food and Drug Administration ruling on consumers.

9:30am 345 Cannon Bldg. April 30

RESIDENTIAL CARE

Field Hearing

Human Services Subcommittee (Acting Chairman Swett, D-N.H.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on perspectives in New England of residential care.

Noon Nashua City Hall, Nashua, N.H. May 1

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Lester Whitman - Deerfield, N.H.; Peg McDermott - Mt. Vernon, N.H.

PANEL 2: Winona Hardy - president, National

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. May 13

Small Business

224-5175

SBA NOMINATION

Senate Small Business Committee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) will hold a confirmation hearing on the nomination of Tom Kerester to be director, Office of Advocacy, Small Business Administration.

9:30am 428A Russell Bldg. May 5

SMALL BUSINESS INVESTMENT REPORT

Senate Small Business Committee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) will hold a hearing on the investment advisory council report of the Small Business Investment Company.

10:30am 428A Russell Bldg. May 12

Veterans' Affairs

224-9126

VETERANS' EMPLOYMENT & EDUCATION

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on legislative proposals to improve veterans' employment and education programs.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. May 13

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 28.

Association of Residential Care Facilities; Jo Vass - president, New Hampshire Association of Residential Care Facilities; Shirley Bennett - owner and administrator, The Gould House, Plymouth, N.H.

PANEL 3: Kathleen Sgambati - assistant commissioner, New Hampshire Department of Health and Human Services; Richard A. Chevrefils - director, Division of Elderly and Adult Services, New Hampshire Department of Health and Human Services

SOCIAL SECURITY SERVICES

Field Hearing

Housing and Consumer Interests Subcommittee (Chairman Lloyd, D-Tenn.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on the effects of recent administrative cutbacks on consumers of Social Security services.

9:30am East Ridge Senior Citizens Center, East Ridge, Tenn. May 9

HUNGER AND NUTRITION

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Com-

■ Revised listing

House continued...

mittee will hold a hearing on hunger and nutrition and its effect on the health of older Americans.

9:30am B-318 Rayburn Bldg. May 21

Appropriations

225-2771

**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
FISCAL 1992 RESCISSIONS**

House Appropriations Committee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will mark up a fiscal 1992 rescission bill.

4:30pm 2360 Rayburn Bldg. April 29 & addl dates TBA (if needed)

FY93 DEFENSE APPROPS

Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Murtha, D-Pa.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 1:30pm H-140 Capitol Bldg. (closed) April 29

10am & 1:30pm H-140 Capitol Bldg. April 30

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: Public Witnesses

FY93 FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPS

Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Subcommittee (Chairman Obey, D-Wis.) of the House Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am H-308 Capitol Bldg. April 30

FY93 INTERIOR APPROPS

Interior Subcommittee (Chairman Yates, D-Ill.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. April 29, 30

10am B-308 Rayburn Bldg. May 5

10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. May 6

10am B-308 Rayburn Bldg. May 7, 12

10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. May 13

10am B-308 Rayburn Bldg. May 14, 19

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: Fossil Energy; Clean Coal; Strategic Petroleum Reserves; Naval Petroleum Reserves May 6: National Endowment for the Arts May 6: Minerals Management Service; Holocaust Memorial Commission

May 7: Bureau of Land Management

May 12: National Endowment for the Humanities

May 13:

10am: Commission on Fine Arts; National Gallery of Art

1:30pm: Navajo Hopi Indians Council Meeting

May 14: Territories

May 19: Members of Congress

**FY93 LABOR, HHS &
EDUCATION APPROPS**

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Natcher, D-Ky.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 2pm 2358 Rayburn Bldg. April 29, 30

Agenda:

April 29, 30: Congressional and Public Witnesses

FY93 TRANSPORTATION APPROPS

Transportation Subcommittee (Chairman Lehman, D-Fla.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am & 2pm 2358 Rayburn Bldg. April 29, 30

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: John Lewis, D-Ga.; Ben Jones, D-Ga.; Ken Gregor - general manager, Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority; Andrew Jacobs, Jr., D-Ind.; Peter E. Stangl - chairman, Metropolitan Transportation Authority (New York); James H. Bilbray, D-Nev.; John K. Leary Jr. - executive director, Bi-State Development Agency; Lewis Collins - president, Illinois Institute of Technology; Al Swift, D-Wash.; Wayne A. Dupre - executive director, Regional Transit Authority of New Orleans; Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif.; Ron Packard, R-Calif.; Bill Lowery, R-Calif.; Randy 'Duke' Cunningham, R-Calif.; James Mills - chairman - San Diego Metropolitan Transit Development Board; Rod Chandler, R-Wash.; B.U. Evans III - chairman, Currituck County Board of Commissioners; Louise Dollard - chairman, Dare County Board of Commissioners; Lawrence J. Smith, D-Fla.; Sylvia Poitier - commissioner, Broward County; Frank McCloskey, D-Ind.; Bob Clement, D-Tenn.; David Minton - National Association of Air Traffic Specialists; William W. Hoover - executive vice president, Air Transport Association of America; Charles M. Barclay - executive vice president - American Association of Airport Executives; Joseph M. Bellino - executive vice president, National Air Traffic Controllers Association; John O'Brien - director, Air Line Pilots Association; Suzette Matthews - general counsel, Air Traffic Control Association, Inc.; Howard E. Johannessen - chairman, Professional Airways Systems Specialists; Edward W. Stimpson - president, General Aviation Manufacturers Association; Phil Boyer - president, Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association; Walter B. Jones, D-N.C.; W.J. 'Billy' Tauzin, D-La.; Jim Florio - governor, State of New Jersey; Donal DiFrancesco - Republican president, New Jersey Senate; Garabed 'Chuck' Haytaian - Republican speaker of the New Jersey Assembly; Charles E. Bennett, D-Fla.; Jolene Unsoeld, D-Wash.; Charles Dusseau - commissioner, Metropolitan Dade County; Alex Penelas - commissioner, Metropolitan Dade County; Arthur Teele - commissioner, Metropolitan Dade County; Andy Menendez - assistant county manager, Metropolitan Dade County; Richard-H. Lehman, D. Calif.; Ed Kennedy - chairman - tri-county commuter rail authority; Allen C. Harper - vice chairman, tri-county; commuter rail authority; John C. Pingree - general manager, Utah Transit Authority; Sgt. Major Michael F. Ouellette - deputy director for legislative affairs, Non-commissioned Officers Association of the U.S.A.; George W. Stewart - director, National Association of State Boating Law Administrators; Paul E. Kanjorski, D-Penn.; Steve Bartlett - mayor, Dallas, Texas; Marvin M. Lane, Jr. - chairman, Dallas Area Rapid Transit; Darrel Rensink - American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials; Peter H. Kostmayer, D-Pa.; Frank D. Riggs,

R-Calif.; Bob Roumiguere - supervisor, Marin County; Thomas M. Foglietta, D-Pa.; Gordon Hopkins - dean, Florida International University; Larry E. Salci - Railway Progress Institute; Douglas C. Trites - Railway Progress Institute; Claude M. Ligon - Commissioner, National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners; Carl H. Rosner - Council on Superconductivity for American Competitiveness; Joseph D. Romer - National Easter Seal Society; James Fleming - National Easter Seal Society; William J. Boardman - president, MagLev, USA; Fred C. Ford - executive director, Greater Rockford Airport; Ryan Petty - president, Rockford Area Chamber of Commerce; D. Michael Fisher - Pennsylvania State Legislature; Joseph Petrarca - Pennsylvania State Legislature; Richard Geist - Pennsylvania State Legislature; Michael M. Dawida - Pennsylvania State Legislature; Gordon Linton - Pennsylvania State Legislature; Richard Cessar - Pennsylvania State Legislature; David Riemer - director of Administration, City of Milwaukee; Julie Kerkisick - member, Transportation Committee; Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif.

FY93 VA, HUD APPROPS

Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Subcommittee (Chairman Traxler, D-Mich.) of the House Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

9am & 2pm H-143 Capitol Bldg. April 29, 30
Witnesses scheduled: Congressional and Public Witnesses

Armed Services

225-4151

**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
DRUG INTERDICTION/
SMALL BUSINESS**

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request.

1:30pm 2216 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

1:30pm 2212 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Agenda and witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: Small and Disadvantaged Business Program

**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
TRI-CARE PROJECT/RESERVES**

Military Personnel and Compensation Subcommittee (Chairman Byron, D-Md.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request.

10am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. April 29

10am 2337 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

10am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. May 1

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

April 30: Miscellaneous legislative proposals: members of Congress; Defense Department representatives; American Medical Association representatives

May 1: Reserve overview; Stephen Duncan - assistant secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs; Panel of General Accounting Office, Defense Department and Army representatives

House continued...**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
BASE CLOSURES
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

Military Installations and Facilities Subcommittee (Chairman Schroeder, D-Colo.) and Environmental Restoration Panel (Chairman Ray, D-Ga.) of House Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on base closure environmental issues and on pending legislation.

2pm 2118 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Agenda:

HR 2179 - to amend provisions of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 relating to federal property transferred by federal agencies

HR 4024 - to amend provisions of the comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 relating to federal property transferred by federal agencies

HR 4025 - to indemnify states, and certain other entities from liability relating to the release of hazardous substances at military installations that are closed pursuant to a base closure law

**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
ACQUISITION/BOMBERS**

Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems Subcommittee (Chairman Aspin, D-Wis.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on acquisition strategies.

10am 2118 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

9:30am 2118 Rayburn Bldg. May 1

Agenda and witnesses scheduled:

April 30: Acquisition strategies: Norm Augustine - Martin Marietta Corp.; William Perry - Stanford Center for International Security

May 1: Heavy bombers: Gen. George Butler - Strategic Air Command; Michael Loh - Tactical Air Command, Air Force

**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
DEFENSE BUSINESS OPERATIONS
FUND**

Readiness Subcommittee (Chairman Hutto, D-Fla.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on the Defense Business Operations Fund.

1pm 2216 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Witnesses scheduled: Donald Chapin - General Accounting Office; Sean O'Keefe - comptroller, Defense Department

**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
MISSILE THREATS**

Research and Development Subcommittee (Chairman Dellums, D-Calif.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on countering missile threats.

9:30am 2216 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

**FY 1993 DEFENSE BUDGET:
NAVY**

Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials Subcommittee (Chairman Bennett, D-Fla.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense budget request, focusing on the Navy of the future

9:30am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Witnesses scheduled: Adm. Frank Kelso - chief of Naval Operations; Gen. Carl Mundy - commandant of the Marine Corps

★ New listing

**Banking, Finance
& Urban Affairs**

225-4247

**REGULATORY CHANGES BY
OFFICE OF THRIFT SUPERVISION**

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a series of hearings on the administration's regulatory moratorium, and regulatory changes recently announced by the Office of Thrift Supervision, including the decision to allow savings institution to branch across state lines.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 1

Time and Room TBA May 7

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Bill Sarpalius - D-Texas

PANEL: T. Timothy Ryan - director, Office of Thrift Supervision

PANEL: Anat Bird - U.S. League of Savings Associations; Jill Chambers - chairman of the board, Independent Bankers Association of Texas; Peggy Miller - banking director, Consumer Federation of America; Michael Waldman - director, Public Citizen's Congress Watch

SECURITIES LEGISLATION

Domestic Monetary Policy Subcommittee (Chairman Neal, D-N.C.) of House Banking Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold hearings on pending legislation.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Agenda:

HR 3927 - Extend and revise rulemaking authority with respect to government securities under the federal securities laws

HR 4450 - Amend the Federal Reserve Act to require the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, in conjunction with the Federal Reserve banks, to develop an automated access system for marketing U.S. securities

MORTGAGE DISCLOSURE ACT

Consumer Affairs and Coinage Subcommittee (Chairman Torres, D-Calif.) and Housing and Community Development Subcommittee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a joint hearing on the implications of the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 7 & 14

NON-PROLIFERATION

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on legislation to promote the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction by using funding to the international development institutions as a bargaining tool.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 8

Witnesses scheduled: Robert Gates - director, Central Intelligence Agency

PANEL: Gary Milhollin - director, Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control; Kathleen C. Bailey - director, Arms Control Studies for the National Institute for Public Policy

**PROBLEMS WITH
RTC INVESTIGATION**

General Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Hubbard, D-Ky.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on problems

with the Resolution Trust Corporation's (RTC) administration of "Operation Western Storm," an investigation into the cause of a large accounting discrepancy at its Western Regional Office.

Time TBA 2128 Rayburn Bldg. date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 9

Budget

225-7290

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

House Budget Committee (Chairman Pannetta, D-Calif.) will hold hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget.

9:30am 210 Cannon Bldg. April 29

Time TBA 210 Cannon Bldg. May 6, 11, 12 & 13

Witnesses scheduled:

April 29: William Niskanen Jr. - CATO Institute; Lawrence Chimere - Radnor Consulting Services

May 6: Richard Darman - director, Office of Management and Budget; Robert Reischauer - director, Congressional Budget Office

May 11: Aaron Wildavsky - University of California; Norman Ornstein - American Enterprise Institute; Louis Fisher - Congressional Research Service

May 12: Sen. Simon, D-Ill.; Rep. Slattery, D-Kan.

May 13: Steven Gold - Center for the Study of States, State University of New York

**Children, Youth &
Families**

226-7660

HEALTH-CARE REFORM

House Select Children, Youth and Families Committee (Chairman Schroeder, D-Colo.) will hold a hearing on health-care reform and the special problems of women, children and teens in gaining access to the health-care system.

9:30am Room TBA May 5

**District of
Columbia**

225-4457

D.C. JUDICIAL REVISION

Judiciary and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) of House District of Columbia Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4096) that would increase the maximum monetary amount for cases under the jurisdiction of the Small Claims and Conciliation Branch of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia. The bill also would authorize the Corporation Counsel for the District of Columbia to conduct criminal prosecutions of certain juvenile defendants.

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 17.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:**D.C. SUPREME COURT**

House District of Columbia Committee

■ Revised listing

House continued...

(Chairman Dellums, D-Calif.) will mark up legislation (HR 568) to create a Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Note: This legislation was originally scheduled for markup on April 2.

Education & Labor

225-4527

SMALL BUSINESSES & HEALTH INSURANCE

Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Williams, D-Mont.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on problems faced by small businesses that try to purchase affordable health insurance.

10am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Sal Risalvato - president, Riverdale Texaco

PANEL 2: Cecil Bykerk Sr. - executive vice president, Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company; Mary Lehnhard - senior vice president, Blue Cross/Blue Shield

JOB PROGRAMS FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee (Chairman Perkins, D-Ky.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on state efforts to ease the transition for students from high school to work through job training and other programs.

10am Room TBA May 6

NATIONAL HEALTH-CARE REFORM

House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will hold an oversight hearing on national health-care reform proposals.

Time & Room TBA May 7

★ INDIAN SCHOOL EQUALIZATION Joint Hearing

House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) and Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Acting Chairman Simon, D-Ill.) will hold a joint oversight hearing on budgeting for the Indian School Equalization Program.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. May 13

★ MEXICO FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPACT ON U.S. JOBS Joint Field Hearing

House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) and House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will hold a joint field hearing on the North American Free Trade agreement with Mexico and its impact on the environment, American jobs and the American workplace and on legislation (HR 3878) to provide assistance to employees who are subject to a

plant closing or mass layoff because their work is transferred to another country which has low wages or unhealthy working conditions.

Time TBA San Diego, Calif. May 15

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: REAUTHORIZING JUVENILE JUSTICE

Human Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Martinez, D-Calif.) of House Education and Labor Committee will mark up draft legislation that would reauthorize the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act of 1974.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 30.

Energy & Commerce

225-2927

AUTOMOBILE FUEL EFFICIENCY

Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on the feasibility of automobile fuel efficiency improvements.

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

SAFE DRINKING WATER

Health and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Waxman, D-Calif.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on safe drinking water issues.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 9.

Foreign Affairs

225-5021

★ ASSISTANCE TO FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Farnsworth, D-Idaho) will hold a hearing on assistance to the republics of the former Soviet Union.

1pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Witness scheduled: James Baker - secretary of State

FREE TRADE & THE PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY Joint Hearing

International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) and Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Torricelli, D-N.J.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the impact of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement on the petrochemical industry.

1pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. May 5

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 7.

FY92 & 93

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chair-

man Farnsworth, D-Idaho) will mark up legislation (HR 4070) to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to rewrite the authorities of that act in order to establish more effective assistance programs and eliminate obsolete and inconsistent provisions, to amend the Arms Export Control Act and to redesignate that act as the Defense Trade and Export Control Act, to authorize appropriations for foreign assistance programs for fiscal 1992 and 1993.

Time & room TBA date TBA

PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN

Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Solarz, D-N.Y.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on prospects for peace in Afghanistan.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 8.

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PESTICIDE SAFETY IMPROVEMENT

International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will mark up legislation (HR 2083) to amend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act to improve the safety of exported pesticides.

Time & Room TBA date TBA

Government Operations

225-5051

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL

House Government Operations Committee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) will mark up provisions of omnibus energy legislation (HR 776) under the subcommittee's jurisdiction.

2pm 2154 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL

Environment, Energy and Natural Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Synar, D-Okla.) of House Government Operations Committee will mark up provisions on alternative fuels and federal facility energy usage of omnibus energy legislation (HR 776).

10am 2203 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL

Government Information, Justice and Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Wise, D-W.Va.) of House Government Operations Committee will mark up provisions on alternative fuel vehicles purchased by the federal government of omnibus energy legislation (HR 776).

9:30am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

GRANTING IMPORT LICENSES

Government Information, Justice and Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Wise, D-W.Va.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on problems with the

House continued...

Generalized System of Preferences, the system used by the federal government to grant import licenses.

Follows (above) markup 2247 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT INSPECTOR GENERAL

Legislation and National Security Subcommittee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on an investigation on the use of agency vehicles by the Office of the Inspector General of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

DOD AID FOR McDONNELL DOUGLAS

Legislation and National Security Subcommittee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on allegations that the Department of Defense secretly planned to financially aid defense contractor McDonnell Douglas in 1990.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. Date TBA

Hunger

226-5470

HUNGER IN AMERICA

House Select Hunger Committee (Chairman Hall, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on the efforts to end hunger in America. The hearing will focus on the *Medford Declaration*, which was released April 6, 1992. The declaration proposes a plan to end hunger in the United States by 1995.

9:30am Room TBA April 30

Witnesses scheduled: Larry Brown - director, Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy, Tufts University; Vincent Breglio - pollster, NBC News; Berry Brazelton - professor emeritus, Harvard Medical School; Alan Hassenfeld - chairman, Hasbro, Inc.

Intelligence

225-4121

INTELLIGENCE BUDGET

House Select Intelligence Committee (Chairman McCurdy, D-Okla.) will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 intelligence budget.

1pm H-405 Capitol Bldg. closed May 5

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

10:30am 1324 Longworth Bldg. April 29

★ New listing

9:45am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 6, 13, 20 & 27

Agenda:

April 29: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for agenda

May 13:

HR 4899 - Establish an old-growth forest reserve

INDIAN CLAIMS

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 3897) to provide for the apportionment and distribution of the award in Indian Claims Commission docket numbered 326-k.

10am 340 Cannon Bldg. April 30

AIR QUALITY IN NATIONAL PARKS

Joint Hearing

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) and General Oversight and California Desert Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Lehman, D-Calif.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a joint hearing on air quality issues affecting national parks, forests and public lands.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. April 30

★ PUBLIC LANDS BILLS

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold hearings on pending legislation.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 5, 12, 19,

10am 340 Cannon Bldg. May 21

Agenda:

May 5:

HR 3898 - Provide for the addition of the Truman farm house to the Harry S. Truman National Historic Site in the state of Missouri

HR 4382 - Modify the boundaries of the New River Gorge National River, the Gauley River National Recreation Area, and the Bluestone National Scenic River in West Virginia

May 12:

HR 473 - Make it unlawful to obstruct the operation of, or harasses any activity permitted under, a grazing permit or lease

May 19:

HR 3564 - Improve the management of public lands used for military purposes, to require assessments of future needs for withdrawals of public lands for such uses

HR 4404 - Withdraw and reserve certain public lands and minerals within the state of Colorado for military uses

May 21

S 1528 - Establish the Mimbres Culture National Monument and to establish an archeological protection system for Mimbres sites in the state of New Mexico

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: OLD-GROWTH FORESTS

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will mark up legislation (HR 4899) to establish an old-growth forest reserve. The bill is a multi-committee effort to solve a crisis involving the the northern spotted owl habitat in the Pacific Northwest.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 7

★ SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING & MARKUP: HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL/ PENNSYLVANIA AVE. CORP

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing and mark up pending legislation.

9am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 8

Agenda:

HEARING & MARKUP:

HR 2660 - to authorize appropriations for the United States Holocaust Memorial Council

HR — - to reauthorize the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation

★ VIRGIN ISLANDS JUDGESHIPS

Insular and International Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman de Lugo, D-VI) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4901) to amend the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands. The bill is aimed at urging the president to nominate judges to fill two existing vacancies on the Federal District Court of the Virgin Islands.

9:45am room TBA May 12

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PUBLIC LANDS

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will mark up pending legislation.

10am 340 Cannon Bldg. May 14 & 28

Agenda:

May 14:

HR 3905 - to authorize appropriations for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

HR 4801 - to amend the National Historic Preservation Act to extend the authorization for the Historic Preservation Fund

May 28:

H.J. Res. 306 - Joint resolution to designate the Port Chicago Naval Magazine as a National Memorial

HR 4489 - to provide for a land exchange with the city of Tacoma, Wash.

★ WATER & POWER SUBCOMMITTEE BUSINESS

Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will meet to consider pending business.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 14

★ MEXICO FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IMPACT ON U.S. JOBS Joint Field Hearing

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) and House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will hold a joint field hearing on the North American Free Trade agreement with Mexico and its impact on the environment, American jobs and the American workplace and on legislation (HR 3878) to provide assistance to employees who are subject to a plant closing or mass layoff because their work is transferred to another country which has low wages or unhealthy working conditions.

Time TBA San Diego, Calif. May 15

■ Revised listing

House continued...★ **AMERICAN SAMOA
FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT**

Insular and International Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman de Lugo, D-VI) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the General Accounting Office report on inadequate management and oversight contribution to financial problems in American Samoa.

10am room TBA May 19

★ **TRIBAL JUSTICE**

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4004) to assist in the development of tribal judicial system.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. April 21

★ **PUBLIC LANDS
PENDING BUSINESS**

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will meet to consider pending business.

10am room TBA May 26

★ **CALIFORNIA INDIAN ISSUES**

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 2144) to provide restoration of the federal trust relationship with and assistance to the terminated tribes of California Indians and the individual members thereof; to extend federal recognition to certain Indian tribes in California; to establish administrative procedures and guidelines to clarify the status of certain Indian tribes in California; and to establish a federal commission on policies and programs affecting California Indians.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 28

Judiciary

225-3951

★ **FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
ENERGY BILL**

House Judiciary Committee (Chairman Brooks, D-Texas) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 2141 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Agenda:

HR 776 - Provide for improved energy efficiency

HR 4412 - Allow fair use of copyrighted works

HR 2731 - Allow federal tort claims arising from certain acts of customs or other law enforcement officers, and to extend to the secretary of the Treasury the authority to settle claims for damages resulting from law enforcement activities of the Customs Service

HR 3591 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to provide protections from legal liability for certain health care professionals providing services pursuant to such act

HR 4776 - Amend the Contract Services for Drug Dependent Federal Offenders Act of 1978 to provide additional authorizations of appropriations

S 1963 - Provide a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission whose term has expired may continue to serve until a successor is appointed or until the expiration of the next session of Congress

★ New listing

HARMONIZING U.S.**PATENT LAW****Joint Hearing**

Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) of House Judiciary Committee and Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4978 & S 2605) to harmonize U.S. patent law with international standards.

2pm SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

**ENCOURAGING SOFTWARE
SHARING**

Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 191) to encourage more cooperation between government and industry in sharing new computer software.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. May 6

Note: This hearing has not been confirmed by the full committee.

COPYRIGHTS FOR LEGAL CITATIONS

Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) of House Judiciary Committee (HR 4426) to exclude copyright protection for legal citations.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. May 14

Note: This hearing has not been confirmed by the full committee.

■ **SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
VOTING RIGHTS EXTENSION**

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) of House Judiciary Committee will mark up a committee print of the Voting Rights Extension Act of 1992.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for April 29.

**Merchant Marine
& Fisheries**

225-4047

WILDLIFE REFUGE MANAGEMENT

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 2881; HR 3688) to improve management of the National Wildlife Refuge System.

2pm 1334 Longworth Bldg. April 30

WETLANDS "TAKINGS"

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) and Oceanography, Great Lakes and the Outer Continental Shelf Subcommittee (Chairman Hertel, D-Mich.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a joint hearing on proposals to compensate landowners who lose the right to

use lands classified as wetlands.

Time TBA 1334 Longworth Bldg. Date TBA

**Narcotics Abuse
& Control**

226-3040

HIGH INTENSITY DRUG AREAS

House Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) of will hold an oversight hearing on anti-narcotic programs that target High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTA).

1pm Room TBA May 6

COMMUNITY ANTI-DRUG PROGRAMS

House Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on community anti-drug programs.

10am Room TBA May 14

DRUG PREVENTION

House Narcotics Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) of will hold a hearing on drug prevention programs.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Witness scheduled: William Barr - attorney general

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 8

**DRUG PROBLEM FROM
A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE**

House Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing to hear local and city officials discuss their perspective on drug problems.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 10.

**Post Office &
Civil Service**

225-4054

PARK SERVICE PERSONNEL

Civil Service Subcommittee (Chairman Sikorski, D-Minn.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a series of hearings on the personnel practices of the U.S. Park Service. These hearings will focus on the reassignment and subsequent retirement of Lorraine Mintzmyer, formerly the regional director of the Rocky Mountain Region who was reassigned after her participation in the publication of a controversial document about the future of Yellowstone National Park.

9:30am 304 Cannon Bldg. open/may close April 29

10am 304 Cannon Bldg. open/may close April 30

WHITE HOUSE TRAVEL EXPENSES

Human Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Kanjorski, D-Pa.) of House Post Office

■ Revised listing

House continued...

and Civil Service Committee will hold the third in a series of hearings on White House travel expenditures.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. April 30, May 5

★ FEDERAL EMPLOYEES ASSISTANCE

Compensation and Employee Benefits Subcommittee (Chairman Ackerman, D-N.Y.) and Human Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Kanjorski, D-Pa.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a joint hearing on draft legislation that would provide assistance for federal employees who lose their jobs due to government cutbacks.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. May 6

DEMOGRAPHICS

Census and Population Subcommittee (Chairman Sawyer, D-Ohio) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold the first in a series of hearing on demographic changes and America's changing profile.

1pm 311 Cannon Bldg. May 26, 27

Agenda:

May 26 & 27: Population trends

CENSUS 2000

Census and Population Subcommittee (Chairman Sawyer, D-Ohio) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing to finalize the General Accounting Office's work on the 1990 census and to discuss GAO recommendations for the year 2000.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. June 10

CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE

Census and Population Subcommittee (Chairman Sawyer, D-Ohio) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing on the possibility of changing the census questionnaire.

Time TBA Site TBA July 1

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: ENERGY BILL

House Public Works Committee (Chairman Roe, D-N.J.) will mark up provisions of omnibus energy legislation (HR 776) under the committee's jurisdiction.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

Rules

225-9486

★ RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE

House Rules Committee (Chairman Moakley, D-Mass.) will consider rules for floor debate for pending legislation.

2pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. April 30

Agenda:

HR 2039 - Authorize appropriations for the Legal Service Corporation

★ New listing

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

NATIONAL ENERGY STRATEGY

Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman Wolpe, D-Mich.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on the process used by the Department of Energy to tie the priorities contained in the National Energy Strategy to the department's annual budget process.

1pm 2325 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

ECONOMIC GROWTH

House Science, Space and Technology Committee (Chairman Brown, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing to identify macroeconomic and other factors that are detrimental to long-term economic growth and U.S. competitiveness. The committee will identify and evaluate policy options for promoting investment in research and development that provide meaningful benefits for the economy.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. May 5

Witnesses scheduled: Robert Solow - Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Charles L. Schultze - Brookings Institution; Martin L. Bailey - University of Maryland, College Park

NASA CONTRACTING

Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman Wolpe, D-Mich.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on reports from the General Accounting Office (GAO) and National Aeronautics and Space Administration's (NASA) inspector general raising concerns about NASA's methods for administering contracts.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Small Business

225-5821

WOMEN'S HEALTH

Regulation, Business Opportunities and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Wyden, D-Ore.) of House Small Business Committee will hold a field hearing on obstacles to research and development opportunities in the field of women's health research.

10am Cooper Hospital, Camden N.J. May 8

DIET FRAUD

Regulation, Business Opportunities and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Wyden, D-Ore.) of House Small Business Committee will hold hearing on commercial diet fraud.

10am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. May 21

Veterans' Affairs

225-3527

NATIONAL CEMETERY SYSTEM

Housing and Memorial Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Staggers, D-W.Va.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hear-

ing on problems with the national cemetery system.

9:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. April 30

VETERANS COMMUNITY SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

Oversight and Investigation Subcommittee (Chairman Evans, D-Ill.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold an oversight hearing on community based veterans service organizations.

9am 334 Cannon Bldg. May 6

VETERANS JOB TRAINING

Education, Training and Employment Subcommittee (Chairman Penny, D-Minn.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on draft legislation to provide job training to unemployed retirees affected by the recent military downsizing.

9:45am 334 Cannon Bldg. May 14

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: JOB TRAINING ASSISTANCE

Education, Training and Employment Subcommittee (Chairman Penny, D-Minn.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up draft legislation to improve employment and job training assistance for veterans.

1:30pm 334 Cannon Bldg. May 20

HOME LOAN GUARANTEE PROGRAM

Housing and Memorial Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Staggers, D-W.Va.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on problems with the Home Loan Guaranty Program.

9:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. May 21

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Montgomery, D-Miss.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. May 28

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for May 12.

Ways & Means

225-3625

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Human Resources Subcommittee (Acting Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Ways and Means Committee will continue hearings on legislation (HR 4727) to extend the emergency unemployment compensation program and to revise the trigger provisions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program.

10am B-318 Rayburn Bldg. April 30

TRADE AGENCIES BUDGETS/ USE OF CUSTOMS FUNDS

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on pending legislation

1pm 1100 Longworth Bldg. April 30

■ Revised listing

House continued...**Agenda:**

HR— - fiscal 1993 and 1994 budgets for the U.S. Customs Service, the U.S. International Trade Commission and the U.S. Trade Representative
 HR 3562 - Relating to the use of unobligated moneys in the Customs Forfeiture Fund (The bill would authorize use of some Customs Forfeiture Fund monies to support drug treatment programs for individuals under criminal justice supervision)

**FY93 BUDGET REQUEST
TREASURY PROGRAMS**

Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman J.J. Pickle, D-Texas) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on the administration's fiscal 1993 budget requests for the Internal Revenue Service, the U.S. Tax Court and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

9am 1100 Longworth Bldg. April 30

MISCELLANEOUS TAX BILLS

Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on pending tax legislation.

11am 1100 Longworth Bldg. May 5

Agenda:

HR 65 - Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow individuals to direct that part or all of their federal income tax refunds be contributed to federal programs specified by the individuals on their tax returns

HR 1733 - Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide an exemption from income tax for certain common investment funds.

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
CUSTOMS SERVICE REVISIONS**

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee will continue to mark up pending legislation.

Time & room TBA May 6

Agenda:

HR 3935 - A bill to modernize and simplify the administration of certain customs laws

Note: Markup began April 8.

PEACE TAX FUND

Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 1870) to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide that a taxpayer conscientiously opposed to participation in war may elect to have such taxpayer's income, estate, or gift tax payments spent for nonmilitary purposes; to create the U.S. Peace Tax fund to receive such tax payments; and to establish a U.S. Peace Tax Fund Board of Trustees.

11:30am 1100 Longworth Bldg. May 21

SUPERFUND OVERSIGHT

Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman, Pickle, D-Texas) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a series of oversight hearings on the financing, operation and future status of the Hazardous Substance Superfund.

Time and room TBA dates TBA

★ New listing

Conference Committees

FY93 BUDGET

Conferees will meet on legislation (H Con Res 287) to set forth the federal budget for fiscal 1993.

Time & room TBA date TBA

NIH REAUTHORIZATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2507) to amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the programs of the National Institutes of Health

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

From the Committee on Energy and Commerce for consideration of the House bill and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Waxman, Wyden, Lent, Bliley

As additional conferees from the Education and Labor Committee, for consideration of section 1114 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Ford, Gaydos, Ballenger

Senate conferees: TBA

EDUCATION REAUTHORIZATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 1150) to reauthorize the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

From the Committee on Education & Labor for consideration of the Senate bill, and the House amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Ford, Gaydos, Miller, Kildee, Williams, Hayes, Sawyer, Payne, Lowey, Unsoeld, Washington, Serrano, Mink, Andrews, Jefferson, Reed, Roemer, Goodling, Petri, Coleman, Roukema, Gunderson, Arney, Henry, Molinari, Barrett, Klug

Additional conferees from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for consideration of section 613 of the Senate bill, and bill modifications committed to conference: Fascell, Berman, Weiss, Broomfield, Snowe

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Pell, Metzenbaum, Dodd, Simon, Harkin, Adams, Mikulski, Bingaman, Wellstone, Hatch, Kassebaum, Cochran, Jeffords, Thurmond, Coats, Durenberger

**ALCOHOL, DRUG ABUSE
REAUTHORIZATION**

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 1306) to amend title V of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend certain programs, to restructure the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees: Dingell, Waxman, Rowland, Lent, Bliley

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Pell, Metzenbaum, Dodd, Harkin, Adams, Hatch, Coats, Thurmond, Durenberger

FAMILY & CHILD SERVICES

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2720) to extend for one year the authorizations of appropriations for the programs under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act, and for certain programs relating to adoption opportunities.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Dodd, Kennedy, Adams, Hatch, Coats

House conferees:

EXPORT ADMINISTRATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3489) to reauthorize the Export Administration Act of 1979.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Riegle, Cranston, Sarbanes, Garn, Mack

House conferees: TBA

HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3508) to revise and extend certain programs relating to the education of individuals as health professionals.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Simon, Hatch, Kassebaum

House conferees: Dingell, Waxman, Richardson, Lent, Bliley

PREVENTIVE HEALTH

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3635) to revise and extend the program of block grants for preventive health and health services

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Harkin, Hatch, Kassebaum

House conferees: Dingell, Waxman, Rowland, Lent, Bliley

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2967) to reauthorize the Older Americans Act.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees:

From the Committee on Labor and Human Resources: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Adams, Hatch, and Cochran

From the Committee on Finance (solely for the Social Security retirement earnings provisions): Bentsen, Moynihan and Packwood

House conferees: TBA

FEDERAL FACILITIES COMPLIANCE

Conferees will meet on HR 2194, Federal Facilities Compliance Act of 1991.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Burdick, Baucus, Moynihan, Mitchell, Lautenberg, Chafee, Simpson, Durenberger, Warner

House conferees:

From the Energy and Commerce Committee for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Swift, Eckart, Slattery, Sikorski, Lent, Ritter, Schaefer

As additional conferees from the Armed Services Committee, for consideration of section 113 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Ray, Hochbrueckner, Saxton

As additional conferees from the Judiciary Committee, for consideration of section 2(a) of the House bill, and section 103(a) of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Brooks, Frank of Mass., Gekas

As additional conferees from the Merchant Marine Committee, for consideration of section 304(a) of

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Jones of N.C., Studds, Davis

As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of sections 102, 103, and 115-119 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Nowak, Hammerschmidt

As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of title IV of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Savage, Norton, Nowak, Borski, Hammerschmidt, Shuster, Inhofe

PRICE FIXING

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 429) to amend the Sherman Act to strengthen laws against vertical price-fixing

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees: Brooks, Edwards of Calif., Synar, Fish, Campbell of Calif.

Senate conferees: Biden, Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Thurmond, Hatch

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 347) to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950 to revitalize the defense industrial base of the United States

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

From the House Banking Committee: Carper, LaFalce, Oaker, Vento, Kanjorski, Ridge, Paxon, Hancock

From the House Armed Services Committee: Aspin, Mavroules, Siskis, Dickinson, Bateman

Additional conferees from House Energy Committee: Dingell, Markey, Collins of Ill., Lent, Rinaldo
Additional conferees from House Government Operations Committee: Conyers, English, Wise, Horton, Kyl

Additional conferees from House Judiciary Committee: Brooks, Edwards of Calif., Fish, Moorhead

Additional conferees from House Ways and Means Committee: Rostenkowski, Gibbons, Jenkins, Archer, Crane

Senate conferees: Riegle, Sarbanes, Dixon, Garn, Gramm.

Note: At the end of the first session of the 102nd Congress the House passed a bill (HR 3919) to temporarily extend the Defense Production Act through March 1, 1992.

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2312) to make certain technical and conforming amendments to the Follow Through Act and the Head Start Transition Project Act.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate Conferees: Kennedy, Pell, Metzenbaum, Hatch and Kassebaum

House Conferees: TBA

CFTC REAUTHORIZATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 707) to improve the regulation of futures trading and authorize appropriations for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

Time and room TBA addl dates TBA

Note: Conference began November 6

Senate conferees: Leahy, Boren, Heflin, Conrad, Lugar, Dole, Cochran

House conferees:

From the Committee on Agriculture, for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amend-

ment, and modifications committed to conference: de la Garza, English, Staggers, Stallings, Nagle, Sarpalis, Johnson, Huckaby, Glickman, Penny, Espy, Long, Stenholm, Tallon, Coleman, Smith of Ore., Gunderson, Combest, Allard, Barrett, Nussle, Boehner, Roberts

From the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, for consideration of section 263 and title III of the Senate amendment, and

modifications committed to conference: Gonzalez, Annunzio, Neal, Hubbard, LaFalce, Oaker, Wylie, Leach, McCollum, Roukema

From the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for consideration of section 263 and title III of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Markey, Scheuer, Synar Eckart, Slattery, Lent, Moorhead, Rinaldo, Ritter

Joint Committees Future Listings

Joint Economic

COMMUNITY DISTRESS

Joint Economic Committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will hold a hearing on new responses to community distress.

10:30am 138 Dirksen Bldg. April 30

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Virginia Ramirez - Communities Orga-

nized for Public Service; David O'Connell - South Central Organizing Committee; Carol Reckling - Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development; Erving Domenech - East Brooklyn Congregations; Gusie Livingstone - Family Dave Care Home Project, Tampa, Fla.; Audley Evans - executive director, Housing Authority of the City of Tampa

PANEL: Edward Chambers - executive director, Industrial Areas Foundations; Gary Orfield - Harvard University;

Other Events

The *Monitor* has received notice of the following events scheduled to take place in Washington. Associations, non-profit organizations and public interest groups who wish to have events listed in the section should send pertinent information to: The Congressional Monitor, Other Events Editor, 1414 22nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Notices must include a telephone number. Notices may be transmitted by facsimile to 202-728-1862, attn: Robert Healy. Only events related to Congress can be listed. Deadline is noon two days before the date of issue (i.e. Monday noon for Wednesday issue). The editors reserve the right to edit or reject any submission. For further information call 202-887-8686.

See Campaign Events Section for listing of events related to congressional and presidential campaigns.

CONGRESS & THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Congressional Quarterly will sponsor an intermediate level seminar on Congress and the legislative process. This session will examine procedures, techniques and strategies for those already familiar with the basic structure of Congress.

9am to 4pm Congressional Quarterly 1414 22nd St. N.W. April 30

Contact: 202-887-8620

Note: There is a \$295 charge for this event (includes lunch and materials). To register call the number listed above.

CHILDREN'S HEALTH ISSUES CORPORATE COSTS

The American Academy of Pediatrics, the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality and the Washington Business Group on

Health, in conjunction with the CIGNA Companies, will hold a news conference to launch the Corporate Summit for Children. The news conference will present two new studies on the costs to businesses of poor maternal and child health. The summit will convene after the news conference.

9am Capitol Hilton Hotel 16th & K Streets, N.W. April 30

Agenda:

9am: News Conference: Lawton Chiles - governor, Florida; G. Robert O'Brien - CIGNA Corporation; Mary Jane England - Washington Business Group on Health; Antoinette Parisi Eaton - American Academy of Pediatrics

10am to 4:30pm: Summit: Roy Romer - governor, Colorado; Sen. James Jeffords, R-Vt.; Sylvia Ann Hewlett - Economic Policy Council; Carol Ball - Ball Publishing Co.

HEALTH-CARE REVISION & MANAGED CARE

American Managed Care and Review Association will sponsor a health policy forum on the role of managed care in health-care revision proposals. Issues to be discussed include medical liability, worker's compensation, Medicare, Medicaid and small business health care problems.

Hotel Washington, 15th St. and Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. April 30 & May 1

Contact: Steve Gardner at 202-728-0506

Participants: Cokie Roberts - congressional correspondent, National Public Radio; Rep. Nancy Johnson, R-Conn. (member of House Ways and Means Committee); Kevin Moley - deputy secretary of Health and Human Services; Claudia Bradbury - policy associate, AFL-CIO; Peter Liebold - counsel in the office of Sen. Danforth; John Motley - vice president for federal government affairs, National Federation of Independent Business.

Other continued...**★ FEDERAL REGULATIONS & SMALL BUSINESSES**

Impact of Federal Regulations on Small Business Task Force of the House Republican Research Committee (Chairman Ireland, R-Fla.) will hold a hearing on the impact of federal regulation on small businesses.

9:30am 2359-A Rayburn Bldg. May 1
Contact: Kate Watson at 202-225-0871

★ WORKER RE-TRAINING & NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute will sponsor a briefing for members of Congress and their staff on worker retraining and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

11am EF-100 Capitol Bldg. May 1
Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007.

Note: This event is by invitation only. For information on how to obtain an invitation call the number listed above.

DOLLAR VALUES ON PUBLIC GOODS

Federation of Behavioral, Psychological and Cognitive Sciences will sponsor a luncheon meeting on "The Perils of Setting Dollar Values on Public Goods."

Noon to 2pm, Capitol Hill site TBA May 1
Contact: 202-336-5920

Note: This event is limited to members of Congress and their staff. There is no charge but reservations are required. For reservations call the number listed above.

EAST ASIAN TRADE

The East Asia Society for Trade (EAST) will hold a briefing on East Asian trade issues. EAST calls for open markets, rejection of acrimony and protectionism and a newly-defined political/military presence in East Asia.

10am National Press Club May 4

★ TRANSGENIC PLANTS

Biotechnology Forum will sponsor a briefing for members of Congress and staff on transgenic plants and their impact on agriculture and the food supply. Transgenic plants have been genetically altered to improve certain characteristics such as size, nutritional value and productivity.

Noon to 2pm, B-340 Rayburn Bldg. May 4
Contact: Matt Sheffield at 202-544-1880

Note: There is no charge for this event for members of the Forum and members of Congress and their staff. There is a \$25 charge for all others. Reservations are required, call the number listed above.

SYNAR LUNCHEON

American League of Lobbyists will hold a luncheon meeting to hear a speech by Rep. Mike Synar, D-Okla.

Noon, Washington Court Hotel, 525 New Jersey Ave. N.W. May 4

Contact: Patti Jo Baber at 703-960-3011

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$45 for nonmembers. For reservations call the number listed above.

★ New listing

ELEMENTS OF BILL DRAFTING

Congressional Quarterly will sponsor a seminar on the elements of bill drafting, focusing on practical applications.

9am to 4pm, Washington Marriott Hotel, 1221 22nd St. N.W. May 5 & 6

Contact: 202-887-8620.

Note: There is a \$425 charge for this event (includes materials and lunch both days). To register call the number listed above.

HEALTH CARE ISSUES

American Nurses Association will sponsor a "National Nursing Summit on Health Care Reform."

8am Crystal Gateway Marriott, 1700 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Va. May 5 & 6

Contact: Terri Gaffney at 202-554-4444

Agenda:

May 5:

6pm to 9pm: Nurses in Washington Roundtable

Dinner

Speaker - Sen. John Chafee, R-R.I.

May 6:

8am to 5pm: Conference on "Shaping the Future of Health Care"

Note: There is a charge for these events of \$40 for the dinner and \$100 for the conference for members and \$150 for the conference for nonmembers. For reservations send a check, made payable to ANA, to:

American Nurses Association

P.O. Box 7270

McLean, Va. 22106-7270

★ U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

Economic Strategy Institute will sponsor a series of noon seminars on U.S.-Japan relations.

Noon, 1100 Connecticut Ave. N.W. May 5, 8, 19

Contact: 202-728-0993

Agenda:

May 5: Cross-Border Alliances: Why Joint Ventures With the Japanese are Different
David Ernst - McKinsey & Co.

May 8: U.S.-Japan Relations: Now What?

James Fallows - Washington Editor, *The Atlantic*

May 19: Japanese Capitalism: The Same of Different; Better or Worse
Jon Woronoff - author of "Japanese Targeting" and "Japan As Anything But Number One"

WASHINGTON ALERT EXECUTIVE BRIEFING

Congressional Quarterly will present an overview of the Washington Alert online congressional monitoring service. The focus will be on new enhancements including European news and reports, committee and subcommittee action and votes, text of Governing magazine, CQ Researcher magazine, zip codes and the LinkService to Capitol Hill Lobbyist.

9:30am to 11am, Congressional Quarterly, 1414 22nd St. N.W. May 6

Contact: 202-887-8685

Note: There is no charge for this event, but reservations are required. To register call the number listed above.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA TRADE

Association of Women in International Trade will sponsor a dinner meeting to hear Rita Klimova, ambassador of Czechoslovakia to the United States, discuss "Transition in Czechoslovakia." (This is the final event of the WIIT annual meeting, which begins with a

members-only session earlier in the day. WIIT members interested in more information about the annual meeting schedule should call the numbers listed below.)

6:45pm, Sheraton City Centre Hotel, 1143 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. May 6

Contact: Michele Sherman at 202-293-4690 or Keri Connors at 202-463-8880.

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$45 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to WIIT, to:

Michele Sherman
Cameron & Hornbostel
818 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 70
Washington, D.C. 20006

★ WAR ON CRIME

Consortium of Social Science Associations will sponsor a breakfast meeting to examine crime in America and discuss research that can contribute to a better formulation of criminal justice policy.

8am to 10am B-352 Rayburn Bldg. May 8

Contact: Michael Buckley at 202-842-2788

Note: There is no charge for this event, but reservations are required. For more information call the number listed above.

★ HEALTH-CARE REVISION & HOSPITALS

Pennsylvania Coalition of High Volume Medical Assistance Hospitals will sponsor a roundtable discussion on Medicaid revision and its potential to have some hospitals bear a disproportionate share of the Medicaid burden.

8:30am to 4pm, Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Ave. N.W. May 11

Contact: Brian Tiboni at 202-371-1680

Participants: Kevin Moley - deputy secretary of Health and Human Services; Steven Kelmar - assistant secretary of Health and Human Services; Thomas Scully - associate director, Office of Management and Budget; Rep. Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif. - chairman, House Energy Subcommittee on Health and the Environment

WETLANDS ISSUES

The Environment, Energy and Natural Resources section of the District of Columbia Bar will hold a program on wetlands mitigation issues, including wetlands mitigation banking.

Noon-2pm 1707 L St., N.W. May 18

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$17 for section members and \$21 for non-members, which includes a box lunch. The charge for the program only is \$6 for section members and \$10 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to the D.C. Bar, to:

Wetlands Mitigation Banking Program
D.C. Bar Sections Office
1707 L St., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036-4203

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

The Atlantic Council will sponsor a series of discussions on the reshaping of the foreign policy and international presence of the United States.

3:30pm National Press Club, 524 14th St., N.W. May 26

4pm National Press Club, 524 14th St., N.W. June 22

Contact: 202-347-9353, ext. 6840 (media inquiries to Rian Smith, ext. 32)

Agenda:

May 26: Realities of Engagement: Programs, Peo-

■ Revised listing

Other continued...

ple and Budgets
June 22: Facing America's Foreign Policy Future

MEDICAID ISSUES

State Medicaid Directors' Association and

Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) will co-sponsor a conference on issues affecting the administration of Medicaid programs.

Omni Shoreham Hotel June 2 & 3
Contact: Before April 27: 202-245-6257 (HCFA intergovernmental affairs); After April 27: 1-800-638-4747 (ID no. HCFA-8703)

Campaign Future Listings

--from Reuters

The *Monitor* has received notice of the following congressional and presidential campaign events scheduled to take place in Washington. Organizations that wish to have events listed in the section should send pertinent information to: The Congressional Monitor, Other Events Editor, 1414 22nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Notices must include a telephone number. Notices may be transmitted by facsimile to 202-728-1862, attn: Robert Healy. Fundraisers will not be listed. Deadline is noon two days before the date of issue (i.e. Monday noon for Wednesday issue). The editors reserve the right to edit or reject any submission. For further information call 202-887-8686.

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909, Philadelphia, 215-592-1776, or Pittsburgh, 412-471-8876

April 29
Not immediately available

Bill Clinton

Contact: Richard Mintz, Steven Cohen, or Julia Payne, 501-372-1992

April 29
In Washington, D.C.
9:45am: Addresses a closed meeting of the House Democratic Caucus. The Capitol, House floor.
Contact Jay Toscano, 202-226-3210

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Tom Kilgannon 703-790-9292

April 29
In North Carolina
10am: Departs for Salisbury, N.C.
11am: News conference, I-85 Congressional District, Salisbury, N.C.
12:30pm: Departs for Raleigh, N.C.

April 30

In North Carolina

8:30am: Tapes "Wayne County Today" at Channel 21 Christian Community Affairs, Goldsboro, N.C.
9:15am: Departs for Rocky Mount, N.C.
10:30am: Departs for airport
10:45am: Arrives at airport
11am: Departs for Winston Salem via charter plane
11:30am: Arrives at Winston Salem Airport, departs for Wake Forest, N.C.
Noon: Arrives at Wake Forest University
12:45pm: Departs for Greensboro, N.C.
1pm: Arrives at hotel in Greensboro
6pm: Holds local news availability. Greensboro
RON: Greensboro, N.C.

May 1

In North Carolina

7:30am: Tracy Wilson Morning Show, WFMY-CBS, Greensboro, N.C.
9:30am: Departs for Winston-Salem, N.C.
10:30am: Departs for Charlotte, N.C.
Noon: Arrives at Charlotte, checks into hotel
6pm: Local news availability. Charlotte, N.C.
7pm: Attends Charlotteans Annual Banquet.
8:30pm: Departs for Salisbury, N.C.
8:45pm: Arrives at Salisbury Holiday Inn Hotel
9pm: Dinner. Salisbury Holiday Inn Hotel
RON: Salisbury, N.C.

May 2

In North Carolina

8:15am: Salisbury Republican Men's Club breakfast. Salisbury, N.C.
9:05am-12:30pm: Travel to Burlington, Alamance Battlefield, Raleigh (hotel check-in), and Youngsville, N.C.
11:15am: Arrives in Burlington, N.C.
11:50am: Departs for Alamance Battlefield, Burlington
Noon: Arrives Alamance Battlefield
12:30pm: Departs for Raleigh, N.C.
1:30pm: Arrives in Raleigh, checks into hotel
5:25pm: Departs for Youngsville, N.C.
6pm: Arrives in Youngsville, N.C., for taxpayers event.
7pm: Departs Youngsville
7:30pm: Arrives in Raleigh
8pm: Dinner.
RON: Raleigh, N.C.

Campaign Events continued...

May 3

In Raleigh, N.C.

10:30am: Departs for Oakwood Cemetery
11am: Attends Annual Confederate Memorial Service, lays wreath at the grave of North Carolina's Unknown Confederate soldier.
Noon: Returns to hotel
RON: Raleigh

May 4

In North Carolina

8am: Begin North Carolina whistle stop tour, with stops and press conferences in each of the following cities: Raleigh, Durham, Burlington, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Lexington, Salisbury, Statesville, Hickory, and ending in Charlotte, N.C.
4pm: Arrives in Charlotte, checks into hotel
6pm: Local news availability. Charlotte, N.C.
7pm: Primary-eve rally.
RON: Charlotte, N.C.

Bush-Quayle

Contact: Torie Clarke or Deborah Goldberg, 202-336-7080

April 30

PRESIDENT BUSH

3:15pm: Addresses the Ohio Association of Broadcasters.
TBD: Bush/Quayle '92 fundraising dinner.
TBD: Depart Columbus for Washington.
TBD: Arrive White House. South Lawn

INDEPENDENTS

Larry Agran

Contact: Mike Kaspar 714-250-7340

April 30

In Washington, D.C.

6:30pm: Address American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, 345 Cannon Bldg.

Lenora Fulani

Contact: Madelyn Chapman, Gwen Mandell 212-580-7400

April 29

In New York City

11:30am: Rally with senior citizens, 558 Melrose Ave., Bronx. N.Y.

Primaries & Caucuses

May 1: Maine and Wyoming Republican caucuses

May 3: Guam caucus

May 5: Washington, D.C., Indiana and North Carolina primaries

May 12: Nebraska and West Virginia primaries

May 19: Oregon, Washington primaries

May 28: Arkansas, Kentucky and Idaho (Republicans) primaries

June 2: Alabama, California, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico and Ohio primaries

June 9: North Dakota caucus

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

FULL COMMITTEE

House: 225-2771; Senate: 224-3471

FISCAL 1992 RESCISSIONS

House full cmte markup scheduled: April 29
Senate full cmte markup scheduled: April 30

AGRICULTURE

House: 225-2638; Senate: 224-7240

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29

COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, & THE JUDICIARY

House: 225-3351; Senate: 224-7277

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29
Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29

DEFENSE

House: 225-2847; Senate: 224-7255

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29 & 30

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7236

ENERGY & WATER DEVELOPMENT

House: 225-3421; Senate: 224-7260

House subcmte hearings completed: March 31
Senate subcmte hearings completed: April 7

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

House: 225-2041; Senate: 224-7209

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 30
Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: May 1

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29 & 30

LABOR/HHS/EDUC

House: 225-3508; Senate: 224-7283

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29 & 30

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7338

House subcmte hearings completed: January 29
Senate subcmte hearings completed: February 7

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

House: 225-3047; Senate: 224-7255

House subcmte hearings completed: March 25

TRANSPORTATION

House: 225-2141; Senate: 224-7245

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29 & 30

TREASURY/POSTAL SERVICE

House: 225-5834; Senate: 224-6280

House subcmte hearings completed: April 9

VA, HUD & INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

House: 225-3241; Senate: 224-7211

House subcmte hearings scheduled: April 29 & 30
Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: April 30

House Floor Action

Week of April 27

Monday, April 27:

Not in session

Tuesday, April 28:

Under suspension of the rules

HR 2454 Authorize the secretary of Health and Human Services to impose debarments and other penalties for illegal activities involving the approval of abbreviated drug applications under the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act concurred in Senate amendments by voice

Wednesday, April 29:

House convenes at 2pm

HR 4364

Authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration begin consideration

Thursday, April 30:

House convenes at 10am

HR 3090

Amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the program of assistance for family planning services begin consideration

Friday, May 1:

House convenes at 11am

HR 3090

Amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the program of assistance for family planning services continue consideration

Senate Floor Action

Week of April 27

Monday, April 27:

Not in session

Tuesday, April 28:

HR 3337 CONFERENCE REPORT: Require the secretary of the Treasury to mint a coin in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the White House begin consideration

S 3 CONFERENCE REPORT: Amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide for a voluntary system of spending limits for Senate election campaigns began consideration

Wednesday, April 29:

S 3 CONFERENCE REPORT: Amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide for a voluntary system of spending limits for Senate election campaigns continue consideration

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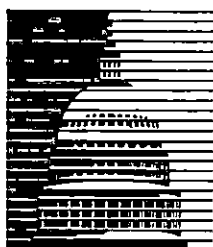
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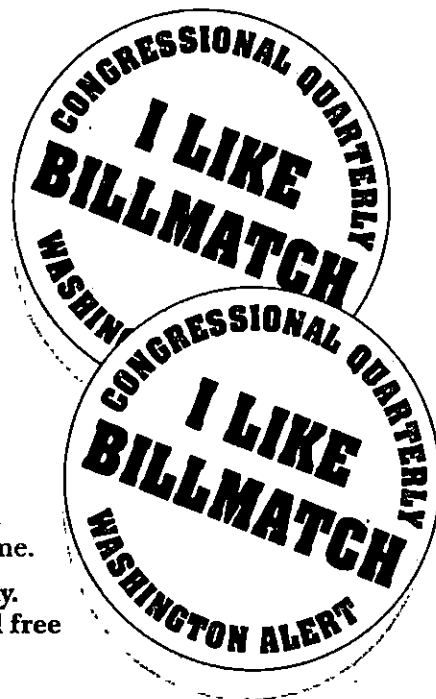


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CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



A Publication of

Congressional Quarterly Inc.
1414 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Wednesday
April 29, 1992

RZ
Let's discuss
P.

Mr. President:

1. Daphney Murray will begin her new job at NEA Monday, May 18. She asked if she could fly w/ you on AF One from Houston to Washington, D.C. on Sunday the 17th. I told her you had several events the weekend of May 15/16/17 and that you would be flying from Indiana (you have the University of Notre Dame Commencement). She said she would take a commercial flight.

HOWEVER, do you want Daphney to attend the University of Notre Dame commencement speech w/ you and then fly back to Washington on Air Force One?

Daphney will be staying with Mrs. Potter Stewart until she finds her own place.

(Daphney in Houston: 713-546-0278 or 713-789-7755)

2. Camp David this weekend:

GUESTS: Chris, Andy, and Alex Mill
Marvin, Margaret, Walker and Marshall (tentatively)
(waiting to hear from Doro)

Anyone else?

Patty Presock

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Proposed & Tentative for Administrative Use Only T Tentative B First Lady * Away from WH					1 6:45 Staff Time B 7:00 Great American Workout 8:00 Radio Taping 9:45 Domestic Briefing 10:15 Staff Time 11:00 Mtg. w/Sec. Baker B 11:45 Volunteer Luncheon 2:30 Signing Cere. f/Law Day 2:45 Photo w/Goldman Envir. Prize Winners B 3:00 Depart f/Camp David RON CAMP DAVID	2 RON CAMP DAVID
3 RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	4 9:45 Domestic Briefing 11:00 Mtg. w/N. Amer. Members of Council f/Sustainable Develop. 11:30 Photo w/Asthma & Allergy Poster Child 1:15 Staff Time 1:30 Satellite Tour 2:15 Staff Time 3:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Brady 4:30 Michel unveiling * B* 6:00 Ntl. Rehab. Hospital Recept. RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	5 8:20 Hold 10:00 Cong. Ldrship. Mtg. 12:15 Lunch with VP * 1:30 Photo Ops 2:00 Cele. f/Cinco De Mayo 3:00 Dip. Credentials Cere. 4:00 Staff Time 4:45 Staff Time RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	6 9:45 Staff Time 10:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Baker 11:00 Mtg. w/Pres. Kravchuk of Ukraine 12:15 Lunch w/Pres. Kravchuk 1:15 Departure Statements 1:30 Staff Time 1:45 Teleconf. to American Newspaper Publ. Assoc. 2:00 Video Taping Session 2:30 Drop by briefing for Florida Council of 100 2:45 Mtg. w/Dr. Dobson 3:00 Admin. Time RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	7 B 7:00 Recept. f/Ntl. Day of Prayer 9:40 Depart f/California Los Angeles, California * 1:00 Address Town Hall of California luncheon RON LOS ANGELES	8 Fresno, California * 10:00 Visit Simpson Vineyards 9:25 Arrive White House RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	9 B* TBD WH Corresp. Dinner (Black Tie) RON WASHINGTON, D.C.
10 Mother's Day RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	11 9:45 Domestic Briefing 11:15 Photo w/Amer. Trauma Society Poster Child 2:00 Hold 3:00 Mtg. w/FM of France 3:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Cheney Philadelphia, Pennsylvania * 6:30 B/Q Fundraising Dinner RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	12 10:00 Cong. Ldrship. Mtg. 11:30 Mtg. & working lunch w/Boutros-Ghali, U.N. Secy. Gen. 1:15 Photo w/US Amb. to UN 1:45 Staff Time 3:45 Staff Time 4:00 Satellite Tour 5:00 Mtg. w/PM Manning of Trinidad & Tabago 7:30 Dinner w/Singapore SM Lee Kuan Yew RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	13 B 10:00 Arrival Cere. f/President Aylwin 10:30 Mtg. w/Pres. Aylwin of Chile 12:00 Hold 2:00 Mtg. w/PM of Finland 2:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Baker 3:00 Admin. Time B 7:15 State Dinner (Black Tie) RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	14 8:25 Photo w/U.S. Amb. to Finland 9:45 Economic Briefing 11:00 Photo w/MS Mother & Father of the Year 12:00 Lunch w/Cabinet Members * TBD Amer. Recreation Coalition 3:25 Photo w/Ntl. Troopers Coalition 3:30 Briefing w/NRCC House Council B 6:00 Private Dinner RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	15 * 10:00 Address Law Enforcement Memorial Ceremony Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania * 11:30 B/Q Fundraising Lunch TBD Depart for Houston, TX Houston, Texas * 7:45 Doug Sanders Celebrity Classic fundraising recept. & dinner to benefit UNCF (Black Tie) RON HOUSTON, TEXAS	16 Armed Forces Day Dallas, Texas * 10:00 Address Southern Methodist University Commencement RON HOUSTON, TEXAS
17 Houston, Texas TBD Depart f/Indiana South Bend, Indiana * 2:00 Address University of Notre Dame Commencement RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	18 10:00 Video Taping Session 11:00 Event f/50th Anniv. of Homebuilders 11:20 Photo w/winners of the US FIRST Competition 1:30 Photo Ops 3:00 Staff Time 3:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Brady RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	19 9:45 Domestic Briefing 11:00 Mtg. w/President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan 12:15 Lunch w/President Nazarbayev 1:15 Departure Statements 1:45 Staff Time 3:00 Address Ntl. Retail Federation 3:20 Staff Time 3:30 Satellite Tour B 6:30 Dinner w/Sir John Swan Premier of Bermuda RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	20 10:00 Cong. Ldrship. Mtg. 11:15 Photo Ops w/U.S. Amb. to Namibia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania 11:45 Mtg. w/PM Mulroney 12:00 Lunch w/PM Mulroney 1:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Baker 3:00 Admin. Time B* 6:30 Private Dinner RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	21 Cleveland, Ohio * 11:30 B/Q Fundraising Lunch West Chester, New York * 5:30 B/Q Fundraising Dinner * TBD Arrive Kennebunkport RON KENNEBUNKPORT	22 RON KENNEBUNKPORT	23 RON KENNEBUNKPORT
24 RON KENNEBUNKPORT	25 Memorial Day B TBD Arrive White House RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	26 9:45 Domestic Briefing 12:00 Lunch w/Cabinet Members 1:45 Staff Time 5:45 Staff Time 6:00 Satellite Intvs. RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	27 B TBD Depart f/Maryland Annapolis, Maryland B* 10:30 Address the United States Naval Academy Commencement 1:30 Mtg. w/Sec. Baker Atlanta, Georgia * 6:30 B/Q Fundraising Dinner RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	28 9:45 Economic Briefing 12:00 Lunch with VP 3:00 Admin. Time RON WASHINGTON, D.C.	29 * Hold for travel RON TBD	30 * Hold for travel * TBD Depart f/Dallas * 6:30 Texas Victory '92 Dinner RON CAMP DAVID

~~SENSITIVE - DO NOT COPY~~

April 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

SUBJECT: Visit of Chris Evert and Andy Mill
Wednesday, April 29 - Sunday, May 3, 1992

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

4:55 p.m. Chris Evert and Andy Mill arrive Washington National Airport aboard Delta Flight #378 accompanied by their 6 month old son, Alex, and his nanny Josette Scmoll. They depart National Airport by van enroute the White House where they will overnight.

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1992

to be Chris Evert and Andy Mill depart the White House (sometime
determined Thursday morning), accompanied by Alex Mill and Josette Scmoll, enroute the Marriott Hotel where they will stay until Friday afternoon.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1992

2:40 p.m. Chris Evert and Andy Mill, accompanied by their son Alex, arrive the White House by car (North Grounds).

3:00 p.m. Chris Evert and Andy Mill, accompanied by their son Alex, depart for Camp David with the President and Mrs. Bush. (Josette Scmoll will fly to Camp David on the back-up chopper.)

SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1992

12:30 p.m. Chris Evert, Andy Mill, Alex Mill and Josette Scmoll depart
approx. Camp David by van enroute Washington National Airport. They will depart Washington, D.C. on American Flight 433 at 3:10 p.m.

Patty Presock

daily 4/29/92



THE PRESIDENT

Dear Barbara:

Along with the enclosed photographs, please accept Barbara's and my deep appreciation for your wonderful performance at the State Dinner for The President of Germany and Mrs. von Weizsacker. It was a lovely evening for everyone and we are grateful to you for adjusting your schedule to be with us.

All the best,

G. Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MISS BARBARA COOK
MR. ADAM LEGRANT
MR. WALLY HARPER
C/O JERRY KRAVAT ENTERPRISES
205 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10016



TO BARBARA
COOK

4/29/92

P31211-11A

To Barbara Cook -
With Lasting Appreciation For A Lovely
Evening of Music at the White House,
Ag. Brink

Rose -

Copy for
your files!

Orthy Yutton

Regulatory Reform

Document Originally
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*Regulatory
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Taft Institute



Regulatory Reform



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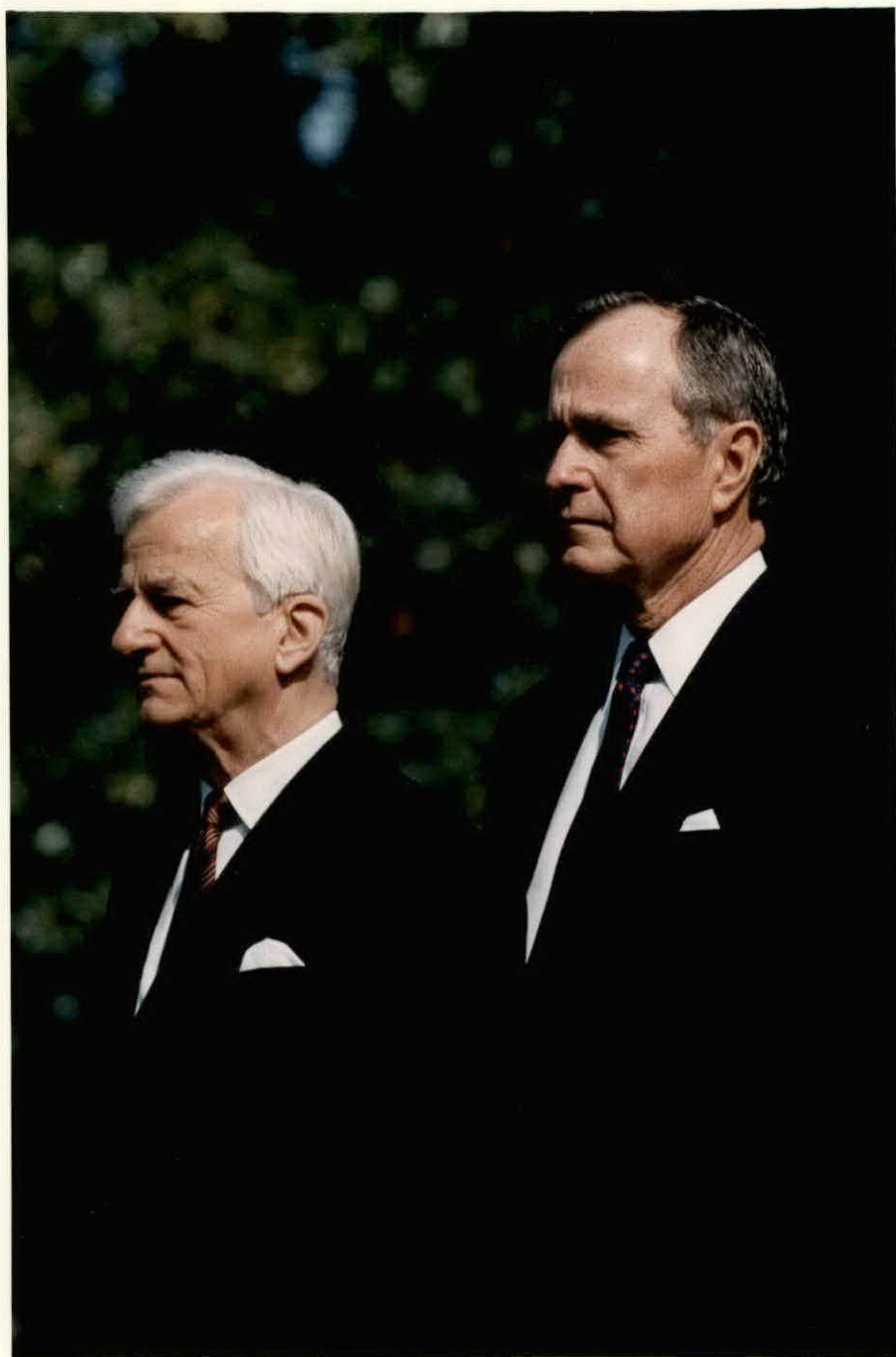
Pres. Von Weizaecker
of Germany



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President
von Meißner
Statt dessen





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DATE: April 29, 1992

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

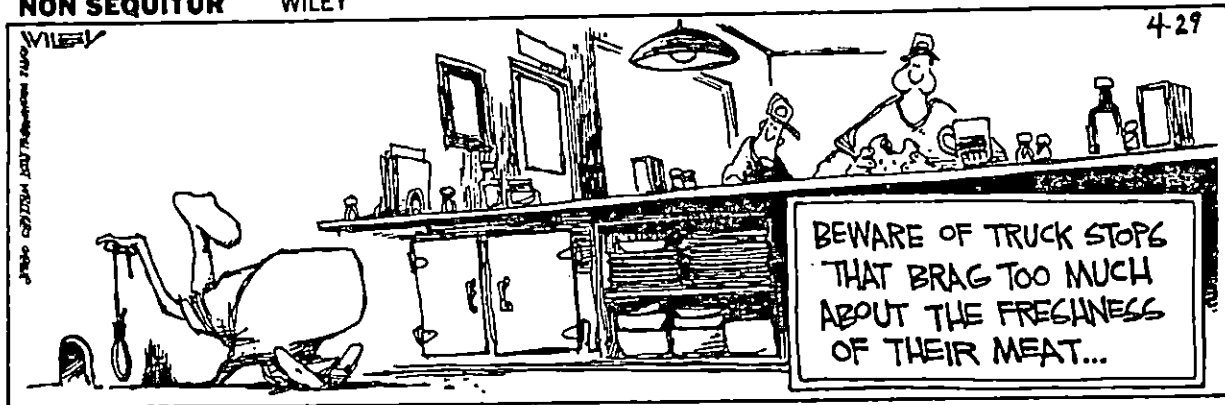
USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Daily News Clips
Office Of Media Affairs
Wednesday, April 29, 1992

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

★ ★ EASTERN EDITION

An Outbreak of Judicial Civil Disobedience

The rule of law received a fresh body blow last week, this time from its sworn guardians. After 13 years of procedural roadblocks, California was finally able to execute Robert Alton Harris. But only because the Supreme Court put an end to an excruciating series of last-minute stays issued by some judges on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit who were, apparently, determined to flout the law until Harris died of old age.

Press reaction was predictable, and wrong. Under the heading "The Court's Rush to Kill," the New York Times found the Supreme Court's performance "repugnant." London's Daily Telegraph said, "Yesterday's dreadful black farce on California's Death Row did no service to those who plead the cause of capital punishment."

Rule of Law By Robert H. Bork

The Daily Telegraph had it backward. A "dreadful black farce" it certainly was, but it was not staged by the California authorities or the Supreme Court. It was caused by those so ardently opposed to capital punishment that they refuse to accept the decisions of the electorate and the jury. It is important to understand whose fault this was.

In 1978 Harris and his brother, wanting a car for a bank robbery, kidnapped two 16-year-old boys sitting in an automobile eating hamburgers, drove them to a deserted canyon and shot one. The other ran, screamed for help and tried to hide, but Harris pursued and killed him as well. The killer then got in the car, laughed and finished the boys' hamburgers before proceeding to the bank. Most Americans think capital punishment is appropriate for such crimes. The jury agreed.

Harris appealed to the California Superior Court that, under the guidance of Chief Justice Rose Bird, overturned 84 out of 86 death sentences before Ms. Bird and her allies were voted out of office in 1986. Harris was one of the four the Bird court let stand. His attorneys then got him three complete hearings on federal habeas corpus petitions and five more on state petitions. His case thus received nine separate reviews. Surely far more than enough, one would have thought. But then the case turned really bizarre.

Harris's execution was set for 12:01 a.m. PDT on April 21. Authorization for the execution would expire at 12:01 a.m. the next day. Deity beyond that time would require that the execution be rescheduled. On April 20, therefore, lawyers for Harris filed one state habeas petition, one federal habeas petition and one federal court action claiming that execution in the gas chamber was cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment. None of these ultimately went anywhere. An appeals court panel held that the habeas petition was an abuse of the writ and vacated the district court's temporary restraining order on the gas chamber question.

At this point another appeals court judge issued a stay of execution on the basis of the habeas petition, and 10 judges put the restraining order back in place, although the court's rules provide for no such procedure. The state went to the U.S. Supreme Court in the middle of the night. Law clerks got their justices out of bed with telephone calls and the court—voting seven to two—lifted the stays.

Two more actions were filed immediately, one raising the cruel-and-unusual argument in a habeas petition and the other asking that the execution be videotaped as evidence that the punishment is in fact cruel and unusual. Meanwhile, Harris had actually been strapped into the

chair in the gas chamber when a telephone call from a federal judge ordered the execution stayed.

Once more during the same all-night endurance contest, the Supreme Court—a grain by a seven-to-two vote—lifted the Ninth Circuit judges' stay and, fed up with the obduracy of those appeals court judges who continued to block the execution without justification, took the extraordinary, but necessary, step of ordering that no more stays be issued except by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court noted that Harris had now filed four prior federal habeas petitions; not to mention five state petitions and had no convincing explanation for his failure to raise the cruel-and-unusual punishment claim before.

What is new, and exemplified by the legal disaster of the Harris case, is the resistance of lower court judges both to law and to the Supreme Court.

usual punishment claim before. "Equity must take into consideration the state's strong interest in proceeding with its judgment and Harris' obvious attempt at manipulation. . . . This claim could have been brought more than a decade ago. There is no good reason for this abusive delay, which has been compounded by last-minute efforts to manipulate the judicial process." Harris was executed. It would be possible to dwell on the barbarity of a procedural system gone mad so that a man is held on death row for 13 years of alternating hope and despair. It would be possible to dwell on the cruelty to the families who wait, seemingly endlessly, for justice to be done. But perhaps the most dismaying thing is

the display of civil disobedience within the federal judiciary. It is old news that the American Civil Liberties Union, whose lawyers orchestrated this debacle, will do almost anything to prevent duly enacted and imposed capital punishment from being carried out. Far from being devoted to the preservation of constitutional liberties, as it claims, the ACLU is instead devoted to using the courts to achieve political results that have lost at the polls and have nothing to do with the Constitution.

What is new, and exemplified by the legal disaster of the Harris case, is the resistance of lower-court judges both to law and to the Supreme Court. Those judges who, after years of judicial examination and re-examination of the conviction, repeatedly issued last-minute stays of execution evidently thought their personal opposition to capital punishment was reason enough to defy what law and their judicial superiors demanded.

But the more fanatical opponents of capital punishment insist on misunderstanding who is responsible for the degrading spectacle played out in the last hours of Harris's life. Amnesty International, apparently an international version of the ACLU, said, "The determination of the state authorities to gas their prisoner to death as soon as they possibly could with the backing of the U.S. Supreme Court ended in a sick battle against the clock." The sick battle was that of attorneys and judges against the calendar. Does Amnesty International or anybody else really suppose that Harris could ever have been executed, after however many hearings, without another battle against the clock? There would be last-minute petitions and stays forever. Those who have more respect for their own opinions than for the rule of law would see to that.

Mr. Bork is a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

IMF Money Will Buy Trouble for Russia

By STEVE H. HANKE

After 46 years, Russia, Ukraine and most of the other ex-Soviet republics joined the International Monetary Fund this week. The eagerness of the post-Soviet republics to join the IMF for symbolic reasons is understandable. It is the substance of what membership in the IMF will entail for them that is troubling.

When Moscow signs the formal agreement with the IMF, the \$24 billion in aid from the rich G-7 countries promised by President Bush and Chancellor Kohl on April 1 will be made available to the Russian government—including a \$6 billion fund for the stabilization of the ruble. The ruble stabilization fund will be transferred to the Russian Central Bank at that bank's request.

In principle, that hard currency is to be used only to prop up the value of the ruble. Armed with the IMF's \$6 billion, the Russian Central Bank will intervene in the foreign-exchange markets to move the ruble from its current rate of about 150 to the dollar to a higher rate of 40 or 50 to the dollar.

Transfer Wealth

For some months, the experts at the International Monetary Fund and some economists have worked hard to persuade Western governments of the need to transfer some of their taxpayers' wealth to Russia. Although the experts had success with the press and in some political quarters, the Bush administration for a long time avoided being stampeded.

The IMF finally wheeled out the big guns in March. In a five-page memorandum circulated to 50 power brokers, and reprinted on this page, former President Richard M. Nixon castigated the Bush administration for playing a "pathetically inadequate, 'penny ante game' with Russia. That did the trick.

The IMF and some Western economists have argued that stabilization fund intervention is necessary because the ruble's current, market-determined exchange rate is unrealistic. By reducing the supply of and increasing the demand for rubles, central bank intervention is supposed to move the ruble to a more "realistic" level.

So much for the theory. Let's examine instead what will most likely happen in Russia, based on the near universal experience of IMF-sponsored stabilization programs and the current political-economic environment in Russia. The Russian Cen-

tral Bank will continue to print rubles at a rate that exceeds the rate of monetary growth in the West. Anticipating that the "excess supply" problem will continue, foreign-exchange traders will continue to pass rubles to one another like hot potatoes. In consequence, the ruble will continue its free fall.

To reverse the ruble's course, the Russian Central Bank will use dollars in its stabilization fund to purchase rubles in the foreign-exchange markets. As it intervenes, the Bank will print more rubles to replace the rubles that it has purchased. Eventually

By reducing the supply of and increasing the demand for rubles, central bank intervention is supposed to move the ruble to a more "realistic" level.

ally, the dollars in the stabilization fund will disappear, the stock of rubles will not have been reduced and the foreign-exchange value of the ruble will keep declining.

This will, of course, bring forth calls to replenish the stabilization entitlement program. Indeed, Michel Camdessus, the IMF's Managing Director, opened the door for additional funding requests at his news conference on April 15—and the fund has not yet even been established.

That the Russian Central Bank will be forced to continue to print rubles at a record clip should be clear to even a casual observer. A shake out of Russia's state-owned enterprises has not yet taken place. Indeed, there has been virtually no restructuring and privatization of those enterprises. Vnesheconconsult, a Moscow-based consulting firm, estimates that about 80% of the big state-owned enterprises are insolvent. Faced with interest rates of 50% on six month loans, the majority of enterprises can't afford to keep playing what amounts to a Ponzi game. They are refusing to pay back loans or honor bills, and many have already put workers on reduced work schedules. Overdue loans have soared from 34 billion rubles in January to 676 billion rubles by mid-March.

In an attempt to avert an economic and political shake-out, the Russian Central Bank has already begun to let its much ad-

vertised austerity program go by the boards. For example, a government document released on April 3 indicates that 200 billion rubles in new credits have recently been extended to bankrupt state-owned enterprises, and that twice as many rubles were printed in March as in January.

This is a far cry from the claim of Yegor Gaidar, Boris Yeltsin's top economic adviser, that the Yeltsin government had complete control over the ruble supply, and that the government planned to become even more tightfisted in the coming months. However, that was before Mr. Gaidar was forced to resign as Russia's finance minister, and before the Yeltsin government was forced by the Russian parliament to accept some economic compromises.

Consider the precedent of Poland, which is touted as an IMF success story. In late 1988, a Polish stabilization fund was established. On Jan. 1, 1990 it took 3,500 zloties to fetch a dollar. Now a dollar commands 12,600 zloties. Yugoslavia provides yet another, and alas a more relevant, example of a stabilization program gone awry. A member of the IMF since 1945, the government in Belgrade has recently claimed that inflation could reach an annual rate of 100,000% this year.

The ruble stabilization program will not achieve its narrow economic objectives. More important, it will not achieve its broader political goal: to lend the Yeltsin government a helping hand. To appreciate that, consider who the final beneficiaries of the Russian Central Bank's ruble-support operations will be.

Speculators' Pockets

The IMF-stabilization fund will flow from Western taxpayers into foreign-exchange speculators' pockets like water running downhill. Those foreign-exchange traders will get rich quickly, offending ordinary Russians, and providing the old communists, who have significant support in the Russian parliament, the popular anger they need to bring down President Yeltsin. Ironically, rather than assisting Boris Yeltsin and his friends, the stabilization fund will provide the parliament with yet another club to beat Mr. Yeltsin's government.

Mr. Hanke, a professor of applied economics at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, served as the personal economic advisor to the deputy prime minister of Yugoslavia from 1990 until June 1991.

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WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

EASTERN EDITION

Clinton's Problems Are Press's Fault— And His Own

By ALBERT R. HUNT

"When oil wildcatters dig a dry hole they go out and dig another," notes Stephen Hess. "When journalists this year dig a dry hole, they publish it."

Mr. Hess, a political scientist at the Brookings Institution and a scholar of the media, is talking about this year's political coverage — particularly that accorded Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic presidential nominee.

The many reports raising questions about Mr. Clinton's trustworthiness have taken an enormous toll. In the latest Wall Street Journal NBC News poll, he gets high marks on a number of important issues — but an astonishing 56% think he can't be trusted. That's why most political experts today seriously doubt that he can win the election.

Just how did Bill Clinton get in this sorry shape? Was he victimized by an overzealous press, or did he create his own problems? A healthy chunk of the fault lies with the press, but Gov. Clinton himself provided critical fodder.

He actually recovered nicely from the first bombshell, a cabaret singer's allegation of an extramarital affair, which produced some truly atrocious journalism. But this began a spate of stories raising questions about his conduct and character. These include charges of business ties to a savings-and-loan operator the Clintons lost money on a minor deal, favors to Arkansas business tycoons (a pattern present with most governors), the dealings of Hillary Clinton's law firm with state government (the firm hasn't much increased its state business during the Clinton years, and she hasn't profited from these dealings), and even one story that suggested that Mr. Clinton's brother had sex in the governor's mansion (apparently when the governor was away).

Mr. Clinton has been subjected to more scrutiny, much of it unbalanced, than anyone else in the campaign — certainly including the president. Publisher Douglas Bailey of the Hotline, a daily newsletter that monitors national political coverage, thinks this year's coverage is a reaction to four years ago, when the media manipulators, with their Willie Horton-type garbage, were dominant. "The press feels it was had in 1988," says Mr. Bailey, "and was determined not to let it happen again."

But Mr. Clinton must also bear some of the responsibility for encouraging the public's doubts about his veracity. Consider two incidents — one minor, one not.

The minor one is his deceptive response on whether he ever smoked marijuana. His answer was that he never broke U.S. laws. Ultimately he had to concede he'd smoked the stuff decades ago while in England, though he didn't inhale. Who cares? Al Gore, Bruce Babbitt and Clarence Thomas all admitted smoking dope without any fallout. If Bill Clinton dissembles on such a minor issue, people worry, what will he do on a major one?

Here is a major issue that provides an answer: his explanation of how he avoided the draft in 1969, the single story that caused him the biggest problem this year.

Gov. Clinton and his friends paint a picture of a troubled young man who agonized over the war and took legal steps to stay out of the draft. The evidence suggests that is what happened. But equally evident is that Bill Clinton has badly misled people about the particulars.

For example, he says he fully intended to enroll in the University of Arkansas Law School ROTC program, a promise that protected him for two months when otherwise he would have been drafted. Yet the evidence is overwhelming that he acted only to avoid the draft and had no intention of actually joining, or going to the school.

His explanation of why he ended this ruse similarly strains credulity. The day after this newspaper first broke the draft story in February, Mr. Clinton said he withdrew from the ROTC program in the fall of 1969 when he was 3,000 miles away in England on a Rhodes scholarship because of guilt over the fact that he "had four high-school classmates who were killed" in Vietnam. The fact is that he withdrew after draft calls were curtailed in anticipation of the Dec. 1, 1969, introduction of the lottery system.

Moreover, young Bill Clinton's 1969 stream-of-consciousness letter to Col. Eugene Holmes, the ROTC director, explaining why he never entered the program, never mentioned high-school classmates being killed in Vietnam. In all respects, Mr. Clinton's timing was more than a little curious. On Dec. 1 he received a high lottery number, virtually guaranteeing that he wouldn't have to serve; on Dec. 2 he applied to Yale Law School; on Dec. 3 he wrote the letter to Col. Holmes.

Thousands of other young Americans did what Mr. Clinton did, and he certainly isn't even alone in his misrepresentations. Vice President Dan Quayle still insists he didn't join the National Guard in 1969 in order to stay out of Vietnam — as if he were choosing among the Marines, the Navy SEALs and the Indiana National Guard. What's troubling isn't what Bill Clinton did back in 1969; it's that he still won't level about it in 1992.

Still, these transgressions hardly justify 56% of the voters believing that Mr. Clinton isn't honest. For the press, it's essential in the next six months to provide some perspective in these matters, and to hold George Bush and Ross Perot to the same standards. For Bill Clinton, it will be exceedingly hard to dig himself out of his character trust problem — but it will be impossible if he doesn't realize that on matters small and large he must, without qualification, tell the truth.

Mr. Hunt is the Journal's Washington bureau chief.



Gov. Bill Clinton

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EASTERN EDITION

Education Ferment

Corona Fundamental Intermediate School, near Riverside, California, is a three-year-old public school with a very popular back to basics program. It emphasizes discipline, a dress code and requires students to complete homework every night.

It's especially popular with parents. When Fundamental Intermediate's principal Bill McCall came to work 10 days ago, he found several parents camped outside with sleeping bags and coolers. They had arrived one week early to camp out and make sure that their children could go to Corona, which has only 57 places for out-of-district kids next fall. The demand this year was so great that no parent who had not camped for two days before registration got a child in.

All over America, parents are demanding more choices for their children's education, either within the public system or by using vouchers to let more children attend private schools. The one-size-fits-all public school may someday go the way of the slide rule.

Few parents who want a more productive education for their children have a public school of Corona's bent near them. Even most of those who do have no chance of sending their child there; the lines are too long. The fastest way to create the diversity that would allow American parents to pick a school that suits their child would be to grant vouchers. Then parents could pick the school of their choice.

But until recently, few candidates for public office have been willing to raise the choice banner in their campaigns. They're either happy to let the status quo roll on forever or they're afraid of the vitriolic opposition of powerful teachers' unions. Vernon Robinson is an exception.

Mr. Robinson is running for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina. A business professor at Winston-Salem State University, he is running on a platform that

calls for deep cuts in the bureaucracy, shifting more authority for schools to the local level and full educational choice. He became convinced of the need for real reform after hearing Wisconsin Rep. Polly Williams at an educational conference.

He also says that education in his state can't wait for the public schools to decide to reform; he thinks they need competition now. A graduate of the Air Force Academy, he says, "I fear that if we don't move quickly, we may lose in the classroom what my classmates fought for in the Persian Gulf."



Vernon Robinson

Mr. Robinson is the first black Republican to run for state schools superintendent. He says he can win in the fall by winning the votes

of blacks who support choice. "I tell them our schools are so bad that even David Duke couldn't design a worse system for blacks," he says. In 1988, he won 27% of the black vote for a local office, unusually high for a Republican.

But first he must win next week's Republican primary. His views unsettle GOP officeholders who prefer to soft-pedal reform. Governor James Martin and Lt. Gov. Jim Gardner have endorsed one of his opponents, a former school board member who is described by the Winston-Salem Journal as "a marionette of the Republican establishment."

Despite being spurned by his party's leaders, Vernon Robinson thinks he can win and go on to unseat the incumbent in the fall. If he wins, we'll have discovered that one of the real meanings of multicultural diversity is working for the same, productive goal: introducing the educational bureaucracy to the American principle of classroom competition.

Asides

Send In Perot

It's been three weeks since Charles Patterson escaped from a furlough program in Arkansas. Patterson was serving 40 years for conspiracy to commit murder, and since his escape he has hijacked a plane and robbed a couple at gunpoint. Governor Bill Clinton has suspended the furlough program, but so far neither his state po-

lice nor the FBI have found Patterson. He was last thought to be in Dallas picking up \$30,000 from a confederate. Seems to us this is a perfect chance for Ross Perot to show how a can-do attitude would produce justice. We suggest that Mr. Perot send a posse of investigators from Kroll Associates after him. Inside a week, we suspect, Charles Patterson would be back in one of Bill Clinton's prison cells.

Simon's Tax Increase

Faster than you can say "House Bank scandal," Congress is suddenly enamored of a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. We know what you're thinking, and yes, it's too good to be true.

The House Budget Committee, heretofore uninterested in the amendment, plans to hold hearings. House Speaker Tom Foley predicts the amendment will pass this year, despite his personal opposition. Texas Democrat Charles Stenholm's amendment bill has 268 co-sponsors, including 110 Democrats. In the Senate, Democrat Paul Simon of Illinois declares, "I think we have a real chance of passing it." The last time the Senate even allowed a vote on the amendment was 1986, the year before George Mitchell's liberal Democratic faction took over.

We suppose it's healthy that the Members are feeling enough political pressure to do something, anything, about a runaway federal budget. Yet this Beltway groundswell has all the sincerity of a trial lawyers' convention. Mr. Simon, who ran for President as the only true New Deal heir in 1988, wants us to believe he's worried about federal spending.

Mr. Simon's political camouflage would allow Members to tell angry voters that they're really champions of fiscal probity because they support a "balanced budget." Yet it contains no restraint on the real problem, which is spending and taxes.

The Simon propaganda on the bill stresses "the deficit," never spending. He frets about "staggering deficits year after year," and "sending the bill to our grandchildren," but he can't find anything but defense spending to actually cut. Mr. Stenholm has a much better personal record on spending, but his amendment also lacks a tax-and-spend limitation.

The Simon-Stenholm approach would in effect create an automatic tax-increase mechanism. Every time the budget would go into deficit, Congress and the President would have to close the gap. The choices would be lower spending or higher taxes. But spending cuts never pass because the Members are in political hock to active, vociferous lobbies (such as public-employee unions).

Higher taxes may be unpopular, but a balanced-budget amendment would create a political "necessity"

that makes it easier for politicians to justify more new taxes. This has more or less been the experience in states that have balanced-budget laws. Just ask California's Republican Governor Pete Wilson, who had "no choice" but to sign a record tax hike in 1991.

By contrast, Republican Senator Robert Kasten of Wisconsin is offering a balanced-budget amendment that has real teeth. It'd require a three-fifths supermajority in Congress to deficit-spend. But it also requires a three-fifths vote to increase taxes above the rate of economic growth. In short, if voters had to tighten their belts in a recession, so would the federal government.

The Kasten amendment is supported by the various groups that care about the size of government, such as the American Farm Bureau Federation. President Bush has said that any balanced-budget amendment "should include safeguards against a resort to higher taxes," presumably of the Kasten sort. Because it's for real, Mr. Kasten's bill has only 16 Senate co-sponsors. Mr. Foley may not let a similar bill even get a vote in the House.

As we've argued here for nearly two decades, the deficit boom began with the Budget Act "reform" of 1974. Passed over a Watergate-weakened President, that bill stripped the executive of the impoundment power and made Congress's 535 logrollers the dominant budget force.

This is obvious from the cynical way Congress is now lobotomizing the \$7.9 billion in spending "rescissions" (cuts) that President Bush has proposed. Speaker Foley's Democrats have stripped them back to \$5.7 billion, and replaced many of Mr. Bush's proposals with their own cuts, which punish Members who've had the temerity to support rescissions. Republican Harris Fawell of Illinois has seen funding for the renowned Fermi National Laboratory in his district gutted. The status quo Congress punishes its heretics.

The solution is to make someone besides the logrollers accountable again. Our belief has been that the best way to do this is to put the President back into the process with a line-item veto. Maybe President Bush should propose a deal: He'll sign a phony balanced-budget amendment if Congress will pass a real item veto.

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Toward a Federal Afghanistan

By AMIN SAIKAL

As the fierce fighting of recent days has shown, Afghanistan is a highly fragmented, badly disjointed and murderously factionalized country. This has never been more so than it is today. Now that the communist government has been overthrown, the great question before the council of resistance leaders that took power in Kabul yesterday is how to unify a collection of tribes that have never been unified. That task has been made far harder by 13 years of war.

Afghanistan, where the state has traditionally been weak, is a country made up of numerous "microsocieties." Each draws its distinct identity from its location within Afghanistan's highly complex ethnic divisions, tribal cleavages and linguistic differences. The largest and most influential ethnic group has traditionally been the Pushtuns (generally called "Pathans" in Pakistan), who mostly populate the south and southeast. They are followed by the Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Alimaq, Nuristani and Kirghiz, who mainly live in other parts of the country. Each of these groups speaks its own language, though only two tongues, Pushtu and Dari (a dialect of Persian), have achieved national prominence.

These ethnic divisions are complicated by tribal cleavages. The Pushtuns, for example, fall into two large but historically hostile groupings, the Durrani and the Ghilzai, each of which is in turn subdivided into a plethora of subtribes, clans and families. Exacerbating the situation has been the gap between the city dwellers and country folk, as well as social distinctions that prevail among rural dwellers themselves.

All Afghans share the religion of Islam, which has served as both a binding and a dividing force. About 15% to 20% of the population belongs to the Shiite sect; the rest are Sunnis. Each of these broad categories, moreover, contains a range of influences. The Shites, for instance, are divided between those who see themselves as part of a broader Shiite world with close links to Iran, and those who see themselves as Afghans first and foremost.

No central authority has ever been able to achieve predominance over traditional and Islamic ways. In this century, no government has had much success in influencing significant numbers of people beyond the small ranks of urban intellectuals. Politics in the modern sense has had little impact on the actions or thinking of most Afghans.

Since the 1950s, while the vast preponderance of Afghan society hewed steadily to traditional ways, the members of the urban-based intelligentsia vied among themselves to determine the course of central Afghan politics. Successive governments from 1953 to 1973 toyed with ideas ranging from socialism to parliamentary democracy, but none proved able to formulate a culturally acceptable ideology of nation-building. Local leaders, meanwhile, remained as indifferent as ever to the doings of Kabul-based intellectuals, including the leading Islamists, who failed to cut across tribal cleavages to rouse mass support and generate a nationwide Islamic movement.

Such a movement was generated only after the communist seizure of the state and the Soviet invasion. The communists' ruthless efforts to erect a repressive Marxist-Leninist state outraged many city dwellers and joined the silent majority in the countryside to defend not only their ancient local ways, but wider national-Islamic values as well.

The war imposed on the Afghans by the communists wreaked havoc upon the very

social units whose peaceful interactions had made Afghanistan recognizable as a single state. The war has had a number of tragic results. First is demographics. It is extremely difficult to be exact about the extent of the losses, but detailed estimates indicate that during the first 10 years of the war about 1.24 million were killed and more than five million became refugees — over three million in Pakistan and about two million in Iran. These figures alone account for approximately 40% of the pre-war population. The upshot is that Afghanistan's microsocieties have lost some of their capacities for collective pride, social cohesion and economic self-sufficiency.

Second, the war also gave rise to a different set of references for defining local power. It is no longer enough to dispense patronage or mediate disputes. Powerholders now must also be able to provide physical security and food. Third, the crisis has schooled a generation of Afghans in the culture of violence. And fourth, the conflict has deepened longstanding tensions between the two main linguistic groups: the Pushtuns and the non-Pushtuns.

Given that a central authority is needed, what form should it take and how should it be established?

The United Nations proposes a general election. It must be noted, however, that Afghanistan bears little similarity to Cambodia and is in no way comparable to Namibia, two countries where U.N.-supervised transitions have been initiated in recent years. In addition to being deeply divided and war-ravaged, Afghanistan is an underdeveloped land with a high illiteracy rate. Moreover, it is saturated with arms and littered by some 30 million to 50 million mines. These conditions augur ill for attempts to bring about national reconciliation and majoritarian democracy.

A promising alternative to a majoritarian system may be "consociational" democracy. This model, as political scientist Arend Lijphart describes it, has four major components. First and most important is "government by a grand coalition of the political leaders of all significant segments of the plural society." Second is the "mutual veto," which serves as an "additional protection of vital minority interests." Third is "proportionality as the principal standard of political representation, civil service appointments, and allocation of public funds." And fourth is "a high degree of autonomy for each segment to run its own affairs."

Countries such as Austria, Switzerland and Colombia have had success with this model, while others (such as Cyprus and Lebanon) have met with failure. The Afghans could learn from the experiences of these states and modify some elements of the model, especially the principle of mutual veto, to ensure its success for them.

Some elements are already familiar in Afghanistan. For example, the traditional multiracial institution of the Loya Jirgah (Grand National Assembly) has long aided consensus-building; it could prove useful in helping to create a government underwritten by a grand coalition of important resistance leaders. Moreover, the Afghans have had some familiarity with the model's element of "proportional" representation, which was informally practiced in the employment of Dari speakers and Pushtu speakers in the pre-1976 civil service as well as in the composition of the pre-1973 Meshrano Jirgah, the upper house of Parliament.

Furthermore, for the system to work effectively, those who would lead Afghanistan must commit themselves to a conception of nation-building that reflects the Islamic principles of consultation, consensus, interpretation, and the common good. They must also possess mediation skills of a high order, and avoid becoming too closely identified with narrow or sectional interests.

It remains unclear whether the 50-member interim council of resistance leaders that took power in Kabul yesterday is capable of creating a "consociational" government. Even as the council met, fighting raged outside, and one of the most radical and ambitious resistance leaders, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, refused to join the coalition government.

One thing, however, remains all too clear: The longer the conflict goes on, the more likely it becomes that Afghanistan will be fractured further along ethnic and tribal lines. Given Afghanistan's extensive ethnic ties with all its neighbors and the growing rivalries among the latter (especially Iran and Pakistan), no Afghan splinter entity should have much trouble finding a regional power to act as its patron. If a consociational settlement is not reached, then Afghanistan will most likely remain mired in bloodshed, and will continue to be a major source of regional instability in the post-Cold War era.

Mr. Saikal, a professor of political science at Australian National University, is a visiting fellow at Princeton. A native Afghani, he is the author of "Regime Change in Afghanistan" (Westview, 1991). This article is adapted from the April issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

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U.S. Economy Seems In a True Turnaround, Unlike Last Spring

First Quarter's 2% Growth
Was Best Since Early '89;
Consumer Spending Rose
But Auto Sales Still Sputter

By RICK WARTZMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
It's springtime, and for the second consecutive year, many economists see a solid recovery at hand. But given last year's false start, should anybody believe them?

Yesterday's report that the economy grew at a 2% rate in the first quarter suggests the short answer is: Yes.

That 2% growth may not seem like much, especially considering it is less than half the rate coming out of previous recessions. But it is the best since the 1989 first quarter, when Mr. Bush took office. Moreover, the details of yesterday's reports revealed even better news. Consumer spending, which was flat in the fourth quarter, grew at a strong 5.3% annual rate in the January-to-March period. And in a portent of better things to come, businesses reduced inventories by \$26 billion to meet consumer demand. That suggests businesses will soon have to raise production and hiring just to restock their shelves. (See article on page A2.)

Barometric Boxes

There are other reasons to think the economy will continue to grow this year, even if at a sluggish pace. Lower interest rates, less scary debt loads for consumers and businesses, higher corporate profits and a healthier financial sector all give an incipient recovery a much better shot at staying alive than it had a year ago.

"Do we have a recovery? Yes. Could it fizzle? Yes. Will it? Probably not," says Richard Syron, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston. The recovery "smells different" this time, adds Kenneth Butterworth, chairman of Loctite Corp., a Hartford, Conn., specialty-chemicals concern, which last week reported a 24% surge in first-quarter earnings on broadly higher sales. "It seems more substantial," Mr. Butterworth says.

At the Federal Reserve, officials take hope from other, more obscure, indicators. The note, for instance, that corrugated-box sales have picked up so much this year that the industry plans to try to push through a price increase next month, its second since last fall. "Demand is very strong," says Bill Klatsie, vice president of corporate marketing at Stone Container Corp., where corrugated-box sales rose 8% in the first quarter. "That's usually a good indication that companies are manufacturing more products" — products that are shipped in those boxes.

Lagging Sectors

Still, the economy continues to lumber forward, almost as if moving in slow motion. In some key areas, signs of strength have failed to show up. Car sales remain disappointing. Commercial real estate isn't showing any life. Export growth, which helped cushion the economy in past months, is likely to fall off as the Japanese and German economies falter. And some parts of the country, especially regions heavily dependent on defense spending, are facing an especially rough road ahead. Most forecasters expect the economy to grow so slowly that unemployment will remain high for most of this year.

"I see a lot of uncertainty out there," says David Hodgkin, president of the California Small Business Association, noting that some members of his group are still worried about going under. "It has been too long a dry spell for them."

Just yesterday, the Commerce Department said sales of newly built homes dropped at a surprisingly steep 14.8% an-

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Just yesterday, the Commerce Department said sales of newly built homes dropped at a surprisingly steep 14.8% annual rate in March. But an industry tally of sales of existing homes shot up 12.5% last month, so the department's figures may not be accurately gauging the strength of the housing market. During the first three months of the year, 43% more new housing units were started than in the 1991 first quarter, when the Persian Gulf War depressed the whole U.S. economy.

The upshot appears to be that some economic sectors that never really caught fire last year are now starting to smolder.

"We kept hearing the recession was ending last spring, but we didn't see any symptoms of that," says Robert Grow, the president of Geneva Steel, of Vineyard, Utah. "Now, volume has increased rather dramatically," he adds, citing reports that steel-industry production and shipments are up from a year ago. He frets that prices are still depressed, but he is hopeful that they will pick up soon. "Price increases are preceded by volume increases," he notes.

As various markets emerge from their slumber, consumer confidence also is improving. The Conference Board, which alarmed Wall Street a few months ago with a pessimistic snapshot of consumer confidence, said yesterday that confidence, though still below year-ago levels, is up sharply this month. Consumers "are markedly more optimistic than they have been since last autumn," the business-backed research group said.

Moreover, the recent improvement in sentiment seems to reflect economic fundamentals, unlike the spike in confidence a year ago, when the victory over Iraq unleashed a short-lived euphoria. After the war, "we confused the fact that some people had stopped watching CNN and had finally gone out and bought something" with a true revival of morale, says Ken Lewis, who oversees consumer and com-

Please Turn to Page A12, Column 1

Continued From First Page

mercial lending for NationsBank Corp., the superregional bank based in Charlotte, N.C. Rather than a sudden spurt in activity, he discerns "a steady building" of loan demand during the past six weeks as borrowers' prospects brighten.

The economy is also providing a pleasant surprise for some hard-hit state governments. "I think we're seeing a turn," says Kay Bailey Hutchison, the treasurer of Texas, where revenue in March exceeded estimates by a modest \$130 million. "The banking industry is reporting positive earnings, tourism bookings are up, and jobs are being created. I don't think it's going to be a boom, but I don't think we're going to see any setbacks, either."

In Florida, revenue collections in February and March topped expectations, and nonfarm employment grew in the first quarter for the first time in nearly two years. Frank Williams, senior economist for the legislature, says that although he isn't expecting robust growth, he now is confident "we aren't going to have another dip." In Michigan, March revenue rose 4.8% from last year, a jump so large "it surprised" Doug Roberts, the state treasurer. He cites several reasons for the increase, including "a resurgence in consumer spending" that lifted sales-tax receipts.

Federal Tax Receipts

And at the federal level, the Treasury reported last week that total tax receipts rose to \$64.7 billion in March from \$56.51 billion a year earlier.

As fragile as the recovery remains, its basic underpinnings have clearly grown sturdier. Consumers, for instance, have significantly slowed their accumulation of debt. In 1991, household debt grew \$160 billion — 38% below the previous year's increase, and the smallest rise since the early 1980s. Business debt likewise rose only \$3.2 billion last year, compared with \$97.3 billion in 1990; that helped shore up corporate balance sheets.

At the same time, interest rates are down sharply from a year ago. The prime rate — to which many business and auto loans are tied, as well as some consumer financing — has plummeted to 6.5% from 9% in April 1991. Short-term interest rates have dropped most precipitously, helping people with adjustable-rate mortgages.

The result is that both consumers and businesses are free to spend more.

Ashland Oil Inc., for instance, is refinancing about \$100 million in debt this year, providing it with an additional \$3 million in cash flow that it will use to pay for environmental cleanup work. And J.C. Penney Co., the Dallas-based retailer, has taken the money it saved from refinancing and used it, among other things, to increase its advertising budget.

Roger and Mary Lyons of Silver Spring, Md., have refinanced their mortgage and cut monthly payments by \$500 — money they plan to spend on vacations. And Richard Gassner, a tax planner in Portland, Ore., cut his mortgage rate to 8.5% from about 10% and, in the process, tapped some \$20,000 in cash. He plans to use some of that money to spruce up his house.

It is such heightened spending, repeated millions of times, that would spur the recovery to the point where it could feed on itself — where sales increases would spur more production, which, in turn, would lift

the wages of workers, who then would be able to consume even more. Such an upward spiral would ensure that this recovery isn't ephemeral.

Richard Peach, an economist at the Mortgage Bankers Association, calculates that before putting homes up for sale, owners typically spend about 1% of the sales price to get the property ready. Then, after moving in, home buyers make additional expenditures of about 2% of the purchase price to improve the place.

Despite the decline in short-term interest rates, economists are troubled because long-term rates remain stubbornly high. Some even fear that long rates may creep higher again.

Hesitant Business People

And many business people simply want more proof that the recovery will persist before they commit to new spending. Pete Dieman, vice president of sales at Gloucester Co., a Massachusetts maker of adhesives and sealants, says his company is experiencing "an upswing" because of the stronger housing market and is considering enlarging its plant. But, he adds, "We don't dare take that step yet. We want to see six months of better growth first."

Nevertheless, even long-term rates have fallen enough in the past year to induce some businesses to borrow and spend more. The Manufacturers' Alliance for Productivity and Innovation, a Washington research group, found that roughly a quarter of the 131 financial officers it surveyed last month considered long-term rates low enough to make "significant additional investment projects feasible."

It may be months before this activity brings lasting declines in the unemployment rate, now at 7.3% of the work force. Employers typically hesitate to step up hiring early in a recovery, and people who have withdrawn from the job market start

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WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

Former HUD Official Dean Is Indicted On Bribery and False Statement Charges

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Former HUD official Deborah Gore Dean was indicted on charges of accepting a \$4,000 bribe and submitting false statements to a Senate committee.

Ms. Dean was executive assistant to then-housing secretary Samuel Pierce from 1984 to 1987. A bulky file of her letters to developers and political consultants and her memos to Mr. Pierce attracted considerable attention when they became public as a result of a 1989 House investigation of influence-peddling at the Housing and Urban Development department during the Reagan administration.

Yesterday's indictment by a federal grand jury alleges that Ms. Dean accepted a \$4,000 check in April 1987 from an unidentified "private individual" in exchange for "official acts" concerning allocation of funds under the department's Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation Program—a rent-subsidy program aimed at rehabilitating low-income housing. A spokesman for independent counsel Arlin Adams, who is conducting the investigation, declined to name the person.

At a news conference late yesterday, Ms. Dean said the transaction had nothing to do with HUD and she also refused to name the person. But she added that it was a "close personal friend" and indicated it was a man.

"It's not at all what they think it is," Ms. Dean said. "I did nothing for which I am ashamed or that was wrong."

Ms. Dean declined to testify before the House committee that investigated the HUD scandals. Yesterday, she denounced prosecutors for making "astounding allegations" before the grand jury, including "that I might have undertaken criminal

activity in order to finance a drug addiction — which absolutely is an outrage." She also said that she was asked to testify against Mr. Pierce. "and I will not do that."

In addition, the indictment charges Ms. Dean with falsely submitting to the Senate Banking Committee a statement that she had "no investments, obligations, liabilities or other relationships" that "might involve potential conflicts of interest." The statement was made in June 1989, when she was nominated for the post of Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development. According to the indictment, Ms. Dean's claim that she had no conflict of interest was false in light of the \$4,000 transaction. Ms. Dean wasn't confirmed by the Senate, and she soon departed the agency to become a consultant to Mr. Pierce. She currently operates an antique store in Washington, D.C.

If convicted on both counts, Ms. Dean faces a maximum sentence of seven years in prison and a \$500,000 fine.

House Members Rush to Comply With Check Inquiry

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Resistance in the House to a special counsel's subpoenas of its bank records all but collapsed, as Republican leaders called for full compliance and rank-and-file Democrats appeared ready to follow suit.

Minority Leader Robert Michel of Illinois, who had earlier expressed serious reservations about the scope of the subpoenas, said he now favors turning over the records. And despite misgivings, lawmakers are fearful of taking any public stand that can be portrayed as covering up potential wrongdoing.

House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez lashed out at the special counsel, Malcolm Wilkey, as an "unscrupulous opportunist," but few others were as outspoken as the irascible Texas Democrat. "Send down everything, I don't care," said Rep. Ralph Regula (R., Ohio). "If you withhold anything, people will think Congress is protecting its own."

The subpoenas at issue cover all financial transactions at the now defunct House Bank over a 39-month period previously reviewed by the General Accounting Office and the House Ethics Committee. The records in fact include far more than the hundreds of overdrafts for which lawmakers have already been criticized, and would give the counsel extraordinary access to the personal finances of members of Congress.

Mr. Wilkey, a retired federal judge with political ties to the Nixon and Reagan administrations, has combined his requests with an often aggressive style, drawing comparisons between the House Bank and the Bank of Credit & Commerce International scandal and suggesting any resistance by Congress would be based more on privilege than law.

Utah Rep. James Hansen, the ranking Republican on the ethics panel, defended Mr. Wilkey's requests as reasonable. But the political tone set by the former judge and ambassador has irritated Republicans and Democrats alike.

Among Democrats, House Speaker Thomas Foley continued yesterday to express concern about the subpoenas, but there appears to be no chance of organized resistance when a vote comes. This could be as early as today, after both parties caucus. In different ways, the incident illustrates the precarious position of leaders in both parties as they try to balance their institutional responsibilities against their political reliance on a skittish rank and file.

After talking to voters at home about the bank issue, the prevailing mood is such that lawmakers fear any confrontation that will again put them in a bad light. Mr. Michel, who made his comments after meeting with his party leadership, favors moving quickly. And in an apparent effort

to sidestep the constitutional questions raised by the subpoenas, the Illinois Republican suggested if the House acted voluntarily first, it could avoid any precedents that would haunt it in the future.

In explaining their decision, Republican leaders said the House had already set itself on this course when it voted last month to disclose the names of all those who had overdrafts at the bank. But for many members, the microfilm and microfiche records that would be turned over are more detailed than what had been available to them as the bank's clients. This could lead to a situation in which Mr. Wilkey will have more information than lawmakers themselves, and Mr. Michel said that every effort should be made to provide members with copies of all records on their accounts that will be provided to the counsel.

Whatever potential criminal violations Mr. Wilkey finds, the existing evidence of large overdrafts in excess of \$10,000 raises questions of whether these should be reported as loans in the annual disclosure forms filed each spring by members. Mr. Hansen also emphasized this point as a decision that still must be made by the ethics panel. As part of any resolution turning over the bank records, Mr. Michel said, the committee should be instructed to make a ruling on this matter before mid-May.

Congressman Questions Actions Of Bush Adviser

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — A Democratic congressman complained that President Bush's national security adviser advocated granting Iraq grain credits that were handled in part by a bank for which he once was a consultant.

The statements by Rep. Henry Gonzalez of Texas, chairman of the House Banking Committee, was the latest in a series of efforts by him to focus attention on White House efforts to aid Iraq in the years before it invaded Kuwait in 1990. In several House speeches in recent weeks, Rep. Gonzalez has disclosed documents chronicling administration efforts to build influence and friendship with Iraq in an effort to moderate its behavior.

In a House speech yesterday, Rep. Gonzalez asserted that national security adviser Brent Scowcroft advocated in 1989 and 1990 allocating \$1 billion in Commodity Credit Corp. loan guarantees to Iraq to buy American grain. At the time, the administration was debating whether to continue granting credits to Iraq amid assertions that Iraq wasn't credit-worthy and might be misusing the food aid.

Ultimately, the administration decided to allocate the \$1 billion in loan guarantees, but to release only \$500 million of them pending further review. The second half of the credits wasn't ever released because of growing unhappiness over Iraq's behavior in the months before it invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

More than \$800 million in loan guarantees granted to Iraq in previous years had been used to back loans made by Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, an Italian bank. Employees of the bank's Atlanta branch have been charged with making illegal and unreported loans to Iraq, and the branch manager is to go on trial next month.

Rep. Gonzalez complained, as he has in the past, that BNL was a client of Kissinger Associates, the international consulting firm where Mr. Scowcroft was employed before becoming President Bush's national security adviser. The congressman said Mr. Scowcroft briefed the bank's board three times when he worked there.

The White House dismissed Rep. Gonzalez's complaints. "The accusations that were made against Gen. Scowcroft are simply groundless," said Walter Kansteiner, a spokesman for the NSC. Administration officials asserted that, in his role as coordinator of the interagency debate about issues such as the Commodity Credit Corp. credits, Mr. Scowcroft didn't push his own opinion on whether to grant the loan guarantees.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND



EASTERN EDITION

German President, on Mission to U.S., Will Promote Bonn as Ally, Mediator

By FREDERICK KEMPE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
BONN—German President Richard von Weizsäcker this week will try to calm American fears about a more assertive and volatile Germany—and convince the U.S. that it has no better ally.

"We are, in my view, a quite valuable and irreplaceable partner," Mr. Weizsäcker said in an interview before his departure for Washington.

Tomorrow he will be the first head of state from a unified Germany to address a joint session of Congress. In the wake of this week's resignation by Germany's long-serving foreign minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, Congress will be listening closely to Mr. Weizsäcker for hints about his country's direction.



Richard von Weizsäcker

The German president said his was the only country in such a strong position to help Washington achieve three of its primary global aims: maintaining the North Atlantic alliance, stopping nuclear proliferation and stabilizing the region of the former Soviet Union, for which Germany is by far the largest supplier of aid.

Mittellage

Yet he also spelled out an important new role for Germany as the reassuring middle man between an America wary that European unity might hurt some of its interests, and countries such as France who want Washington's influence in Europe significantly reduced. Mr. Weizsäcker described this as Germany's new *Mittellage*, or middle position, referring to his country's traditional role as the powerhouse at Europe's troubled center, a status that historically has bred destabilizing nationalism.

"We the Germans are particularly interested in European unity because we want to be forever freed from the continental middle position," he said. But a position between Europe and America "is a *Mittellage* that the Germans can and must shoulder. It isn't a middle position that leads to nationalism but rather one that builds up a partnership across the Atlantic and builds up a European union."

He added: "Some of the French still try to drag us in a boat for European policies excluding the Americans. That doesn't make sense, and the Germans will never follow this kind of advice. On the other hand, I think it would contribute to the partnership between America and Germany if the Americans wouldn't oppose the German desire for a positive process of European integration."

Assuming Mediator's Role

The idea of Germany acting as a broker between Europe and the U.S. might be an uncomfortable one for many Europeans,

but that has increasingly been Bonn's position in recent weeks. German efforts to mediate range from its intensive lobbying to draw former Soviet bloc countries closer to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, against the opposition of several European countries, to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's attempts to gain a European compromise on farm subsidies that would allow stalled world trade talks to conclude.

Coming from Mr. Weizsäcker, this call for such a central German role is more acceptable than it might be coming from other German politicians. He has gained a reputation as the voice of Germany's conscience who sounds off whenever he sees his country's political leaders going astray. Although his job is largely ceremonial, he maneuvers deftly in the political background and has often influenced major policy decisions. His most memorable intervention came in 1985, after Mr. Kohl's controversial visit with President Reagan to the Bitburg military cemetery, where senior Nazi SS officers are buried.

Address to Parliament

Before a hushed parliament, he said, "No discerning person can expect [Germans] to wear a penitential robe simply because they are Germans. But their forefathers have left them a grave legacy. All of us, guilty or not, young or old, must accept the past. We are all affected by the consequences and liable for it."

Those were strong words from a president who marched with the first Nazi troops into Poland as a 25-year-old Wehrmacht captain and then later unsuccessfully defended his father as a lawyer before the Nuremberg war crimes trials. His father was granted amnesty after a 14-year sentence and died a short time later.

Mr. Weizsäcker doesn't fear that the recent gains by Germany's right-wing parties in two state parliaments suggest the rise of a new radical nationalism. He also doesn't believe that Germans' misgivings about giving up their strong mark for an untested European currency as early as 1997 reflect general opposition to the idea of a unified Europe. Rather, he blames a lack of leadership by Germany's major parties in response to economic fears growing out of the spiraling costs of German unification. He wants politicians to reassure Germans that European monetary policy will be identical to the current German approach.

Officials close to Mr. Weizsäcker suggest he favors closer cooperation between Germany's two leading parties, the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats, to help the country emerge from what Bonn officials refer to as a "government crisis." One chancellor official said the president would support the idea of a "grand coalition" to bring those two parties together with the government's junior coalition partner, the Free Democrats, and end the longstanding legislative impasses on issues such as the financing of unification and the debate over changing the constitution to allow German troops to participate in United Nations or European-sponsored military missions.

Economy Rose in Quarter, Led by Consumer Spending

Advance Estimates Put Gain At an Annual Rate of 2.7%; Confidence Index Jumps

By LUCINDA HARPER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Economic activity picked up in the first quarter, rising at an annual rate of 2.7%, according to advance estimates from the Commerce Department.

The growth in gross domestic product, following a fourth quarter that was nearly stagnant, was driven mainly by consumers, who boosted their spending by a hefty 5.3% annual rate between January and March after nearly flat outlays in the quarter before.

The renewed spirit of the consumer was also reflected in the Conference Board's measure of consumer confidence, which jumped eight points in April to 64.8 on a scale of 100—its highest point in seven months. The index has gained 17 points in the past two months but, "while consumers are increasingly hopeful about the future, they remain uneasy with the present situation," said Fabian Linden, executive director of the Conference Board's Consumer Research Center.

"An increasing number of positive factors appear in the current picture and on the horizon, so we are more confident now that the economic recovery will carry forward," said J. Antonio Villamil, the Commerce Department's chief economist. Aside from consumer spending, foreign trade, residential investment and increased government purchases also helped the economy grow.

Business inventories fell \$26.1 billion, which detracted from first-quarter GDP—goods and services produced in the U.S. But economists said the drop was a positive sign for future growth, as demand picks up and businesses must increase production to restock their shelves.

Analysts cautioned, however, that the upsurge in consumer expenditures seen in the government's figures probably won't be sustained at its present pace.

"Large increases in government transfer payments and tax refunds along with mild winter weather gave spending a boost" in the first quarter, said Mellon Bank chief economist Norman Robertson. Rising transfer payments included Social Security and unemployment compensation.

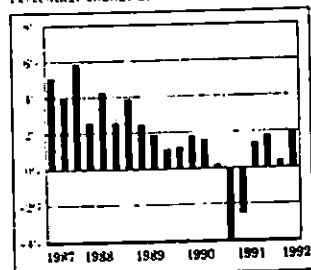
However, the high unemployment rate—7.3% of the work force in March—is likely to restrain future spending, Mr. Robertson said.

Indeed, while Michael Boskin, the chief economic adviser at the White House, said the Bush administration was encouraged by the "pattern of growth," it is looking for even stronger growth "so that we get enough new jobs so that unemployment comes down and comes down substantially."

President Bush said "there are some areas that are still hurting, but clearly, this is a good sign and there are a lot of other good signs and I think most people

Real GDP

Percentage change at annual rate



that I talk to... do feel that things are getting better."

The GDP figures will be revised twice in the coming months, but analysts said the overall picture isn't likely to change.

In another report, the Commerce Department said new-home sales fell 14.5% in March to an annual rate of 513,000—the sharpest drop in 10 years. The February figure was revised downward 1.5% to 602,000. The home-sales number is often revised substantially.

"We were pretty sure we weren't on a raging housing upswing," said David Seiders, chief economist for the National Association of Home Builders. "But this was not the signal we wanted."

Economists blamed the decline partly on the mild weather in January and February, which made March home sales worse by contrast. Also, in February, many consumers were hoping that Congress would pass a tax credit for first-time home buyers, which it failed to do.

In other economic news:

—The fixed-weight price index for gross domestic purchases—everything bought in the U.S., including imports—rose at a moderate annual rate of 2.7% in the first quarter, compared with 2.2% in the last quarter of 1991, the Commerce Department said. Most of the step-up was due to a federal pay raise, which represents an increase in prices paid by the government for employee services.

—In another indication that inflation is under control, the Labor Department said workers' wages, salaries and benefits rose 0.9% in the first quarter—the same as in the final quarter of 1991. Benefits costs rose 1.3%, following a 1.2% increase in the fourth quarter, their slowest quarterly rise since 1987.

—And in a revision of a previous report, the Commerce Department said after-tax corporate profits sagged 4.6% to \$306.6 billion last year, the third consecutive annual decline. For the fourth quarter, profits ran at an annual rate of \$315.6 billion.

All figures have been adjusted for normal seasonal variations.

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT			
Here are some of the major components of the gross domestic product expressed in seasonally adjusted annual rates in billions of constant 1987 dollars			
	1st Qtr. 1992	4th Qtr. 1991	
GDP	4,911.9	4,842.8	
less: inventory chng.	-26.1	7.8	
equals: final sales	4,918.0	4,850.3	
Components of Final Sales			
Personal Consumption	3,312.8	3,271.1	
Nonresidential Invest.	523.7	525.6	
Residential Invest.	186.5	181.7	
Net Exports	-17.8	-21.3	
Gov't Purchases	729.8	722.3	

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EASTERN EDITION

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

Clinton Scores Major Victory In Pennsylvania

Democrat Seems to Be Short Just 600 Delegates; Bush Says GOP Race Is Over

By DAVID SHIRMAN
And JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

PHILADELPHIA — Gov. Bill Clinton won a big victory in the Pennsylvania primary, removing the last doubts that he would be the Democratic presidential nominee.

In the Republican race, President Bush claimed that his margin in yesterday's primary clinched the GOP presidential nomination. Mr. Bush racked up about a 3-to-1 win over his challenger, conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan, who has yet to win a state primary or caucus.

At the same time, a political newcomer, Lynn Yeakel, pulled off a come-from-behind victory in the Democratic senatorial primary. Ms. Yeakel will face two-term GOP Sen. Arlen Specter in November, in a race that will revolve largely around women's issues and Mr. Specter's comportment during the Supreme Court confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas.

Yeakel Leading

Ms. Yeakel, who was leading Lt. Gov. Mark Singel 46% to 32% with about half of the votes counted, used as the centerpiece of her campaign Sen. Specter's questioning of Anita Hill, the University of Oklahoma law professor who accused Judge Thomas of sexual harassment. The 50-year-old Ms. Yeakel, the daughter of a former congressman, is president of Women's Way, a coalition of organizations that raises money to help women and families by funding shelters for people who have been abused, job-training programs and health care.

In the GOP senatorial primary, Mr. Specter easily beat back the challenge of state Rep. Stephen Freind, the author of the Pennsylvania abortion restrictions now before the Supreme Court. Now Mr. Specter has to face not only the anti-incumbent mood sweeping the country, but the prospect that his opponent, building on the Thomas hearings, will be well-financed.

Mr. Clinton's 2-to-1 margin over former Gov. Jerry Brown of California puts him at about 1,500 delegates, only about 600 short of a majority, with 14 states yet to select delegates. Mr. Brown, his only active challenger, didn't win the attention or support he found only three weeks ago in nearby New York and has slightly more than 300 delegates. Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas, who has suspended his campaign, still managed to win about 13% of yesterday's vote. Turnout was noticeably below the level in the 1988 primary.

Brown to Continue

Early yesterday, Mr. Brown indicated that he wouldn't give up the struggle. He planned a full day of campaigning in Indiana today, which, along with North Carolina and the District of Columbia, holds its primary next Tuesday.

But Democratic leaders, who with union leaders increasingly are coming into the Clinton fold, now acknowledge that the Arkansas governor's nomination is, in the words of Ginny Terzano, spokeswoman for party Chairman Ronald Brown, a "mathematical certainty." But the chairman also said that the decision about whether to continue the struggle is Jerry Brown's alone.

"If there were any lingering doubt—both about Clinton and Brown—then this ends it," said John Sasso, the Democratic political consultant who plotted Michael Dukakis's route to the 1988 nomination. Referring to Mr. Clinton's showing among traditional Democratic groups—such as union members, manufacturing workers, and older voters—Mr. Sasso said the governor "seems to be increasingly attracting the kinds of voters he'll need for a general election."

Yesterday's primary victory in Pennsylvania was a rebuff to Democratic Gov. Robert Casey, who expressed doubts about Mr. Clinton and has worked for an "open convention" that presumably would turn to someone other than Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Clinton, who has been on the defensive about character issues throughout the campaign, has failed to emerge with the strength that Democratic leaders had

hoped their nominee would have, particularly in light of the weakness of President Bush. The political outlook is clouded, moreover, by the presence of Ross Perot, the Texas billionaire who is inching toward an independent presidential campaign.

"The larger questions remain about the whole race," said Paul Maslin, a Democratic political consultant. "They all look weak, but they look pretty close. We're in this funny situation where nobody likes the choices, and Ross Perot looks wonderful." Now that Mr. Clinton has passed into the final phase of the primary season, campaign aides say he will be emphasizing his message of change and portraying the dozen years under Presidents Reagan and Bush as a failure, using the words "greed," "selfishness" and "neglect."

The campaign will emphasize that the governor has solutions to American problems—education and health care, especially AIDS—and will, as campaign aides put it, "challenge America," telling voters: "No more something-for-nothing."

The principal immediate advantage of the governor's win is that he will be freed to raise more money and to prepare for the final round of contests on June 2. "California, Ohio and New Jersey are very expensive," said Frank Greer, a top Clinton adviser.

Today Mr. Clinton meets with members of Congress, partly to announce some important endorsements and partly to attempt to allay fears that many party leaders still have about the Arkansas governor—a notion that the Clinton campaign attempts to play down.

"We ran a strong positive campaign based on change," Mr. Clinton said in a victory statement last night. "I got back to what drove me into this campaign last October. I talked to the people about their problems and their futures."

The Yeakel victory was good news for Mr. Clinton—who hailed her last evening—because he could benefit from the increased number of women voters attracted by her uphill struggle against Mr. Specter, who has long been a prominent figure in Pennsylvania politics. Other incumbents were facing trouble last night, including Democratic Rep. Joseph Kolter of western Pennsylvania.

President Bush declared his primary campaign over, although his spokesman acknowledged that the Bush campaign delegate count includes uncontested delegates he hasn't won yet. In remarks to volunteers at his Washington headquarters, Mr. Bush said, "if things go about the way we expect tonight, we'll have that magic number of 1,105, and that is a very good one."

Despite White House victory claims, Mr. Buchanan said he would press on. "Tell him we'll see him in California," Mr. Buchanan said of Mr. Bush. "Tell him Buchanan can't count."

Mr. Bush suggested a weariness with the campaign, saying, "I know it seems like forever... it has been a long, long election year" even though he is ending one phase of it early. His spokesman, Marilyn Fitzwater, said the estimate of 1,114 delegates includes not only the 63 delegates he is expected to pick up from Pennsylvania but 34 uncontested delegates from Maine and Wyoming, which hold party caucuses Friday.

Although Mr. Bush told his supporters he would be concentrating his energies on an array of domestic policy proposals and not the general election campaign, his actions suggest otherwise. His regular briefing with Republican congressional leaders at the White House, for example, included a long analysis of the possibilities of Mr. Perot's insurgent campaign.

"I've learned a lot in this campaign," Mr. Bush said at a GOP fund-raising dinner last evening. "I know better than I did the depth of the cares and concerns of those who chose to support us and those who didn't."

Genscher's Party Pulls Quick Switch On His Successor

By TIMOTHY AEPPEL

BONN — In a sign of the political turbulence swirling through Germany, Hans Dietrich Genscher's first proposed successor as foreign minister lasted less than a day as the heir apparent.

After a rebellion within Mr. Genscher's party, the tiny Free Democrats, the nomination of fellow Free Democrat Irmgard Schwaetzer was hastily withdrawn late yesterday. She had been nominated just a day earlier, in the wake of Mr. Genscher's unexpected announcement that he would resign next month after 15 years as foreign minister.

Instead, the party endorsed 55-year-old Justice Minister Klaus Kinkel. The Free Democrats, the junior partner in Bonn's ruling coalition, traditionally control the Foreign Ministry and many had thought the issue was settled in favor of Ms. Schwaetzer.

But these days, very little seems settled in Bonn. A crippling strike by public workers, a serious economic downturn, and the slumping political fortunes of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who heads the Christian Democrats, have combined to create uncertainty about the coalition's future. Some insist Mr. Genscher left his post to avoid tarnishing his image in a failing government. At the least, Mr. Genscher's departure set off speculation that a broader cabinet shakeup is in the works.

Whoever gets the job, it's almost certain to be an interim solution. Mr. Genscher had great influence within the government by virtue of his popularity and long years of successful management of foreign affairs. His successor, meanwhile, faces a long list of unresolved foreign policy issues and will have considerably less power than Mr. Genscher to strike an independent pose within the government. No successor for Mr. Kinkel's Justice Ministry post has been chosen yet.

The last-minute twist on Mr. Genscher's successor also raises questions about the future of the Free Democrats. The tiny party has always wielded more power than its size implies because of its kingmaker role in forming the governing coalition. But by rejecting the party leadership's decision to nominate Ms. Schwaetzer, the party's rank and file has created an image of disarray that could hurt the party in the eyes of voters, the last thing it needs at a time when its most popular figure, Mr. Genscher, is retiring.

The dispute also raises questions about the future of Otto von Lambsdorff, the party's leader. Mr. Lambsdorff was planning to retire next year, but analysts say he may have to step down sooner as a result of the flap over Ms. Schwaetzer.

Prospects Dim for Proposal On Retroactive Write-Offs

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON — A new cost estimate has clouded prospects for legislation to let businesses retroactively write off some assets acquired in past takeovers.

The new congressional figures, which show the measure would cost the Treasury \$3.2 billion over six years, were disclosed by Chairman Lloyd Bentsen at a hearing yesterday of the Senate Finance Committee. Sen. Bentsen joined with administration officials in criticizing the retroactive tax provision as a potential "windfall" for some large corporations.

The Texas Democrat's hostile comments about the issue peppered the hearing on the broader question of permitting businesses to amortize "intangible" assets, such as customer lists and what's known in tax accounting as goodwill.

The Democratic tax-cut package that President Bush vetoed earlier this year included provisions creating both a 14-year amortization period for future purchases of intangible assets, and a retroactive 17-year write-off for those acquired in past years. Congress is expected to reconsider a limited tax bill later this year, and the issue of intangible assets could arise.

Previously, the intangible-assets proposal was estimated to have no impact on the federal deficit. The new finding by Congress's Joint Committee on Taxation puts the cost of the retroactive legislation at \$3.2 billion through fiscal 1997.

Royce Laboratories Inc.

FDA Action on Piroxicam Spurs Lawsuits Against Firm

Royce Laboratories Inc. said several shareholder lawsuits have been filed against the company in the wake of the Food and Drug Administration's rejection of a drug application.

The FDA last week ruled against the company's application to market piroxicam, the generic equivalent of a popular arthritis drug. Royce said the federal agency cited "a number of discrepancies and inconsistencies associated with manufacturing and testing records" in the company's application.

Royce, a Miami maker of prescription and generic drugs, said the lawsuits appear to allege that the company and its officers knew or should have known that the application for piroxicam would be rejected. The company denied the allegations, saying the suits are without merit and that Royce intends to vigorously contest them.

Bush, Clinton and Yeakel Win Pennsylvania Primaries

PENNSYLVANIA, From A1

once contained some good news for the Arkansas governor.

The poll found that 61 percent of Pennsylvania Democrats said Clinton had the "honesty and integrity" to make a good president. That was up from 49 percent among the voters polled for the April 7 New York primary. For Clinton campaign workers, improving their candidate's image had been almost as important as winning the primary.

"This is testimony to the fact you can run a positive campaign and keep it on the issues," Clinton said last night, speaking to a small crowd of reporters in an airplane hangar in Boston. "This was a campaign rooted in the needs and problems of the people of Pennsylvania."

Clinton, seeming relaxed, and even relieved, said he was making progress in battling to improve his image, but acknowledged it would be a long fight. "I think it's going in the right direction," he said of his integrity rating. "Rome wasn't built in a day."

Yeakel's victory marked the second triumph this year by a woman drawn to seek a Senate seat after the confrontation between Thomas and Anita F. Hill, a law professor who charged him with sexual harassment. Like Carol Moseley Braun, who ousted Sen. Alan J. Dixon March 17 in the Illinois Democratic primary, Yeakel built her victory over Lt. Gov. Mark Singel with strong support among women.

According to exit polls, Yeakel won 52 percent of the women's vote, and 41 percent of the male vote to defeat Singel. With 81 percent of the precincts reported, Yeakel had 44 percent of the vote to 32 percent for Singel, with the balance of the vote scattered among other candidates.

She will face Specter, who became an instant target of feminist groups for his sharp questioning of Hill during Thomas's Senate confirmation hearings. Specter, a supporter of abortion rights, defeated state Rep. Steve F. Freind, a strong foe of abortion, by about 2 to 1.

In the congressional primaries, four of 23 members of the state's House delegation were retiring and seven faced primary opposition. Pennsylvania is losing two seats in redistricting.

Kolter was in third place in a four-way contest that former television newsman Ron Klink led handily with 40 percent of the vote. With 87 percent of the precincts counted, Kolter had 21 percent. Kolter had called himself a "political whore" in a conversation that was tape-recorded and leaked to reporters.

Murphy, in a five-way primary in a redrawn district, trailed Frank Mascara, a county commissioner, 35 to 34 percent, with 78 percent of the vote counted.

Another Democrat, Rep. Lucian Blackwell, beat back a challenge



Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton stretches his legs after morning jog in Philadelphia.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

UNOFFICIAL RESULTS

Candidate	Votes	% Delg.
DEMOCRATS 90% of precincts		
Brown	288,281	26 50
Clinton	631,060	56 112
Tsongas	140,426	13 7
REPUBLICANS 93% of precincts		
Buchanan	205,900	23 0
Bush	677,774	77 72

SOURCE: Associated Press

from Democratic National Committee member C. Delores Tucker. Blackwell, who succeeded House Majority Whip William H. Gray III in a special election after Gray retired last year, was leading 54 to 46 percent with 95 percent of the vote counted.

The Pennsylvania presidential primary was a desultory affair, with Clinton appearing only sporadically in the state and frequently flying elsewhere to raise money for a campaign treasury depleted by tough early primary contests.

But the Clinton campaign used Pennsylvania as an experiment to see if positive television advertising could improve his image, which had been marred by press reports about his personal life and Vietnam War draft record.

The exit polls suggested that at least among Democrats who went to the polls, this effort had been partially successful. Clinton's 61 percent score on trust and honesty compared favorably to the 27 percent of Democrats who awarded those virtues to Bush.

The exit polls found that 56 percent of Democrats wanted other candidates in the race, but that was down from 66 percent in the New York primary.

But in both parties, primary voters—generally the most loyal of partisans—suggested their discontent by telling interviewers that they might defect in large numbers this fall.

Among Democrats, 55 percent said they would back Clinton in November; 25 percent said they would support billionaire Texan Ross Perot, and 12 percent said they would vote for Bush.

Republican primary voters were not much more loyal. Fifty-nine percent said they would support Bush, 27 percent supported Perot and 8 percent said they would back Clinton.

Although the exit poll findings pointed to difficulties for Bush, the most important fact for the president's campaign last night was securing an effective numerical majority for the Republican nomination.

According to a count maintained by the Associated Press, Bush went into the evening with 1,020 delegates. If the president emerges with all 72 Pennsylvania delegates, he would still be 13 delegates short of enough to clinch the nomination at the August national convention, according to the AP count.

But the Bush campaign officials maintain that they entered the evening with 1,051 delegates, just 54 shy of the threshold—and the campaign is likely to get far more than that out of Pennsylvania because the officials count 22 delegates in Maine and 10 in Illinois that theoretically remain to be chosen. The Bush claim is justified, because

For election returns, call Post-Haste at 202-334-9000, then enter Category Code 5500.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

Bush won in Maine's caucuses and the Illinois primary, so the actual selection of the delegates is a technicality.

Clinton is now close to the point where he will be able to make the same argument. He is likely to emerge from Pennsylvania with nearly 1,500 of the 2,145 delegates needed for nomination at the July convention.

Clinton's first attempt to capitalize on his victory will occur today when he tours Capitol Hill in an effort to nail down more endorsements from congressional "super delegates." His Pennsylvania showing also is likely to ease fund-raising.

Still, there were doubters. California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown said the Democrats should consider Perot as a candidate if Clinton "falls by the wayside or it appears that there's no possibility of winning the presidency against George Bush in the fall." Brown, who was quoted by the Associated Press, noted that Perot "is still out there, not saying anything negative about Democrats."

Staff writers David von Drehle in Boston and Maralee Schwartz in Washington, and senior polling analyst Sharon Warden and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.



EDMUND G. "JERRY" BROWN JR.
... vows to stay in Democratic race

THE ROAD AHEAD

Primaries, Caucuses, and Conventions

KEY: P=Primary C=Caucus		Delegates	
State	Event	Dem.	Rep.
Sunday			
Guam	C	3	4
Tuesday			
Indiana	P	77	51
North Carolina	P	84	57
Washington, D.C.	P	17	14
May 12			
Nebraska	P	25	24
West Virginia	P	31	18
May 19			
Oregon	P	47	23
Washington	P	*	22
May 26			
Arkansas	P	36	27
Idaho	P	*	22
Kentucky	P	52	35
June 2			
Alabama	P	55	38
California	P	348	201
Montana	P	16	20
New Jersey	P	105	60
New Mexico	P	25	25
Ohio	P	151	83
June 9			
North Dakota	P	—	17
July 13-16			
Democratic convention, New York City			
Aug. 17-20			
Republican convention, Houston			

SOURCE: Democratic and Republican National committees.

*Democratic primary voters express their preference in Washington and Idaho, while convention delegates are pledged in earlier caucuses.

L. BRENT BOZELL III

The conspiracy theorists at PBS' "Frontline" have embarrassed themselves yet again. Even when they run a report acknowledging major mistakes, they manage to concoct more foolishness.

A year ago, "Frontline" suggested there was a strong possibility that the Reagan campaign delayed the release of the Iranian hostages to win election in 1980 in an "October Surprise." But thanks to independent critiques in Newsweek, the New Republic, and even the Village Voice, "Frontline" was forced to concede its errors. A new documentary, aired April 7, denounced as liars the witnesses presented as credible experts in the first show.

The PBS program admitted: "Some self-proclaimed witnesses to an arms-for-hostages deal have turned out to be not credible at all." The first and most notorious "witness" was Richard Brenneke. In its first documentary, "Frontline" had stated: "Although Brenneke's credibility remains in question, government records show that he did work with European arms dealers supplying Iran during the 1980s. According to one document, Brenneke once informed a Pentagon intelligence officer about top secret TOW missile sales to Iran three days before President Reagan authorized them." The first documentary proceeded to buttress Mr. Brenneke's claims by arguing that Bush aide Donald Gregg lied about his whereabouts.

L. Brent Bozell III is chairman of the Media Research Center.

Telltale dupe at PBS

"Frontline" off-air reporter (and co-writer) Robert Parry also defended Mr. Brenneke last year in The Washington Post: "Brenneke's 1990 trial was the government's chance to disprove the [October Surprise] allegations once and for all. But the government failed to convince even a single juror that Brenneke had lied. The tally on the five-count indictment was Brenneke, 60, the government, zero. Despite impressing the jury, Brenneke's credibility is still assailed by [NBC producer Mark] Hosenball." Mr. Parry concluded: "Hosenball can't seem to accept that government officials don't always tell the truth, while sometimes unsavory characters do."

But in the Village Voice, former ABC News producer Frank Snapp, who made the mistake of using Mr. Brenneke as a source during his tenure at ABC, showed Mr. Brenneke was lying. Credit card receipts placed Mr. Brenneke in Portland during the alleged secret meetings. On the April 7 show, "Frontline" and Mr. Parry ate their words: "Whether he lied for personal gain or for some other motive, it's a mystery why he presented his Paris story under oath

to a federal judge in an unrelated case four years ago."

A second source, Ari Ben-Menashe, appeared three times in the first show, highlighted as an Israeli intelligence officer. PBS had reported that "Israeli intelligence officer Ari Ben-Menashe says he was one of half a dozen Israelis sent to Paris at Casey's request to help coordinate arms deliveries" and "Israeli intelligence officer Ari Ben-Menashe claimed that he saw intelligence reports about Casey's trip to Madrid."

After the critiques by Newsweek and the New Republic, including the

PBS presented a bunch of liars, and nothing they said proved anything.

information that even Mr. Ben-Menashe's wife called him a liar, PBS admitted: "His credibility with reporters collapsed because some of his assertions proved implausible, particularly his claim about George Bush."

In the first show, "Frontline" contemplated the horrible possibility that the Reagan campaign sought to delay the release of the hostages. In the second, they shifted course completely, investigating whether "Republican contacts with Iranians did exist but were intended not to delay a hostage release but to win their release as early as possible."

If "Frontline" had simply stopped

at this point, this silly story would be over. But no, there just had to be more to it because the truth — "Frontline" was duped by con artists — just wouldn't do. There must have been another conspiracy going on: The CIA sent out Mr. Brenneke to lie and discredit "October Surprise" investigations!

"The allegation that Brenneke participated in Paris meetings was not at first put forward by Brenneke himself," suggested "Frontline," but by a man calling himself Mr. Razim, otherwise known as Oswald LeWinter. "He claimed that he had been hired by four American intelligence operatives to salt October Surprise allegations with enough false information to discredit the whole story."

"Frontline" went on: "LeWinter refused to say who the four people were who supposedly hired him, nor would he provide any other evidence, so his new story, too, is suspect. Is this then, a deception within a deception? If nothing else, the story of Oswald LeWinter seems to epitomize the strange nature of the riddle called the October Surprise." But it's not at all as puzzling as it would seem: PBS presented a bunch of exposed liars, and nothing they said proved anything about an October Surprise.

I have a better theory: Knowing that PBS served as a haven for left-wing anti-CIA conspiracy theorists, CIA Director William Casey decided to have some fun. He left his calendar bare, so that after his death, PBS documentary producers would embarrass themselves by spending hundreds of thousands of dollars to prove nothing. It worked.

STUART ROSENTHAL

Drug abuse at work

As America drops in competitiveness among the world's economic leaders, international ridicule regarding our "lazy American work ethic" should tell us that it is time to recover the integrity in our workplace while simultaneously kick-starting our economy. To accomplish this, the federal government must step up its efforts to eliminate the drug abuse that is diseasing our work environment. Employee drug and alcohol abuse is not only a severe detriment to our nation's productivity, but also to the health and well-being of our citizens. A gov-

Surveys have shown that half of all industrial injuries can be linked to alcohol abuse while employees with a drinking or drug problem are absent three times more often.

ernment-sponsored study by the Research Triangle Institute shows that the cost of reduced productivity amounts to more than \$100 billion annually (that's \$318 million per day, or \$13 million per hour). These expenses plague the entire spectrum of our economy as they are also passed on to the consumer through higher prices, higher taxes, and higher health-care costs.

It is estimated that 66 percent of the 13 million current drug and alcohol abusers are employed. The costs of drug abuse in the workplace is not fully indicated by lost productivity statistics because there are also many serious hidden costs involved. Employee absenteeism, health problems, accidents, thefts and higher insurance claims are all derivatives from this abuse. Surveys have shown that half of all industrial injuries can be linked to alcohol abuse while employees with a drinking or drug problem are absent three times

more often than drug-free employees.

The federal government has made some efforts to confront this problem. Executive Order 12564 instructs the head of each Executive Branch agency to establish a drug-free workplace. The result was that of all federal employees tested, only one-half of 1 percent have tested positive for illegal drugs. Also, the Drug Free Workplace Act of 1988 requires certain private sector businesses that receive federal government funding and or grants to maintain a drug-free work environment. Additional regulations have been implemented for safety sensitive positions in transportation, health and national security.

Although these actions have made some progress, it has been minimal at best. Tighter guidelines must be instituted to improve and encourage drug-testing policies, especially in the private sector where there are no federally mandated guidelines. Although the majority of the Fortune 500 companies have already established drug-free workplace programs, it is the small private business sector, which employs more than 50 percent of our workforce, that is lacking such policies and is becoming the weak link in America's economy. The government encourages employers to establish comprehensive workplace substance abuse programs and provides technical assistance, but this is not enough. Encouragement should come in the form of tax-breaks or other financial incentives such as subsidized funding for Employee Assistance Programs, or EAPs.

EAPs are instrumental in the fight because the intent should not be to abolish the problem, but to cure it. Short-term investments by our government for such programs will produce long-term benefits for all. At a time when corporations are looking for national leadership, Congress' rejection of a bid for random drug testing within its own institution is a blow to any form of leadership by example. In light of the House Post Office scandal, where cocaine trafficking was one of the abuses, Congress might want to rethink the seriousness of the issue.

In view of increased worldwide competition, America cannot ignore documented evidence of lost productivity. Drug impairment reduces the quality, capacity and creativity of our work. On a larger scale, it is the employed drug addict who keeps the cartels and distributors in business. Since early intervention is key for successfully eliminating drug abuse, the workplace is the ideal place for achieving these early assistance efforts. Our leaders must return integrity to the workplace and improve our productivity. This must be done not only for America's economic benefit, but for each American's personal well-being.

Stuart Rosenthal is a special assistant at the National Defense Council Foundation.

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Exotic Galapagos holding their own

PUERTO AYORA. The Galapagos in this wondrous "other world," where the storied Galapagos animals have no fear of mankind, the greatest fear has been that tourists will destroy this precious heritage of mankind.

It is true that tourism has boomed, as the breathtaking wonders of this remote archipelago have drawn more and more tourists here: from 4,500 a year, when tourism opened in 1970, to 50,000 visitors today.

But there is good news and bad news today on these austere islands and gleaming seas. The tourists are — generally — almost no problem at all. A more disciplined and respectful type comes to the Galapagos, and scientist-guides plus carefully observed rules keep everyone in check.

The bad news is coming from another place, far across these same seas, in the form of rapacious private Japanese fishermen, sometimes fronted for by irresponsible

Ecuadorian fishing companies, who have been caught repeatedly destroying precious sea life here in the name of the unusual tastes of the Japanese.

"It became obvious in the last three to four years that the Japanese and even the South Koreans were taking more interest in fishing in international waters," Luis Maldonado, the vice president of Metropolitan Touring and a specialist on the Galapagos, told me as we sat on a ship overlooking those same beautiful waters.

"But by the time we noticed it here, it was not just fishing but the intensive capture of sharks exclusively to commercialize shark fins."

Two years ago, in 1990, it was tourist ships that discovered a Japanese fishing vessel loaded with hundreds and hundreds of shark fins ready to be shipped to Japan, where they are a rare delicacy. And on the land, they found shark carcasses littering the ground — on the very islands that are supposed to be the most protected in the world.

Not only that, but six weeks ago one of the ships saw smoke south of Fernandina Island. When the people

on board investigated, they found a Japanese fishermen's camp actually set up and operating on the shore — against every rule of the Ecuadorian National Park Service, which tries to rule the islands. In this case, the Japanese were loading hundreds of sacks of sea cucumbers, a marine invertebrate that is another delicacy in Asia.

In general, concerned observers such as Maldonado and the highly respected Fundacion Natura, which, allied with the American Nature Conservancy, raises funds to buy Ecuadorian debt in exchange for setting aside precious lands for parks, think the "Japanese problem" has improved. The government and the press jumped on these stories in Ecuador.

But the extent of the possible cor-

ruption (and the fact that the Ecuadorian navy has only one really operative patrol boat) was again illustrated by still one more case a year ago, when someone from a vice-ministry in Guayaquil intervened and the offending ship was fined all of 5,000 sucres — or the cost of two Galapagos beers!

Still another threat to the islands is also a new one, and no immediate solution is obvious. This one is the constantly increasing immigration from mainland Ecuador to the islands.

Towns like the "capital," Puerto Ayora, hardly qualify even as towns. Puerto Ayora is more like the T-shirt center of the world, with every kind of Galapagos animal, from playful sea lions to ancient gnarled iguanas to absurd blue-footed booby birds, painted and printed for waiting chests. It is a muddy, pathetic little town, but now it even has two disco bars!

Ecuadorians can freely move to the "protected" Galapagos; the population of 50,000 is growing at 12 percent a year. Elsewhere in the world, this might not be a problem, but in these precious islands, where any imported bug, rock or piece of soil can totally change the fragile environment, it could be fatal.

The final problem faced right now, immediately before our eyes, is one that no man can attend. This is the warm current known as "El Nino," which struck the Ecuadorian coasts in 1982 and '83 like a destructive dark angel.

Already this year in the Galapagos, El Nino is raising air and water temperatures dangerously, from an average spring temperature of 24 degrees Celsius to 38 degrees Celsius. Animals are beginning to die on some islands.

Luckily, compared to years ago, there are today things people can do to help the Galapagos. The Ecuadorian governments, of whatever party, are now cognizant of the value of these islands to the world — and another high-level commission just completed work for the Galapagos' further protection.

As for the Japanese fishermen, the environmental protection groups, as well as individuals, should flood Japanese embassies and their government with complaints. "They are the exterminators of the world," was the way Javier Cardenas, former president of the Fundacion Natura, put it to me. That is hardly the image that Japan wants of itself in the world.

Largely, however, the Galapagos look good — better than they did 22 years ago, when their wonders were first opened to a stunned world. And that is no minor feat.

**Japanese fishermen
"are the
exterminators of the
world."**

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.



Galapagos marine iguana

Photo by Robin Applestein. The Washington Times

ANN CALHOUN

Starting at the calendar, waves of nausea washing coldly over me as I realize, with a start, that we have seven more months until the November elections. T.S. Eliot was right, April is the cruelest month.

I can't stand it. Slow suicide by novocaine-free root canal work seem infinitely merciful by comparison.

Jerry Brown and the alleged past pot parties; Bill Clinton and the infamous non-inhaled marijuana cigarette. George Bush...

And Ross ("We will not fail for lack of funds") Perot? Now there's a fine example of just how desperate we've become. So he successfully created and ran a big company and made a bundle. That qualifies him to run the country?

I don't think so. I mean, if it's your company and somebody does something really dumb, you can fire him, right? So what happens with Prez Perot? He's going to maybe fire New Jersey? Send an army of mercenaries into the South Bronx? Whaaat?

And Congress. There's a television ad for a California electoral hopeful featuring the senatorial voice-over of James Earl Jones, whose ringing endorsement concludes with this uplifting and soul-stirring line, "This congressman wrote no bad checks..."

That's it? We should vote for some guy because he wrote no bad checks?

True, this piece of information

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Fiddling Neros on the Hill

may signal congressional probity, but couldn't it also just as easily indicate congressional stupidity? Like maybe the guy didn't write any bad checks because he's so dim he hasn't figured out how to write checks in the first place? Wife has to tie his milk money in the corner of a hankie tucked into his rompers each morning when he leaves the house? Who knows?

Has it come down to this? In the middle of all the rubber checks bounding around like latex cocktail weenies, listen to Democratic Rep. Thomas Downey of New York. Said the honorable gentleman, "The Republicans saw this as a chance to call in mortar rounds on all of us. Sure, they'd lose a few of their guys, but they'd kill a lot more of us."

What's going on here? Is Congress a group of responsible elected officials seriously concerned about governing the country? A body of men and women working together for the good of the nation? Or a bunch of out of control yahoo Potomac Pol Special Forces wannabes gloating over pyrrhic battles of their own devising? **INCOMING! Duck and cover!**

Well, who shall we blame for this idiocy? Ourselves? That's a start.

Why do we persist in thinking that my guy (senator or member of the House) is a paragon of civic virtue, while your guy is an unholy fool, then keep re-electing both of them?

Of course, that only applies to those few of us who bother to vote in the first place.

And why do we refuse to see that my entitlements (farm subsidies, Medicare for even the wealthy, tax loopholes, local federally funded projects, etc.) are OK, while your scams (farm subsidies, Medicare for even the wealthy, tax loopholes, local federally funded projects, etc.) are what's ruining the country?

Why has it been so impossible to understand the late Jesse Unruh's comment that "Money is the mother's milk of politics?" And that milk is as corrosive as sulfuric acid. There are few politicians powerful and cold-eyed enough to be able to fleece a PACer and then vote against his special-interest bill. You can get away with that once.

Savings-and-loan PAC money bought and paid for a handful of powerful senators who pushed through the deregulation bills, which gave thieves the freedom to loot the S&Ls and then stick each taxpayer with a bill for \$3,500 per person. Due and payable. But most of those purchased senators are still in office, not in jail.

Why is it impossible for us to understand that as long as political campaigns are privately financed, big money will always talk bigger than small money? Is there a dif-

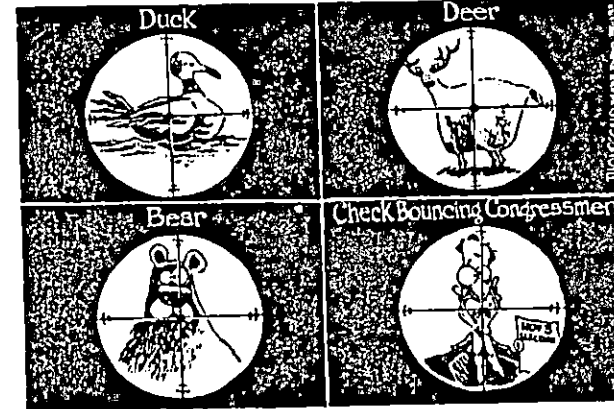
What's going on here? Is Congress a group of responsible elected officials seriously concerned about governing the country? Or a bunch of out of control yahoo Potomac Pol Special Forces wannabes gloating over pyrrhic battles of their own devising?

ference between a "campaign contribution" and a "bribe?"

And is it such a difficult concept to realize that pork-barreling, more often than not, benefits a few at the expense of the many? Consider the crowning achievement of Rep. Joseph McDade, Pennsylvania Republican: Steamtown, a \$40 million (and climbing) "National Railroad Museum."

Oh, good, just what the nation needs, another historical railroad collection. Never mind that there are three better railroad parks in existence; never mind that the National Park Service didn't want it in the first place — their budget was so constrained that they were already cutting back on staff and hours at

POPULAR TARGETS FOR HUNTING THIS FALL



Yellowstone and Glacier Park. Never mind that there were no public hearings — that the pork was buried in another bill and approved. Never mind that Amtrak, an actual, live, functioning railroad was drowning in red ink for lack of funds.

Mr. McDade wanted a railroad park, and Mr. McDade got a railroad park. Oink, oink. The tab will be sent to each and every one of you in the morning. Thank you.

The list goes on and on. Rome burns and the Neros on the Hill fiddle and swill and the populace snores loudly or wakens only long enough to grumble a bit.

So here's the real question: It

does no good to stick new players back into the same old script. But do we have the stomach for real reform? The will to insist that the play be rewritten, this time for the benefit of the many, no merely the oligarchic few?

"History," wrote Voltaire, "is filled with the sound of silken slippers going downstairs and wooden shoes coming up."

What then is our history to be? To slobber and snore until awakened by the dreaded thunk of the sabot on the stair? Or to wake up and work for genuine, peaceful change now?

The choice is ours, come November. Only seven months away.

Not so long a time when you come to think about it.

KEN ADELMAN

Gorbachev's earthquake vibes

With this rash of earthquakes rocking the West Coast, I wonder what mystical auguries Russian scientists had. Someone might ask Mikhail Gorbachev on his upcoming California trip: "What did you know?" "When did you know it?" and "How did you know?"

The ideal person to ask would be Ronald Reagan, who was rather startled, as we all were, to hear Mikhail Gorbachev expound at remarkable length about the high probability of massive California quakes within a few years.

If it sounds strange now, it sounded even stranger then.

That was in November 1985, during the first time Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Reagan ever met. Indeed, that Geneva session was the first time American and Soviet leaders had met in almost seven years. So the drama was high, especially among those of us serving as Reagan's advisers.

The president opened his first session alone with Mr. Gorbachev, who had assumed top Soviet leadership earlier that spring, by, well, by just being Mr. Reagan. Rather than mouth the bureaucracy-furnished "talking points," he took a personal note.

The president remarked to Mr. Gorbachev on how very peculiar life can be. For there they sat, he and Mr. Gorbachev, both of humble origins, born in small towns in the middle of nowhere, now, by some quirk of fate, as the leaders of the two top world powers. There they sat, with so much responsibility heaped upon them.

Mr. Reagan excelled at such a personal approach, which made him a consummate diplomat. Mr. Gorbachev visibly warmed to the treatment — most people did with Mr.

Reagan — and began his own spiel, which led him into the wholly unpredictable topic of upcoming California quakes.

Mr. Gorbachev thought they should strive to overcome U.S.-Soviet differences by focusing and building upon what they shared, not on what they differed. For instance, American and Soviet scientists could cooperate on scientific projects like, say, earthquake research.

Mikhail Gorbachev's first forecast turned out more correct on the major San Francisco quake of 1989, and the second is closer to what's happening now.

He had looked into all this, Mr. Gorbachev went on to tell the president, before heading off to Geneva. Russian scientists had informed him that California would, it seemed, have a big earthquake within three years.

Mr. Gorbachev's prediction put the big quake before November 1988, less than one year before the major San Francisco earthquake of 1989.

Even better than his information about timing was that on magnitude. For as the president recalled for us over lunch upstairs in his Swiss chalet, Mr. Gorbachev's experts gauged a two-thirds chance of an earthquake hitting 7.0 to 7.5 on the Richter scale, and a three-fourths chance of a 6.0 to 6.5 earthquake in California.

Mr. Gorbachev's first forecast turned out more correct on the ma-

jor San Francisco quake of 1989, and the second is closer to what's happening now.

Mr. Gorbachev offered to send Soviet scientists here to explain their conclusions and methods to their American counterparts. As far as I know, his nice offer was never accepted.

For at that time, American scientists were considerably less alarmist. Most of them figured there was only a 60 percent chance of a major California earthquake anytime over the subsequent 30 years.

Regardless of follow-through, which there wasn't with the Soviets then, Mr. Gorbachev had hit the right button with Mr. Reagan. As surprised as Mr. Reagan must have been with this topic, so Mr. Gorbachev must have been surprised by Mr. Reagan's loquacious response.

The president repeated for us over lunch what he had told Mr. Gorbachev that morning. And it was extensive. He talked about the 750 mile-long San Andreas Fault in Southern California, telling its history, starting with A.D. 500 or so, going into what damage past earthquakes had done to California, anticipating what may come, and so forth.

The ex-actor delivered this seemingly interminable set-piece for us, as he had done for Mr. Gorbachev and for innumerable audiences before as governor of California, though delivering it each time with a verve that made it seem fresh.

Back in 1985, all this seemed like one big diversion. Now, it seems downright prescient.

While nearly all attention today is focused on the nuclear and space knowledge of the ex-Soviet scientists, they evidently have much to offer on seismic matters. I wonder, with the Earth bouncing now in California, whether there's any more tapping of this expertise than when Mr. Gorbachev first offered it, some 6½ years ago.

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

RICHARD GRENIER

I've been thinking about this a long time and have decided to revert to my ancient Iroquois name I've kept hidden all these years: "Streetsmart Eagle." I've been ashamed of it, I confess, it sounded so weird and non-Euro and as if I ate rotting buffalo meat. But now us non-Euro, rotting-buffalo-meat eaters have come into our own and, gol darn it, I want a piece of the action.

Now I know that Princess Pale Moon, born Rita Ann Suntz, after singing the national anthem at two Republican National Conventions and even a Washington Redskins football game, has been booted off the inaugural program of the U.S. pavilion at Seville's Expo '92 as an imposter. But she's a singer, and the way things are going fake Indian writers get a much easier ride. And it so happens I'm a real Indian. Mind your own business. So "Streetsmart Eagle" it is.

It seems to me that the world of letters is wide open for an Indian like me. Also the field of writing speeches for dead Indians who disappeared leaving no written records. And there are all those boring pages in rewritten history books with nothing but bland, colorless generalizations for the minorities and women who played such an important role as victims in the cruel, heartless rape of land and people that's been America's unique contribution to world civilization. I can make those victims sing!

The idea, I confess, isn't entirely original. A gentle autobiographical tale of the childhood of a Cherokee orphan, "The Education of Little Tree," said by critics to be "filled with love and respect for the Indian way of life," was on the New York Times non-fiction best-seller list for weeks before it was discovered it had been written by no Indian at all but by a onetime KKK activist named Asa Earl Carter.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

A savvy Eagle confesses

And an even more inspiring phenomenon is the cult that has grown up around "Chief Seattle," who represents the purity of the state of Washington before such modern abominations as Speaker Tom Foley and the House Bank.

"I have seen a thousand rotting buffaloes on the prairies left by the white man who shot them from a passing train," Chief Seattle was said to have written in a letter to President Franklin Pierce in 1854. Now this was real neat, I think, in that there wasn't a single buffalo within 600 miles of Chief Seattle on Puget Sound and the first railroad didn't cross the plains anywhere near those parts until a good 15 years later.

When these details were revealed, the Earth Day people, who've adopted Chief Seattle as a kind of environmental prophet, toned down his "letter" to Pierce, dropping the railroad train and changing the letter to read: "What will happen when the buffalo are all slaughtered? The wild horses tamed? What will happen when the secret corners of the forest are heavy with the scent of many men and the view of the ripe hills is blotted by talking wires?"

Now it so happens Chief Seattle didn't write this to President Pierce either. The lines were composed by a screenwriter and great user of talking wires named Ted Perry, who wrote them for a 1971 fictional film on ecology called "Home," broadcast on the talking airwaves of network television.

But this didn't stop Dial Books from publishing the same words in an illustrated version of a supposed speech by Chief Seattle titled

"Brother Eagle, Sister Sky: A Message from Chief Seattle." The book has sold more than 250,000 copies since its publication last year and is still No. 5 on the New York Times Book Review best-seller list for non-fiction. I said non-fiction.

Chief Seattle's environmental concerns actually made their world debut in the 1971 film. They're nowhere in Victorian translations of the single speech the chief made 117 years earlier, which was mostly about the "invisible dead" who will always people the land "even when the last red man shall have perished from the Earth." A Victorian account of the speech mentions nothing at all about the environment.

But the Earth Day people and Dial Books stuck with their ecological version. An afterword to "Brother Eagle, Sister Sky" states only that the origin of Chief Seattle's words are "partly obscured by the mists of time."

Far be it from me to find fault with these Earthies and Greenies for taking shelter in the mists of time, you understand. As the old saying has it, a lie goes round the world 10 times before the truth has time to get out of bed and brush its teeth with environmentally sound, non-polluting toothpaste. I only think these Earthies and Greenies should be bolder. Why stop at Chief Seattle?

How about Chief Palm Beach? Chief Palm Springs? Chief Beverly Hills? I'll be only too happy to write letters in their name to President Franklin Pierce on any socially progressive subject, preferably the environment, but also abortion, overpopulation, conservation, nuclear power, the trade deficit.

"Oh, what will happen to our people when the buffalo and leafy forests are gone and unscented high-definition picture boxes from over the Big Water are quacking like flapping geese?"

Give me a few days. I'll get the hang of it. You can still reach me under my post-Columbian name of Richard Grenier, but remember that in my innermost being I am Streetsmart Eagle.

BILL PASCOE

What's the difference between a Christian, a Marxist, and a journalist?

A Christian is someone who asks us to believe in that which we cannot see; a Marxist is someone who asks us not to believe that which we see all too clearly; and a journalist is someone who allows us to see that which he wishes us to believe.

That riddle never contains more truth than when we, sitting here in Washington are trying to ascertain what exactly happened in places far, far away, with strange-sounding names... like Jamba.

Jamba is the provisional Capital of Free Angola, the southeastern third of Angola. It is an area known by its Portuguese settlers as "the land that God forgot." It is dry, dusty, and barren.

And it is the headquarters of the world's longest-surviving freedom fighter, Jonas Savimbi, and his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Jamba has been in the news recently, not just because UNITA's quarter-century struggle for independence is nearing its end (the country's first free and fair elections are scheduled to be held in September), but because it now is alleged

Bill Pascoe is a political consultant and a columnist for The Washington Times.

What became of Tito Chingunji?

that Tito Chingunji and Wilson dos Santos — two high-ranking officials of Mr. Savimbi's insurgent forces — were murdered there last year, on orders of Mr. Savimbi himself.

These allegations are considered serious enough that Secretary of State James A. Baker III has written

Mr. Savimbi, demanding a full explanation of the circumstances surrounding Mr. Chingunji's death. And Arizona Sen. Dennis DeConcini, a staunch supporter of UNITA, has threatened to terminate his support for continued U.S. assistance if the allegations are proven true.



Jonas Savimbi

The allegations were made by Miguel N'zau Puna, the former security chief of UNITA, and Tony Fernandes, the former foreign minister, both of whom recently defected from the organization to join a smaller nationalist group, the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC).

Mr. Savimbi counters that in fact, it was Mr. Puna who ordered the murders of Messrs. Chingunji and dos Santos.

And therein lies the riddle: For the farther we are from Jamba, the farther we are from the truth. It's ironic that in an age where the personal computer and the fax machine helped bring about the overthrow of Moscow, we still have to wait for hand-delivered dispatches out of one of the Cold War's hottest hot spots.

And given that journalists are some of the very few people who regularly have traveled to that remote corner of the world, it becomes doubly important for the journalists we count on to give us the truth to do just that — give us the truth. So when journalists become partisans, we are left truly confused.

This brings us to the next confusing part of the riddle, the allegations by British journalist Fred Bridgland concerning Mr. Savimbi's treatment of Mr. Chingunji.

Mr. Bridgland is one of that handful of journalists who have traveled

extensively with UNITA forces. His mid-1980s biography of Mr. Savimbi stands as the fullest account in the modern era of Angola and its warring factions.

Mr. Bridgland would have us believe that Mr. Savimbi murdered Mr. Chingunji because Mr. Savimbi feared his rise in the organization and was jealous of Mr. Chingunji's own personal power base, developed over years representing UNITA in Western capitals.

But Mr. Bridgland's motives are suspect. In the mid-1980s, he accepted financial subsidies from Mr. Chingunji. In doing so, he became a partisan.

Was his copy written because it is the truth, or was it written because it is what he wishes us to believe? Who knows?

And we are still left with the nagging question: What happened to Tito Chingunji?

But perhaps more importantly... does it really matter?

For some in the West, the answer, clearly, is yes. They believed Mr. Savimbi was a different breed of African strongman, a true democrat, a man in whom we could reasonably place trust to rule in a Western fashion, with a typical Western attention to nuances such as the need to maintain and observe high human rights standards.

For others — mostly liberal Democrats in the Congress — the

answer again is yes. For them, however, the motive is not because they ever expected Mr. Savimbi to act that way, but because they wish to use this episode as an excuse to rationalize a U.S. pullout from the diplomatic maneuverings leading up to the elections, thereby increasing the chances for continued communist rule in Luanda.

For me, the answer is yes. I was a friend of Tito Chingunji's during his time in Washington, and I would like to know what happened to him.

But whether Mr. Chingunji died at the hands of Mr. Savimbi, or at the hands of Mr. Puna, or at the hands of someone else, truly is irrelevant to U.S. policy in Angola. The United States has supported UNITA for the last six years because we wanted the Cubans and other Soviet bloc forces out, and we wanted Angola to be free and independent of Soviet control. Clearly, that is taking place now. Pulling out U.S. support for the electoral process at this critical juncture would jeopardize the elections and could prolong the infighting — possibly leading again to real fighting, and a continuation of MPLA rule.

So let's find Mr. Chingunji's body and bury him. But don't bury Angola's chances for peace and independence with him. That's the last thing he would want to see take place.

And remember, you heard that from a journalist who's right here at home.

Letters

How to overhaul the Defense Department

Let me comment on your April 24 Money section article "Promise forgotten in today's Army."

One of the fundamental problems being wrestled with is not just the size of the armed forces, but the tax dollars tied up in salaries. To date, downsizing has targeted the same categories of military personnel that private industry targets when downsizing: middle management and blue collar.

Let's do something really radical: Let's completely overhaul the Department of Defense.

■ Downsize the whole kit and caboodle by one pay grade. Instead of having four-star admirals and general at the top, make them three-stars and eliminate the O-10 pay grade. Reduce the unified and specified commands accordingly and, if necessary, save the four- and five-star ranks for wartime designation only. (There are more admirals inside the Beltway today than there were in the whole Navy during World War II).

■ Do not just stop there. The pay grade downshift must be all the way down the line. A billet that called for a lieutenant colonel yesterday could be filled by a major tomorrow. Navy cruisers are com-

manded by captains (O-6 pay grade); lower those billets one pay grade.

■ The same can be done with enlisted billets in the upper pay grades. Eliminate the E-8 and E-9 pay grades (senior chief and master chief petty officers in the Navy). Billets filled by E-8s and E-9s can be filled by E-7s.

■ Nothing extraordinary needs to be done to achieve this pay-grade downshift; let natural attrition do the job.

In the interest of jointness (the services being forced to work with each other), a number of commands have been created and are staffed and commanded by

representatives from each of the services. A good start, but it is not going far enough, fast enough.

■ Logistics support, acquisition, etc., need to be consolidated under a single entity. Hardware (and software) that could be common needs to be common (a radio that works in a tank ought to work in an airplane and on a destroyer). Systems that could be shared, need to be shared. Remove redundancy of organizations and enhance the economics of being able to buy in greater quantities.

■ Medical, dental and chaplain corps functions could be consolidated. The commissary systems have now come under a single umbrella; the same should be done with medical and dental facilities and staffing. We should eliminate redundancy of organizations.

Finally, we must not allow the Department of Defense to take action on this. A joint committee of the House and Senate Armed Services committees or a similar group would suffer fewer conflicts of interest and would be less inclined to "protect the brass."

VICTOR E. BLITZ JR.
Retired Lt. Commander, U.S. Navy
Dale City



Montgomery County should know that everybody is hurting

I read with concern your April 22 Metropolitan article "Montgomery needs higher income tax."

County employees are not the only ones to have experienced financial constraints in recent years. I have experienced financial limitations myself, as have others in Montgomery County.

I was in my native England for a while last fall, and I saw the eco-

nomie difficulties resulting from the escalation in taxes that has plagued the country since I lived there as a young man. I trust that this nation will not repeat that folly by supposing that every claim for increased federal, state or county resources must be satisfied and that payment for this must come from further impositions on the taxpayer.

Representatives in federal, state and county governments must take these concerns into account when considering whether they should support legislation to have more money taken from our pockets to be given to someone else.

STUART W. GREENWOOD
Silver Spring

Iran's clergy war against their national heritage

In response to your April 22 news article, "Opposition fizzling under Iranian clerics," I would like to make two comments:

■ A distinction should be made regarding "Iranian" clerics: We do not consider them Iranians for the simple fact that for the past 13 years they have vehemently opposed and suppressed anything that had to do with our culture,

language and history.

■ All freedom-loving Iranian opposition groups have united to bring forth a free and democratic government in Iran, representative of national will, committed to peace and the democratic process, in which rights of individuals (irrespective of their political ideologies), various political parties, religious and ethnic groups

are respected, with separation of church and state and a foreign policy based on trust and mutual respect for the people and classes that have started this democratic movement.

LAILA AMIR
President
Campaign for Democracy
and Human Rights in Iran
Vienna

Leaving ethics to doctors has had grim results

I disagree with Charles Cavella Jr.'s April 13 letter, "Raise the debate above the level of name-calling," in which Mr. Cavella takes exception to an analogy expressed in Joseph Sobran's column, "Joseph Mengele, angel of choice" (April 3).

Mr. Sobran was correct in his statement that Mengele was an abortionist and medical researcher ahead of his time (today). It is Mr. Cavella who would see the murder aspect of the abortion debate cheapened by harmless-sounding words.

I object to Mr. Cavella's charge that Mr. Sobran was carelessly using the Nazi label. What Mr. Sobran was trying to do was point out some relevant history about abortion and one of its famous perpetrators. As for Mr. Cavella's belief that abortion ought to be treated as just another medical procedure, such verbal neutering of killing also was put to much use during Mengele's heyday. Euthanasia also became a routine "medical procedure" under medical supervision before the Holocaust against the Jews ever began.

Anyone who is interested in how extensive a role physicians played in killing should read Robert Jay Lifton's book, "The Nazi Doctors." And those doctors took the Hippocratic oath.

Nazi Germany lacked a morally astute government and high court, as well as a vocal society. It gave free license to doctors like Mengele.

It disturbs me to see the eagerness with which proponents of abortion at any gestation period would leave all the decisions to

medical professionals, as if such people automatically became moral authorities of some kind.

Physical death is final. The unborn are living, helpless humans. To have them dismissed with such ease by pro-choice advocates in order to march "progressively" forward is to take an out-of-sight, out-of-mind attitude toward the unborn. Look at what happens when society turns a blind eye.

DEBORAH SMITH
Montclair, Va.

Demeaning

Once again I am amazed and saddened at your fascination with stories that belittle women. Why else would The Washington Times place the story about the Chinese stewardesses on its April 21 front page?

The Reuters story explains how and why these young women are forced to be virgins and flawless

beauties to keep their jobs. Wasn't there at least one dissenting opinion to add to the story? Perhaps we could have heard from the stewardesses themselves.

Or is this the standard The Times would like to see enforced on working women in this country?

JULIE KIRTZ
Washington

We welcome your opinions on any topic. Letters should be signed originals. Every letter will be considered for publication, but we prefer those of fewer than 250 words, typed double-spaced. All letters may be edited for clarity and length. Please include your name, address and daytime telephone number. Send your opinion to:

Letters to the Editor,
The Washington Times
3600 New York Ave. NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Europe's senior diplomat bows out

A few years ago, the German *Stern* magazine published a political popularity contest. The question was: If you were stranded on a desert island with a politician, who would you prefer it to be? In the United States, a question like that might elicit howls of derision, but a majority of the Germans questioned responded in all seriousness by choosing Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Forty-five percent even said they would buy a used car from him. That's trust for you.

This week, the 65-year-old Mr. Genscher announced his resignation, effective May 17, the 18th anniversary of his tenure as foreign minister. That made him the longest-serving foreign minister in the world, a European statesman of major importance. Mr. Genscher would seem to have chosen an auspicious moment to depart. The crowning achievement of his career was the reunification of two Germanies. This was a dream Mr. Genscher, as a native of the small East German village of Halle, never gave up and that he pursued, masterminded and negotiated. The announcement came three months after Mr. Genscher first broached the subject with President Richard von Weizsäcker, whom he accompanied to Washington this week, and was preceded by private phone calls to American and European foreign ministers.

Mr. Genscher's popularity with the German people, however, has not necessarily made him a favorite of Germany's allies, nor indeed of his party's coalition partners, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats. Mr. Genscher's Free Democrats hold the kingmaker's balance in the German parliament. In 1982, the FDP broke its alliance with Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats and threw its support to the Christian Democrats to form the current governing coalition. It is no secret that the disproportionate influence of the

Free Democrats, who poll just about 10 percent in national elections, have been the cause of some resentment.

Mr. Genscher's admirers consider him a visionary for his opening to the East Bloc in the days of the Cold War (the policy came to be known as Genscherism) and for his early championship of Mikhail Gorbachev, whose initiatives he said in 1987 "could not be brushed off as propaganda."

While this view may look far-sighted today, it should be recalled that the direction of appeasement and disarmament toward the Soviet Union pursued by Mr. Genscher in the 1980s almost split the NATO Alliance and threatened to undermine the very policies that eventually forced the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. In particular, the issue of short-range nuclear weapons on German soil did substantial damage to German-U.S. relations at the time.

Since the end of the Cold War, relations have been in a warming trend again, though Mr. Genscher, independent-minded as always, has succeeded in delivering some sharp kicks to Washington. He more than anyone spurred the Bush administration into reluctant action on Yugoslavia and aid to Russia. On European matters, Germany under Mr. Genscher has been a leader on European integration. There is little reason to expect a change of course under his successor, FDP politician Irmgard Schwaetzer. She is his protégée and has been junior minister for EC affairs.

What's next for Mr. Genscher? Many people wonder. Well, certain facts suggest themselves. He is immensely popular. He left at the peak of his career. A man like that is hardly likely to spend his days bounding around the Alps in lederhosen. There are, of course, the presidential elections coming up next year. Could it be too early to bid Mr. Genscher goodbye?

Close encounters with irrelevance

Well, let's get down to it. For years a lot of people have been claiming that they were kidnapped by aliens from outer space, poked and pricked like white rats in a laboratory, implanted with fake memories to disguise their awful experience and later began to suffer neurotic symptoms as the traumas inflicted on them crept to the surface. Are they telling the truth, lying or unconsciously fantasizing? If you thought the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill conundrum was something, it fades before the riddle of UFO abductions.

Now UFO researcher David M. Jacobs, Ph.D., has written a whole book ("Secret Life: Firsthand Accounts of UFO Abductions") about the matter. Sean Piccoli of *The Washington Times* discussed his book at length in Monday's "Life" section. Unsurprisingly, neither Mr. Jacobs nor anyone else is any closer to the truth.

The case for the reality of the abductions is essentially as follows. (1) The abductees almost always tell pretty much the same story. Some time after the alleged abduction, they suddenly begin to recall a "blank period" of a few hours in their lives. Their recollections are often prompted by increasingly odd behavior or dreams, and after undergoing hypnosis they begin to remember the details of what supposedly happened. (2) What supposedly happened is almost always the same, even to the physical appearance of the aliens (they're short, bald and have dark, sloping eyes) and the "spacecraft" into which the abductees are taken. (3) Many of the abductees are thoroughly respectable and stable people, often well-educated professionals, with no interest in or special knowledge of UFO controversies or other weird matters. Most of them don't try to make money and become famous from their experiences, so ulterior motives usually don't seem to be a factor.

On the other side, however, there is Philip J. Klass, who spends his time trying to debunk the claims of abductees and the UFOlogists who encourage or sponsor them. Mr. Klass says that under hypnosis, a psychologist can make a subject believe almost anything, and he suggests that many abductees have simply been unconsciously coached by their sponsors. An alternative explanation for the abductees' stories is that they were sexually abused in childhood, have repressed the memories of it and are expressing those memories in symbolic forms in their tales of abduc-

tion. Skeptics point out that the physical appearance of the aliens bears a striking resemblance to the way science fiction magazines often portray aliens. Mr. Klass notes that not one of the abductees has ever come up with a single item of physical evidence to corroborate his claims.

In short, who knows? What we have are claims made by people who have begun to suffer symptoms that are ordinarily classed as pathological, and the claims by their nature are unverifiable. There are no witnesses and no physical evidence. If you believe (or want to believe) that aliens are zipping back and forth using teleportation as specimens in their research for their doctoral dissertations at Alpha Centauri U., or if you don't believe (or don't want to believe) in UFOs at all, you can believe or not. There seems to be nothing that can convince an impartial observer, which is why there's still a controversy about the whole issue. The unasked question, however, is: Why does it make any difference?

Assuming that UFOs exist and that the abductees' stories are real, what exactly are we supposed to do about it? Kidnapping is illegal, and maybe the FBI could nab the aliens the next time they swoop down on an unsuspecting motorist and scoop him up for the Martian equivalent of a CAT scan. Or maybe the FBI would be outclassed by aliens who can travel through interstellar space and would be well-advised to keep checking up on relatively safe subjects like congressmen? Maybe, if we made contact with the aliens, we could learn a lot from them? That's doubtful. Since we are now in the process of repudiating everything in our college curriculum worth learning, why should we expect to learn anything from an even higher civilization? In any case, after several decades of UFO sightings, abductions and Close Encounters of This, That and The Other Kind, you sort of get the impression the aliens don't want to make nice. And why should they? Would B.F. Skinner want to have a chat with one of his lab rats?

People who spend their lives proving or disproving the reality of UFOs and their depredations are welcome to do so, but the fact is that most earthlings have better things to do with their time. The worrisome thing is that so many don't. Maybe that's another reason the characters in the UFOs who look like Elmer Fudd don't want to waste their time taking tea and crumpets with us.

Seattle's last stand

Another Earth Day has come and gone and so has one of its stage props: a book by an Indian chief who, a century and a half ago, could supposedly see environmental disaster coming. The chief was real enough, but it now seems the book wasn't.

What most people "know" about the legendary Chief Seattle, he of the famous Suquamish tribe, is that he was basically an early Al Gore with feathers. His collected wisdom now stands at No. 5 on the New York Times best-seller list under the title of "Brother Eagle, Sister Sky: A Message from Chief Seattle." And his 1854 letter to President Franklin Pierce, an exercise in consciousness-raising, had environmentalists bowing and scraping all over Earth Day.

"The Earth is our mother," said the letter. It continues, "I have seen a thousand rotting buffaloes on the prairies left by the white man who shot them from a passing train."

Well, it turns out the chief must have had better vision than most people, because from his home in Puget Sound he would have had to look a good 600 miles to see the nearest bison, rotting or otherwise. He must also have been able to see into the future. The first railroad didn't make it across the plains to California until 15 years after the date on the letter. And the great buffalo slaughter of which he allegedly wrote to President Pierce didn't occur until 10 years after the chief was dead.

The New York Times pointed out the problems of Seattle worship in a front-page story just as Earth Day preparations were getting in full swing. Historians have traced the chief's words to a Texas screenwriter, who made them up in 1971. Those words, with some

creative additions, became a letter to Pierce that never actually existed. The fictional letter, in turn, served as the source for the best-selling book, which has sold more than 250,000 copies since Dial Books for Young Readers published it last year.

Now the actual origins of the Seattle myth are far less interesting than the way in which the True Believers are trying to justify its continued propagation. Earth Day organizers told the Times it was OK to send out the Seattle "letter" because the words were "attributed" to the chief. The creator and illustrator of the book said, "Basically, I don't know what he said, but I do know that the Native American people lived this philosophy, and that's what's important." A Dial Books official implied a little green lie could go a long way toward saving the Earth. "For want of a tape recorder, maybe we have a book that will change children's view about the environment," she said. Or at least improve Dial's financial statement.

The problem with history, from the environmentalist point of view, is that it is so, well, historical. The greens have worked so hard to remake Chief Seattle in their own image that, with a few more years, they may yet get him credit for early drafts of the Clean Air Act. But the real Chief Seattle was nothing like that. He owned eight Indian slaves. He led raids on other tribes. And if he had anything nice to say about the Earth, we'll never know. There is no record of his speech, only a recollection of his words published more than 33 years after the chief allegedly spoke them.

In fairness to Chief Seattle, he deserves a special place among the other monuments to environmental thought — like global cooling, global warming and killer apples. At least the experts know he existed.

Bringing virtue back to class

Who is this Christina Hoff Sommers and why does she make so much sense? She's a professor of philosophy at Clark University in Massachusetts who is trying to revise the idea of Virtue in education — no small task.

The notion of Virtue seems to have been replaced by a kind of value-free ethics, if that isn't an oxymoron. The result is the sort of "value-clarification" classes that don't clarify much. They tend to make ethics appear a matter of personal taste rather than of right and wrong. Professor Sommers gives this example of a teacher asking her class questions in the best value-clarification style:

"How do you feel about home-made birthday presents? Do you like wall-to-wall carpeting? What is your favorite color? Which flavor of ice cream do you prefer? How do you feel about hit-and-run drivers? What are your feelings on the abortion question?"

No wonder young people get the idea that the great ethical questions have all the gravity of choosing between chocolate and vanilla. After years of teaching such courses, the professor got tired of reading evaluations of her course from students who wrote things like: "I learned there is no such thing as morality." Or: "I learned there is no such thing as right or wrong, just good and bad arguments."

The professor came to suspect that these unsettling responses to the course had something to do with the way it was taught. That is, as a series of arguments and counterarguments over theoretical choices — should the starving beggar steal the loaf of bread? — rather than an attempt to inculcate moral values through stories or examples. The result, she warns, is a kind of "moral agnosticism" in which right and wrong are fuzzed away.

Instead of arguing abstract cases, the professor would start with Aristotle and ask what virtues one should seek. "Once the student becomes involved with the problem of what kind of person to be," she says, "and how to become that kind of person, the problems of ethics become concrete and practical and, for many a student, morality itself is thereafter looked on as a natural and even inescapable personal undertaking. I have not come across students who have taken a course in the philosophy of virtue saying that they have learned there is no such thing as morality."

The professor would have students begin with stories rather than problems. Among other works, she recommends "King Lear" and "Huckleberry Finn" — two fine choices. Surely she omitted the Bi-

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Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette and a nationally syndicated columnist.

ble from her list only because its relevance to ethical choices should be understood. (Not that it is in this age of biblical illiteracy.) It might be noted that the Teacher from Nazareth did not lecture or lead seminars; He told stories. The big problem with the values-clarification muddle is that it has no narrative. It poses problems; it does not create persons by example. Before values can be clarified, they must be acquired.

"I am not suggesting," the professor hastens to add, "that moral puzzles and dilemmas have no place in the ethics curriculum. To teach something about the logic of moral discourse and the practice of moral reasoning in resolving conflicts of principles is clearly important. But casuistry is not the place to start, and, taken by itself, dilemma ethics tends to give students the impression that ethical thinking is a lawyer's game."

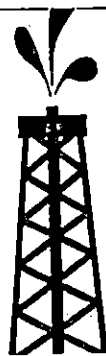
The most glaring example of that game may be the way Congress judges ethical questions. Not by a standard of right and wrong but according to whether some specific clause of a Code of Ethics has been provably violated. That's why the simple old Do-Right Rule is so appealing; it lifts the whole discussion from a lawyer's game to a matter of right and wrong.

The object of ethical education should be the shaping of the student's own moral code, not to equip him with an armory of clever rationalizations. To quote an ancient sage: "When conscience takes pre-

cedence over learning, learning will endure. When learning takes precedence over conscience, learning will not endure." That single maxim could sum up the fate of many of the intellectual structures of this century, from Marxism to fascism and every species of social Darwinism in between. That ancient sage saw right through the popular assumption among social theorists and activists that, once society is made good, people will be. They may have it backward.

Or as Christina Sommers puts it: "I am suggesting that teachers must help children become acquainted with their moral heritage in literature, in religion and in philosophy. I am suggesting that virtue can be taught, and that effective moral education appeals to the emotions as well as to the mind. The best moral teaching inspires students by making them keenly aware that their own character is at stake."

Q.E.D. — thanks to teachers like Christina Hoff Sommers. May their tribe increase.



ow will Americans deal — psychologically — with the harsh economic events in Japan?

In 1987, when the American stock market took a plunge of 22 percent, it was regarded as an apocalyptic event, marking the end of a decade (of greed), the end of an era (the "American Century"), and the end of a way of life (unbridled mobility). That sort of stuff went on, and on, even after the market went back up, and even when the market went up even further, which is where it is now.

The Japanese stock market did not go down 22 percent for just a few months. It went down over the last 2½ years by more than 55 percent, which is enough persons to get you more than halfway to nothing.

It took a while for the Japanese

economy to reflect the Japanese market (or vice versa). But economic growth in the first quarter of 1992 was negative. That is merely a signal of a recession, as are the record number of corporate failures, the crash of real estate values, and



the bigger deficits due as expected tax revenues evaporate. But there is something more at work, as well. The fabulous (and sometimes criminal) overpricing of Japanese stocks had helped finance

tions. And so, it was said, endlessly, that "the Japanese are buying up America." Now, with market values decimated, Japanese banks will be calling loans secured by inflated stock prices, and investors will be unloading some American assets, S&P-style (Get ready for: "They're selling out America!")

How will we deal with it? After all, for Americans this isn't just some two-bit, banana-split republic under cyclical economic strain. This is — Japan! — the nation that (we were told) was the next superpower, that would dominate the world, that would steal all our good jobs, that would "manage" America's decline — the nasty nation that had become the personification of America's anticipatory anxiety.

This is — Japan! — subject of one of the world's silliest books, "The Rising Sun" by Michael Crichton, which reveals in exquisite detail how the coniving and dedicated Japanese are shrewdly taking over America. (If they're so shrewd, why are they in the soup now?)

A much better job on the theme of Japanese economic aggression was offered (alas, briefly) on Broadway by "Shimada." The play concerns a Japanese corporate takeover in Australia, but a depressed Aussie emphasizes that there's no sense fighting back because "they got the money, the power, they even got the Yanks on the hop."

To be sure, the Yanks have been hop-headed about it, magnifying real problems to absurd levels. But why? Serious Japanese never deluded themselves that Japan could challenge America as the global superpower, economic or otherwise.

It's more an American psychological problem than Japanese. Obsessions fill felt needs, and psychologists look for reasons behind obsessions. (Why don't we have shrinks for countries?)

There are lots of reasons that so many Americans sold, and bought, the now-irrelevant myth of Invuxora-

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How will Americans deal with the harsh economic events in Japan?

the Japanese supremacy. It was a vehicle to urge us to do better, or to trash America, or for political use by the out-party. And it was a vehicle to let us ignore the responsibility of being No. 1 in the world.

But what will we do now that it is apparent that Japan is only a very important country, not taking over the world?

Perhaps we will find another threat in American greatness. But where? Europe? A tough sell right now: Europe's crisis is back, and even the common market may not fly high. Perhaps we will focus on unilateral American erosion — the en-

emy is us — centered on disintegrating values. It's a somewhat more credible case than Japan Ascendant, but it doesn't fill the bill.

It still leaves America, with all its real problems, as the dominant global economy and the dominant global culture, the sole surviving superpower. For good or for ill, we're No. 1. Which leaves the question: Having run out of excuses, will we shamelessly shrivel up on the couch, or act the part?

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JOHN LEO

Bearers of the 'new' news

The old argument was that print journalism is dead. The new argument is that Peter Jennings, Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw and perhaps CNN, too, are all terminal patients, due to be buried right along with newspapers and newsmagazines. This sounds unlikely, but the idea is floating around. Media critic Jon Katz, writing in Rolling Stone, says "the Old News" — balanced, moderate, objective, detached, fact-oriented, fair-minded — is "pooped, confused and broke." He explicitly makes this a generational issue: "The people watching and reading are aging and dying, and the young no longer take their place."

This decline has been on the minds of publishers for years, but the spotlight has focused on reading, or the lack thereof. Mr. Katz is right to remind us that the captains of TV news are in the same storm-tossed boat as publishers. The surveys show newspaper readership falling off dramatically among the young. They also show a similar decline in viewing patterns for television news, although the erosion is somewhat slower. It is not printed news that so many of the young reject, but news itself.

The traditional, somewhat huffy, Old News explanation for this is that the entertainment industry has become such a juggernaut that it has eclipsed or suppressed the taste for serious news. Mr. Katz turns this argument on its head. He says the entertainment industry is the journalism industry of the young — "The New News is a heady concoction, part Hollywood film and TV movie, part pop music and pop art, mixed with popular culture and celebrity magazines, tabloid telecasts, cable and home video." What he means is that information, attitude, values and a grasp of social problems are reliably piped to the young through Guns N' Roses, Public Enemy, "The Simpsons," "Roseanne" and Oliver Stone's "JFK," a New News product attacked, he says, for not being an Old News documentary.

Before becoming appalled, let us admit that Mr. Katz is on to something here. The line between news and entertainment is hopelessly blurred now. But the crossover is in both directions. As traditional news takes on more and more of the trappings of entertainment (local TV newscasts now show live pictures of police car chases in progress, just like Burt Reynolds movies), show biz is becoming newswier. MTV has its own news department, which covered the New Hampshire primary

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(with background music, lest anyone fall asleep). It has a program, "Like We Care," that deals with issues such as privacy vs. safety in the use of metal detectors to check for weapons in schools.

Entertainment Weekly is evolving into a news mag for the fun-minded, recently dealing with the environment through a report on 20 celebrities begging President Bush to attend the Earth Summit in June. Politicized celebs become a way of smuggling tidbits of actual news into magazines and TV shows aimed at the star-struck.

"Beverly Hills 90210" is watched by pre-teens as "news" about what their lives are soon to become, and

rap is heard as news from the street, plus editorials. (Chuck D of Public Enemy calls rap the CNN of black America.) And TV producers have consciously turned up the dial on newswiness, not just in disease-of-the-week and victim-of-the-week movies, but also in regular weekly shows.

Recent Supreme Court rulings show up as crucial plot devices on "Law and Order." Ethical

and social problems are opened up on "Murphy Brown" and "L.A. Law." And the industry's reaction time is getting shorter. "Designing Women" rushed through a quick program on Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas, and "L.A. Law" aired a stunning segment on an oblivious date-rapist athlete on the day of Mike Tyson's sentencing.

Fine. Thoughtful, topical entertainment is always better than escapist drivel. But it's hard for us Old Newsies to see fiction and song as a news delivery system, at least until we see a gripping made-for-TV movie about the budget deficit or a song about the inflation rate. Abstractions don't play well, but they count. A recent report on youth culture said: "We are a culture obsessed with visual stimuli." Alas, the future depends on each generation's responding to news and issues that don't easily fit into a visual framework, or that can't be jazzed up to boost ratings.

This tyranny of the visual and the exciting seems to be a problem for New News. Old News stories, Mr. Katz says, "are remote (from Yugoslavia, Nairobi, Beijing) or from institutions that feel as remote (Congress, Wall Street, the Supreme Court)." He is impatient with opposition to re-enacting news events as part of news presentations. ("The guardian crows of the old order shriek the innovators into submission.")

It is impossible to miss the extraordinary reliance on feelings and drama, both of which television is particularly good at producing. Mr. Katz says New News stresses passionate expression, hyperbole, and replaces objectivity with powerful, personal visions of truth. This is important, but these are the techniques of fiction and literature. Who's going to tell us straight — no personal visions, please — what happened yesterday?

Surveys show newspaper readership falling off dramatically among the young, and a similar decline in viewing for television news. It is not printed news that so many of the young reject, but news itself.

DOUG BANDOW

Slipping in an oil tax

Perhaps the most fundamental axiom of government is that politicians like to spend money while hiding the cost of doing so. Rep. Philip Sharp, Indiana Democrat, is illustrating this principle today by pushing a sub rosa \$15 billion tax on the energy industry and, ultimately, American consumers.

During the bad old days of the energy crisis Congress created the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, buying up oil for use in an emergency. Congress used general revenues for the purchases, but in its own inimitable fashion placed the outlays "off-budget," treating them as unconnected to the growing federal deficit.

Alas, it is harder for legislators to hide the SPR's costs these days. The obvious solution would be to simply stop buying oil that is not needed.

The SPR already contains 570 million barrels of petroleum, enough to handle any plausible contingency. At current consumption rates it could replace all oil imports for 81 days.

And the United States is unlikely to ever face a disruption that severe. Even the war with Iraq did little to unsettle the energy market other than cause a small, temporary price run-up.

So why continue filling the reserve? It would make more sense to expand offshore leasing — which Congress has banned at the most promising locations adjacent California and other coastal states — and allow exploration of the small, potentially oil-rich coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve. The risks to the environment, though real, are manageable; otherwise the Audubon Society would not allow energy production in its Paul J. Rainey Sanctuary in Louisiana. But if Congress nevertheless wants to continue augmenting the SPR, it should do so openly, with the cost above-board and apparent to all. Let the taxpayers judge whether the value of a bigger SPR is worth the cost.

Mr. Sharp, however, wants to shift the expense to the energy industry. He has authored legislation, recently approved by the House Energy and Commerce Committee, to require oil companies to provide either petroleum, refined products, or cash to cover their share (essentially 1 percent of their own stocks) of the SPR fill-up. Naturally, the firms would also be expected to cover the cost of storing "their" oil and maintaining the SPR.

The administrative burden would be severe, since not all oil is created equal. Some is, for instance, "sweeter" and "lighter" and shouldn't be mixed with other oil. The scheme also raises a host of complex tax questions.

But that's not all. Mr. Sharp would force companies to create regional reserves of heating oil and gasoline as well. Refined products, in contrast to petroleum, deteriorate over time, so these reserves would have to be constantly recharged to preserve their value.

see BANDOW, page G4

Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

BANDOW

From page G1

Mr. Sharp refuses to call his tax a tax. Instead, he says it "is the equivalent of a user fee, asking those who create our vulnerability by our use of oil to pay for our insurance policy against disruptions."

But it is not the energy industry that is creating the demand for imported petroleum. The oil companies are merely responding to consumer desires. In any case, the industry is not healthy enough to bear yet another punitive tax. Over the last decade, the oil companies have lost more than 440,000 jobs, a 48 percent drop. This implosion is four times as great as the auto industry's shrinkage.

Of course, Mr. Sharp's tax would ultimately fall on consumers as well, as the congressman himself has been forced to admit. But at a time when taxes at all levels of government continue to rise, the American people shouldn't be hit with a new, underhanded energy tax. Moreover, Mr. Sharp's surcharge would be highly regressive, since lower income people spend more of their earnings on energy.

The main reason that we have to fear foreign disruptions of our energy supply is Congress' refusal to allow full development of our own vast energy resources. Instead of imposing new taxes on the oil industry, as Mr. Sharp would do, legislators should flow the oil companies to do what they do best — produce energy.

Behind the curve

Yes, well, it seems that Ambassador Edward Ney's three-year term as ambassador to Canada is up in mid-June. He tells us he's ready to return, by his own choice, to the private sector and is certain that he's leaving his embassy's finances "as pure as they can get." Mr. Ney's being replaced by Peter Teeley, longtime press adviser and campaign consultant to President Bush. Word of the replacement was put out a while back, with a formal announcement to come when a routine FBI investigation is concluded.

All-points bulletin

John Frohnmayer is missing. Folks at the National Endowment for the Arts observed him as he walked out of the chairman's office in the Old Post Office building during a fire drill last Friday afternoon, but he never came back.

The recorded time was 4:45 p.m. Apparently the director, scheduled to leave his post this Friday, just kept on trucking down Pennsylvania Avenue to who-knows-where. "Perhaps he turned his watch ahead a whole week instead of just an hour," observed one Frohnmayer watcher who understands artistic license.

If you should spot the elusive arts czar, do not call the NEA. He's not considered to be armed, of course, but they do have a sense of him as dangerous and are not really eager to see him again. He's been in a real sour mood, barking at all who dared come near him. It became common practice recently to scurry for cover whenever the chairman was near.

This seems a less-than-fitting hail and farewell. Mr. Frohnmayer endeared himself to the arts community with support for Robert Mapplethorpe's bullwhip-up-the-wazoo photos and Annie Sprinkle's bizarre "bosom ballet." But Mr. Frohnmayer apparently had found no safe harbor among those he defended, his search for new employment hit the rocks some

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Missing since Friday afternoon and answers — grumpily — to the name of John Frohnmayer. No reward.

months back.

For the moment there is a hush at the NEA. Will things get back to normal come Friday and the next grant approval meeting? Will evidence of Old John's influence remain as they roll out a fresh batch of X-rated videos? Or did Old John take them with him when he walked? Wouldn't expect him to just go cold turkey.

So what's new?

The New York Times will publish a biweekly edition translated into Russian, to be printed and distributed by the weekly newspaper Moscow News. The newspaper, with 16 to 24 pages of selected articles, features, news analyses and other items from the Times, will sell for about a nickel

NYT Publisher Arthur O. Sulzberger Jr. said the paper is not intended as a money-making operation. The motive is to provide information to a society that is going through changes, he said. Nice change from the good old days, when the Times provided a platform for Walter Duranty, the Pulitzer Prize winner who willfully covered up the starvation of millions in the Ukraine under the savage policies of his hero, Joseph Stalin.

Sea of troubles

Ed Koch, the former New York mayor who has earned a reputation of late as a conduit for nasty things said in hush-hush high-level government meetings, confirmed yesterday that he considered taking his own life when a political scandal broke early in his final term in office.

"I was so overwhelmed by the betrayal of a handful of people... that I was very distraught," he told a wire service reporter. Mr. Koch would not confirm the accuracy of quotations in press reports about his upcoming memoir because, he said, "I don't want to scoop my book." But he did say the story is true.

Mr. Koch said he hit bottom after Donald Manes, the Democratic leader and Queens borough president, stabbed himself to death as his role in corruption in the Parking Violations Bureau was revealed. He said that if he'd had a gun handy, he probably would have used it on himself.

Clinton under fire

Gov. Bill Clinton's office claims that a Public Broadcasting Service documentary on the Arkansas child

welfare system is one-sided. The program is critical of Mr. Clinton. Producers have been asked to run a "disclaimer" noting that Mr. Clinton's staff finds the program "appallingly one-sided and incomplete."

An official of the series "Frontline" countered that "every reasonable effort to investigate the controversy fairly" was made in preparing "Who Cares for the Children," scheduled to air last night on PBS.

"Frontline" Executive Producer Mike Sullivan sent a letter to the Clinton camp saying the program "will not be able to honor your unique request for a disclaimer to the broadcast.... Your characterizations of the program are simply not true."

Blast at Bond

Jim Sheehan of the Competitive Enterprise Institute is an activist involved with the Young Republican Federation in Virginia when not wearing his CEI hat. At the state YR convention over the weekend he introduced a resolution calling for Republican National Committee Chairman Rich Bond to resign because he "has repeatedly undertaken actions deliberately undermining the candidacy of Patrick J. Buchanan."

Mr. Sheehan said he believes Mr. Bond's job is to represent all members of the Republican Party, not just those who back President Bush. Despite opposition from party moderates, the resolution passed.

RNC spokesman Gary Koops didn't hold out any olive branches. "Chairman Bond doesn't have a neutral bone in his body when it comes to supporting George Bush," he declared.

Bad breaks

It's never gonna end for Slick Willie. National Review repeats a line about how the women in Arkansas are so fast you have to put a governor on them.

— John Elvin

In Duke visit, Buchanan rails at multiculturalism

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

GOP challenger Pat Buchanan challenged students at Duke University last night to "recapture America's culture from barbarism."

Mr. Buchanan chose the nation's foremost school of literary criticism based on ethnic and gender perspectives to deplore the division of the country along racial and ethnic lines.

Lambasting the "injustices" Americans are being forced to bear in the name of multiculturalism in the areas of civil rights, education, art and religion, he charged:

"Here at Duke, one of your own illuminati teaches Shakespeare as 'the vehicle to illuminate the way 17th-century society mistreated women, the working class and minorities,'" Mr. Buchanan charged.

"On the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, we hear Columbus vilified as a racist and practitioner of genocide. Out west, the name of Custer National Battlefield must be changed so the descendants of Sitting Bull are not offended.

"The statues of Confederate soldiers must be removed from town squares, because Dix-

ie's cause was not moral. Even the name of the Washington Redskins must be changed, and the tomahawk chop of the Atlanta Braves discontinued."

The nation, "by court decree and executive order," has created a new legal system of discrimination, he said.

"Only now, instead of a tired Rosa Parks being denied a seat in the front of the bus on her way home from work, it is an earnest white man, with a teaching credential, being denied a job at the local high school," he said.

"Now, instead of baseball legend Josh Gibson being denied a spot on a major league team because he was black, it is Alan Bakke being denied a place at medical school — because he is white."

"My friends, a quota is a quota," he said. "You do not change the evil character of racial quotas by changing the color of the victim and the color of the beneficiary."

The Justice Department's orders to state legislatures to carve out new congressional districts to increase the likelihood of a black being elected to Congress "creates segregated voting districts," he said.

Clinton, Bush win big in Pennsylvania primary

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton came within 700 delegates of the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, defeating his only remaining rival, former California Gov. Jerry Brown, 240-1 in the Pennsylvania primary election.

In exit polls, voters from the nation's fifth-largest state displayed what could be the beginning of a reversal of public attitudes toward Mr. Clinton on the character question.

Cable News Network reported that 64 percent of the voters surveyed said Mr. Clinton displayed the honesty and integrity needed of a president.

Mr. Clinton's reaction last night was uncustomarily brief. "That's good," he said of the poll results.

Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald Brown interpreted the results as an indication that "once voters get to know Bill Clinton and who he is and what he stands for, they want to support him."

However, Mr. Clinton's ability to defeat President Bush in the general election this fall remains in doubt.

Mr. Clinton placed third in a recent Los Angeles Times public opinion poll, behind Mr. Bush and Texas billionaire Ross Perot. Mr. Bush was favored by 33 percent, Mr. Perot 32 percent, and Mr. Clinton 26 percent.

Endorsements by governors and state party leaders, a feature of the Clinton campaign in earlier primaries, appear to be harder to achieve in the remaining 14 primary elections, including races in the major Midwestern states of Ohio and Indiana next month, followed by the June contest in California.

Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey not only withheld an endorsement of Mr. Clinton, but on election eve raised questions about how voters view Mr. Clinton's electability and character.

He noted that in some public opinion polls Mr. Clinton was viewed skeptically on the character question by over half of those surveyed.

"All we're doing is really expressing what the public in these surveys around the country are saying, and that very simply is that over half of the people have great concerns about the character issue," he



Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton stretches after a morning run in Philadelphia yesterday.

said.

Those concerns, he added, "are danger signals that I think the party ignores at its peril."

Mr. Casey wants the party to be prepared to consider other candidates as the standard-bearer in the fall campaign.

One of California's political powers, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, said yesterday, "The Democrats ought to seriously consider looking at Mr. Ross Perot as an option in case of a Clinton failure."

But yesterday's victory met Clinton campaign officials' expectations. Early last night, with 30 percent of the precincts reporting, Mr.

Clinton was leading Mr. Brown, 54 percent to 27 percent. Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas, who quit the race last month, gathered 13 percent. President Bush was gaining 76 percent of the vote in the Republican primary, to 24 percent for Pat Buchanan.

Clinton strategists wanted a 50 percent vote margin to stifle the Brown candidacy and quiet concerns about the Arkansas governor's voter appeal and presidential suitability.

Since the beginning of the primary season, Mr. Clinton's attempts to sell voters on his policies to revive U.S. global competitiveness and re-

store the nation's middle class to a robust economic status have been overshadowed by questions about his honesty and integrity.

The candidate has been dogged by questions about marital fidelity, his avoidance of military service during the Vietnam War, evasiveness about past marijuana experimentation while a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, and family business dealings in Arkansas.

Despite the questions, he has won broad voter appeal. Mr. Clinton has won most of the delegates he needs to secure the Democratic nomination.

Earlier this month, just before



Jerry Brown leaves a voting booth in Crafton, Pa., after checking the ballot.

New York voters went to the polls, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo said Mr. Clinton possessed the potential to be a "superb" president, but he too withheld endorsement.

The New York and Pennsylvania governors, as well as California Assembly Speaker Brown, are among the 774 superdelegates to the convention.

Voter turnout, one indicator of voter unease, was light yesterday as it has been throughout the primary season. In Pennsylvania, less than the predicted 50 percent of registered voters showed up at the polls.

Typical of voter apathy was the light turnout in central Pennsylv-

nia, where four blacks were vying for a state legislature seat representing the Harrisburg, Pa., district.

Even a contest featuring five minority candidates didn't stir voters in that area, said Phillip McKain, a former University of Pittsburgh professor who taught black politics and now advises black candidates.

"I didn't get a sense that that had energized the black community," he said, noting that voter turnout was "less than usual for a presidential primary in Pennsylvania and fits the general pattern in the nation. People are concerned and confused about the future."

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



When greatness is in the glands

OK, it's time to be sympathetic to Mr. Clinton. No Sick Willie stuff today.

Mr. Clinton's appeal is here revealed as not necessarily political, but glandular. Jack Valenti once speculated that the source of Lyndon Johnson's power and glory was that he was born with extra glands. Maybe he was right. LBJ was a man who went all the way.

Bill Clinton may not have extra glands (no snickering, please), but the ones he has are "super-human."

We don't even have to take Jennifer Flowers' word for it. We have a testimonial from a certified intellectual, a professor of political science at the University of Arkansas.

Someone sent me a clipping from a newspaper in Little Rock describing the annual meeting of the Arkansas Political Science Association. The subject for Dr. Diane Blair was "How State Government Needs to Be Changed So That Arkansas Can Survive When Bill Clinton is No Longer Governor."

When she began talking, reports Robert McCord, a kind and thoughtful man who was the senior columnist of the Arkansas Gazette, he thought she was kidding. After all, Arkansas made it for nearly 150 years sans Clinton. What had changed the office? All Mr. McCord could recall Mr. Clinton doing for Arkansas in 12 years was to make everybody wear seat belts. He heard Dr. Blair explain:

"The next governor should negotiate with the federal government, recruit new industry from Japan, solve any and all emergencies and balance the budget."

So far, this is not much more than the political scientists in 49 other states expect of their governor. Nothing glandular yet. But wait. Dr. Blair, who



Glandular model

has since become a Clinton aide, has other expectations:

"We expect the governor to come to our child's wedding, to always have time for us when we drop in for a visit, and to answer the phone when we call." (Small, poor state or not, this is expecting a lot.)

The state's 1874 constitution created a very weak governor, she went on, and over the years the Arkansas legislature, which like Congress has never been respectful of much beyond its own perks, further diluted his power.

If you've got Bill Clinton, the professor explained, none of that negative stuff matters. But, like the sheik of Araby, one day he'll be gone, and the new governor will need more help to do less, because Arkansas will have to settle once more for a governor who is "not blessed with . . . superhumanity."

This lesser human won't have Mr. Clinton's "extraordinary physical energy," his ability to keep "incredible hours for seven days a week, non-stop." A regular 60-minute man, as the ladies might say.

Dr. Blair and her husband know this because they are close Clinton chums. "In the last four or five years, we have started doing it in shifts," she said. "We can't do it any more. He's here, he's there, he's everywhere."

Only Mr. Clinton can do this incredible stuff without the enormous staff, research and support that governors "not blessed with superhumanity" must have. And not only that, he has something else: "A clone, and her name is Hillary. . . . We can't always expect our governor to bring someone like that with him to the office."

Well, it's certainly not Bill Clinton's fault that even lady professors go all squiggly and giggly when he drops in, as if he were the lead guitar plucker with the King Biscuit Boys, but Dr. Blair's girlish crush sheds light on why Mr. Clinton imagined that a lot of the high times he gets by with in Arkansas would be similarly indulged when he tried to move up from the Cotton States League.

He's surrounded at home by sighing ladies, lawyers on the make, boiler-room bond salesmen, paving contractors and assorted other flim-flam men who fantasize themselves as ambassadors to the Democratic People's Republic of Lower Slobbovia, or at least France, riding around in limousines big enough to take to the Country Club of Little Rock, if they can just get ol' Bill to Washington.

The poor guy has outgrown his glands.

Perot urged as alternate for Democrats

FROM COLUMBIAN DISPATCHES

A prominent California Democrat said yesterday that his party should consider making Ross Perot its fallback choice, as polls showed the Texas billionaire running even with President Bush among Californians and ahead of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

"The Democrats ought to seriously consider looking at Mr. Ross Perot as an option in case of a Clinton failure," said California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Mr. Clinton has already won most of the delegates he needs to secure the Democratic nomination despite nagging

doubts among some voters.

But Mr. Brown said Mr. Perot should be an option in the event that the front-runner "falls by the wayside or it becomes clear that there's no possibility of his winning the presidency against George Bush in the fall, and Ross Perot is still out there, not saying anything negative about Democrats, and his views become a bit better known."

According to a new Los Angeles Times poll of California residents, Mr. Perot, who is considering an independent presidential candidacy, was favored by 32 percent of respondents, Mr. Bush by 33

percent and Mr. Clinton 26 percent.

More than four in 10 likely Perot voters gave an unfavorable opinion of both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Bush, but only about half of those polled knew enough about Mr. Perot to express an opinion, with 41 percent viewing him favorably and 10 percent negatively.

He was favored by about one-third of Democrats and Republicans alike, the Times survey showed. Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton each lost 11 points when Mr. Perot's name was added.

An ABC News-Washington Post poll showed Mr. Perot getting 21 percent of

his support from Republicans, 27 percent from Democrats and 33 percent from independents.

Mr. Brown said Mr. Perot may prove to be incompatible with Democrats once his positions are better known, but he said the party should be looking for a winner in any case.

He said the Democrats should take a tip from the Republicans of 1952, who basically drafted Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Mr. Brown said Eisenhower "was not a registered Republican or anything else, but he was a candidate who seemed attractive to the American people."

*Clinton is big favorite for Indiana primary

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) — Indiana politicians are firmly convinced that Democratic front-runner Bill Clinton is headed for a lopsided victory over rival Jerry Brown in next week's presidential primary here.

"I've seen no polling information, but Bill Clinton's going to win the Indiana primary," Indiana Gov. Evan Bayh flatly predicted.

He was not alone in making Mr. Clinton the favorite to win the lion's share of the 77 delegates at stake here. Indiana Democrats have long had a soft spot for Southerners and front-runners.

North Carolina and the District of Columbia also are holding primaries Tuesday, but nowhere does the race seem more one-sided than in the Hoosier State.

"I consider this almost a non-contested primary," said Ed Mahern, who directed Indiana efforts for the last three Democratic White House nominees.

One pollster described Mr. Brown's potential in Indiana as mosquito-like, while party Executive Director Ann Delaney said it was "more like a gnat."

"A mosquito can sting," she said. Mr. Brown, visiting the state yesterday, said he was "just starting to get our message out in Indiana." He said his best performance in Tuesday's three primaries could come in Indiana because "D.C.'s the Capitol Hill Gang and North Carolina's Southern."

Mr. Clinton has been endorsed by Gov. Bayh, state Chairman Michael Pannos, East Chicago Mayor Robert Pastrick, and Reps. Lee H. Hamilton, Jill L. Long and Frank

McCloskey.

The state AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers and Communications Workers of America support him. Mr. Brown is endorsed by the Sheet Metal Workers and Bricklayers, unions with less clout here.

"The cold, hard facts are that Jerry Brown cannot win the party nomination," said AFL-CIO President Charles Deppert. "We believe an early resolution of the nomination will give the Democratic nominee more time to focus on the convention and the general election."

Mr. Brown maintained yesterday that he appeals to rank-and-file union members. He said he was puzzled that labor leaders "would jump on the Titanic" by endorsing Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Bayh and other Democrats believe Mr. Clinton appeals to Indiana voters because, like Mr. Carter in 1976, he is a Southern moderate proposing dramatic changes in Washington.

William F. Schreiber, who directed Mr. Carter's 1976 campaign in Indiana, said the state's demographics favor Southern candidates. Many of the residents of heavily Democratic southern Indiana migrated from the South as did numerous urban blacks.

"Southerners do particularly well here. Carter got his highest percentage here of any primary outside the South," Mr. Schreiber said. "Southerners who have strong civil rights records seem to engender a dimension of trust that is not always there with non-Southern Democrats."

Specter faces an upstart in Senate race

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democratic newcomer Lynn Yeakel scored a stunning upset over Lt. Gov. Mark Singel in yesterday's Pennsylvania Senate primary and vowed to make her race against Republican Sen. Arlen Specter a referendum on the Clarence Thomas hearings.

Mrs. Yeakel, 50, an advocate and fund-raiser for women's issues in Philadelphia, registered only single digits in statewide polls taken four weeks ago.

But the novice office-seeker closed the gap with Mr. Singel, the favorite of many traditional Democratic groups, by running television ads critical of the controversial Thomas hearings.

"This election shows there is room in this political system for qualified people," Mrs. Yeakel told supporters at the Philadelphia Hilton Towers hotel.

Mr. Specter drew fire from women's groups outraged by his and the Senate Judiciary Committee's handling of sexual harassment allegations by Anita Hill during the hearings on Justice Thomas' nomination to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Specter, 62, easily defeated state Rep. Stephen Freind, whose drastically underfunded effort failed to capitalize on Mr. Specter's pro-choice stance on abortion or anti-incumbent sentiments that sprang up elsewhere.

Also yesterday, President Bush secured the nomination of his party and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton scored an overwhelming victory in the Pennsylvania presidential pri-

CAMPAIGN '92

PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARY

Results from yesterday's Pennsylvania presidential and senatorial primary.

PRESIDENTIAL

Precincts reporting — 43%

Democrats
Bill Clinton 55%
Jerry Brown 26%

Republican
George Bush 76%
Pat Buchanan 24%

SENATORIAL

Precincts reporting — 38%

Democrats:
Lynn Yeakel 49%
Mark Singel 32%
Robert Colville 11%
Freddie Friedman 4%
Philip Valenti 3%

Republican:
Arlen Specter 66%
Stephen Freind 34%

The Washington Times

maries, leaving little doubt that he will be the Democratic nominee.

With 38 percent of the Demos- see VOTING, page A5

VOTING

From page A1

cratic precincts reporting. Mrs. Yeakel led with 49 percent to Mr. Singel's 32 percent. Three other candidates split the rest of the vote.

Mr. Specter led comfortably with 66 percent to 34 percent for Mr. Freind.

Mrs. Yeakel poured \$203,000 of her own money into the race, her first-ever for elective office. She said Mr. Specter's conduct during the Thomas-Hill hearings and the ratio of 98 men to two women in the Senate moved her to run.

She is the second Democratic woman to score an upset this turbulent election year. Carol Mosely-Braun defeated two-term Sen. Alan Dixon in Illinois' Democratic primary last month. Mr. Dixon voted to confirm Judge Thomas, although the issue did not figure prominently in Mrs. Braun's campaign.

But Mrs. Yeakel seized the issue. She emphasized the all-male composition of the Senate Judiciary Committee and criticized the questions Mr. Specter put to Miss Hill, whose sexual harassment charges threatened Judge Thomas' confirmation.

By ignoring her opponent, Mrs. Yeakel made her campaign a choice between herself and Mr. Specter. It appeared to energize Democratic women eager to punish the senator, long an advocate of women's rights, for what they considered his overbearing treatment of Miss Hill.

Mr. Singel, 38, said only he had the experience — both as lieutenant governor and as a six-year state representative — to serve in Congress.

According to exit polling from Cable News Network, Mrs. Yeakel outpolled Mr. Singel 55 percent to 29 percent among female voters. She also claimed 60 percent of the vote among Democrats unhappy with Judge Thomas' ascension to the court.

Mr. Specter has complained of being unfairly singled out for his role in the nationally televised drama

that simultaneously captivated and repulsed many Americans.

In strictly legal terms, no one has found fault with Mr. Specter's line of questioning, even his accusation that Miss Hill may have perjured herself. Miss Hill, who is now earning \$10,000 an appearance to talk about sexual harassment, has never challenged Mr. Specter's assertion, nor have her attorneys.

Mr. Freind, 48, is the architect of the abortion law before the U.S. Supreme Court. He ran as a single-issue candidate attacking Mr. Specter's pro-choice position.

House incumbents across the state found themselves in tough primary races.

The tightest races were in the 2nd, 4th and 20th districts.

In Philadelphia's 2nd District, Rep. Lucien Blackwell was ousted by C. Delores Tucker, a Democratic National Committee member. Mr. Blackwell succeeded former House Majority Whip William H. Gray III in a special election Nov. 5.

In the 4th District, just north of Pittsburgh, five-term Democrat Joe Kolter faced three well-financed opponents and, according to the latest polls, was deadlocked with Ron Klink, a television anchorman on leave from KDKA-TV in Pittsburgh.

Mike Veon, a state representative and former aide to Mr. Kolter, also appeared to be closing the gap. State Rep. Frank LaGrotta is the other candidate.

In the 20th District, southwest of Pittsburgh, eight-term Democrat Rep. Austin Murphy was challenged by four other Democrats. His closest competitor was Washington County Commission Chairman Frank Mascara. Mr. Murphy was forced into the state's new 20th District after Pennsylvania lost two seats during reapportionment.

All four challengers have run anti-incumbent campaigns against Mr. Murphy, who used to represent the 22nd District. Republican Suzanne Hayden, a lawyer, was expected to win her primary. She won 37 percent of the vote in 1990 after spending only \$3,700 against Mr. Murphy.

Bush gives pep talk to campaign staff

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A bemused President Bush declared himself over the top for the Republican nomination yesterday in a sometimes belligerent, sometimes tearful speech that promised to battle dirty campaigners with gloves off.

"I'll be damned if I'm going to roll over for a lot of these outrageous charges that are coming out of the opposition day in and day out," Mr. Bush told workers in his first visit to Bush-Quayle '92 national campaign headquarters.

The noontime speech celebrated the day his own delegate counters anticipated capturing the lion's share of Pennsylvania's 72 delegates to reach 1,114 — or nine more than is needed for first-ballot renomination — and cap his easy primary-season victory over conservative columnist Pat Buchanan.

In a burst of convention-style rhetoric, campaign chairman Robert Teeter introduced Mr. Bush to 175 volunteers in a steamy and crowded 10th-floor office as "the man who, when the polls close tonight, will be the nominee of the Republican Party for a second term as president of the United States."

Several news organizations delayed ratification until Saturday because they don't count any delegates in a state until its selection process formally ends. The campaign counts 22 pledged delegates in Maine and nine in other states not yet included in the Associated Press tally.

Although White House officials showed a new edginess about the prospect of an independent candidacy by billionaire Ross Perot, it was Democratic



President Bush speaks to workers at his Washington campaign headquarters yesterday, where confidence on the Pennsylvania primary was running high.

front-runner Bill Clinton's "issue-a-day shot at us" that apparently set fire to Mr. Bush yesterday.

"I have not been attacking any opponent. ... We've had able surrogates trying to put these people into proper perspective, but I have not been engaged in that," Mr. Bush said, drawing laughter from his workers despite his own stony seriousness.

Those surrogates include first lady Barbara Bush and some of the five Bush children, including George W. Bush, whose unofficial role as campaign overseer was pointed up by a 15-minute talk

to volunteers yesterday.

The president said "all of our kids who are caught up in this ugliness of this campaign" were grateful for campaign volunteers' help.

"When we get the gloves off and we get into the arena with these people, we can conduct ourselves with a certain sense of honor, a certain sense of decency, a certain compassion and a certain caring," he said.

The pep talk at the 1030 15th St. NW headquarters was but a warm-up for last night's President's Dinner at the Washington Convention Center.

"It's wonderful to be officially over the top," Mr. Bush said to about 4,000 guests at the black-tie dinner.

In a gesture that seemed aimed at Republican opponents rather than allies, he said he has learned in this campaign "of the cares and concerns of those who chose to support us, and those who didn't." He said he was thinking more about what those who took part on the Republican side of the primary have in common.

Former Sen. Howard Baker said the dinner would raise \$9 million, making it the largest political fund-raiser in history. The biggest spenders pose with the president for power-wall photos, share tables with GOP senators and senior officials of their choice, and later get bonus breakfasts at the vice president's house and invitations to a White House reception.

"It's buying access to the system, yes. That's what the political parties and the political operation is all about," White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said.

He denied that such access equals influence and, in a civics-style lecture, defended the need to raise private campaign funds or "one rich man could always control every election."

That point brought him to Mr. Perot, who reportedly is worth an estimated \$2.5 billion and is willing to plunge an unprecedented \$100 million into his own campaign if he runs.

"We have a rare thing here now with Ross Perot in, but if you took that aside, I don't believe anybody would want to say that one man could buy an election," Mr. Fitzwater told reporters.

By David Mura

I am a sansei, a third-generation Japanese American. A couple of years ago, I asked a white friend what he felt about me the first time we met. He insisted he had learned not to stereotype people; that he had gone past racist classifications. Fine, I said, but what stereotypes came up? Finally, after a half-hour of my questioning, he relented. "I guess I thought you'd be too powerful for me," he said.

"What does that mean?" I asked.

"Well, my father always said that the Japanese lost the war but they were going to win the war after the war."

My friend's remarks brought up a question that still plagues Japanese Americans: Are you Japanese or American? Behind this question lies certain troubling racist assumptions.

In 1942, in the months after Pearl Harbor, Congressional hearings were held concerning the Japanese Americans and Japanese aliens on the West Coast. Although Earl Warren, then the Governor of California, acknowledged that there appeared to be no fifth-column activity, he argued that this was merely proof that such activity was planned.

Taking a somewhat different tack, Senator Tom Stewart of Tennessee maintained, "A Jap is a Jap wherever you find him. They do not believe in God and have no respect for an oath of allegiance."

As the son of internment camp prisoners, even now I feel the need to point out that no Japanese American was ever convicted of espionage. A 1982 study commissioned by Congress concluded that the causes for the internment were wartime hysteria, racism and lack of political leadership. The Congress acknowledged this in 1988 when it awarded damage payments to Japanese Americans who had been detained.

And yet, I know that the circular logic of Earl Warren and Tom Stewart is still present. Witness last year's best seller, "The Coming War with Japan." In defending their title, George Friedman and Meredith LeBaron argued that they did not have to prove that Japan was preparing for war, they merely needed to prove that such an act would be in its interest.

Japan's economic success will inevitably give way to a more natural, and more fierce, national sensibility, they wrote. "Pacifism is not native to Japan, nor is national mod-

David Mura is author of "Turning Japanese: Memoirs of a Sansei."

erally, in particular, this is the idea that the Japanese cannot change, or accept foreign beliefs. (One wonders where pacifism is native?) Yet in a recent poll, only 10 percent of Japanese surveyed said they would fight for their country.

There are those who argue that charges of Japan bashing are exaggerated or even completely off the mark. In Michael Crichton's best seller, "Rising Sun," such claims are used by the Japanese to their own advantage and serve mainly as a smoke screen for the "real" issues.

Obviously, I look at Japan bashing from a different perspective. When I

Japanese Americans: strangers at home.



see people taking a sledgehammer to a Japanese car on TV, I wonder what would happen if my daughter and I happened to walk by. Would they care if we were Japanese or Japanese American?

To someone like Michael Crichton, I would ask: If the whiff of racism is not in the air, how does one explain the anti-Japan slogans painted on the walls of the Japanese American community center in Norwalk, Calif., in November? Or the message, "all Japs must die," written on the door of a Wellesley College Chinese American student in February? Or the Thai American man in Torrance, Calif., who was beaten in March by a white man who asked him if he was Japanese?

A conclusion reached through racism is not necessarily incorrect. A case can be made that the U.S. has legitimate trade differences with Japan and that Japan's success has hurt our economy. Where racism comes in is in the force of emotions

and in the inability to distinguish between Japanese and Japanese Americans. It gives people a scapegoat. Since the scapegoated group is considered less human and less worthy, it cannot possibly do better than one's own group. Unless the group has some unfair advantage. Unless it cheats.

In Senator Ernest Hollings's remarks that anyone who doubts U.S. power and skill should remember that we dropped an atomic bomb on Japan, in Lee Iacocca's angrily protectionist commercials, the underlying premise is that Americans are always the best. They only lose when the playing field isn't level.

Asian Americans are the largest group at the University of California, Berkeley, and at U.C.L.A. Their success has engendered resentment. They are grinds; they work too hard. They have an unfair advantage. Sounds a little like the complaints against the Japanese, doesn't it?

Such feelings were behind the Asian Exclusion Act of 1882, the Alien Land Law of 1913 and the internment of my parents and other Japanese Americans. They also have a lot to do with the recent rise in hate crimes against Asian Americans documented by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in February.

Perhaps if Americans had a better knowledge of the Japanese and Japanese Americans, such resentment would not flourish so easily. Unfortunately, most Americans still base their image of Asians and Asian Americans on stereotypes.

The success of "Rising Sun," with its picture of the Japanese as duplicitous and cruel, as the most racist people on earth, is merely another example of Orientalism. (Yes, the Japanese are racist, but Mr. Crichton's picture of racism in the U.S. is much less troubled than mine or Toni Morrison's or Louise Erdrich's.) Did resentment and fear cause some Americans to see Kristi Yamaguchi, who won a gold medal in figure skating at the Winter Olympics, as less American than her teammates?

Often, when white Americans tell me they are not racist, I reply that I grew up thinking of myself as less than 100 percent American. In certain ways I hated the way I looked and felt ashamed of my heritage. If I took racist values from society, I ask them, how is it they did not?

To dig out the roots of racial resentment, Americans must come to terms with their subjective vision of race. If someone of another color gets a job you're applying for, is your resentment more than if a person of your own color won the job? When you hear the word American, whose face flashes before your mind? □

Mayor Dinkins and the Silver Lining

The Dinkins administration's new budget comes bound with a bit of shiny ribbon and includes the promise of some small but appealing initiatives. The politicking is forgivable even in these tough times because taken as a whole, the 1993 budget offers a prudent, candid plan that should serve New York City well.

If the Mayor keeps to his plan and does not give city workers a raise, he will manage to balance the budget without gimmicks, borrowing or an enormous tax boost. His budget makes conservative assumptions and continues to trim fat.

How did Mayor David Dinkins find a small surplus, some of which will finance new undertakings? Mostly through admirable diligence. The administration had a long-term plan to reduce spending and held to it steadfastly. Also, tax collections came in a little higher than expected.

The city is not out of trouble. The recession goes on. Jobs continue to disappear. But the new budget shows that the Dinkins administration has learned how to manage adversity.

Things didn't look so sensible a week ago. City Hall seemed mired in confusion as the Mayor, who has known nothing but municipal poverty since taking office, suddenly began making attractive promises. He talked about expanded library hours,

community health clinics and other programs.

But now that his \$29.5 billion budget is available for analysis, the good news can be seen in perspective. The \$455 million surplus is only a thin silver lining, and the Mayor soundly uses much of it to avoid the need to borrow \$250 million next year.

Any talk of a surplus, no matter how small, put labor leaders in a difficult position with workers who are not getting raises. Even so, the leaders reacted disingenuously last week. So did legislative leaders and Felix Rohatyn, chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation. They all had to know that the surplus is made up of non-recurring revenues that cannot go to wage increases, and does not eliminate the need for \$115 million in state-authorized taxes or for \$100 million from the M.A.C.

The budget has flaws. Mr. Dinkins could try for deeper cuts in the municipal work force and could truly overhaul the way government operates instead of making incremental changes. Moreover, the deficit in the fiscal year that begins in June 1994 already looms large.

But Mr. Dinkins and his budget director, Philip Michael, admit the problem and show a willingness to confront it. That candor, combined with prudence demonstrated in the budget, goes a long way toward restoring confidence in city government.

Movement in Myanmar

A smidgen of good news has trickled out of Myanmar, formerly Burma, in recent days. The ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council, or Slorc, is plainly responding to international outrage over its abuses of human rights.

That suggests a powerful lesson: No just cause need be considered hopeless once civilized states mobilize in its behalf.

True, the Slorc's concessions so far are minimal. It has released 19 political prisoners, but leaves hundreds of others jailed. It has allowed Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel laureate, to receive family visitors, but continues her unjust detention. And it brazenly ignores a 1990 election overwhelmingly won by her National League for Democracy.

The Slorc has suspended its siege of ethnic Karens. But it continues to dominate minorities by force. And while it has agreed to let Muslim refu-

gees return from Bangladesh, it has failed to eliminate the fear that spurred their flight.

More significant than these gestures are the pressures that compelled them. The Norwegian Nobel Committee shined a spotlight on Myanmar's struggle for democracy by awarding the 1991 Peace Prize to Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi. Efforts by Sweden and the European Community brought a strong U.N. condemnation. And Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan successfully organized support for U.S. economic sanctions. Japan used aid programs as leverage for human rights. And South and Southeast Asian nations became outspoken critics.

Faced with almost universal hostility, the Slorc now scrambles to change its image. Friends of freedom will be encouraged and energized, even as they recognize that Myanmar's ordeal remains far from over.

Remembering a Father Of Social Security

To the Editor:

This month marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Epstein, a founder of the American Social Security system. It is because of his conviction and courage that millions of Social Security beneficiaries — retired and disabled workers, their families and survivors — receive dignified Social Security, rather than suffer the misery of the poorhouse or the humiliation of the dole.

Born in Russia, Epstein came to the United States at age 12, graduated from the University of Pittsburgh, worked for the Pennsylvania commission to draft the first old-age pension bill, taught at New York University and Brooklyn College, and devoted his life to the principles of economic security for workers and their families. In the 1920's, he castigated "blind greed, selfish materialism and rampant individualism," championed the needs of the elderly and unemployed, and preached mutual protection and public responsibility.

His writing, speaking and lobbying helped mobilize public opinion and to pass the Social Security Act of 1935. From then until his death in 1942, Epstein argued for reforms in unemployment insurance and a national health system. Although poor in money, power and fame, he converted ideals into reality. His contributions have improved the lives of millions, and his pragmatic idealism should inspire us.

JEAN T. D. BANDLER
Associate Professor of Social Work
New York University
New York, April 15, 1992

Liberian Guerrilla's Role Is Exaggerated

To the Editor:

"In Liberia's Illusory Peace, Rebel Leader Rules Empire of His Own Design," your April 14 news article on Charles Taylor, might have been valid six months ago, but recent events, and my own observations in a February trip to Monrovia, indicate that the reality is different.

Monrovia, rather than a city on the verge of collapse, appears poised for reconstruction. Pharmacies, food, auto supply and home furnishing stores offer a range of goods, while many restaurants offer full menus and excellent food at reasonable prices. Yes, Monrovia's infrastructure is inadequate. But the water shortage is a function of the dry season, and power outages occurred even in pre-civil war days. I flew in and out of Monrovia's Spriggs-Payne

Airport, the only functioning international field in Liberia, controlled by the interim government, not Mr. Taylor. The Port of Monrovia is open for business and thriving.

Mr. Taylor's ability to control events has been exaggerated. The "peacekeeping" force of the West African states, popularly known as Ecomog, is the dominant military power in Liberia. Armed troops and armored personnel carriers at military checkpoints throughout the capital confirm that it is a fully armed and combat ready force. Its recent role was to keep the peace between the combatants, but an interim government source has confirmed that Ecomog has begun to filter throughout Liberia to disarm Mr. Taylor's forces. Another interim government source has stated that Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi has agreed to end Mr. Taylor's financial and logistical support.

Perhaps recognizing his situation, Mr. Taylor continues to negotiate with President Amos Sawyer's interim government. They recently agreed on selection of judges for a reconstituted Supreme Court.

Free elections presuppose disarming and internment all Liberian fighting forces. Most likely, the new President will come from within the interim government. But any new government must be multiracial, with representatives from the interim government, former President Samuel K. Doe's forces and even Mr. Taylor's contingent.

ROBERT K. ERLANGER
New York, April 17, 1992

The writer is managing director of West Africa Ventures Corporation.

Movie Generation Gap

To the Editor:

I am 12 years old, and I am writing because I feel that the reviewers are wrong about children's movies. They usually say the movie is bad or stupid. I think those critics should only review R-rated movies. And you should get a kid to review PG or PG-13 movies. I know I would love to!

Adults don't have the same opinions as kids do, and when they say that a movie isn't good, I always end up loving it. For instance, this weekend I saw "Newsies" and thought it was excellent though the reviewers didn't.

CARI GELBER
New York, April 13, 1992

The Environmental Pollution President

By Henry A. Waxman

On Earth Day, President Bush said that the main environmental accomplishment of his Administration was "proposing, negotiating and signing into law a new Clean Air Act that will cut sulfur dioxide emissions in half, reduce toxic air emissions and clean up smog in cities across America."

What he didn't say was that in less than a year and a half, his Administration has broken the law 35 times in failing to issue regulations needed to carry out the act. He forgot to mention that his Administration refuses to control toxic lead emissions from incinerators or cancer-causing fumes from motor vehicles.

Henry A. Waxman, a Democratic Representative from California, is chairman of the House health and environment subcommittee.

And this week he is expected to weaken the act further by giving major air polluters the power to increase allowable pollution levels.

Since adoption of the Clean Air Act in 1990, the Administration has repeatedly violated the law to bestow political favors. Campaigning in Texas last month, the President announced he would relax controls on nitrogen oxide emissions from power plants. One week later, he went to Michigan and told auto executives he would exempt them from controls on benzene emissions required by the law.

Even worse, Administration officials have not kept a wall between personal interests and official duties. Vice President Dan Quayle intervened to kill a proposal under the act to recycle newspapers — even though his family trust had a multimillion-dollar investment in a paper mill, which profited from reduced competition with makers of recycled newsprint. His top aide, Allan Hubbard, changed a proposal to monitor sulfur dioxide emissions that was opposed by a company in which he owns stock.

I praised President Bush when he announced the new clean-air legislation in June 1989. Then I watched with dismay as his aides worked behind the scenes to weaken it, as when John Sununu, the former chief of staff, led a legislative effort to derail the Presi-

Bush is quietly gutting the Clean Air Act.

dent's alternative fuels program.

As the legislative process continued, the President became a bigger and bigger obstacle. He fought efforts to strengthen controls on urban smog and toxic emissions. He opposed tighter controls on ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons. His aides lobbied against proposals to reformulate gasoline to make it cleaner. But in the

end, he lost most of these battles. Congress passed a much-strengthened Clean Air Act, and the President, to his credit, did not veto it.

Now the new law may become an empty vessel. Rather than carrying it out, the White House is illegally seeking to rewrite it through the regulatory process. This effort is led by the Vice President's Council on Competitiveness, which meets in secret with industry lobbyists to set a deregulatory agenda at odds with the Clean Air Act.

The requirement currently at the top of the Competitiveness Council's hit list is a proposal by the Environmental Protection Agency to require major air polluters to obtain pollution permits. The council forced the E.P.A. to insert a loophole allowing permit holders to increase pollution levels and rewrite important terms without public scrutiny.

This loophole is brazenly illegal. The Clean Air Act states that there must be "opportunity for public comment and a hearing... of permit actions, including... revisions." Although seemingly technical, the loophole strikes at the act's heart. Permits control urban smog, toxic emissions, acid rain and ozone-depleting chemicals. A weak permit program undermines nearly all of the gains achieved by the act.

The E.P.A. recognized the problem. Last August, the agency's general counsel took the unprecedented step of declaring in an interoffice memo that the loophole was "highly unlikely" to survive court challenge. In October, the E.P.A. Administrator, William Reilly, sent a new proposal to the White House that eliminated the loophole.

The permit rule has become the battlefield for control of environmental regulations. The final rule was required by law to be issued last November, but the Competitiveness Council has refused to let Mr. Reilly do so unless he reinstates the loophole. Now the matter is before the President, who will probably side with big business and the Competitiveness Council, despite the absence of any legal support for this decision.

The President's calculus is entirely political. He thinks few people are paying much attention to complicated regulatory issues. He feels he can please important corporate supporters by undermining the Clean Air Act without tarnishing his claim to be the environmental President.

Ultimately what is at stake is much more than the permit rule or even the Clean Air Act. Our constitutional system is undermined if the President can ignore with impunity the requirements of a law that took a decade of public activism to enact.

Believing the Children

ANNA QUINDLEN

She had a good deal more dignity than I remembered from the days when we worked together. Perhaps it was the passage of time, the segue from clerk to editor, single woman to mother. Or perhaps dignity is the armor you don when you've spent years listening to your daughter describe sexual abuse. Describing how her teacher penetrated her with eating utensils. Describing how her teacher engaged in sex acts with the kids placed in her care. Describing it at home and in the courtroom.

It has been seven years. Her daughter was 5. Now the girl is on the verge of adolescence. Nothing she says or does, no reticence or mood, no odd comment or bit of sexual curiosity, comes to her mother except through the scrim of this thing.

"It's always there," she says, dignified.

In some sense she thinks she is one of the lucky ones, although she knows it is not an apt description. Kelly

that they are often susceptible to suggestive questioning. Believing the children is often not as simple as a slogan: it's necessary to know the genesis of their charges.

But just because it's difficult and disturbing doesn't mean it's impossible. It's become popular to suggest that there is a national hysteria about the sexual abuse of children. At a time when we are coming clean about so much pathology, when rape victims are coming forward, when battered women are willing to speak out, it seems to me that it is only wishful thinking that leads us to conclude that because there is an explosion of reports of child sexual abuse, those reports must be fabricated or greatly overblown.

The biggest difference between now and then is our children's willingness to tell. The woman whose daughter was abused knows this from experience; she and her sisters were silent for years about their molestation by a great-uncle.

The problem is that this reporting explosion has come before the expertise. Just as many police officers know now how to provide prosecutors with evidence that will pass judicial scrutiny, so a sophisticated approach to questioning children must become a routine part of law enforcement.

These cases are not going to go away. The testimony of the former wife of the day-care owner in North Carolina that she once found child pornography in his post office box is the worst nightmare of working couples. Even in the McMartin case, several of the jurors said they believed that something had happened to the children. They found reasonable doubt in the way they thought the children's testimony had been tainted by adults.

"She will always need more from me than my other children," the woman I once worked with says quietly of her daughter, who is still terrified of Kelly Michaels and who, at age 12, refuses ever to sleep alone.

And children in these cases may always need more time, more attention, more care in eliciting their testimony than any other kind of witness in any other kind of case. The response to that is not to muddle through from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, hoping for the best. And it is not to assume that parents are looking for a pedophile in every day-care cubby and that children are obliging with detailed delusions. It is to do better, case by case, kid by kid.

Difficult but not impossible.

Michaels, the teacher at a New Jersey preschool who molested the woman's daughter and 18 other children, was convicted and is in jail. The parents think of themselves as lucky in North Carolina, too, where last week a small town day-care owner was convicted of 99 counts of child abuse stemming from charges made by 12 children.

The case at the McMartin Preschool in California came out differently. This country's longest criminal trial, it ended with acquittals and the bitter disappointment of parents who believed their children had been irreparably harmed, first by caregivers, then by the courts.

All criminal cases are different, but child sexual abuse cases tend to sound the same. The defense discredits children by blaming adults, saying that leading questions and group hysteria have led to outlandish charges. The prosecution strategy can be summed up in a bumper sticker: "We Believe The Children."

If it were that simple, there'd be no need for juries. Some studies have found that child witnesses are as credible as adults. Others have found

Going Crazy on the House Bank

Bad enough for the House Bank to be so mismanaged as to become a scandal that has, beyond all reason, inflamed the public and stirred panic among Members of Congress. Now the Justice Department, by starting a bizarrely broad criminal investigation, invites suspicion of unworthy partisanship.

Despite their own misgivings about the scope of Judge Wilkey's subpoena, Republican House members nonetheless rushed to say they wanted to cooperate. House Democrats can stand against both the panic and partisanship by agreeing to cooperate with a reasonable investigation, and standing firmly against a fishing expedition.

The Justice Department, with apparently limitless prosecutorial appetite, has subpoenaed more than three years' worth of House Bank records — the basis of check overdrafts that are not themselves ordinarily treated as crimes. Unless this subpoena is reasonably recast it risks invading the proper privacy of members, unfairly impugning Democrats and brushing harshly against the separation of powers.

This subpoena is not the work of some hot-blooded, ambitious United States Attorney but of Malcolm Wilkey, a retired Federal Judge who was enlisted as special counsel by Attorney General William Barr precisely to guard against a runaway inquisition.

But Judge Wilkey, who headed the Justice Department's Criminal Division in the sober-sided Eisenhower Administration, is off and running. In injudicious, incendiary language, he tells House members they have no more right to privacy than depositors of "a failed S&L or a fraudulently operated B.C.C.I."

Only the very rash would assume that no evidence of criminality lurks in the miles of microfilm the department demands. But even powerful grand juries are not usually licensed to fish for mischief without some definable goal. House members, already taking political lumps for their mismanaged bank, enjoy no special immunities, but neither should they be victimized by criminal fishing expeditions.

Judge Wilkey could focus his investigation at the outset by trying to find a test for inquiry into any member's bank behavior and, in any case, isolating the records of the 170 representatives who did not overdraw their accounts.

There must be other areas of negotiation that could narrow the subpoena's scope, yet Judge Wilkey suggests none.

The House Bank was a pool of its members' own money. Their overdrafts were not misuses of public funds. The public needs the reassurance of a conscientious inquiry, not provocation from partisans.

When the Irish Came Into the American Club

To the Editor:

As an opponent of Patrick J. Buchanan's racist American nationalism, I enjoyed Prof. Fred Somkin's knock at President Bush's challenger from the right in "Buchanan's Club" (letter, April 8). But I am disappointed that, as a teacher of American history, he shows limited knowledge of American assimilation and nativist history.

Irish and German Roman Catholics were admitted to American club privileges the moment they got off the boat, as against African-American Protestants. By about 1900, they were members of the club itself — not without recurring discomfort about Irish superpapal Catholicism. The rules had to change in the face of massive immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

United States immigration quotas of the 1920's were silent on religion, but implicitly defined Northwest Europeans as the core of the American nation whose proportion should be sustained under future immigration. This was abandoned in the 1960's, but two immigration acts last decade specifically allowed quotas for the Irish. I am not aware of any other group given such undisputed privilege. Indochinese refugees got special treatment because of the Vietnam War. With Poles and Soviet Jews, it was done largely for domestic political considerations, plus some genuine philo-Semitism, mixed with guilt for ungenerous behavior 50 years ago. But they still had to pass a test as refugees from likely persecution.

Irish-American politicians were the central patrons of the Irish immigration privilege, but many in Congress accepted that the Irish make quintessential American recruits. Hispanic and Asian groups complained about these Irish quota acts.

Mr. Buchanan, in his television interview with David Frost, said he was "multicultural," being the descendant of Scotch-Irish, Irish and Germans. When campaigning in the South, he drew attention to his "old stock" Protestant ancestors who had fought for the Confederacy.

A look at the history of the Christian Front in New York City around 1940 is interesting. It was a fascist-model, openly anti-Semitic group. Like the America First movement, it opposed United States involvement in World War II (calling it "Jews' war"). The group took its ideas from the Rev. Charles Coughlin, the Canadian-Irish radio priest. The membership was disproportionately Irish-American, but it was American na-

tionalist, not old-country linked, and not at all explicitly Roman Catholic, but rather devoted to the "white, Christian American race."

After Pearl Harbor, the Federal Government suppressed the Italian Fascist and Nazi organizations in this country. The Christian Front presented a continuing difficulty because it was not foreign linked.

My mother used to point out to me the arrogance of her fellow Irish immigrants when they referred to native-born Americans of non-English-speaking stock as "foreigners." It seems that her fellows understood something that the Congressional majority also intuitively accepts. The Irish Immigration Reform Movement campaigned in the 1980's with placards reading "Legalize the Irish." Advocates of special treatment for Salvadorans or Haitians feel



it is necessary to come up with some extraordinary reason, for example, "Don't Send Them Back to the Death Squads."

ROBERT ST-CYR
Greenlawn, L.I., April 13, 1992
The writer is co-author of "Mick: A Documentary History of Anti-Irish Discrimination in America."

Slowly Changing Land

To the Editor:

As Anthony Lewis maintains, "Ireland is a changing country" (column, March 26), but visitors and readers should be cautious in interpreting visible symbols of change (including memorials to Oscar Wilde and Samuel Becket or the election of Mary Robinson as President) as evidence of a substantively different society.

Ireland has been changing since the late 1950's, when a major transformation in government economic policy began to restructure the econ-

omy. By the late 1970's, Ireland had many of the characteristics associated with modernization: the primacy of agricultural production and employment was displaced by manufacturing and services sectors, and the majority of Irish people were living in urban areas. There were increased participation in education, increased labor force participation by women and declining fertility rates.

Cultural change, however, was only partial. Modern Ireland steadfastly resists institutionalizing cultural options available in other Western societies such as divorce and abortion.

Since the early 70's, opinion polls demonstrated increasing support for divorce. By the beginning of 1988, only 24 percent believed divorce should never be permitted. That April, following the Government's announcement of a divorce referendum and publication of proposals for restrictive divorce legislation, 81 percent of those polled said they intended to vote for the divorce amendment.

But after nine weeks of debate — during which, incidentally, the Roman Catholic bishops, reaffirming their post-Vatican II position differentiating law and private morality, stated that "Catholics in good conscience could vote in favor of the amendment" — the Irish voted 64 percent to 36 percent against divorce. (Two months later, a poll majority again expressed support for divorce.)

Three years earlier, a "pro-life" amendment to the Constitution aimed at strengthening the criminal status of abortion, was overwhelmingly endorsed. Despite recent support for the 14-year-old girl who was at first banned from seeking an abortion in England following rape, it is unlikely that the Irish, if a future referendum were to be held, would vote for even restrictive abortion.

Although Prime Minister Albert Reynolds has expressed openness to another referendum on divorce and to exploring the moderation of the abortion ban, the party he leads, Fianna Fail, has politically exploited divorce and abortion, invoking the specter of "a stalking Frankenstein" as synonymous with change.

The Irish have been adept at disentangling their economic interests from their cultural identity; I have no doubt that the vote on European integration will be consistent with this pattern.

MICHELE DILLON
New Brunswick, N.J., April 9, 1992
The writer, an Irish citizen, is an assistant professor in communication at Rutgers University.

G.O.P. ANNOUNCES A WELFARE POLICY

House Leaders Offer Proposal
as First of Several to Deal
With Domestic Issues

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28 — Deciding they need substance as well as scandal to make major gains in the November elections, House Republicans today unveiled the first of several legislative proposals they plan to introduce to show they are serious about domestic policy.

Today's example demanded work from welfare recipients.

The proposal would require recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, if their children were 3 years of age or older, to work part time or go to school to remain eligible for benefits. It would also set a limit of four years' eligibility for benefits; after that, a welfare recipient would be expected to find a full-time job.

The proposal was introduced at a news conference here and was later echoed at 90 or so sessions around the country, where Republicans running in open seats or against Democrats announced their support of the plan.

'We Have the Ideas'

Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the second-ranking House Republican, said the sessions were intended to show that "we have the ideas to solve real problems."

He said other topics of the monthly sessions would include education, health care, crime and litigation. In October, the House whip said, Republican candidates from all over the nation would be invited to come to the Capitol and pose for a picture with President Bush as a demonstration of teamwork.

"Most Americans know they're angry," Mr. Gingrich said at the news conference. "They want to know what you're going to do about their anger."

"The Republicans, who now hold 166 House seats to the Democrats' 268, would need to gain 52 seats in the November election to win control of the 435-member body and carry out their plans. One seat is currently held by an independent.

Mr. Gingrich said the Republicans constituted a "team for change" and would pass these proposals in the first 90 days of a new Congress if only the voters put them in charge.

The way Republicans were using the Gingrich initiative was shown by Bill Cleveland, one of five Republican candidates who attended the session here.

After Mr. Cleveland had listened and stood silently with Mr. Gingrich and other Republican lawmakers, his aides handed out a press release saying:



Representative Newt Gingrich announced a Republican plan that would require welfare recipients to work part time or go to school. He handed a microphone back to a camera operator after news conference.

"Washington, D.C. — Alexandria Vice Mayor and Eighth District Congressional candidate Bill Cleveland today announced a national welfare reform package, and pledged to work to enact the plan once he is elected to Congress."

Afterward at a news conference with Mr. Gingrich and Representative Vin Weber of Minnesota, Mr. Cleveland said: "The welfare state, despite the

noble intentions of its founders, has become an albatross around the neck of our economy and our society. By reducing and even removing the inducements for holding down a steady job and keeping families together, what was meant to be a short-term assistance for tough times has become a wretched life style, passed down from generation to generation."

In other places, candidates broad-

cast the Washington news conference over loudspeakers for half an hour and then explained their support for the proposal.

Mr. Gingrich said 95 non-incumbent candidates were backing the proposal, a substantial part of an unusually large number of Republicans seeking House seats this year. Kirsten Fedewa, spokeswoman for the National Republican Congressional Committee, said there were at least 820 Republicans seeking the 435 seats in the House. She said that was a record and "at least twice as many" as there were at this point in the campaign two years ago.

The proposal itself was presented in only bare outline today. Mr. Weber said its objective was "lifting people out of welfare and making them independent."

He said the program was designed to say that four years "is as long as people are going to sustain you on the welfare rolls."

Representative E. Clay Shaw Jr., Republican of Florida, said the measure was intended to see that welfare case-workers, "in every way possible, encourage these people to go to work."

Before holding their news conference at the National Press Club, Mr. Gingrich and some colleagues explained it to the President at the White House. Mr. Gingrich said later that Mr. Bush was enthusiastic.

"You have a team for change in the House and Senate and Presidential Republican Party," Mr. Gingrich said.

House Republicans Urging Surrender of Bank Records

By DAVID JOHNSTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28 — Congressional Republicans said today that they want the House to turn over all bank records subpoenaed by the Justice Department as the lawmakers, fearing the political repercussions of resistance, rebelled against their leader.

The Republicans' demand puts them in direct conflict with the Democratic leadership, which has indicated that it may resist the subpoenas. It also represents a reversal by Representative Robert H. Michel, the House Republican leader, who said on Monday that he favored narrowing the scope of the subpoenas.

The subpoenas seek all the bank's records for a 39-month period from 1988 to 1991, both for the hundreds of lawmakers who overdraw their accounts and for the 170 members who never wrote an overdraft. The House has until Thursday to respond.

After a meeting of Republican leaders today, Mr. Michel explained his shift, saying that the constitutional issues were not as serious as he had at first believed and that the Republican members of the House ethics committee had advised him that the disclosure of the information was justified.

The Republican switch left House Speaker Thomas S. Foley increasingly isolated, without bipartisan support to solidify his resistance to the subpoenas. Even members of his own party seemed to expect that at least some Democrats would follow the Republicans in capitulating to the Justice Department's demands.

Mr. Foley, Democrat of Washington, spurned an informal request for the records by a special counsel, Malcolm R. Wilkey, a retired Federal appeals court judge who was named by Attorney General William P. Barr to investigate the bank. Mr. Foley said in a letter to House members that the Justice Department's subpoenas were far too broad and that the investigation as proposed was an open-ended examination of the finances of every member of the House.

Coming at a time when House members began to believe the political furor over the House bank was subsiding, they returned from their spring recess today to face the subpoena and a letter from Judge Wilkey advising them that he is investigating the possibility of criminal fraud at the bank in the form of check-kiting schemes.

For lawmakers who had glimpsed a more placid future beyond the House bank and post office scandals, the subpoenas dashed their hopes of turning to legislative issues and created more political and legal trouble with potential reverberations back home.

"The momentum of this issue had pretty well played out, but this does revive it in an entirely different direction," said Representative Henry J.

Hyde, Republican of Illinois. "The judge is looking for criminal acts and we have a duty to cooperate with that search. It's like when the teacher says empty your pockets, you better empty them."

His comments seemed illustrative of sentiment that seemed to be building in both parties to comply with the subpoenas. Democrats are scheduled to hold a caucus on Wednesday to discuss the issue, and a measure to turn over the records to Judge Wilkey could be introduced on the House floor later in the day.

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat who is chairman of the House banking committee, said in a letter to Mr. Foley today that he would go to court if necessary to "protect my rights, privileges and immunities under the Constitution."

In a statement, Mr. Gonzalez said Judge Wilkey was an "unscrupulous opportunist." He said a vote by the

House leader faces isolation over a subpoena.

House to provide the records to the Justice Department would not waive the rights of individual members.

Should the House resist the subpoenas, the issue could wind up in Federal court with Congress battling the Justice Department over broad constitutional issues like separation of powers and narrower legal questions like the right of prosecutors to issue subpoenas versus the privacy rights of individual lawmakers.

House lawyers acknowledge that the Constitution does not prohibit the Justice Department from obtaining records of lawmakers suspected of specific acts of wrongdoing, but have said that as a coequal branch of Government under the Constitution, the executive branch does not have unlimited power to investigate the activities of Congress.

But lawyers allied with the Bush Administration said that Constitutional prohibitions protect Congress from investigations that may interfere with their legislative functions, but do not apply to a non-Governmental activity like writing checks at the House bank.

A second issue is whether the subpoenas are too broad. Lawyers on both sides said today that prosecutors have wide powers to demand documents and that courts are often reluctant to quash a subpoena, although the scope of the subpoenas is often narrowed through negotiation.

California Survey Finds Strong Support for Perot

By SETH MYDANS
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, April 26 — Although only about half of California voters know enough about him to express an opinion, Ross Perot would run neck-and-neck with President Bush here and slightly ahead of Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas if the election were held now, according to a Los Angeles Times poll published today.

The latest in a series of recent public-opinion polls showing strong support for the Texas billionaire, the survey linked his popularity to widespread dissatisfaction with both major-party front-runners. Mr. Perot is considering an independent bid for the Presidency but has not declared a candidacy.

The random telephone survey of 1,395 registered California voters, conducted from April 23 through April 26, showed that Mr. Perot was favored by 32 percent of respondents, as against 33 percent for Mr. Bush and 26 percent for Mr. Clinton. The poll has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

But it also showed that 49 percent of respondents said they did not know enough about Mr. Perot to express an opinion about him. Another 41 percent said they held a positive view of him and 10 percent said they held a negative view.

In a further sign that support of Mr. Perot indicates a vote of protest, the survey showed more than 40 percent of

respondents holding a negative view of both the major-party front-runners.

The poll also showed that, among registered Democrats in the state, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. holds a commanding lead over Mr. Clinton of 51 percent to 37 percent.

Mr. Brown did particularly well among black and Hispanic voters and among voters from 25 to 44 years old. Most of the voters in that age group said that Mr. Clinton lacks the honesty to be President. Mr. Brown's campaign has aided his image in his home state: his overall approval rating among Democrats increased in the poll from 45 percent in December to 67 percent this month.

On the Republican side, Mr. Bush enjoyed an even greater margin over the commentator Patrick J. Buchanan of 72 percent to 18 percent. The margin of error for the samples of registered Democrats and Republicans was five percentage points.

In a two-way race, the poll indicated, Mr. Bush would defeat either Mr. Clinton or Mr. Brown by at least five percentage points.

Although both President Bush and Mr. Clinton are expected to have virtually secured their parties' nominations by the California primary on June 2, the state, with its 54 electoral votes, will be significant in the general election. Increasingly diverse in its politics and demographics, it is also seen by some analysts as a testing ground for candidates before the general election.

Emphasizing Perot's Strength

The poll underscores Mr. Perot's recent strength in voter surveys, including the Texas Poll of 674 likely voters, published on April 21, that showed him leading with 35 percent in his home state to Mr. Bush's 30 percent and Mr. Clinton's 20 percent. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus four percentage points.

A New York Times/CBS News Poll published on April 26 showed Mr. Perot as the Presidential choice of more than a fifth of registered voters around the country, although more than two-thirds acknowledged knowing little about him.

In that telephone survey, 23 percent of 1,151 registered voters said they would support Mr. Perot, 28 percent Mr. Clinton and 38 percent Mr. Bush. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus three percentage points.

The Los Angeles Times poll of California voters showed a high level of dissatisfaction with both President Bush and Mr. Clinton, giving them approval ratings of only 43 percent and 39 percent, respectively. Only 19 percent said they believed that the nation is moving in the right direction.

This dissatisfaction seemed to hurt both parties equally, with Mr. Perot drawing 24 percent of people who said they would back Mr. Clinton in a two-way race with President Bush, and 23 percent of people who said they would back Mr. Bush in such a race.

Editorial Notebook

Do-It-Yourself Machine Guns

To Make One, Just Read the Ads

With assault rifles under increasing public scrutiny and official control, gun owners and manufacturers are fighting back. Assault rifles, they say, are victims of a bad press, no more a threat than popular sporting rifles.

Publications for America's gun-owning subculture tell a different story. Their ads suggest that it's possible even for a non-expert to convert an assault rifle into an extremely dangerous machine gun.

Those who contend that assault rifles aren't so dangerous draw a distinction between semiautomatic weapons, which require a trigger pull for each shot, and fully automatic weapons, which fire continuously as long as the trigger is pulled. Federal law classifies fully automatic weapons as machine guns and severely restricts their civilian use.

Since semiautomatic hunting rifles are legal, gun lobbyists say, semiautomatic assault weapons should be legal too; both require a trigger pull for each shot. That's disingenuous. Assault rifles are not designed to shoot animals at a distance. Furthermore, they accept large magazines that permit sprays of rapid fire and are thus suited for human combat at close range.

More importantly, many semiautomatics can be readily converted to machine guns. Gun publications carry ads touting conversion manuals. The anonymous author of a manual for converting the AR-15, the semiautomatic version of the military M-16, acknowledges that conversion violates the law. But he says, "had our forefathers not

broken a few laws we would still be an English colony!"

The manual lists the necessary parts and provides machinist's drawings for those with tools and skills to make their own. The parts themselves were freely advertised until 1981, when the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms cracked down.

Today, Shotgun News, a fat periodical, carries few ads for conversion parts. But consumers who hope to be the first on their block to own a fully automatic weapon are not left totally ignorant. A recent issue advertised 30-minute videos, for \$29.95 each, that explain how to convert four popular assault rifles. "Get yours before these are banned," the ads warn.

The Federal Bureau's officials say that while regulations inhibit the open sale of conversion parts, many parts remain in circulation, readily available through individual transactions and at gun trading shows that occur regularly all over America.

Some entrepreneurs hope to exploit the demand while remaining on the safe side of the law. Gun publications carry ads for a device called the "Hell-Fire trigger actuation system" for semiautomatic rifle owners "who have considered converting to full automatic select fire but red tape or jail time got in the way."

Officials say they haven't ruled against the Hell-Fire because they can't make it work. But the ad itself is further evidence of the gun culture's continuing insensitivity to public safety.

DAVID C. ANDERSON

Carriage-Horse Bill Balances Humane and Business Interests

To the Editor:

"Carriage Horses: In Danger Again" (Topics of The Times, April 14), about horse carriages on New York City streets, is quite misleading. The bill I introduced, to amend Local Law 89, is an effort to balance humane and safety interests with the small horse-carriage industry.

The amendment does not abolish the safeguards that were put into place — the temperature restrictions that limit when the horses may work and the restrictions not to allow drivers unlimited territory in which their horses may roam. Time and place restrictions do exist. Contrary to your view, I am not looking to "thrust" the horses back into a sea of traffic.

I believe there is a way to accomplish both the humane issue regarding treatment of the horses and the safety of the people, as well as allowing for the carriage industry to stay alive. The animal-rights activists and people who oppose the amendment simply do not want to see any carriages in the city at all.

Horse carriages have been a part of New York City for decades. There is no need for the industry to be

killed; a balance of interests is possible.
NOACH DEAR
Chmn., Transportation Committee
New York City Council
New York, April 14, 1992

Pathetic Animals

To the Editor:

You report April 15 that the New York City Council's Transportation Committee voted 7 to 1 to expand the hours and areas in which carriage horses may operate. Except for Keith

ryn Freed, the dissenter, the committee shows ignorance on the subject.

The Manhattan carriage horse trade is in a 19th-century business: a 20th-century atmosphere of greed and insensitive owners and drivers. No amount of fancy harness can conceal the fatigue, soreness and total discomfort of these pathetic animals.

I see these carriage horses driven every day. Most of them pass lights at busy intersections. They drive with their backs to the road, talk to the customers. Some of them even hand over the reins to a child without watching the road, still talking to the customers. Angry motorists competing for space deliberately pass perilously close to the horse trying to get around or past it.

Last week on 11th Avenue, I saw a driver urge his horse west on sidewalk on an eastbound street, was awful to see the horse struggle to squeeze onto the narrow sidewalk.

I urge Mayor David N. Dinkins, to sign the bill if the Council approves it May 14.

SUSAN SMPAD
New York, April 16, 1992

The writer is a taxi owner-driver.



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BUSH IS EXTENDING REGULATION FREEZE WITH A FANFARE

SPEECH SCHEDULED TODAY

A Turnabout for the President,
Who for Three Years Had
Approved Many Rules

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
with KEITH SCHNEIDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 26 — In some cases, for better or worse, the Bush Administration has really cut red tape in the last three months with its 90-day moratorium on new Federal regulations and its review of existing rules. In other cases, the red tape has merely been fluttered by political hot air.

In any event, President Bush regards the examination of regulations that he announced in his State of the Union Message to have been a rousing success. On Wednesday, with the fanfare of a speech in the White House Rose Garden, the President is to announce that the moratorium and review will be extended for at least another several months.

For Mr. Bush, this represents a full-circle turnabout.

Role in Reagan Administration

As Vice President, he headed a Reagan Administration team devoted to weeding out regulations, many of which had been imposed when Jimmy Carter was in the White House.

But in the first three years of his Presidency, Mr. Bush was anything but hawk-eyed against Government rules. He proposed and signed many laws that added to the regulatory burden on business, including the Clean Air Act of 1990, the Americans With Disabilities Act and measures in diverse fields like airplane noise, oil spills, bank and savings and loan lending practices, food labeling and tax policy.

New Push for Deregulation

By the end of last year, according to the Government's own count, the number of new Federal rules under consideration had risen to nearly 4,900 from about 4,000 in President Ronald Reagan's two terms. The number of people writing regulations, as calculated by the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis, had grown to 122,000, the most ever.

National Journal, a nonpartisan weekly magazine aimed at readers who want detailed coverage of the Government, ran an article last fall calling

With Fanfare, Bush Is Extending Freeze on New Regulations

Continued From Page A1

Mr. Bush "The Regulatory President."

But at the outset of this election year, with the economy flagging, the business community demanding relief and the right wing of the Republican Party challenging his ways, President Bush reversed course. As befits a President running for re-election on the theme that the country needs change, he became a born-again deregulator.

In his State of the Union Message on Jan. 28, Mr. Bush promised a "top to bottom review of all regulations, old and new, to stop the ones that will hurt growth and speed up those that will help growth."

Much of the effect so far has been felt in environmental rules. For instance, the Administration halted for 90 days the identifying of rare plants and animals under the Endangered Species Act, delayed rules to carry out the Clean Air Act, restricted the ability of environmentalists to block logging in national forests, and limited the liability of banks and other lenders for the cost of cleaning up toxic waste.

Other Affected Areas

These other areas have also been affected:

¶The Labor Department delayed rules it was drafting to protect the safety and health of workers by limiting their exposure to chemicals and other toxic substances sometimes used in manufacturing, agriculture and construction.

¶The Federal Communications Commission more than doubled the number of radio stations a single company can own, from 12 AM and 12 FM stations to 30 of each.

¶Several agencies have proposed relaxing biotechnology safety rules for testing and producing living genetically altered organisms.

¶The Consumer Product Safety Commission killed proposed regulations that would have required certain toys designed for small children to be labeled "choking hazards."

¶The Securities and Exchange Commission has made it easier for small companies to sell stock and for mutual funds to invest in new, small companies.

¶The Food and Drug Administration speeded up its testing of new drugs for safety and effectiveness and postponed deadlines for food processors to put nutritional labeling on products.

¶The Federal Reserve began preparing to lift some barriers between large banking companies and their securities affiliates.

Effects of Moratorium

Most of this could have happened anyway, without the hoopla of a moratorium. The White House and the Office of Management and Budget have always had the authority to review regulations imposed by the departments and agencies. A senior Senate staff assistant who was assigned by his boss

to review what had happened in the last 90 days came away baffled.

"The problem with the moratorium is that it is impossible to tell what it has done," the staff expert said.

But Murray L. Weidenbaum, who heads the business study center at Washington University and who was instrumental in abolishing regulations as chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors, said the steps taken by the Bush Administration "must be having some effect, given all the howling."

Top officials in the Bush Administration say the effect has indeed been widespread. Vice President Dan

Quayle, who is heading the President's Council on Competitiveness, said this month that \$10 billion to \$20 billion a year had already been saved by scooting costly and unnecessary rules.

In an interview today, Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors and a coordinator of the review process, said, "In this 90-day period alone, dozens of regulatory reforms and initiatives were taken that removed unnecessary obstacles to business expansion and job creation."

The Administration's critics in Congress and in various interest groups around Washington dispute those assertions. Representative John D. Dingell, the influential Michigan Democrat

who heads the Energy and Commerce Committee and staunchly defends the automobile industry against expensive environmental rules, contends that the Administration has "done little but cause a great proliferation of litigation and cause the making of rules and regulations to move from Government administrative agencies to the courts."

And an Administration expert who is sympathetic to the goal of quashing rules said he was nonetheless skeptical of success. "You will never find an agency killing a regulation," he said.

Watchdog groups like Public Citizen, which is affiliated with Ralph Nader, and O.M.B. Watch, which is normally

critical of Republican Administrations, maintain that the softening of environmental, health and safety rules will lead to illness, injury and even death.

But while Mr. Dingell says the public will "quickly figure out that all this is a gimmick," the Administration clearly believes it is getting political mileage out of the deregulation issue.

In part that is true because regulations really do cost the economy a great deal. The Environmental Protection Agency estimates that complying with its rules will cost business \$140 billion this year, three times the cost of 10 years ago.

It is true also because public mistrust of Government has become so prevalent. White House officials have been spreading around a poll taken last month by Penn & Schoen Associates showing that more than 80 percent of

Americans believe the Government has too many unnecessary regulations. But there are two more important reasons why the President has been given such an open field to run in politically.

The first is that environmental groups and labor unions, normally the chief proponents of stiff Government regulations, have much less influence nowadays than they once did. The second is that Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, who will almost certainly be Mr. Bush's Democratic opponent in the November election, is so vulnerable himself on environmental issues that he cannot attack Mr. Bush's record.

More national news,
pages D23 and D24.

Seeking Fresh Faces

Few Turn Out for Bush and Clinton,
But Voters Flock to Female Candidate

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

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 — Pennsylvania voters plowed no new political ground today, but they emphatically confirmed two of the salient trends of American politics this year: the tepid reaction of the electorate to the Presidential candidates of both major parties, and the surge of women toward broader political influence.

The Presidential news was the more predictable. Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, who has had no effective opposition since he swept to victory in the tumultuous New York primary three weeks ago, took more

Seeing their
powerlessness
gave women
strength.

than half the votes in this delegate-rich state. His nomination seems more likely than ever.

But it was a rather pallid triumph, given the state of play. Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who largely refrained from engaging Mr. Clinton here and ran only a few toothless television commercials, got a quarter of the vote. Former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, who pulled out of the race six weeks ago, then refused to re-enter it, scored in the double digits. And the turnout was tiny, as Gov. Robert F. Casey had predicted, reflecting a lack of passion for the presumptive nominee.

Mr. Clinton took what may prove to be important strides here towards dealing with his character problems. Six of 10 Democrats interviewed at the polls after casting their ballots said he had the integrity needed to be President, a somewhat better showing than he made in New York on April 7, if not a ringing endorsement.

But at the same time, 4 in 10 of those

who voted for him said they had reservations about Mr. Clinton. Three in 10 Democratic voters said they expected President Bush to win in the fall, an unusual level of pessimism so early in the year, and more than half said they were dissatisfied with the choices presented to them.

Mr. Bush fared not much better among his fellow Republicans, according to the exit poll, which was conducted by Voter Surveys and Research, a consortium of the four major television networks. Only a bare majority of Republican voters said they approved of the way he was doing his job, and more than 4 in 10 said they wished other candidates were in the contest.

The search for fresh faces was reflected here this week. On Monday, Mr. Clinton drew a crowd of 250 people to a rally in Harrisburg, the state capital. More than 400 turned up in Carlisle, a small town nearby, for an organization meeting for Ross Perot, the potential third-party candidate.

Impatience with the status quo was also demonstrated by the apparent victory of Lynn H. Yeakel in the race for the Democratic nomination for the Senate. A newcomer to electoral politics, whose name recognition a month ago stood at 10 percent, she defeated Lieut. Gov. Mark S. Singel, and positioned herself for a race this fall against Senator Arlen Specter, a Republican.

Power of Powerlessness

It was, in a sense, a replay of the victory of Carol Moseley Braun in Illinois. Both women decided to run after watching the interrogation of Prof. Anita F. Hill by the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee in the confirmation hearings last year for Clarence Thomas, now a Supreme Court justice.

"Over the last 15 to 20 years, the ground had been prepared, and Anita Hill emerged as a potent symbol of women's powerlessness," said Ruth Mandel, director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. "Women were ready to respond at the ballot-box."

Two heavily publicized rape cases, involving William Kennedy Smith and the boxer Mike Tyson, may have

heightened women's sense of outrage. And because men hold the preponderance of powerful jobs in Washington, Ms. Mandel suggested, they are bearing the burden of voter dissatisfaction with "the ineffectiveness and unresponsiveness of government to people's needs."

Mr. Singel, who switched at the start of the campaign to a position more favorable to abortion rights, was able to attract the support of fewer than a third of women voters.

Ms. Yeakel clearly benefited from an inept campaign by Mr. Singel. David Buffington, the editor of The Pennsylvania Report, a political newsletter, said he "made so many mistakes he

made Dan Quayle look like Sam Rayburn." But she also ran a highly sophisticated campaign, fueled by heavy media spending, much of which she paid for herself.

In a culturally conservative state where women have had trouble winning elections, she made her pitch on the basis not of the divisive abortion issue, which she mentioned only in veiled terms, but on the basis of greater power for women. Her commercials, devised by Neil Oxman, a Philadelphia consultant, called attention to Mr. Specter's role in the Thomas hearings and showed her issuing instructions to men in executive settings.

Like Senator Alan J. Dixon, whom Ms. Braun defeated, Mr. Specter was a

Thomas supporter. A third backer, Senator Charles E. Grassley, an Iowa Republican who also serves on the Judiciary Committee, is expected to face another candidate inspired by Professor Hill, State Senator Jean Lloyd-Jones, in the November election. All three women will have tough fights in November, but all are given a chance.

Ms. Yeakel will have to contend with a two-term incumbent with deep pockets and a gift for political infighting. Senator Specter has raised more than \$6 million and spent more than \$2 million in the primary. But Ms. Yeakel is an expert fund-raiser as well, and in the exit poll she showed significant support among Republican voters, es-

pecially women, when matched one-on-one with Mr. Specter in a trial heat.

After many disappointments in the past decade, women may be on the verge of a major breakthrough. At present, there are only two women in the Senate — Barbara A. Mikulski of Maryland, a Democrat, and Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, a Republican — and only three women are governors.

Fund-raising groups that benefit women candidates have done far better in the last few months than they had expected. The Women's Campaign Fund, which had expected \$250,000, has topped a half-million; the National Women's Political Caucus said its contributions have doubled as well.



It was another day of final handshakes outside polling places. The locale yesterday was the American Legion hall in Crafton, Pa., where Edmund G. Brown Jr. made a last plea to voters. The results were familiar: He finished second to Gov. Bill Clinton with about a quarter of the vote.

"Women were ready to respond at the ballot-box." RUTH MANDEL

Senate Race

Woman, an Outsider, Surprises in Pennsylvania

Continued From Page A1

psychologist from Ardmore, a suburb of Philadelphia, who had less than 1 in 20 votes, as did Philip Valenti, 42, a follower of Lyndon LaRouche who lives in the Philadelphia suburb of Upper Darby.

Ms. Yeakel, was virtually unheard of in statewide political circles when she began campaigning Feb. 6. Her support climbed by more than a percentage point a day, due partly to her television advertisement reminding voters of Senator Specter's aggressive questioning of Anita F. Hill in the Thomas hearings.

Ms. Yeakel also got help from newspaper endorsements, which generally praised her positions on women's issues, the economy and education and dismissed Ms. Singel as a career politician lacking conviction.

Mr. Singel's position on abortion was particularly fuzzy because he said that

he personally opposed abortion but that it should be legal in most circumstances.

Neil Newhouse, Mr. Specter's poll taker, played down the threat that would be posed by Ms. Yeakel in the general election. "Arlen Specter is no Mark Singel, and he has a very solid record on women's issues," Mr. Newhouse said.

Today's exit poll showed that Ms. Yeakel's largest bloc of support was coming from educated, high-income voters as well as women under age 60. Voters with only high school degrees were more apt to support Mr. Singel.

Ms. Yeakel, who lives in Rosemont, a suburb of Philadelphia, won about two-thirds of the vote in Philadelphia and its suburbs; Mr. Singel, who lives in Johnstown, in the western part of the state, won a third of the vote in the Pittsburgh area. More than half the women and 4 in 10 men voted for Ms. Yeakel. By contrast, Mr. Singel was backed by a third of the men and 3 in 10 women.

Setting up a confrontation on women's issues.

More than half of Ms. Yeakel's supporters said in the survey that Justice Thomas should not have been confirmed. Ms. Yeakel's supporters also included more than half of the 6 in 10 Democratic voters who said that abortion should remain legal.

Possible Ominous Sign

In the Republican primary, the survey of voters found that a quarter of them opposed the confirmation of Justice Thomas. But 6 in 10 of those same voters still backed Mr. Specter, who had voted in favor of Judge Thomas's confirmation.

More than half of the Republican voters said that abortion should be kept legal as it is, and eight in 10 of these

voters supported Mr. Specter. Mr. Specter also won the votes of two-thirds of the Republican women.

In a possibly ominous sign for Mr. Specter, only two-thirds of Republican voters said they would vote for him in the general election if he was running against Ms. Yeakel. One in four Republicans said they would vote for Ms. Yeakel. Democrats were not asked this question in the survey.

Ms. Yeakel's rapid rise from underdog to electoral victory matches that of Senator Harris Wofford, who won last November's special election to fill the seat of Senator John Heinz, who died in an airplane crash.

Gov. Robert P. Casey appointed Mr. Wofford, who had served in his cabinet, as interim Senator in the spring. But going into the fall campaign for the three years remaining in Mr. Heinz's term, polls showed Mr. Wofford trailing Dick Thornburgh, the former Republican Governor and former United States Attorney General, by more than 40 percentage points. But Mr. Wofford, calling for new leadership and national health insurance, defeated Mr. Thornburgh by a 55-to-45-percent margin.

Just as Mr. Wofford's victory sent shock waves through the Republican Party and gave Democratic candidates some powerful campaign themes, Ms. Yeakel's showing is likely to catch the attention of the male-dominated structures of both political parties.

Analysts say female politicians, who have had limited electoral success in the past, may have come into their own this year when voters say in surveys that the country is on the wrong track and that they want all new people in government.

Ms. Yeakel is the second woman in two months to surprise the Democratic establishment. In Illinois, Carol Mosely Braun, a 44-year-old Cook County recorder of deeds, ran a primary campaign that was also fueled by outrage over the Thomas hearings, and she defeated the Democratic incumbent, Senator Alan J. Dixon, a Thomas supporter.

In the Republican primary in Pennsylvania, voters had a stark choice between the incumbent Mr. Specter, 62, who supports a woman's right to abortion, and Mr. Freind, 47, who is the author of the Pennsylvania anti-abortion law that is pending before the Supreme Court. "The Freind campaign was about pornography, crime, abortion and drugs — important issues, but he didn't make a case that Specter was weak or soft on these issues except abortion," said Mr. Madonna, the political analyst.

Mr. Specter took no chances because of concern over the anti-incumbent mood of the electorate and the uncertain size of Mr. Freind's political support. Mr. Specter outspent Mr. Freind more than 4 to 1, including a \$1 million television advertising campaign.

Pennsylvania Democratic Senate Race

	Robert E. Colville	Mark S. Singel	Lynn H. Yeakel
Total	16	37	40
52 Male	11	29	55
48 Female			

39 Liberal	9	25	55
48 Moderate	18	36	54
15 Conservative	24	43	21

72 Democrats	15	35	45
28 Independents	11	27	58

7 Not high school graduate	22	43	27
35 High school graduate	14	41	38
23 Some college	23	28	43
18 College graduate	7	33	58
17 Postgraduate education	2	15	77

25 Blue-collar workers	18	39	35
24 White Protestant	12	31	53
50 Catholic	17	40	37
8 Jewish	7	5	80

34 Philadelphia area voters	4	26	61
32 Pittsburgh area voters	29	29	38

22 Oppose the death penalty	13	27	55
18 Want Tsongas in race	14	31	51

Voted in Presidential primary for:			
28 Edmund G. Brown Jr.	12	22	58
59 Bill Clinton	12	39	43
11 Paul E. Tsongas	16	34	47

Choice in November:			
10 George Bush	25	40	15
58 Bill Clinton	10	38	48
24 Ross Perot	17	21	55

View of Clarence Thomas confirmation to Supreme Court			
33 Yes	20	41	31
54 No	10	28	60
12 Not sure	13	42	34

Opinion of Roe v. Wade			
68 Keep abortion legal as it is now	10	27	57
28 Supreme Court should overturn	20	45	25

Based on a survey conducted by Voter Research and Survey of 951 voters leaving polling places in 40 randomly selected precincts throughout Pennsylvania in Tuesday's Democratic primary. Of them, 878 said they voted for the Senatorial nomination. Some categories may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding, votes for others, or no opinion. Two candidates, Freddy Mann Friedman and Philip Valenti, are not shown.



Senator Arlen Specter, who won the Republican primary in Pennsylvania yesterday in his bid for third term, leaving a poll booth yesterday in Philadelphia after voting with his wife, Joan.

CLINTON AND BUSH CAPTURE PRIMARIES IN PENNSYLVANIA AND LOOK TO A FALL BATTLE



Lynn H. Yeakel, the apparent winner of the Democratic Senate race in Pennsylvania, arriving to vote in Rosemont with her husband, Paul.

Woman Is the Apparent Nominee To Challenge Specter for Senate

By MICHAEL deCOURCY HINDS
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 — Lynn H. Yeakel, a fund-raiser for women's charities, sprang from virtual anonymity a month ago to become the apparent upset winner of today's Democratic Senate primary in Pennsylvania, according to a survey of voters as they left the polls.

Her apparent victory, projected by Voter Research and Surveys at 9 P.M., turned on her attack on Senator Arlen Specter's conduct during the hearings on Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court last year and set up an unusual confrontation over women's issues for the fall election.

Mr. Specter, a two-term incumbent, handily defeated his rival for the Republican nomination, State Representative Stephen F. Freind, according to

the voter survey. The exit poll showed that Mr. Specter, who is seeking his third term, was winning 7 in 10 of the primary votes and Mr. Freind was winning 3 in 10.

Ms. Yeakel's apparent victory over Lieut. Gov. Mark Singel, who was the front-runner at the start of the race, was termed "a stunning upset" by G. Terry Madonna, a political analyst who is director of the Center for Politics and Public Affairs at Millersville State University in Lancaster. "There is no corollary for this in Pennsylvania politics for a virtual unknown woman to defeat someone like Lieut. Gov. Mark Singel," Mr. Madonna said. "She is the complete outsider. She will be formidable against Arlen Specter. I think this is the year of the woman in politics."

In the voter survey, the 50-year-old Ms. Yeakel had nearly half the vote and Mr. Singel, 38, who had party and union endorsements, trailed with a third. Pennsylvania has never elected a woman to the Senate, and it has elected only three widows of incumbents to its delegation in the House. Only 7 percent of the members of the state's General Assembly are women.

The other Democratic candidates were Robert E. Colville, 56, a five-term District Attorney in Allegheny County, who had a sixth of the vote in the survey; Freddy Mann Friedman, 47, a

Continued on Page A18, Column 1

DECISIVE VICTORIES

Clinton Appears to Ease Doubts on Character as Brown Fades

By ROBIN TONER
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 — Gov. Bill Clinton kept rolling toward the Democratic nomination today with a commanding victory in the Pennsylvania primary, reinforcing his dominance over former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., according to surveys of voters leaving the polling places.

Shortly before the polls closed at 8 P.M., Voter Research and Surveys, a polling partnership of the four television networks, projected that Mr. Clinton had carried Pennsylvania over Mr. Brown by a margin of 2 to 1. Those same projections showed President Bush carrying the state in the Republican primary by 3 to 1.

For the Clinton campaign, the day's voting meant that the Arkansas Governor could continue his focus on Mr. Bush and the general election campaign. The President served notice today that he was ready for battle.

Strong Words From Bush

"I'll be damned if I'm going to roll over for a lot of these outrageous charges that are coming out of the opposition day in and day out," Mr. Bush told his campaign workers in Washington today. "We don't have to take that."

The poll suggested that in Pennsylvania Mr. Clinton had eased some of the doubts about his character that had haunted him in other states. More than 6 in 10 Democratic primary voters in Pennsylvania said he had the honesty and integrity to be an effective President, considerably higher than the proportion that felt that way in recent primaries in Connecticut, New York and Wisconsin.

"All I know is in Pennsylvania we ran a strong campaign based on change," Mr. Clinton said today. "I got back to what drove me into this campaign last October. I talked to people about their problems and their future."

Drowning Out the Grumblers

Mr. Clinton's allies clearly hoped that the magnitude of today's victory would silence some of the grumbling in the party. Many Democrats have publicly worried about the strength of a Clinton candidacy this fall, and Gov. Robert P. Casey of Pennsylvania spent much of the past week criticizing his party's presumed nominee and arguing the case for an open convention at which other candidates could emerge.

Ann F. Lewis, a Democratic strategist, said today, "I would say by now, those kinds of naysayers are irrelevant to the process."

James Carville, a top strategist for Mr. Clinton, suggested that the elected

Clinton Rolls to Victory in Pennsylvania

Continued From Page A1

officials and party leaders who are superdelegates at the national convention, a critical bloc, would recognize the political reality.

Alluding to an earlier body of political wisdom, Mr. Carville said: "Mr. Duoley says the first thing the Supreme Court does is read the election returns. I suspect the superdelegates do the same thing."

Bush Says He's Eager

Ronald H. Brown, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said tonight, "I cannot imagine a set of circumstances that would keep Bill Clinton from having a majority of the delegates by the end of the primary season, based on his performance today." Mr. Brown added that he had long hoped for an early nominee "so we can focus our time and attention on George Bush."

A campaign that fitted Clinton's wishes.

The feeling was mutual. Mr. Bush visited his campaign headquarters in Washington today, telling his workers that he had held his fire so far but was looking forward to the coming battle with the Democrats. Mr. Bush, whose 1988 campaign was widely criticized for its slashing attacks on Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee, promised a "gloves off" campaign that would, nevertheless, be conducted "with a certain sense of honor, a certain sense of decency, a certain compassion and a certain caring."

Perhaps more to the point, the White

House was filled with cautious talk about improvements in the economy, the dominant issue of the campaign. With new figures showing that the economy expanded at a 2 percent annual rate in the first quarter, Mr. Bush told reporters today, "I think most people would say that a 2 percent growth is not recessionary."

He added, "There are some areas that are still hurting, but clearly this is a good sign, and there are a lot of other good signs."

The returns today were grim for former Governor Brown, who already seems, in recent speeches, to be transforming his campaign for the nomination into a crusade for political change with a life beyond the convention in New York. Still, many Democrats think he will stay in the race through California, which votes on June 2.

Phil Angelides, the chairman of the California Democratic Party, argued, "He's got everything to gain and nothing to lose in terms of increasing his delegate count and therefore his voice at the convention."

The Campaign He Wanted

The polls today showed Mr. Clinton running well across the board, even with some voting groups that had proven less supportive of him in the past, including Roman Catholics. He carried more than half of the white vote over all, and 7 in 10 of the black voters. He also carried nearly two-thirds of the union households.

Some analysts said his strength reflected a simple fact of life: For the first time in a very long time, Mr. Clinton was not facing a barrage of character questions. "He still has a long way to go," said Geoffrey Garin, a Democratic poll taker, "but he's got the chance to run the kind of campaign he needs to run. He got that chance in Pennsylvania; he wasn't fending off a new charge every day."

Pennsylvania, in fact, was a remarkably quiet primary, particularly after the clamorous two weeks between the ones in Connecticut, where Mr. Brown won an upset victory, and New York. Mr. Clinton, after putting his candidacy back on track for the nomination by winning New York, tried to use the Pennsylvania campaign to begin sounding like a potential President, focusing his fire on Mr. Bush instead of Mr. Brown.

"I thought it was my sort of state and mostly my sort of campaign," Mr. Clinton said today. "I like issues and people problems and trying to solve problems and getting things done."

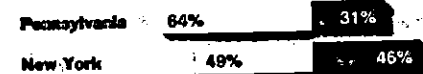


Gov. Bill Clinton talking to reporters yesterday as he left Philadelphia for a campaign visit to Voorhees, N.J.

Clinton: Honest Enough?

Democratic primary voters were asked whether they thought Gov. Bill Clinton has the honesty and integrity to serve effectively as President.

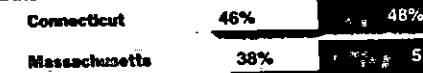
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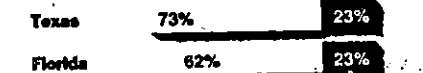
MIDWEST



NEW ENGLAND



SOUTH



Figures for Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin and Connecticut are based on surveys conducted by Voter Research and Surveys of Democratic primary voters leaving polling places. Figures for Massachusetts, Texas, Florida and South Dakota are based on V.R.S. surveys sponsored by CBS News and ABC News.

How the Poll Was Conducted

The Election Day exit poll was based on questionnaires completed by voters as they left voting stations throughout Pennsylvania on Tuesday.

The poll was conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, an organization created in 1990 by ABC News, CBS News, CNN and NBC News.

The results are based on 951 voters in the Democratic primary and 697 voters in the Republican primary, interviewed in 40 randomly selected precincts throughout the state.

In theory, in 10 cases out of 20, the results from such polls should differ by only a few percentage points in either

direction from what would have been obtained by seeking to interview all primary election voters who turned out in Pennsylvania on Tuesday. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus four percentage points for the Democrats and five percentage points for the Republicans.

Results based on smaller subgroups have a larger potential sampling error. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of voter opinion on Election Day, like the reluctance of some voters to take the time to fill out questionnaires, may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

Bush, Clinton, and Yeakel Win Pennsylvania Primaries

By E.J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Pennsylvania Democrats yesterday gave Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton a solid victory and chose Lynn H. Yeakel, a political novice motivated by outrage over the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, to face Republican Sen. Arlen Specter this fall.

President Bush won the Republican primary, a victory that gave him a majority of his party's convention delegates, assuring him of renomination.

"It's wonderful to be officially over the top," Bush told a Republican fund-raising dinner here last night. He thanked everyone "who participated in the primary process to make these 1,105 delegates possible."

Earlier Bush made clear during a rally at his campaign headquarters here that he would take the offensive in parrying Democratic attacks. "I'll be damned if I'm going to roll over for a lot of these outrageous charges that are coming out of the opposition day in and day out," he said. "We don't have to take that."

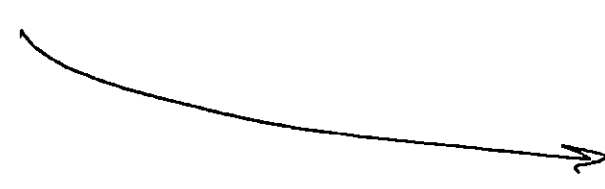
Bush was winning 76 percent of the vote with 65 percent of the precincts reported. But there were troublesome signs for the president. Though he campaigned hardly at all in Pennsylvania, Patrick J. Buchanan had 24 percent of the vote. And 40 percent of Republican primary voters questioned in an exit poll said they disapproved of Bush's performance as president.

With 64 percent of the precincts reported, Clinton had 56 percent to 26 percent for former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. and 12 percent for former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who has dropped out of the contest. Brown, campaigning in Indianapolis, vowed to stay in the race until the Democratic National Convention in July.

Anti-Washington sentiment threatened two veteran House Democrats. Rep. Joe Kolter appeared to have lost his seat, and Rep. Austin J. Murphy trailed in his district.

While a low turnout could signal a lack of enthusiasm for Clinton, exit polling—which in the past measured high levels of doubt about Clinton's candidacy—for

See PENNSYLVANIA, A18, Col. 1



Bush, Clinton, Yeakel Win in Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA. From A1

once contained some good news for the Arkansas governor.

The poll found that 61 percent of Pennsylvania Democrats said Clinton had the "honesty and integrity" to make a good president. That was up from 49 percent among the voters polled for the April 7 New York primary. For Clinton campaign workers, improving their candidate's image had been almost as important as winning the primary.

"This is testimony to the fact you can run a positive campaign and keep it on the issues," Clinton said last night, speaking to a small crowd of reporters in an airplane hangar in Boston. "This was a campaign rooted in the needs and problems of the people of Pennsylvania."

Clinton, seeming relaxed and even relieved, said he was making progress in battling to improve his image, but acknowledged it would be a long fight. "I think it's going in the right direction," he said of his integrity rating. "Rome wasn't built in a day."

Yeakel's victory marked the second triumph this year by a woman drawn to seek a Senate seat after the confrontation between Thomas and Anita F. Hill, a law professor who charged him with sexual harassment. Like Carol Moseley Braun, who ousted Sen. Alan J. Dixon March 17 in the Illinois Democratic primary, Yeakel built her victory over Lt. Gov. Mark Singel with strong support among women.

In a contest with three major contenders, Yeakel won 52 percent of the women's vote, and combined this with 41 percent of the male vote to defeat Singel. With 65 percent of the precincts reported, Yeakel had 46 percent of the vote to 32 percent for Singel, with the balance of the vote scattered among other candidates.

She will face Specter, who became an instant target of feminist groups for his sharp questioning of Hill during Thomas's Senate confirmation hearings. Specter, a supporter of abortion rights, defeated state Rep. Steve F. Freind, a strong foe of abortion, by about 2 to 1.

In the congressional primaries, four of 23 members of the state's House delegation were retiring and seven faced primary opposition. Pennsylvania is losing two seats in redistricting.

Kolter was trailing former television newsman Ron Klink by 37 to 22 percent, with 58 percent of the precincts reported. Kolter had called himself a "political whore" in



Clinton gets hug from a supporter at fund-raiser in Boston's Quincy Market.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

UNOFFICIAL RESULTS

Candidate	Votes	% Delg.
DEMOCRATS	64% of precincts	
Brown	204,668	26 51
Clinton	450,515	56 111
Tsongas	98,754	12 7
REPUBLICANS	65% of precincts	
Buchanan	129,653	24 na
Bush	421,261	76 na

SOURCE: Associated Press

a conversation that was tape-recorded and leaked to reporters.

Murphy, in a five-way primary in a redrawn district, trailed Frank Mascara, a county commissioner, 36 to 34 percent, with nearly half the vote counted.

Another Democrat, Rep. Lucian Blackwell, appeared to beat back a challenge from Democratic National Committee member C. Delores Tucker. Blackwell, who succeeded House Majority Whip William H. Gray III in a special election last year, was leading 54 to 46 percent with 89 percent of the vote counted.

The Pennsylvania presidential primary was a desultory affair, with Clinton appearing only sporadically in the state and frequently flying elsewhere to raise money for a campaign treasury depleted by tough early primary contests.

But the Clinton campaign used Pennsylvania as an experiment to see if positive television advertising could improve his image, which had

Maine's caucuses and the Illinois primary, so the actual selection of the delegates is a technicality. Since Bush won all 72 of Pennsylvania's delegates, he went over the top last night.

Clinton is now close to the point where he will be able to make the same argument. He is likely to emerge from Pennsylvania with nearly 1,500 of the 2,145 delegates needed for nomination at the July convention.

Clinton's first attempt to capitalize on his victory will occur today when he tours Capitol Hill in an effort to nail down more endorsements from congressional "super delegates." His Pennsylvania showing also is likely to ease fund-raising.

Still, there were doubters. Willie Brown, the California Assembly Speaker, said the Democrats should consider Perot as a candidate if Clinton "falls by the wayside or it appears that there's no possibility of winning the presidency against George Bush in the fall." Brown, who was quoted by the Associated Press, noted that Perot "is still out there, not saying anything negative about Democrats."

Staff writer Maralee Schwartz, senior polling analyst Sharon Warden and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

been marred by press reports about his personal life and Vietnam War draft record.

The exit polls suggested that at least among Democrats who went to the polls, this effort had been partially successful. Clinton's 61 percent score on trust and honesty compared favorably to the 27 percent of Democrats who awarded those virtues to Bush.

The exit polls found that 56 percent of Democrats wanted other candidates in the race, but that was down from 66 percent in the April 7 New York primary.

But in both parties, primary voters—generally the most loyal of partisans—suggested their discontent by telling interviewers that they might defect in large numbers this fall.

Among Democrats, 55 percent said they would back Clinton in November; 25 percent said they would support billionaire Texan Ross Perot, and 12 percent said they would vote for Bush.

Republican primary voters were not much more loyal. Fifty-nine percent said they would support Bush, 27 percent supported Perot and 8 percent said they would back Clinton.

Although the exit poll findings pointed to difficulties for Bush, the most important fact for the president's campaign last night was securing an effective numerical majority for the Republican nomination.

According to the Bush campaign's count, the president entered the evening with 1,051 convention delegates. The Bush count included 22 delegates in Maine and 10 in Illinois that theoretically remain to be chosen. But the Bush claim is justified, because Bush won in

For election returns, call Post-Haste at 202-334-9000, then enter Category Code 5500.

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Bush Aides' Ethics Questioned Over Loans to Iraq

Rep. Gonzalez Says Scowcroft's and Eagleburger's Prior Business Dealings Posed a Conflict

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chairman of the House Banking Committee accused two high-ranking Bush administration officials yesterday of "deplorable" ethics in pressing for U.S.-guaranteed loans to Iraq in 1989 despite their prior association in private business with the bank that handled much of the money.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) sharply criticized White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger for advocating \$1 billion in new agricultural credits for Iraq over stiff opposition from other government agencies.

The dispute within the administration stemmed from a scandal involving Italy's biggest bank, the Banco Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), whose Atlanta branch was Iraq's chief source of credit in the United States between 1984 and 1989. Evidence seized in an FBI raid on the bank in August 1989 showed that Iraq had been involved in a massive fraud effort to borrow billions of dollars from BNL-Atlanta, far in excess of the amounts the bank reported to the Federal Reserve.

About \$900 million of such loans had been guaranteed by the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp. for the purchase of U.S. goods. "The CCC program for Iraq was the cornerstone of U.S.-Iraq relations," Gonzalez said in a speech on the House floor. "In turn, BNL was the largest participant in the CCC program for Iraq."

Scowcroft and Eagleburger were officials of Kissinger Associates, the international consulting firm run by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, when BNL was one of its clients. Scowcroft left the firm to become President Bush's national security adviser in January 1989. Eagleburger departed two months later for the State Department.

Scowcroft and Eagleburger declined to comment on Gonzalez's contentions that they should have disqualified themselves from the intense administration debate over continuation of the CCC program for Iraq. But officials familiar with their views said they felt their connections with BNL while at Kissinger

Associates were too tenuous to cause concern.

Gonzalez disagreed. "While at Kissinger Associates, Mr. Scowcroft worked on the BNL account and met on numerous occasions with the BNL management," he said. "On three occasions between 1986 and 1989, Mr. Scowcroft briefed the BNL board on international political and economic developments. In addition, when the president of BNL traveled to the United States to attend the annual IMF [International Monetary Fund] conference, he met with Kissinger and Scowcroft in New York."

An administration official, who asked not to be identified, said none of Scowcroft's BNL consultations involved Iraq.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said that Eagleburger, who was president of Kissinger Associates while Scowcroft was vice chairman, "has never done any work for BNL and therefore, there has never been any basis for Eagleburger to recuse himself from any matter related to BNL."

Gonzalez contended that Eagleburger still should have disqualified himself, and noted that Renato Guadagnini, former head of BNL's operations in the United States, told committee investigators that Eagleburger was at a meeting between BNL managers and Kissinger Associates in New York in 1987.

Iraq was granted \$1 billion in new CCC credits in the fall of 1989, although the money was to be disbursed in two installments because of concern about the breaking BNL scandal. At the time, government documents show, there was mounting evidence that the Iraqi program was riddled with corruption, including kickbacks and bribes demanded by Iraqi government agencies and questionable consulting fees for Iraqi front companies in the United States.

"If smoke indicates fire, we may be facing a four-alarm blaze in the near future," said an Oct. 13, 1989, State Department memo about apprehensions at the Agriculture Department. "[T]here were 19 separate investigations of CCC this year (1989) and the integrity of the program is now in question." The memo said there were indications Iraq might have used some of the money "to procure nuclear-related equipment."

Despite the warnings, Bush that month issued a national security directive ordering closer economic and political ties with Iraq. Secretary of State James A. Baker III appealed to the Agriculture Department to go forward with the full \$1 billion program, and Eagleburger urged the Treasury Department and the Office of Management and Budget to drop their opposition. In a Nov. 8, 1990, letter to Treasury, he called it "important to our efforts to improve and expand our relations with Iraq, as ordered by the president."

Gonzalez said the NSC staff under Scowcroft also was "heavily in-

involved" in winning approval for the Iraqi program and later supervised release of an Agriculture Department review that Gonzalez charged was a "complete whitewash."

According to a confidential March 5, 1990, State Department memo, the NSC staff expressed interest in securing release of the second \$500 million installment for Iraq "after the Iraqi ambassador complained to General Scowcroft" about U.S. foot-dragging. The Agriculture Department finally halted the program at the halfway mark in May 1990 as relations with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein worsened.

Washington Post

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DEBORAH GORE DEAN
... money came from "close" friend

Former HUD Aide Accused Of Bribery, False Statement

By Michael York
Washington Post Staff Writer

Deborah Gore Dean, who served as executive assistant to former Housing and Urban Development secretary Samuel R. Pierce Jr., was indicted yesterday on charges of taking a \$4,000 bribe and then making a false statement in a Senate confirmation questionnaire by not disclosing the payment.

Dean and Pierce have been the central figures of the HUD investigation. In congressional probes of influence-peddling at the department, Dean was portrayed as the gatekeeper who jealously guarded access to Pierce and helped direct

HUD contracts to politically connected Republicans.

Dean, who owns a Georgetown antique shop, told an afternoon news conference that she is innocent. In an interview, she said the money came from "a close personal friend," whom she declined to identify. She said, however, that "it had absolutely nothing to do with HUD."

In announcing the indictment, independent counsel Arlin Adams said in a statement that the charges are being brought now because of the five-year statute of limitations. He gave no details about the alleged \$4,000 bribe, and the indictment

See HUD, A4, Col. 1

Top Aide to HUD Ex-Secretary Pierce Charged With Bribery, False Statement

HUD, From A1

did not identify what Dean allegedly did in return for the money.

The indictment alleges that Dean accepted a \$4,000 check from "a private individual . . . for and because of acts" she performed at HUD involving the department's moderate rehabilitation program for low-income housing. The false-statement charge involves the same \$4,000 and Dean's statement on her Senate form that said she had no obligation or relationship that might pose a conflict of interest. The indictment alleges the money came from someone "who did business before HUD."

Dean, 37, left HUD in 1988 to start a consulting firm. She had joined Pierce's staff as a special assistant in 1982, directing the office that answered the secretary's mail. In 1984, she was named his executive assistant, succeeding Lance H. Wilson, who since leaving the department has been indicted in two cases involving alleged HUD corruption. Adams, a retired federal judge from Pennsylvania, has obtained charges against two others on HUD-related crimes. They, like Wilson, are awaiting trial. A fourth person has pleaded guilty and is awaiting sentencing.

Yesterday, Dean said Adams wanted her to plead guilty and testify against Pierce. "I'm not going to do that," she said.

Dean previously has declined to talk about the investigation. In June 1989, she invoked her constitutional right against self-incrimination when she refused to testify before a House committee investigating the department.

In the past, Pierce has had unkind words for his former chief assistant, saying after a 1989 congressional hearing that "she liked power . . . she liked the idea, 'I can call the shots, I can get this for you if I want, I can stomp on you, I can kill you.'"

Yesterday, however, Pierce's lawyer, Paul L. Perito, read a statement supporting her.

"This accusation is inconsistent with her conduct as I knew it when she worked for me at HUD," the statement said. "I trust there will be a speedy exoneration. She is in the hands of able counsel, and I wish her the best."

In the interview, Dean acknowledged that she has had periods of financial trouble. The Washington Post reported in 1989 that she had bounced a check and had been sued by a department store. She said yesterday that the check was a \$500 donation to the HUD day-care center and that it had cleared when it was resubmitted to the bank.

She denied, however, that she

would have solicited a bribe because of financial difficulties. "Nothing is worth that," she said.

At the news conference, Dean accused Adams of "immoral and mean-spirited tactics" in pursuing a case that she said he and his staff knew had no basis.

"They have hoped by threatening to ruin my reputation with an onslaught of accusations that I would relent, plead guilty, testify against my bosses at HUD, and in doing so become an enthusiastic accomplice in the pursuit of their brand of justice," she said. "I'm not doing that."

Dean also defiantly attacked Adams's investigation.

"In the past four years, I have come to learn a lot about what passes for justice. I have learned that what we think of as a justice system is, in fact, a legal system where justice is subordinated to less exalted and less honorable agendas," she said. "That system is further perverted by the addition of independent counsels."

"I am not saying that there weren't bad apples at HUD," she said. "Some people sold influence." Dean declined to name those officials, but she promised that, at her trial, "I'll name them all."

Dean's lawyer, Stephen V. Wehner, a former federal prosecutor, said Dean could have legally accepted the money while at HUD as long as it was not for an official act. "We have a very good factual defense, too," Wehner said.

Dean is the daughter of the late Gordon Dean, who won the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his role in prosecuting Nazi war crimes in Nuremberg and who later chaired the Atomic Energy Commission. Gordon Dean died in a Nantucket airplane crash when Deborah Dean was 3, and she moved with her mother and younger brother to Washington in 1957. Dean's mother, Mary Benton Gore Dean, later became the companion

of former attorney general John Mitchell.

It was Mitchell, in 1981, who guided Dean toward the government, and she was hired as a low-level assistant in the Energy Department's office of public affairs. Dean left government shortly after seeing her nomination to become an assistant HUD secretary die in a Senate committee in late 1987.

In the interview yesterday, Dean said the four-year investigation has left her broke, disgusted and frustrated with the legal system. Additionally, she said she "cannot believe all the things that have been said, that have been printed and that have gone around."

Arraignment is scheduled Friday morning before U.S. District Judge Charles R. Richey.

David S. Broder

The Risk and Reward of Ross Perot

The potential presidential candidacy of Ross Perot offers one important benefit to the 1992 campaign—and one overwhelming disadvantage. At the moment, the risk seems greater than the possible reward.

My instinct is to be wary of people who, having achieved success and renown in one field, jump to the conclusion that they would be terrific at something else. The Texas billionaire's achievements as a salesman and a company-builder speak for themselves. In a go-go era, Perot went out and got himself more than most.

But success in business is no better credential for politics than skill in surgery, or journalism or choreography. Perot has accomplished much in life, and he has done so in ways that reflect his commitment to important personal and national values. But there is little in his record that suggests any great aptitude for government.

Like many other businessmen, Perot approached the political system with his wallet open, spreading his money and political contributions around in both parties where he thought it would do him and his companies the most good. With encouragement from some of the shadier operators in recent White Houses, including Oliver North, Perot financed and helped organize POW and hostage-relief efforts that showed his liking for the murkier areas of private paramilitary operations.

As the head of a blue-ribbon panel on education in Texas, he helped push through useful, if incomplete, reforms. But so far as the record shows, his approach to public issues has tended to be episodic and focused on something that could be done—or attempted—in short order. It is ad hocery on a lavishly financed scale, done by a man who, from all reports, brooks little frustration or opposition and is fully prepared to walk away if he can't get what he wants.

Why would such a person offer any benefit as a participant in this year's election? The temptation is to answer in social-psychology terms and say that an angry, alienated electorate needs someone through whom it can vent its despair with the political process and its disdain for the alternatives the major parties are offering in George Bush and Bill Clinton.

To be sure, there is that value in having Perot self-finance a \$100 million independent candidacy that will allow voters in all 50 states to get their anger off their chests. A drawling, sometimes funny Mr. None-of-the-Above has some appeal.

But the larger potential advantage in a Perot candidacy lies in the fact that he is not a consensus-seeker but an asker of hard questions. For all the pretending to be something else in the current campaign,



ASSOCIATED PRESS

the truth is that Bush and Clinton are very much consensus candidates of their respective party establishments, whose essential skills lie in working the system from inside. Bush may present himself as a Congress-basher, and Clinton may pretend he's an outsider to the Washington game. But they are both insiders—in mind, soul and spirit.

That means that neither is likely, on his own, to force a sharp polarization of policy choice on tough issues. You already can see that in the way they are dancing around the central and overwhelming dilemma of American government—the inability for more than a dozen years to confront the runaway national debt.

To his credit, Perot is saying that \$4 trillion of debt and \$400 billion of annual deficits cannot be ignored, because they are literally mortgaging the nation's ability to meet our challenges and selling out our children's future.

Perot's own answers to the problem are exceptionally unpersuasive. His notion of finding \$180 billion in "waste, fraud and abuse" is exactly the sort of businessman naivete that makes you skeptical of his candidacy.

But even if he has no answer himself, it would be a great thing to have him pressing that question in the autumn presidential debates. It might be enough to force Bush and Clinton to recognize the urgency of the problem and say how they would address it.

If that is the potential benefit of a Perot candidacy, then what is the risk? The risk is that his race would likely divert attention from what ought to be the central issue in 1992—the need to end the policy deadlock in Washington by constituting a real government, one where the president and the congressional majority are of the same party.

That task is vital because the evidence is now overwhelming that government without parties does not work. There is no accountability; therefore, no responsibility; therefore, no incentive for presidents or legislators to make the hard choices. Perot's race will take the focus off party and put it even more on individual personality. Outspokenly anti-party himself, he offers the false and dangerous hope that he can single-handedly create a governing consensus by using the White House to organize "electronic town halls" across the nation, where the voters, informed by him of the available choices, would directly choose the policies they want Congress to enact.

There are invidious labels that can be attached to this kind of "guided democracy." Suffice it to say that it offers a false hope that we can solve our problems without the hard bargaining that representative government entails. In the end, Perot is more likely to muddy the waters than clarify the choice of parties that must be made.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

America 2000: No Friend to Public Schools

In an attempt to expose American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker as weak on "break-the-mold schools" [op-ed, April 15], U.S. Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander reminded us that after four years of an "education president," all we can expect is a litany of privatization. What is ironic is that Mr. Shanker comes out supporting the public interest and Mr. Alexander, the private. I thought it was supposed to be the other way around.

One of the planks of the administration's agenda to save the public schools—allowing federal dollars to fund research for schools that would be private—was soundly defeated by the Senate in January. Mr. Alexander wanted money to supplement his New American Schools Development Corp., a private venture that he said "began raising \$200 million" to create break-the-mold schools. What he did not mention was that after more than a year, NASDC has raised only \$40 million. The Senate was wise in not wanting to use public dollars on a project the private sector does not seem to fully support.

Second, those projects that Mr. Alexander cited as being break-the-mold, like Ted Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools and the James Comer Parental Involvement Model, are within the public sector, the same "government monopoly" that Mr. Alexander decried.

Third, America 2000 represents funneling of federal money away from the crisis-ridden public schools and into private hands. The secretary's reform proposal requested no new funds for education. Instead, the administration has asked Congress to divert \$654 million of existing education funds to support activities that would test the public schools and give money for private school improvement through vouchers and research. Mr. Alexander would institute an allo-

cation for one new school in each congressional district and state and would provide incentives for states to divert state and local education dollars to the private sector. Even if Mr. Alexander had proposed new federal funds for education, America 2000's funding level would have added a mere \$16 per student to the expenditure for kindergarten through 12 education in the United States, an additional three-tenths of one percent to the funds now available.

The Senate bill is far from a "government establishment" bill. It encourages measures such as public school choice, charter schools, school site councils, organizational restructuring and parental involvement—all

planned with community input at the state and local levels. There isn't anything in this bill that would dissuade any private-sector reformer from participating and influencing reform—except perhaps that the reformers who get public dollars also must adhere to public control and focus on the public schools.

After the savings and loan debacle, Department of Defense contractor overruns and the number of private proprietary schools that have bilked the Department of Education out of billions of college aid dollars, would we want it any other way?

PAT S. HENRY

President
National PTA
Chicago

"I WANT TO BUST THIS CASE WIDE OPEN"



For the Record

From an article by Clara Germani in the April 27 Christian Science Monitor:

If baseball trading cards have captured the imaginations of generations of American youth, helping to build superstardom for heroes of the country's national pastime, what would happen if someone introduced . . . well, scientist trading cards.

Probably there would be no stampede of kids memorizing the atomic numbers in the periodic table—instead of earned run averages—to bring U.S. math and science test scores back into the world's top ranks.

But . . . in a promotion aimed not at youth but at the media, to raise the school's profile in research funding, the Oregon Graduate Institute of Science and Technology last September issued a series of trading cards featuring faculty members, explains Bob Applegate, director of public relations at the institute.

"It succeeded beyond our expectations," he says. "Our largest response was unsolicited, from parents, teachers and kids, 9, 10, 11 and 12." More than 300 requests for the trading card series came from kids, parents and teachers.

The cards are the same size as baseball trading cards, but . . . they feature scientists like Bets Rasmussen, a chemist who studies elephant reproduction and lists water skiing and scuba diving as hobbies; and Ronald Cole, a windsurfing, espresso-drinking computer scientist who develops voice-operated computers.

Donovan Cahill, a 13-year-old from Beaverton, Ore., said he read about the cards in a magazine and ordered them immediately. "I collect baseball cards . . . These [science trading cards] are neat because they have lots more information on them and you can compare them and read about them," says the Oakland A's fan who wants to be a chemist when he grows up.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Channel 20 remained dark yesterday, but management was hopeful the UHF station could be back on the air by this morning...

That goes double for Orioles and Washington Capitals fans, enjoying an unusually bright springtime, who, if they don't get Home Team Sports on cable, could find themselves out of luck while the Paramount-owned independent remains off the air...

Should the Caps wrap it up against the Penguins tonight, they would start Round 2 of the Stanley Cup playoffs on WDCA on Sunday, with a second game due Tuesday. The Orioles are not due on WDCA again until May 9, however...

A spokesman for HTS said late yesterday, "We wish them well, but we're poised and ready to air the Caps game [Wednesday] night if WDCA isn't up and running." He said a decision about the game would have to be made no later than 2 p.m. today...

As reported yesterday, the station suffered a mysterious power loss very early Monday morning, which reduced audio power to 38 percent and video power to 58 percent, permitting only small pockets of viewers in the area to pick up the signal. After a long day of frustration, the station went off the air at 11:30 Monday night, awaiting the arrival of a specialist who could pinpoint the problem...

A faulty transmission line, which runs from the basement of the station up to the top of the nearby 809-foot tower, is believed to be the culprit...

Dick Williams, vice president and general manager of WDCA, said late yesterday that they are still awaiting the arrival of an "expert from New Jersey." Meanwhile, WDCA engineers, he said, think they've "found the virus" and, pending the expert's findings, have replacement equipment at the ready...

Williams had originally hoped to be back on the air yesterday morning. He said the station had received dozens of "generous calls" from viewers yesterday wishing them "good luck"...

The station could use a little. Right now it is losing some \$175,000 a day in revenues...

And, should the station remain off the air for a while, sports fans without cable would probably be out of luck too. Other stations in the area are already solidly booked for the key May ratings sweeps underway and have informed WDCA they probably can't make room for future Caps or Orioles games for some time...

And it could get worse. Williams said yesterday that if the 23-year-old transmitter has finally quit, a replacement could cost as much as \$800,000. And, in the worst-case scenario, the antenna at the top of the tower could be at fault—and a new one would have to be built to WDCA specifications, while the station remained off the air...

WDCA shares the River Road tower with Channels 26 and 32...

Now This

George Will, an opponent of taxpayer-funded public broadcasting, will be paired against PBS producer-commentator Bill Moyers tonight on ABC News's "Nightline" to debate the future of public television...

In a recent column, conservative columnist Will called public television "a paradigm of America's welfare state gone awry... another middle-class—actually, upper-middle-class—entitlement." He asked "why taxpayers should give another \$1.1 billion to public television," suggesting it instead be sold and make its way as a private enterprise...

At the top of the broadcast, ABC correspondent Jackie Judd will report on the background of the dispute...

Monday night, CBS was the easy winner, averaging a 15.9 national Nielsen rating and a 25 share for all original programming. "Murphy Brown," in the first of four straight original programs that will culminate with the May 18 birth of her baby, averaged a very strong 19.0/29. "Northern Exposure," which seems to do best when Dr. Joel talks least, averaged a 15.4/25, despite tough competition from the ABC movie...

ABC was a close second, as a matter of fact, averaging a 15.7/25. The conclusion of "Stay the Night" averaged a 17.9/28, which was a considerable improvement over Sunday's 13.8/22 for Part I...

NBC was third at 10.7/17. Its movie, "In the Shadow of a Killer," averaged a 9.5/15...

In Washington, "Murphy" did a 21.0/31 on Channel 9; the conclusion of "Stay the Night"

on Seven, a 14.1/22; and "In the Shadow of a Killer" on WRC, an 8.5/14. Each local rating point represents 18,199 TV homes...

If you're interested, "Northern Exposure" fans, there really is a book called "A Paddle to the Sea," written by one Holling C. Holling. Excerpts were read by deejay Chris (John Corbett) on Monday's broadcast. Holling is also the first name of Vincoeur (John Cullum), the bar owner. Hmmm...

ABC's "Good Morning America" gang will be on the road for "The Great New England Bus Tour" during the week of May 11-15...

Daily stops will be in Fitzwilliam, N.H.; Portland, Maine; Gloucester, Mass.; Cambridge, Mass.; and on Friday, in Newport, R.I....

GMA says the Thursday stop at Harvard will include the first live broadcast "ever allowed to originate from Harvard Yard." Hmmm...

GMA has previously made bus tours of the South and Midwest...

"NBC Nightly News" anchor Tom Brokaw speaks tonight at 8 in the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Jefferson Auditorium at 14th Street and Independence Avenue SW. His address, part of the Smithsonian Resident Associate Program, will be on "public opinion and television network news." For information, call 357-3030. That's 357-3030...

The George Carlin special on HBO Saturday night averaged a 13.4/22 within the HBO universe of 17.5 million cable homes, beating the networks between 10 and 11...

If you're not all Perot-ed out (the "I" is silent in Perot-ed), the maybe-presidential candidate—who has been all over the TV map lately—will be on CNBC's "Money Politics" tonight at 6. Live. With former FDIC chairman William Seidman and host Bill Grif-feth...

CBS Entertainment Productions will produce a movie for the Showtime channel called "Double Jeopardy," starring Bruce Boxleitner and Rachel Ward. It's the first time the CBS unit has ever produced a movie for another network. Showtime will air the murder mystery four times in a month during the 1992-93 season, and then CBS will get a single play...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 20.0	31	ABC
2 18.2	34	CBS
3 18.2	29	ABC
4 16.8	26	ABC
5 16.6	27	CBS
6 15.5	24	CBS
7 15.4	24	NBC
8 15.0	23	CBS
9 14.8	25	ABC
10 14.7	25	ABC
11 14.7	23	CBS
12 14.4	26	ABC
13 14.0	24	CBS
14 14.0	26	ABC
15 13.8	24	NBC
16 13.8	23	NBC
17 13.8	23	CBS
18 13.8	22	ABC
19 13.7	22	ABC
20 13.7	22	ABC

The ABC Juggernaut nauted on last week, winning for the third time in the past four weeks with a 12.0/20 compared with an 11.5/29 for 1991-92 season champion CBS, a 10.6/18 for NBC and an 8.2/14 for FOX...

ABC won Tuesday, Friday and Saturday; CBS, Monday and Sunday...

The usual Tuesday fare and Saturday's farewell to three series did it for ABC as the network—which finished third in the recently completed season—marked its best Saturday performance (a 13.3/24) since October 1989...

In other highlights, "Brooklyn Bridge" managed one of its best ratings ever with another Monday night appearance worth an 11.5/19 and a tie for 41st in the weekly rankings...

The Hallmark Hall of Fame choice Sunday night on NBC, "Miss Rose White," finished 48th among 92 programs ranked for the week ending April 26...

CBS's Elvis special tied for 52nd... If producers of "Miss Rose White" need a little solace, "Disaster Files," the NBC special that kicked off Sunday's schedule and doomed the movie's competitive chances that night, finished 93rd and last in the weekly rankings...

Among the newer series, CBS's "The Human Factor" tied for 76th and NBC's "Mann & Machine" tied for 89th...

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992 A23

William J. Byron

Study Now, Pay Later: A Good Idea

The present system of federal financial assistance to college students needs creative modification. President Bush said as much to an Allentown, Pa., high school audience in mid-April. Bill Clinton says he sees his own idea in the Bush proposal to provide a "line of credit" up to \$25,000 for any American who wants to use it for higher education. Meanwhile, members of the House and Senate conference committee on reauthorization of the Higher Education Act will soon sit down to hammer out their differences. How to handle student aid will be an issue.

Candidates offer few specifics. Legislators tend to amend past provisions to meet future needs. Now that the administration has come up with its "lifetime learning" proposal, the president could put his weight behind a demonstration project idea that will surely emerge in the Senate-House conference.

It is based on the "working your way through college" principle, only the sequence is reversed. College comes first, then "working your way through" by permitting the Internal Revenue Service to withhold a fixed percentage of the post-graduation paycheck until there has been repayment with interest of the federal funds advanced. Repayment would be income-contingent. This makes the obligation manageable, and, since repayments would be extracted from a gross income by IRS (a feature favored by the Senate but absent from the House-passed bill), this obligation moves to the front of the line ahead of other debt responsibilities.

This is what the public policy vocabulary calls a "direct lending" plan. With appropriate phase-in provisions, this approach could eventually, if the nation so wishes, replace guaranteed student loans (Stafford loans) and some other forms of federal student aid.

Resistance to this proposal comes from several quarters. College administrators are wary of excessive governmental intrusion. IRS involvement, even though it would be with the student and only peripherally with the institution, is resisted. IRS itself will not be anxious to take on additional work. The banks will resist. They like the GSL program, even though it costs Treasury between 35 and 50 cents on every commercial bank dollar loaned. The secondary marketers of GSLs want no change, nor do the various loan-servicing agencies, whose business would be reduced or eliminated.

Legislators who have labored to construct our present complicated system of federal student aid will be understandably reluctant to dismantle it, or even tinker with it, for an unproven alternative. But others are prepared to act, with vision and care, for change. Notable among them are Sens. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), Dave Durenberger (R-Minn.), Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Bill Bradley (D-N.J.); and Reps. William D. Ford (D-Mich.), Tom Petri (R-Wis.) and Robert E. Andrews (D-N.J.).

When the Senate reauthorized the Higher Education Act in mid-February, a Simon-Durenberger-Kennedy-Bradley direct-lending provision was prepared but not offered. Instead, Kennedy, chairman of the committee responsible for Senate action on reauthorization, agreed to hold subsequent hearings and then send a direct-lending provision to Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) for inclusion in the tax bill. The hearings were held; the amendment became part of the Senate-passed tax bill, which was later vetoed.

But direct-lending is still alive in the policy debate. House and Senate conferees on the higher education reauthorization bill may well approve a direct-lending demonstration project to begin perhaps as early as September 1993. I certainly hope so. I also hope the president will support such a project.

Policy architects could design a student financial assistance program that is characterized by universal eligibility, direct lending, income contingency, simplicity, workable terms and phase-in choices that would retain present programs as viable options. Any demonstration project would need to be large enough to produce a valid test of the merits of direct lending.

Institutions of higher education must not be scared off by those who raise the specter of government regulation and administrative complexity. The direct-lending idea is, as Norman Corwin said many years ago about brotherhood, "not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend."

The writer is president of the Catholic

Sen. Tower Crash Blamed on Failure of Part Safety Board Finds Aircraft Spun Out of Control Over Georgia

Associated Press

The failure of a severely worn part in a commuter plane's propeller control unit caused the aircraft to spin out of control over Georgia last year, killing former senator John Tower (R-Tex.) and 22 other people, the National Transportation Safety Board said yesterday.

The board said the failure of the part resulted in an "uncommanded and uncorrectable" movement in the left propeller of Atlantic Southeast Airlines Flight 2311, causing the plane to crash as it approached the Glynnco Jetport at Brunswick, Ga., on April 5, 1991.

The board, in effect, absolved the

crew of the plane from any blame, saying that once the failure took place the aircraft, a Brazilian-made Embraer 120, was uncontrollable and certain to crash.

In its ruling, the board cited the design of the propeller control unit by Hamilton Standard, a division of United Technologies Corp. It said the approval of the design by the Federal Aviation Administration also contributed to the accident.

The board said the design was flawed because one three-inch part, called a quill, was softer than the tube in which it was contained. The teeth of the quill became badly worn and essentially lost their grip.

"It acted like a file and over time it wore down the teeth that controlled the propeller unit," said acting safety board chairman Susan Coughlin.

She said the problem has been corrected in aircraft with similar propeller systems.

Coughlin said that failure of the part caused the aircraft's left propeller "to experience a loss of lift that put the pilot in a very precarious position."

"It forced the aircraft into a left wing down position," she said.

Also killed in the crash were Tower's daughter, Marian, and astronaut Manley Lanier "Sonny" Carter.

The Dinner That Left A Bad Taste

At the GOP Fund-Raiser, A Mix of Politics & Protest

By Roxanne Roberts and Mary Ann French
Washington Post Staff Writers

Guess which one didn't make it to last night's President's Dinner, the ritzy, controversial \$9 million Republican fund-raiser at the Washington Convention Center:

- a. More than 4,500 party faithful who forked over at least \$1,500 apiece in hopes of belying up to the trough with the president, vice president and other GOP bigwigs;
- b. One hundred vocal demonstrators protesting the "wealthy fat cats" attending the dinner;
- c. Reporters and cameras from ABC, NBC and a dozen other news organizations;
- d. James R. Elliott, convicted felon, former dinner co-chairman and *persona non grata* since an employee sued Elliott, alleging that he was fired when he refused to buy a ticket to the event.

And the answer is—*surprise, surprise*—d.

According to the White House, the President's Dinner isn't the president's dinner after all. The event, sponsored by the National Republican Congressional Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee, is actually a fund-raiser for House and Senate races and Bush campaign officials bent over backward to distance the president from the event. A large "Bush-Quayle" sign in the hall disappeared short-

See DINNER, B9, Col. 1



President's Dinner guests scurrying past protesters last night at the Convention Center.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

Fund-Raiser

DINNER, From B1

ly before the dinner. "It started falling, so, for safety's sake, we took it down," explained a dinner spokesman. "Bush-Quayle" headbands on Styrofoam party hats were also removed because "the way the words were" looked too much like the campaign logo.

The president traditionally attends the event, and last night was no exception. But President Bush, accompanied by his wife, Barbara, was uncharacteristically sans tux for the black-tie event. The now-official Republican nominee had one thing on his mind—bashing the Democrats. "Tonight," said Bush, "so many of you came here to help me put an end to obstruction and abuses of the Democratic majority in Congress."

But Democrats weren't the only group in for abuse. In order to enter the hall, guests had to pass through a gauntlet of 100 demonstrators who loudly registered their disapproval of the big-money event. A Dixieland band outside the entrance tried in vain to drown out strains of "Hey hey, ho ho! Dirty money has got to go!"

"What are you buying?" they chanted as guests scurried past posters reading "Slow Down—Fat Cat Crossing" and "\$1,500 Is What You Pay—Special Favors Come Your Way."

"It's not a social event," said Michael Waldman, director of Public Citizen's Congress Watch. "It's not even a traditional political event. It's purchased access at the very least and purchased policies at the worst."

No influence peddling here, said Bush campaign Chairman Robert Mosbacher cheerfully. "This is a crowd of people who want good government." And on Monday, Bush denounced fund-raising by coercion. But ABC's "Nightline," which devoted last night's program to the event, dubbed the dinner a cause for "political indignation."

Protester Rumi Matsuyama said

her targets "all look kind of nervous. They're trying to ignore us, but I don't think they can. I'd be embarrassed if I were them. When the country is hurting the way it is, paying \$1,500 to schmooze with the president?"

Embarrassed? Well, not Dallas millionaire Norman Brinker, CEO of a 300-restaurant chain. "I don't think the people out here have a clue how things really work," said Brinker. "Unless you have people like myself who create jobs, you don't have an economy."

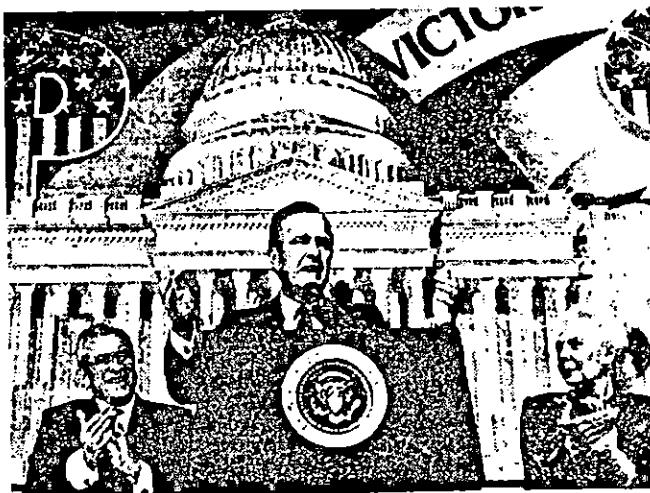
"They're exercising their First Amendment rights," said one Indiana man who, like most guests at the dinner, declined to be identified. "And the action of writing a check is exercising my First Amendment rights."

"I think it makes people feel uncomfortable when people are yelling directly at you," said Janet Cooper, of the Stephen Winchell direct-mail business in Rosslyn, once she was safely inside. "I just kept walking."

She said she wasn't bothered because she attended the dinner as a guest of her company. "That's totally different from seeking favors."

But the dinner has proved to be an embarrassment for Bush, who is under fire for receiving campaign funds through loopholes—so-called "soft" and "bundled" money—that would be prohibited in campaign reform legislation passed by the House. Hours before the dinner, Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) took the Senate floor to criticize Bush's fund-raising practices and accuse him of hypocrisy in opposing taxpayer financing of congressional campaigns while accepting federal funds for his own races.

Although none of last night's proceeds will go to the president's campaign, the fund-raising questions have heightened scrutiny of his campaign financing. Elliott, president of an Illinois credit card and check approval firm, collected \$1,500 each from more than 30 employees for dinner tickets and allegedly fired one for refusing to ante up. Elliott has denied the charge. In five years, since serv-



President Bush flanked by dinner chairman Howard Baker and his wife, Joy.

ing time for racketeering, mail and wire fraud and misapplication of bank funds, Elliott has worked his way up in the Republican Party and was originally one of two dozen co-chairmen for the event. His name did not appear on last night's program, however.

Besides the 4,500 dinner guests who attended the dinner, another 10,000 contributed to a record-breaking total of \$9 million—a feat that dinner chairman Howard Baker called "a harbinger of Republican success in 1992."

For \$92,000, according to the dinner organizers, contributors got a private photo op with Bush or a place at one of the four head tables with Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole or House Minority Leader Bob Michel. The purchase of two tables included a private reception with the Bushes or a reception with Cabinet members and a lunch with the Quayles and receptions with congressional leaders.

Yesterday, White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater defended the practice of placing administration officials at the tables of those who raised large amounts of money for the event.

"We don't believe that that is buying influence, but it certainly is—it's buying access to the system, yes," he told reporters at his daily briefing. "That's what the political parties and the political operation is all about."

Those who cannot afford such large contributions, he said, "have to demand access in other ways."

The basic \$1,500 ticket guaranteed only pesto ravioli, beef tenderloin, asparagus, white wine, red wine and an elephant cake; a goodie bag complete with dinner T-shirt, flashlight and directory to Congress; elaborate backdrops of the White House, Capitol and Jefferson and Lincoln memorials; and the chance to see the bigwigs up close on the giant video screens looming over the vast convention center.

Just business as usual.

"The Democrats do the same thing," said Texas Rep. Joe Barton. "This is just a way to bring all the people to Washington who support the president and the Republicans and have a nice dinner."

Staff writers John E. Yang and Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

William Raspberry

Jackson's 'Tragic Flaw'

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

Jesse Jackson was at pains to be understood. He is not campaigning for second place on the Democratic ticket; he made no threat as to what he might do if Bill Clinton (the odds-on presidential nominee) names someone else as his running mate.

The New York Daily News story ("Jax: Pick me, or else," the headline blared) was, in Jackson's phrase, "a text out of context."

So was he misquoted by News reporter Daphna Barak, whose Monday story was picked up across America? Well, not actually misquoted, except for an unfortunate ellipsis or two. But the reporter's characterizations of his actions and attitude—that he is "lobbying hard" for the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ballot and that he's prepared to make someone pay if he doesn't get it—are unfounded, he insists.

Well, maybe not entirely unfounded. One of the Barak quotations he accepts as accurate has him declaring his qualifications for the nomination and the party's indebtedness to him; another includes this passage, explaining what course he might take if he's not on the ticket:

"There is a time that a leader should keep his private thoughts to himself and surprise. . . . We won't be eliminated this time. We can't be. Every action has consequences. We are ready for any opportunity to serve, but we are ready if we are ignored or rejected. . . . If I am rejected this time, I am prepared to react."

Is that a veiled threat, or only a "text out of context"?

Maybe it means something that, as someone who knows Jackson well enough to call him friend, I'm prepared to go either way.

Some statements that sound fairly aggressive may sound less so in the context of the questions that prompted them. "I've got the experience [to be vice president]. . . . I see myself as a running mate. . . . I got more votes [in 1988] than any candidate could get this time, and I didn't get only black votes." Provocative words in the ordinary course of a conversation, unremarkable if said in response to the question: What would you say to those who say you're not qualified to be vice president?

But I would find it utterly unsurprising to learn that my friend was in fact "lobbying hard" (albeit with soberer second thoughts) for the chance to make history. He did it four years ago, touting his qualifications, recalling his vote totals and pushing the unorthodox view that the second-place finisher in the party primaries "deserved" the second spot on the ticket.

No good came of it. I won't say the Democrats lost because of it, but there's no doubt in my mind that the Jackson business had the effect of diminishing Michael Dukakis in the eyes of the electorate.

A part of Jackson understands that well and would be careful not to risk doing the same thing to Clinton. But another part of him is fixated on making history—on personal achievement—even at the risk of damaging the cause.

Indeed it may be Jackson's tragic flaw that there is no overall cause that takes precedence over his personal prospects. That, of course, is speculation on my part, but speculation fed by years of observation.

My sense is that Jackson is too much inclined to measure the effectiveness of his efforts not by asking if the goal is nearer accomplishment or the problem closer to resolution or the condition improved, but by weighing whether he is better off. He would resist that characterization, pointing out the impressive range of noble causes to which he has lent his talent: inspiring young people to self-discipline, feeding the hungry, healing ethnic division here and around the world, political justice for the disenfranchised District of Columbia and economic justice for migrant workers, coal miners, janitors and teachers.

But with every campaign, his interest waxes and wanes with the intensity of the media's coverage of him. It's as though he senses his incredible potential and seeks to fulfill it directly.

And for all his brilliance, he hasn't figured out that it's not done that way—that to seek greatness is to fall short of it. Those who achieve true greatness do it *incidentally*. Picture Martin Luther King Jr. seeking a seat in the House of Representatives as a measure of his significance. Think of Gandhi lobbying to be named ambassador to the United Nations. Imagine Albert Schweitzer telling a reporter his qualifications for a Nobel Prize.

These great ones (and yes, Jackson has the potential for achieving that rare company) became great only after they sorted out their priorities, settled on a goal and bent every effort to its accomplishment.

What, beyond his own elevation, would Jackson rate worthy of a long-term investment of his time and talent? Until he can find a satisfactory answer to that question, great-

Menus With Bland Ambition

At the Bushes' White House Galas, Fillets Without Soul

By Steven Pearlstein
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Kennedys brought in a fine French chef. The Johnsons let him go.

Nancy Reagan cared so much how the food looked that she consulted her interior decorator.

Food has always been a metaphor for the personality and substance of each passing administration, and the Bush White House is no different. Like much of its economic policy and its foreign policy, this administration's food policy is safe, predictable—and just a bit dated.

There'll be no surprises coming up the White House dumbwaiter tonight at the dinner for German President Richard von Weizsaecker. Although the food will be fresh, the menu of lobster with cucumber mousse and caviar sauce, saddle of veal, and pineapple champagne sorbet cake will be a stale rerun of the 19 state dinners that preceded it.

This is a Happy Meal for the tuxedo-and-pearls set, comfort food for the Establishment. It bespeaks luxury rather than style and values predictability over originality.

"It's a shame," said Washington's Anne Willan, founder of the La Varenne cooking school, which operates in Burgundy, France, and the Greenbrier resort in White Sulphur Springs, W.Va. "The White House should be displaying the best of modern America, not 50-year-old French cuisine."

The White House is understandably defensive about its culinary malaise.

"When you're serving food to 150 people with dif-

See MENU, B4, Col. 1



Tried & True

MENU, From B1

fering tastes that has to be just perfect, it's not surprising that menus tend toward your classic recipes," explained Anna Perez, Barbara Bush's press secretary. "The reason they are classic is that people have liked them for a long time."

"Classic" apparently means starting off every meal with a fish course, and for the Bushes, that often means salmon. There have been salmon rosettes, mousse of salmon, terrine of salmon and medallions of salmon. And don't forget that all-American favorite—served three times so far—salmon en gelee (in aspic).

"No American chef is getting famous these days serving fish en gelee," said Robert Kinkade, owner of the all-American Twenty-One Federal restaurant several blocks from the White House. "It's old. It was big in the '20s."

For the main course, veal is the meat of choice, a culinary holdover from the Reagan years. You've got your roast loin of veal (three times), your saddle of veal (also thrice) and your medallions of veal (twice). Substitute lamb for veal in these preparations, add a French truffle or two, and you've pretty much exhausted the repertoire.

Desserts tilt toward ice cream concoctions, none more popular than the parfait. So far there have been coffee parfaits, date parfaits, Tia Maria parfaits and amaretto parfaits, but the possibilities are endless.

"This is food that is comfortable and predictable but not very challenging," agreed Joanna Preuss, a food historian who has studied White House menus. "Good cuisine challenges you."

"You're not there to shake up the culinary world," replied Henry Haller, who served as White House chef for five administrations, from Johnson through Reagan. "The French preparations are the international language of cuisine. And they lend themselves to beautiful presentations."

During the Carter years, Haller said, he tried to bring more American preparations to state dinner menus, but he admits he did not succeed.

"Pinto beans and pecan pie are very tasty, but I just don't think they belong on a state dinner menu," said Haller, who lives in Potomac.

But as younger American chefs are proving, there is plenty of room for both flair and formality between pinto beans and vegetable terrine.

The ghost of Escoffier haunts this kitchen. For example, because of the legendary French chef's dictate that meals must start with a fish plate, fish never makes a White House appearance in a chowder, stew or gumbo, all of which could be adapted to a formal state dinner setting.

And while salmon and lobster certainly have their place in any culinary rotation, it speaks volumes that the White House kitchen can't find a use for Chesapeake oysters in winter, local rockfish in summer or shad in spring (Thomas Jefferson served a shad roe souffle baked in fillets of shad). And what about all those great Florida prey—pompano, grouper and snapper—so prized by the First Fisherman?



FROM 'TITANIUM PARTIES' DOUBLEDAY
A table from the final Reagan state dinner, honoring Margaret Thatcher.

Actually, the whole idea of a fish course is as old as, well, tax and spend. "It's high time they got into salads," said Willan, who suggested occasionally forgoing the after-dinner salad in the French tradition in favor of an opening plate of sauteed wild mushrooms or seasonal greens with hot native goat cheese and a slice of good Virginia ham.

Rosalynn Carter used her White House dinners to mix it up a bit, even to the point of serving suckling pig, roast buffalo and barbecued chicken as main courses. The Bushes' idea of stepping out seems to be serving duck à l'orange (twice).

And not just duck à l'orange—duck à l'orange with wild rice. Here's a combination that ranks right up there with corned beef and cabbage or franks and beans for sheer triteness. How about duck in a tangerine and port sauce? Or Mediterranean style, with olives and roasted peppers?

Serving up quail in the Bush White House might ruffle political feathers. But what's wrong with free-range chicken, pheasant or even a dressed-up version of that American classic, the turkey?

There is an unmistakable WASP quality to these Bush menus—no melting pot on this White House stove. Where most great American chefs borrow enthusiastically from the vocabulary of immigrant Italian, Greek, Chinese, German, Mexican, Polish and even Russian cuisine, the White House crew expresses itself almost exclusively in Franglais.

Italy's prime minister was treated to an interesting jalapeno gnocchi in October 1989, and Tunisia's president dined on minted bulgur—subtle tips of the White House toque to the visiting dignitaries. But any genuine commitment to a multicultural American cuisine would certainly include an upscale version of the fritter, the dumpling, the ravioli and the enchilada, all strangers to the White House recipe box.

Thanks to pastry chef Roland Mesnier, desserts are the standouts on the Bush groaning board. None has ever been repeated, most are seasonal. And while a preference for parfaits, sorbets and souffles is evident, the sauces are so varied and the presentations so elaborate that they invariably prompt twitters of praise from the guests.

But Mesnier's flair has not translated to the ideas of Chef Hans Raffert and White House social secretary

Laurie Firestone, who propose the state dinner menus to Mrs. Bush. Their idea of variety is to serve loin of veal farci one night, saddle of veal perigourdine a few weeks later, and summarize it at the next outing by serving saddle of veal farci with perigord sauce.

Last July, Raffert opened a dinner for President Roh Tae Woo of South Korea with lobster served in champagne jelly with a caviar sauce. Either it was a big success or there were plenty of leftovers: The next dinner featured medallions of salmon in champagne jelly with a caviar sauce.

Perhaps the most interesting dinner served by the Bushes to visiting heads of state wasn't served in the White House at all.

At the July 1990 economic summit in Houston, the formal dinner menu had an unabashedly Southwestern flavor: grilled yellow tomato soup, grilled veal loin, sweet corn pudding and peach and blackberry cobbler. This is exactly the sort of inventive but elegant American fare that has recently drawn international attention. Not surprisingly, it was conceived and prepared not by the White House staff, but by a trio of local Texas chefs engaged for the event.

Rep. Michel Now Backs Subpoena

*GOP Chief Switches
On House Bank Data*

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) yesterday reversed his position and joined other top House Republican leaders in urging compliance with a special counsel's subpoena of House Bank records.

The reversal by Michel—who the day before had criticized the subpoena as “far too broad”—left House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) clinging to the politically precarious position of resisting a sweeping subpoena issued on behalf of special counsel Malcolm R. Wilkey, a retired judge.

The unfolding scenario of the House response to the subpoena has begun to resemble events and political pressures that prompted the House to vote “full disclosure” of overdrafts at the now-closed bank. Two Republicans and one Democrat took to the floor to call for compliance with the subpoena, while Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) vowed to go to court to block release of his bank records. Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.) predicted the House would vote almost unanimously for compliance.

President Bush said he hoped the House would comply with the order and turn over the records. “When you’re subpoenaed, you take a hard look at it and make up your mind,” he told reporters while posing for photographers in the Oval Office with Yegor Gaidar, Russian deputy prime minister. “I can understand the question being raised. But in this instance I hope there will be full cooperation.”

Before yesterday, Michel had largely agreed with Foley that the request for 39 months of microfilm records of all House Bank accounts violated the privacy of members without overdrafts and threatened to upset the balance of powers between branches of government.

Foley had also expressed concern about the appearance of partisanship in the preliminary inquiry. After the speaker met with Democratic leaders yesterday evening, a Foley aide reaffirmed his concerns and said the Democratic Caucus would discuss the issue at a meeting

See HOUSE, A9, Col. 1



House Minority Leader Michel, flanked by Reps. Gingrich, left, and Hansen, speaks to reporters after leadership meeting.

Rep. Michel Now Backs Probe Subpoena

HOUSE, From A1

today. A resolution is expected Thursday, the deadline for compliance with the subpoena.

A Michel aide said his change of mind began during a midday meeting with Rep. James V. Hansen (Utah), ranking Republican on the ethics committee. After meeting later with other Republican leaders, Michel sent Foley a letter saying the House "should provide Judge Wilkey with the documents as requested in the subpoena."

Asked which arguments swayed him, Michel said: "I had initially wanted to make absolutely sure the issue of checks and balances is not compromised. This is an issue that is separate and apart from that, quite frankly."

Aides said GOP leaders convinced Michel that separation of powers was not an issue because the bank was not involved in legislation. But Michel had told reporters Monday that he and Foley objected to the subpoena's breadth because they were obliged "to uphold the traditions of the Congress as a separate and coequal branch."

Missi Tessier, Michel's spokeswoman, said news accounts of his remarks Monday drew a number of telephone calls from around the country accusing him of a "coverup." Michel told reporters that members also phoned or faxed their views to his office yesterday.

Rep. Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R-Va.) stated his view on the House floor.

"Mr. Speaker, tell me it's not so.

I could not believe . . . your suggestion that maybe the House should oppose the subpoena," Bliley said. "Don't lead us down another blind alley. Don't repeat our first mistake when we suggested maybe not to make a full disclosure."

Rep. Jim Nussle (Iowa), a member of the Republican "Gang of Seven" that pressed for full disclosure, also called for compliance. So did Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Ky.).

Gonzalez, chairman of the Banking Committee, noted that Wilkey, as a federal appeals court judge, voted against compelling President Richard M. Nixon to release the Watergate tapes. "Now, he is back to try once again to destroy Congress," Gonzalez said of Wilkey. Gonzalez had no overdrafts at the House Bank, a review by the House ethics panel showed.

Wilkey was selected by Attorney General William P. Barr on March 20 to replace U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens as head of the House Bank inquiry.

Some House Democrats had suggested Stephens had political motives for launching the investigation. In announcing Wilkey's appointment, Barr praised Stephens for initiating the inquiry but said the public interest, "given the unique circumstances and sensitivities of this matter," would be served by appointing Wilkey, former chairman of Bush's ethics reform commission.

Weber, who is not seeking reelection partly because of his 125 overdrafts, said the House could skirt any constitutional questions by

voluntarily releasing the microfilm records Wilkey seeks "without reference to the subpoena."

Michel said the House should go beyond copies of checks and deposits contained in those records and provide Wilkey with copies of daily tallies of House Bank transactions, to make the submission appear even more voluntary.

His letter to Foley also recommends that members get copies of their records that are turned over to the special counsel and that the ethics committee decide whether overdrafts exceeding \$10,000 must be reported on financial disclosure forms.

A spokesman for Foley, who had asked Wilkey to specify possible crimes he was investigating, declined to comment on Wilkey's statement in a letter to House leaders Monday that he may have found evidence of "a classic check-kiting scheme."

Wilkey in his letter did not offer details on the evidence of check-kiting or say whether the evidence involved one or more members. In a typical check-kiting scheme, overdrawn checks are written in rapid succession on account after account, building up phantom balances that would allow the check kiter either to abscond with the nonexistent money or to enjoy the benefit of an interest-free loan on it.

Check-kiting might violate District law against knowingly writing bad checks, or federal mail and wire fraud or bank fraud laws.

Staff writers Guy Gugliotta and John E. Yang contributed to this report.



Hillary Clinton wowing 'em yesterday at Hine Junior High.

Hillary Clinton, Targeting the Voters of Tomorrow

She arrived a half-hour late and kept them 15 minutes past the 3 o'clock exit orbit. But by the time Hillary Clinton was done speaking to the 800 students of Southeast Washington's Hine Junior High School yesterday, she had won a new pack of junior devotees.

"She was very inspirational," said ninth-grader Winfred Turner.

"I think she really cares. She's very sincere," said eighth-grader Charles Clark.

After a 20-minute pep talk about education, Clinton asked for input "to take back to my husband. . . . If you ever wanted to tell something to somebody running for president," she told them, "here's your chance."

Here's what they wanted to know: What was Bill Clinton going to do about teenage pregnancy? And the drug problem? What about weapons in school?

She strongly urged abstinence for the prevention of pregnancy and the spread of AIDS. "When I had my baby, I was *old*!" she told them. "I was 31, 32. I was *really* old. And I had an education . . . experience . . . money. I had a husband who loved me very much. I had enough support to take care of that baby." She said her husband believes in subsidized treatment for anyone with a drug problem. And she suggested metal detectors and locker searches for weapons.

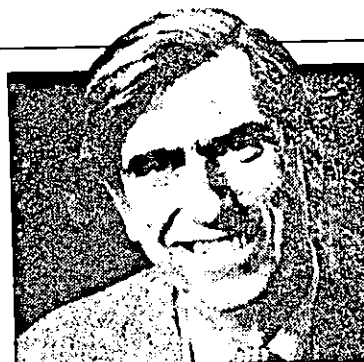
Asked what advice she would give to career-minded young women, Clinton preached education again, then warned, "You have to balance the responsibilities of the professional world while maintaining family responsibilities. . . . If you are married or have children, you have two full-time jobs . . . outside the home and inside the home."

And, she said, "the work inside the home is very important." Unless it's baking cookies.

By Lois Romano

Boyden Gray: Call Him Mr. Welcome

C. Boyden Gray, the Harvard-bred tobacco-fortune heir and White House counsel, doesn't believe that the all-white (and secretive) Alibi Club, to which he and President Bush belong, intentionally discriminates against blacks. "There would be no problem with a Colin Powell or William Coleman," he generously tells Washingtonian magazine.



Intentionally speaking: C. Boyden Gray.

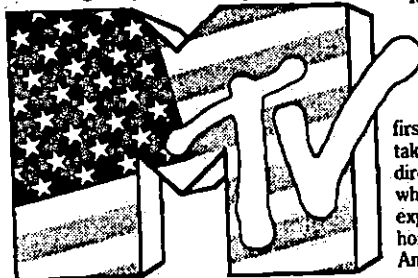
MTV to Bush and Clinton: I Want My Candidates!

Attention 1992 prime-time players: Cable's MTV, which boasts 25 million viewers who may be untapped voters, wants you to jazz up the ho-hum process by putting in some face time on its airwaves.

George Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke says the campaign is still considering a request for the candidate to

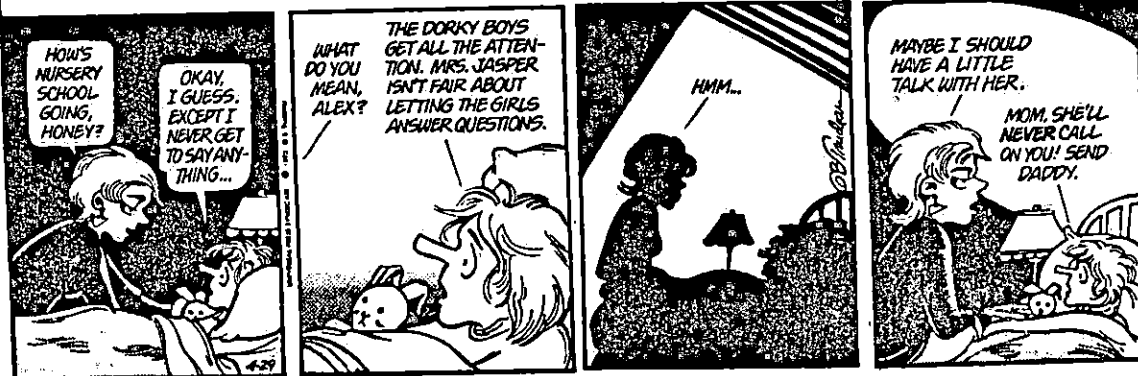
appear on a political forum with young folk—and adds jokingly, "We're trying to figure out whether he should do a rock video or a country-western video." Bill Clinton spokesman Jeff Eller says his candidate is ready to go, noting that MTV is "trying to woo disaffected voters, and we'll do everything to make that happen."

MTV pushed itself into the process earlier this year by airing political reports—complete with background rap and rock—on the 24-hour music channel. It also worked closely with Rock the Vote to register all those first-timers. "I can tell you that candidates take us very seriously," says creative director Judy McGrath. "There was one who shall remain nameless who we had to explain MTV to. MTV reaches 65 million homes. The candidates realize that. . . . And this is no time to ignore young voters."



DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



Legal Views Vary on Bank Subpoena

Lawyers Weigh Propriety of Special Counsel's Demand for Records

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Lawyers with experience in banking investigations disagreed yesterday about the legitimacy of the special counsel's demand for records of the House Bank.

Some said they thought special counsel Malcolm R. Wilkey overstepped the bounds of proper subpoenas in seeking information about members who did not overdraw their accounts. Others said they saw no other way for Wilkey to determine whether abuses at the now-closed institution amounted to criminal activity.

As interpreted by the Supreme Court, the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure give grand juries broad leeway to issue subpoenas in the course of investigations. In a ruling last year, *United States v. R. Enterprises*, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor—quoting an earlier case—said the grand jury has power to investigate "merely on suspicion that the law is being violated, or even just because it wants assurance that it is not."

"The function of the grand jury is to inquire into all information that might possibly bear on its investigation until it has identified an offense or has satisfied itself that none has occurred," she added. "As a necessary consequence of its investigatory function, the grand jury paints with a broad brush."

On the other hand, O'Connor noted, "Grand juries are not licensed to engage in arbitrary fishing expeditions, nor may they select targets of investigation out of malice or an intent to harass."

Lawyers who saw Wilkey's demand as falling on the fishing expedition side of the line focused largely on his request for the records of the 170 members who did not have overdrafts at the House Bank.

"My initial reaction to it is that I would think that a court may well cut back on the subpoenas, particularly with respect to individuals who are not linked to any wrongdoing," said John Villa, a Washington lawyer and author of a book on bank fraud.

"To find out every transaction in a person's checking account can indicate how much they pay in dues to their church or synagogue, which political groups they support and the amount, and courts are sensi-



MALCOLM R. WILKEY
... seeks bank data on entire House

tive to that," Villa said. "Consequently, when enforcing subpoenas of this sort, frequently courts adopt some sort of balancing approach to require an articulation by the prosecutor of why extremely broad subpoenas are necessary."

Reid Weingarten, a Washington lawyer who investigated and prosecuted members of Congress while part of the Justice Department's

"The grand jury paints with a broad brush" but is "... not licensed to engage in arbitrary fishing expeditions."

—Justice Sandra Day O'Connor

Public Integrity Section, said he did not think the department had enough justification for launching such a wide-ranging investigation.

"This is not a typical bank fraud," said Weingarten, who now serves as special counsel to the Senate investigation of "October surprise" allegations. "A typical bank fraud involves massive fraud with many, many victims who have lost tremendous amounts of money. The predicate here is simply a number of members writing bad checks, and the proposed investigative step in-

volves a massive intrusion into the lives of members of a coequal branch of government."

Charles Ruff, a Washington lawyer and former U.S. attorney here, said the logistical difficulties of separating the microfilmed records of members with overdrawn checks from records of those who had no overdrafts do not justify subpoenaing all the records. "I'm not sure that the records of individuals for whom there's no reason to believe there's any impropriety that's occurred ought to be swept up with everybody else's," he said.

"Why should a prosecutor be looking at a checking account of somebody who never bounced a check," said Robert Ogren, a former head of the Justice Department's Fraud Section. "The rights of privacy of individuals ought to be protected. They shouldn't be compromised just because it's more difficult to do that."

But Victoria Toensing, a Washington lawyer and former Justice Department official who oversaw bank fraud prosecutions, said prosecutors routinely subpoena the entire records of financial institutions at which fraud is suspected. She said it is up to Congress to come up with another way of providing the information if it believes the subpoena is too broad.

Toensing noted that congressional investigators in the Iran-contra affair, when they learned of one meeting she had had with then-White House aide Oliver L. North, demanded three years of her appointment calendar.

James Richmond, who served as a special counsel to the attorney general supervising investigations of financial institutions, said Wilkey's subpoena was the obvious launching point of any investigation.

"Any time you get involved in a financial institution, the first thing you want is all the relevant records for the relevant time period. It's mandatory to get them all," he said. "This is not outrageous by any stretch of the imagination. The first rule in any failed financial institution case is get every record you can get your hands on."

Although the House Bank did not fail, he said, "You've got a situation where you don't know what you have. The prosecutor is in the dark, so the first thing he has to do is get the records."

Veterans Groups Call for Study of Possible Desert Storm Illnesses

By Sandra Evans
Washington Post Staff Writer

Fearing that Desert Storm and Desert Shield veterans may have hidden health problems related to the war, veterans groups are calling on the government to track and investigate unusual medical conditions cropping up among those who served in the Persian Gulf area.

The American Legion, citing reports of "numerous ailments" among the country's 540,000 Gulf veterans, in its May magazine urges the veterans to file disability claims immediately for any recent ailment in case it proves to be service-related. The group has reproduced the government claim form in the magazine, which will go out to nearly 4 million veterans in the next two weeks.

"We don't want another Agent Orange situation," said John Hanson, an American Legion official, referring to the defoliant used in Vietnam that later was blamed by veterans for a variety of cancers and other ailments.

"What we're hearing about now is real spotty but enough to be concerned about," Hanson said. "We're going to keep banging the drum."

Among the problems reported to the legion are prolonged diarrhea, headaches, chronic fatigue, aching teeth, hair loss, sore joints and depression. The Military Families Support Network, a group of military families who opposed the war, has collected reports of other ailments, including unusual infections and miscarriages accompanied by uterine infections.

These groups' concerns stem from several factors: the length of time spent in a sweltering desert inhaling sand, drugs given to some troops to counteract the effects of chemical and biological warfare, serious infectious diseases common to the area and exposure to fuel oil fires and burning landfills.

In the New England Journal of Medicine in March 1991, four doctors from Walter Reed Army Medical Center cautioned that a number of exotic Middle East infectious diseases may show up in Persian Gulf veterans years after their return.

The Defense Department has banned Persian Gulf veterans from donating blood until January 1993 because of a fear some may have leishmaniasis, a parasitic disease

that causes skin lesions. So far, the Army knows of 27 veterans with the disease, according to the office of the Army surgeon general.

Speaking for the Army surgeon general's office, Brig. Gen. Ronald R. Blanck saw no cause for alarm over the health of Persian Gulf veterans, saying that the number who contracted Middle East diseases is "infinitesimally small." But Blanck also predicted these health issues will be around for decades.

"There will be [a spate of claims] 10 to 15 years from now because [veterans] will have things related to aging and they will try to relate it to Desert Storm," said Blanck, director of professional services.

The Army sees little significance in anecdotal reports of health prob-

lems around the country:

■ About 100 Army reservists in Indiana have reported a variety of ailments, prompting the Army surgeon general to send a team of epidemiology consultants from Walter Reed Institute of Research to investigate. They have found no link between what they say are wide-ranging medical problems.

■ Reports persist of a high number of miscarriages, though an Army survey of six military bases with large Middle East deployments concluded that the miscarriage rate was the same before and after the war, about 8 percent of all pregnancies.

■ At Fort Hood in Killeen, Tex., four servicewomen in the same unit have had persistent gynecological

problems since their return from the Gulf—bacterial infections that continue to resist traditional treatments and abnormal pap smears and cervical problems warranting biopsies. All the women, in their early twenties, had a clean bill of health before leaving for the Gulf.

"I asked the doctor [if the abnormalities were connected to Desert Storm], and he just kind of laughed at me," said one of the four, a 21-year-old communications specialist who asked not to be named.

"There is not a pattern developing at Fort Hood of these problems," said Maj. Ken Roberts, a media relations officer.

Some veterans believe the military is glossing over medical problems.

Steve Robertson, 42, of Fredricksburg, who served as a military police officer with an activated D.C. National Guard unit, complained that the military misdiagnosed as a psychiatric problem his flu-like symptoms, cough and chronic fatigue.

"More and more, it's beginning to concern me because too many people are coming up and saying things aren't right," said Robertson, an American Legion lobbyist.

So far, the Department of Veterans Affairs reports only about 1,400 disability claims from Persian Gulf veterans. The department has alerted its regional offices to expect an influx because of the message in the American Legion magazine.

Bush Aides' Ethics Questioned Over Loans to Iraq

Rep. Gonzalez Says Scowcroft's and Eagleburger's Prior Business Dealings Posed a Conflict

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The chairman of the House Banking Committee accused two high-ranking Bush administration officials yesterday of "deplorable" ethics in pressing for U.S.-guaranteed loans to Iraq in 1989 despite their prior association in private business with the bank that handled much of the money.

Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) sharply criticized White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger for advocating \$1 billion in new agricultural credits for Iraq over stiff opposition from other government agencies.

The dispute within the administration stemmed from a scandal involving Italy's biggest bank, the Banco Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), whose Atlanta branch was Iraq's chief source of credit in the United States between 1984 and 1989. Evidence seized in an FBI raid on the bank in August 1989 showed that Iraq had been involved in a massive fraud effort to borrow billions of dollars from BNL-Atlanta, far in excess of the amounts the bank reported to the Federal Reserve.

About \$900 million of such loans had been guaranteed by the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp. for the purchase of U.S. goods. "The CCC program for Iraq was the cornerstone of U.S.-Iraq relations," Gonzalez said in a speech on the House floor. "In turn, BNL was the largest participant in the CCC program for Iraq."

Scowcroft and Eagleburger were officials of Kissinger Associates, the international consulting firm run by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, when BNL was one of its clients. Scowcroft left the firm to become President Bush's national security adviser in January 1989. Eagleburger departed two months later for the State Department.

Scowcroft and Eagleburger declined to comment on Gonzalez's contentions that they should have disqualified themselves from the intense administration debate over continuation of the CCC program for Iraq. But officials familiar with their views said they felt their connections with BNL while at Kissinger

Associates were too tenuous to cause concern.

Gonzalez disagreed. "While at Kissinger Associates, Mr. Scowcroft worked on the BNL account and met on numerous occasions with the BNL management," he said. "On three occasions between 1986 and 1989, Mr. Scowcroft briefed the BNL board on international political and economic developments. In addition, when the president of BNL traveled to the United States to attend the annual IMF [International Monetary Fund] conference, he met with Kissinger and Scowcroft in New York."

An administration official, who asked not to be identified, said none of Scowcroft's BNL consultations involved Iraq.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said that Eagleburger, who was president of Kissinger Associates while Scowcroft was vice chairman, "has never done any work for BNL and therefore, there has never been any basis for Eagleburger to recuse himself from any matter related to BNL."

Gonzalez contended that Eagleburger still should have disqualified himself, and noted that Renato Guadagnini, former head of BNL's operations in the United States, told committee investigators that Eagleburger was at a meeting between BNL managers and Kissinger Associates in New York in 1987.

Iraq was granted \$1 billion in new CCC credits in the fall of 1989, although the money was to be disbursed in two installments because of concern about the breaking BNL scandal. At the time, government documents show, there was mounting evidence that the Iraqi program was riddled with corruption, including kickbacks and bribes demanded by Iraqi government agencies and questionable consulting fees for Iraqi front companies in the United States.

"If smoke indicates fire, we may be facing a four-alarm blaze in the near future," said an Oct. 13, 1989, State Department memo about apprehensions at the Agriculture Department. "[T]here were 19 separate investigations of CCC this year (1989) and the integrity of the program is now in question." The memo said there were indications Iraq might have used some of the money "to procure nuclear-related equipment."

Despite the warnings, Bush that month issued a national security directive ordering closer economic and political ties with Iraq. Secretary of State James A. Baker III appealed to the Agriculture Department to go forward with the full \$1 billion program, and Eagleburger urged the Treasury Department and the Office of Management and Budget to drop their opposition. In a Nov. 8, 1990, letter to Treasury, he called it "important to our efforts to improve and expand our relations with Iraq, as ordered by the president."

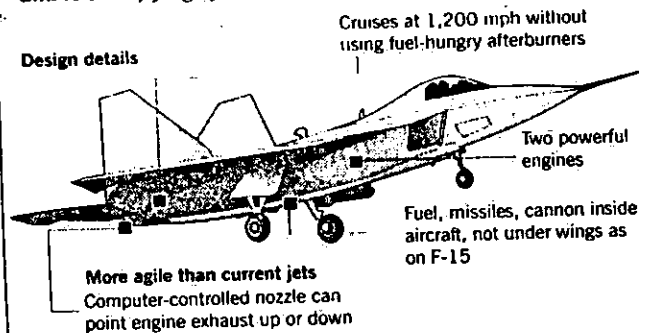
Gonzalez said the NSC staff under Scowcroft also was "heavily in-

involved" in winning approval for the Iraqi program and later supervised release of an Agriculture Department review that Gonzalez charged was a "complete whitewash."

According to a confidential March 5, 1990, State Department memo, the NSC staff expressed interest in securing release of the second \$500 million installment for Iraq "after the Iraqi ambassador complained to General Scowcroft" about U.S. foot-dragging. The Agriculture Department finally halted the program at the halfway mark in May 1990 as relations with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein worsened.

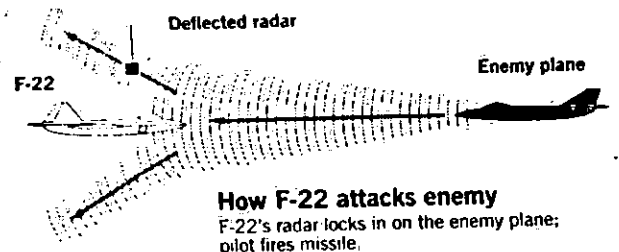
F-22 TEST MODEL

The F-22 destroyed yesterday in a fiery crash landing is part of a \$60 billion program handled by Lockheed Corp., General Dynamics Corp. and Boeing Co. Only one other test model—a mockup that is not flyable—exists. The group headed by Lockheed agreed to build 11 more stealth fighters by 1999 and to start flying by 1995.



How F-22 sneaks up on enemy

Angular shape, hidden engines, partly plastic surfaces deflect radar, make it difficult for enemy to detect with radar, infrared, other sensors



SOURCE: Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Popular Science, Aviation Week and Space Technology, Lockheed Corp., NRT Graphics, Reuters

THE WASHINGTON POST

Air Force Advanced Fighter Prototype Crashes

F-22 Accident Occurs at Sensitive Political Moment as Congress Studies Priorities

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The only flying prototype of the next-generation F-22 fighter jet crashed and burned Saturday at Edwards Air Force Base in California, according to military and industry officials.

Though accidents during test flights are not uncommon, it was a potentially serious setback for the Air Force's top priority weapons program. The F-22 is designed to replace the F-15 around the turn of the century as the principal U.S. fighter used to establish air superiority over a battlefield. Officials at the Pentagon and at Lockheed Corp., the lead contractor, played down the importance of Saturday's "mishap," but no one could say with confidence whether it will result in new costs or delays.

The crash comes at a sensitive political moment, as Congress is setting priorities among four proposed new tactical aircraft. A House panel is expected to hear testimony today that the four aircraft—the F-22, a new "multirole fighter," the Navy AX and a new version of the F/A-18—are likely to cost collectively several billion dollars more than is budgeted for them.

Videotape released late yesterday, with the first official acknowledgment of the crash, showed the twin-engine F-22 prototype pitching violently as it completed a low pass over the runway and prepared to begin a banking climb to the left. Lockheed test pilot Tom Morganfeld lost control just as he retracted the landing gear and ignited his afterburners for maximum power.

The jet slammed belly first onto the runway, erupting immediately into a bright orange fireball and skidding "several thousand feet," according to an Air Force statement. Morganfeld, according to sources, blew the canopy off with explosive bolts and jumped from the flaming wreckage, escaping with minor injuries. Lockheed and Air Force officials refused to permit Morganfeld to be interviewed.

It was too soon to judge yesterday whether the crash reflected design flaws or serious aerodynamic problems for the stealthy advanced tactical fighter, designed to combine radar-evading properties with greater agility and sustained speed than any current jet possesses. The Air Force wants to build 648 of the planes at a cost that could reach \$100 billion.

Experienced military test pilots; interviewed on condition of ano-

nymity, said other possible causes of the crash included pilot error, improper maintenance, parts failure and what one pilot described as "simply an act of God."

"Whenever an airplane crashes it's a big deal," one test pilot said. "But test flights are inherently risky, and it's happened many times before. If it's a design flaw, obviously we're going to be more concerned about that."

Bill Sweetman, author of a book on the F-22, noted that other advanced aircraft have survived early disasters. Both prototypes of the F-117A stealth attack jet, then a secret "black" program known as Have Blue, were destroyed in accidents in the late 1970s, but the F-117A went on to become an important weapon in the Persian Gulf War.

A senior Air Force officer with oversight of the F-22 said an accident board would review the crash, "but nobody thinks right now there's a fundamental flaw in the aircraft."

"That's from a technical standpoint," the officer added, speaking on condition of anonymity. "From a political standpoint, you can't guess."

More than 72 hours after the crash, the Air Force was hunkered

down in damage control and refused to permit on-the-record interviews with any witness to the crash or officials responsible for the F-22. "I'm not going to take any request for interviews," said Maj. Gail Hayes, a spokeswoman. Hayes said she could not give any reason for the refusal.

A nine-paragraph prepared statement used characteristically careful language to suggest, without saying directly, that the prototype was nearly superfluous when it crashed. The statement said the prototype had already "accomplished more than 90 percent of the flight testing objectives." Jeff Rhodes, a Lockheed spokesman, said "the airplane would have been stood down [placed in storage] on May the 27th anyway."

The Air Force made no previous announcement of the crash except a seven-sentence reference to a "forced landing" sent Saturday to such local California news organizations as the Antelope Valley Press.

Neither Saturday's statement nor yesterday's made any mention of damage to the prototype, which sources said burned for 40 minutes. The sources described it as a near-total loss and said it would never fly again.

Kemp Aide Fired on White House Orders

Assistant Plans to Manage Campaign of Challenger to Rep. Goodling

By Maralee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

A top aide to Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp was fired yesterday at the request of the White House because she plans to manage the campaign of an independent candidate challenging Rep. William E. Goodling (R-Pa.).

Mary S. Brunette, assistant secretary for public affairs, had submitted her resignation a week ago, saying she would leave her post June 1. But yesterday, she said, Kemp told her that the White House wanted her to leave by the end of the day.

Brunette will run the congressional campaign of Thomas M. Humbert, who resigned his position as deputy assistant secretary for policy development last Friday.

A White House official said yesterday had Humbert not resigned he too would have been asked to leave. "They both are political appointees," press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said. "Without naming names we suggested they terminate as soon as possible."

Goodling, an 18-year veteran, is the ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee. He also is the Republican incumbent with the most overdrafts from the House Bank: 430, putting him on the list of the top 22 worst offenders. Humbert has said he intends to make this a key issue in the campaign.

Goodling was unopposed in yesterday's GOP primary.

Humbert, who describes himself as a "Reagan-Kemp" Republican,

decided to run in the south-central Pennsylvania district too late to file for the GOP primary and has reregistered as an independent for the November election. Kemp has offered to help Humbert, who has worked for him since 1984, "in any way that he can," Brunette said.

A senior administration official said White House aides, including political director Ronald Kaufman, were unhappy with Humbert's challenge to a member of Congress considered "very close to and very supportive of the president. If you want to describe yourself as a 'Reagan-Kemp' Republican that's fine, but not while you are serving in the Bush administration."

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

Florida's Embattled Rep. Smith to Retire

Announcement Follows Questions on Overdrafts, Campaign Funds

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Lawrence J. Smith (D-Fla.), beset by questions about misuse of his House Bank account and the handling of \$10,000 from his campaign account, announced yesterday that he will not seek reelection this fall.

Smith, 51, has served a district near Miami since 1982 and is known for his fervor in advancing pro-Israel and anti-drug causes. A member of the Appropriations subcommittee that funds foreign aid requests, he is the 51st member of the House to retire this year.

In a taped appearance on Miami television stations yesterday, Smith said he was leaving "because the job I love has become impossible to do. Washington doesn't work anymore, and the public arena is increasingly frustrating and bitter."

Smith made a passing reference to

the House Bank controversy. "The truth is, those who hold public office are not perfect. Surely, I'm not. I've made mistakes and I regret them." Smith wrote 161 overdrafts on his House Bank account, the most of any member from Florida.

Common Cause asked last week that the House ethics committee investigate whether Smith converted \$10,000 from his campaign funds to personal use. Florida news media reported earlier this month that Smith cashed a check from a former law partner and converted it to two \$5,000 cashier's checks.

Smith has said he paid the partner \$10,000 from his campaign fund for legal help in redistricting, and received a refund when they canceled the arrangement. He has not explained why the "refund" check was written first and made out to him personally, or what he did with the money.



REP. LAWRENCE J. SMITH
... job "has become impossible to do"

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9:30 a.m.

Committees:

Appropriations—10 a.m. Commerce, Justice, State & judiciary subc. FY93 approps. for U.S. Information Agency & Board for International Broadcasting. S-146 Capitol.
Armed Services—2 p.m. Readiness, sustainability & support subc. Military construction, base closures & Defense Dept. role in community impact assistance. 222 Russell Office Bldg.
Energy & Natural Resources—2 p.m. Public lands, national parks & forests subc. Protection of public lands in California desert, California Desert Protection Act of '91 & designate lands in California as wilderness. 366 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Environment & Public Works—9 a.m. Mark up Resource Conservation & Recovery Act Amendments of '92, Water Resources Development Act of '92, Judicial Space & Facilities Management Act of '91 & Kennedy Center reauth. 216 Hart Office Bldg.

Finance—10 a.m. Short-term & long-term needs of unemployment compensation program. Labor Sec. Martin. 215 DOB.

Finance—2 p.m. Energy & agricultural taxation subc. Farm tax fairness. 215 DOB.

Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Permanent subc. on investigations. Solvency problems in life insurance industry, focusing on failure of Guarantee Life Insurance Co. 342 DOB.

Judiciary—9:30 a.m. Four U.S. District Court judicial nominations: Richard Kyle for District of Minnesota, Lee Rosenthal for Southern District of Texas, Joe Kendall for Northern District of Texas & Robert Payne for Eastern District of Virginia. 628 DOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Patents, copyrights & trademarks subc. Cable Compulsory License. 226 DOB.

Judiciary—10:30 a.m. Juvenile justice subc. Delinquency prevention. 406 DOB.

Judiciary—2 p.m. Courts & administrative practice subc. U.S. Court of Federal Claims. 226 DOB.

Labor & Human Resources—10 a.m. Long-term care insurance. 430 DOB.

HOUSE

Meets at 2 p.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—9 a.m. Forests, family farms & energy subc. Potential use of grain-based ethanol in transportation fuels & National Energy Efficiency Act of '91. 1302 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Agriculture—10 a.m. Conservation, credit & rural development subc. Agricultural Credit Improvement Act of '92. 1300 LHOB.

Appropriations—9 a.m./2 p.m. VA, HUD & independent agencies subc. FY93 approps. for programs under its jurisdiction. H-143 Capitol.

Appropriations—10 a.m. Closed. Defense subc. FY93 approps. Air Force research & development. H-140 Cap.

Appropriations—10 a.m./1:30 p.m. Interior subc. FY93 approps. for U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service. B-308 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—10 a.m./2 p.m. Labor-HHS-Education subc. FY93 approps. 2358 RHOB.

Appropriations—10 a.m./2 p.m. Transportation subc. FY93 approps. 2358 RHOB.

Appropriations—1 p.m. Rural development, agriculture & related agencies subc. FY93 approps. for Agriculture Dept. Agriculture Sec. Madigan. 2362 RHOB.

Appropriations—1:30 p.m. Closed. Defense subc. FY93 approps. Army research & development. H-140 Cap.

Appropriations—4:30 p.m. Mark up FY92 rescission bill. 2360 RHOB.

Armed Services—11 a.m. Military personnel & compensation subc. Tri-Care Project in Tidewater. 2212 RHOB.

Armed Services—1 p.m. Military installations & facilities subc. Civil defense budget request. 2216 RHOB.

Armed Services—1:30 p.m. Investigations subc. Drug interdiction budget. 2337 RHOB.

Armed Services—1:30 p.m. Seapower & strategic & critical materials subc. Disposal of National Defense Stockpile material & disposal of cobalt from stockpile. 2212 RHOB.

Armed Services—2 p.m. Procurement & military nuclear

systems subc. & research & development subc. Future of tactical aviation. 2118 RHOB.

Armed Services—2:30 p.m. Investigations subc. NATO issues. 2337 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Housing & community development subc. Reauth. of housing & community development programs, focusing on lead paint & homeless. 2128 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Policy research & insurance subc. Treasury Dept.'s role in averting insurance company insolvencies & impact of insolvencies on credit availability. 2222 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. International development, finance, trade & monetary policy subc. U.S. aid to Russia & proposed roles for international financial institutions. 2220 RHOB.

Budget—9:30 a.m. Proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget. 210 Cannon House Office Bldg.

District of Columbia—9 a.m. Judiciary & education subc. Federal participation in anti-crime efforts in District of Columbia. 1310A LHOB.

Education & Labor—9:30 a.m. Comprehensive Occupational Safety & Health Reform Act. 2175 RHOB.

Energy & Commerce—2 p.m. Oversight & investigations subc. Implementation of Clinical Laboratory Improvement Amendments of '88 & problems with Medicaid program. HHS Sec. Sullivan. 2123 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—11 a.m. Mark up Comprehensive National Energy Policy Act. 2172 RHOB.

Government Operations—9:30 a.m. Commerce, consumer & monetary affairs subc. Internal Revenue Service tax systems modernization. 2247 RHOB.

Interior & Insular Affairs—10:30 a.m. Mark up Indian Health Amendments of '91, transfer jurisdiction of lands in Utah to Forest Service & auth. transfer of administrative jurisdiction over land to interior sec. 1324 LHOB.

Interior & Insular Affairs—1:30 p.m. Energy & the environment subc. Auth. National Park Service & U.S. Geological Service to conduct a National Rivers System recreation assessment. 1324 LHOB.

Judiciary—9:45 a.m. Economic & commercial law subc. Mark up farm-out bill. 2148 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Economic & commercial law subc. Threat of foreign economic espionage to U.S. corporations. 2141 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Administrative law & governmental relations subc. Administrative Law Judge Corps Act; marks up Cherokee, Choctaw & Chickasaw Nations of Oklahoma Claims Act of '92, & mark up on New Hampshire-Maine Interstate Education Compact. 2226 RHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—11 a.m. Mark up Marine & Coastal Environment & Global Protection Act, Comprehensive National Energy Policy Act & International Whaling Commission moratorium. 1334 LHOB.

Post Office & Civil Service—9:30 a.m. May close. Civil service subc. Reassignment of former National Park Service employee Lorraine Mintzmyer. 304 CHOB.

Public Works & Transportation—9 a.m. Water resources subc. Mark up Comprehensive National Energy Policy Act. 2167 RHOB.

Public Works & Transportation—10 a.m. Surface transportation subc. Mark up Comprehensive National Energy Policy Act. 2167 RHOB.

Rules—11:15 a.m. Family Planning Amendments of '91, Shipbuilding Trade Reform Act & Assassination Materials Disclosure Act of '92. H-313 Cap.

Science, Space & Technology—1:30 p.m. Science subc. American Math & Science Student Support Act. 2318 RHOB.

Veterans' Affairs—8:30 a.m. Oversight & investigations subc. Service Members Civil Relief Act. 340 CHOB.

Veterans' Affairs—9 a.m. Hospitals & health care subc. Draft legislation to improve VA medical programs. 334 CHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Mark up revenue-related provisions of Comprehensive National Energy Policy Act & Airport & Airways Safeway Capacity & Intermodal Transportation Act of '92. 1100 LHOB.

Permanent Select Intelligence—1:30 p.m. Closed. Program & budget auth. subc. Auth. on FY93 intelligence budget. H-405 Cap.

Joint Economic—10:30 a.m. U.S.-Latin American economic relations. 2359 RHOB.

Primary Day Draws Yawn From 'Disgusted' Pennsylvania Voters

By Dan Balz and Dale Russakoff
Washington Post Staff Writers

PHILADELPHIA, April 28—An impassioned supporter of former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr.'s presidential campaign, standing outside the B'nai B'rith House polling place in downtown Allentown, called out to a young man heading to vote today: "If you're a registered Democrat, remember Jerry Brown."

"Save it for someone who cares," the laid-off oil company service worker called back.

It seemed that way all over Pennsylvania today. The state that sent a shock wave through the political system last November by rejecting former attorney general Dick Thornburgh and sending Democrat Harris Wofford to the Senate yawned its way through today's presidential primary.

But that was just enough to bring a smile to the face of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the easy Democratic winner who may conclude he has begun to turn the corner in dealing with the character problems that have plagued his candidacy.

Polling places were deserted this morning in many parts of the state. At a polling place in the Community Women's Education Project building in north Philadelphia, only 10 people had voted by 10 a.m. At a firehouse in south Philadelphia, only 32 showed up by noon. At the Allentown library, where more than 700 people are registered, fewer than 90 had voted by mid-afternoon.

The voters, said local Democratic committeeman Joe Ricci with resignation, "are fed up." An election judge, who asked not to be named, agreed. "They're disgusted with everybody," she said.

Some Republicans who voted for President Bush today said they would abandon him in the fall for Clinton. Some Democrats who supported Clinton said they did so only with great reluctance. Others registered their disappointment or frustration by voting for Brown or former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas.

About 56 percent of the Democratic voters said they wanted other candidates for president, according to exit polls, while 25 percent of voters in both the Republican and Democratic primaries said that in the general election in November, they might support Texas businessman Ross Perot, who may run as an independent.

"If I'd had 'None of the Above' [on the ballot], I'd have voted for 'None of the Above,'" said Ted Robb, a Philadelphia housing consultant.

Because so many people stayed home today, it is risky to draw too many conclusions from the results.

But there were signs that the quiescent presidential primary campaign helped Clinton on the character front, at least among hardcore Democrats. Three in five Democratic voters said Clinton has the "honesty and integrity to serve effectively as president," according to the exit polls. Three weeks ago in the low-turnout New York primary, not quite half of the Democratic voters agreed with that view.

Clinton assembled the same kind of coalition in Pennsylvania that helped him score solid victories last month in Illinois and Michigan, winning overwhelmingly among black voters (almost three in four blacks supported him), and receiving solid majorities among older voters, blue-collar workers, those with less education and the least affluent.

Interviews with voters showed that Clinton is genuinely well-liked by many older Democrats. "I love him," senior citizen Betsy Lombard gushed after voting for Clinton this morning in Philadelphia. "He's very intelligent, very smart, more sincere. . . . He's for the poor."

Anne and Charlie Zapille, both seniors, also praised Clinton. "She likes his looks," Charlie said.

"I like the way he talks," she replied. "He reminds me of Kennedy."

Clinton had ignored Brown and concentrated on introducing himself to the voters in Pennsylvania, and there were some voters who got the message.

John Phillips, 33, a laid-off Pepsi worker from Allentown, said he was leaning toward Brown until a few days ago. "I decided that Jerry Brown appeals to people's anger and I think Bill Clinton appeals to their hope," he said. Sympathetic toward Clinton on the character question, Phillips added, "I think one thing he should be is less evasive. If he'd go more with his gut and do what he thinks is right and get that fight back into him, I think he could win."

But Clinton barely made an impression on many other voters, and it was clear from interviews that some Democrats, especially those of his own generation, view his handling of the draft and drug issues skeptically.

"I voted for Clinton very reluctantly, only because I don't want Bush and I guess there really is nobody else who's viable," said Carl Levitsky, a Philadelphia physician. "I don't know how viable he is. All the things he's said have so clouded his appearance, it's going to be difficult for him to win."

Levitsky said he did not care whether Clinton had ever smoked marijuana or whether he never served in the military during Vietnam. "It's not a question of those kinds of personal activities, it's a question of how he deals with those personal activities," he said. "Is he

going to be forthright or is he just going to try to cover them up?"

But Albert Wick, a decorated World War II veteran, took a different view. "This is an election to straighten things out—not whether he slept with other girls," he said.

"The press," said Ellie Pandolino, a north Philadelphia Democratic committeewoman, "is blowing this way, way out of proportion. Attack him on the issues, [but] did he inhale? Who cares?"

If the results were mixed for Clinton, so too were they for Bush. Republican Christine Mangold voted for the president this morning at the Willard School in north Philadelphia. What about this fall? "I think we need someone new in there for starters who will be more with these people who are struggling these days, the little person who doesn't have too much," she said, adding that she is likely to vote for Clinton in November.

Bob Hoerner, an engineer in Allentown, said he was voting for Bush today but was open to voting Democratic or for Perot in November. However, he said Clinton made him feel uneasy.

With the stakes low in yesterday's primary, a number of voters found novel ways to vent their frustrations. Sally Ebert, 50, and her daughter Leigh, 23, are both registered Republicans. "Like most people we don't think this primary matters, so we voted for every woman and against every incumbent," Sally Ebert said.

This fall the two will enthusiastically support Lynn H. Yeakel, the upset winner in the Democratic Senate primary, who will face incumbent Sen. Arlen Specter (R), and she said they might support Perot for president as well.

It seemed sometimes today that the last place to find registered voters was at a polling place. Over at Michael's Restaurant in downtown Allentown, Rebecca Lick said her customers were complaining that the candidates had ignored them and they were returning the favor. The front page of the Allentown Morning Call, stacked in front of the cash register, carried a headline: "Valley Wonders: Where Was Clinton?" Lick said she would not vote in November. "My opinion is everyone's the same," she said.

But in north Philadelphia, peering into the near-empty polling place at the Monmouth Street Sons of Italy hall, local committeeman Joe Capecci had a different view. "It's going to be lousy today," he predicted. "But they'll turn out in the fall. You really have the issues this fall."

Staff writer E.J. Dionne Jr. in Philadelphia and, in Washington, polling director Richard Morin and polling analyst Sharon Warden contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

PENNSYLVANIA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY EXIT POLL RESULTS

The first column of numbers for Democrats and Republicans is labeled % Voters. Numbers in those columns add down the column for each category. For example, 12% of Democrats who voted Tuesday in the Democratic primary said they would vote for George Bush in November, 55% said they would vote for Bill Clinton and 25% said they would vote for Ross Perot. Not all of these categories will add to 100% because "don't know" is not included and because of the way the numbers are rounded.

The remaining columns represent the percentage of a category who voted for each of the listed candidates in Tuesday's primary, and those numbers are to be read across the row. For example, of the 12% of Democrats who said they would vote for George Bush in November, 23% voted for Clinton, 38% voted for Brown and 27% voted for Tsongas in the primary. Those numbers probably will add to less than 100% because not all candidates are listed.



DEMOCRATS



REPUBLICANS

	% Voters	Clinton	Brown	Tsongas	% Voters	Bush	Buchanan
IF THESE ARE THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN NOVEMBER, WHO WOULD YOU VOTE FOR?							
George Bush	12%	23%	38%	27%	59%	90%	9%
Bill Clinton	55	80	14	5	8	43	52
Ross Perot	25	27	38	20	27	43	40
WHICH BEST DESCRIBES YOUR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT?							
I strongly favor my candidate	32	62	23	9	33	81	13
I like my candidate but with reservations	43	62	25	10	41	78	18
I dislike the other candidates	22	34	32	25	24	44	46
WHICH DESCRIBES YOU BEST?							
I am satisfied with my party's candidate	39	76	19	5	52	89	10
I would like to see someone else enter the race	56	40	31	19	45	50	38
DO YOU THINK YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS HAS THE HONESTY AND INTEGRITY TO SERVE EFFECTIVELY?							
Yes	59	59	25	11	63	77	19
No	35	48	30	15	32	57	33
SHOULD THE SENATE HAVE CONFIRMED CLARENCE THOMAS TO THE SUPREME COURT AFTER ANITA HILL'S ACCUSATIONS?							
Yes	36	53	27	12	59	74	21
No	49	57	26	12	25	62	30
Not sure	14	51	26	17	14	74	20
WHAT ACTION WOULD YOU LIKE THE SUPREME COURT TO TAKE ON ROE V. WADE, THE 1973 DECISION THAT MADE ABORTION LEGAL?							
Keep abortion legal as it is now	66	58	26	12	56	71	22
Overturn Roe v. Wade	29	47	28	16	38	69	27
ASKED ONLY OF DEMOCRATS:							
REGARDLESS OF HOW YOU VOTED TODAY, DO YOU THINK BILL CLINTON HAS THE HONESTY AND INTEGRITY TO SERVE EFFECTIVELY AS PRESIDENT? (ALSO ASKED FOR GEORGE BUSH.)							
CLINTON							
Yes	61	81	13	5			
No	34	12	49	27			
BUSH							
Yes	27	49	26	17			
No	69	57	26	11			
REGARDLESS OF HOW YOU VOTED TODAY, WHICH OF THESE TWO CANDIDATES DO YOU THINK UNDERSTANDS THE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF AVERAGE AMERICANS?							
Only George Bush does	4	-	-	-			
Only Bill Clinton does	43	80	14	4			
Both Bush and Clinton do	13	70	12	13			
Neither does	38	26	43	22			

NOTE: Data show adjusted exit poll results for 1,816 Democrats and 1,327 Republicans randomly selected at the polls through 10:00 p.m. (EDT) Tuesday, April 28. Final percentages may differ slightly. Dashes represent data below 1 percent. Poll results were provided by Voter Research and Surveys of New York, an association of ABC News, CNN, CBS and NBC News. Margin of sampling error for overall results is plus or minus 2.5 to 3 percentage points. Results based on part of the sample will have larger margins of error. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research Services of Radnor, Pa.

Compiled by Senior Polling Analyst Sharon Warden

THE WASHINGTON POST

Cranston Loses With Heads, Tails

Congress Rejects Redesign of Coins

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

It was a debate some senators called trivial and one said bordered on embarrassing.

When it ended yesterday afternoon, Congress had voted to preserve the current designs on the nation's coins and, in the process, had rebuffed retiring Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), whose passionate lobbying for redesigning the coins had delayed passage of a bill calling for new commemorative coins sought by Barbara Bush, sports enthusiasts and others.

The 75 to 22 Senate vote sent President Bush legislation to create commemorative coins for the White House, World Cup soccer games, Christopher Columbus and James Madison. Passage of the coin bill was a bitter defeat for Cranston, who had made no secret of his desire to force the Treasury to redesign the coins before he leaves Congress.

The House, swept by what Cranston called "totally false and totally fallacious" rumors, twice has rejected his efforts to attach the redesign provision to the coin bill. Democratic and Republican House leaders had warned the Senate that if Cranston succeeded in stalling the measure, all the coins in the bill would likely die.

Yesterday, after what senators said was intense personal lobbying by Cranston during the Easter recess, he attempted to summon his colleagues to fight the House's resistance. "It's time for the Senate to stand up for what it knows is right," Cranston said.

Although he had easily won Senate passage of coin redesign on 13 previous occasions, Cranston yesterday was able to persuade only 21 other senators, all of them Democrats, to join him in an effort to send the coin bill back to a House-Senate conference committee a third time. Cranston argued that the issue was one of money and he promised that newly designed coins would raise at least \$250 million for the Treasury.



SEN. ALAN CRANSTON
...change would have raised millions

But in the Senate cloakroom, the talk was of Cranston's social companion, Republican Diane Wolf, a Manhattan socialite and former member of the Commission of Fine Arts who also has been lobbying for coin redesign for years.

On the floor no senators took issue with Cranston's arguments that new coins would, like new stamps issued by the Postal Service, add millions to the federal coffers. Instead, some said the coin design—a prerogative that Congress has zealously guarded—was too trivial for a debate and that the sponsors of the proposed commemorative coins urgently needed the millions of dollars in surcharges that their coins will raise for them.

"It is, unfortunately, almost bordering on embarrassing that we are having this debate," said Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.). He said the Senate faced "many other pressing issues" and should be addressing them.

Despite the wide margin by which Cranston lost, no one was predicting the vote had ended congressional debate over coin design. "I think that with this coin issue, he obviously is tenacious," said Rep. Esteban E. Torres (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Banking subcommittee on consumer affairs and coinage.

Cranston has delayed confirmation of Deputy Treasurer David J. Ryder to be U.S. Mint director, a nomination that has been before the Senate for eight months. Some suggested he might be using the nomination for changes in the coins. After the vote, Cranston issued a statement noting that his opponents had said they, too, favored coin redesign. "The issue" before the Senate was not coin redesign, but "timely adoption of commemorative coins," Cranston said.

GAO Analysts Often End Up Caught in the Middle of Political Fray

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

Behind the news of financial impropriety at the House Bank and the use of military aircraft by Congress and federal executives are dozens of government auditors and analysts just doing their jobs.

In recent weeks, reports issued by the General Accounting Office, Congress's investigative arm, have made for unusually powerful grist for the partisan political mill.

Not that the GAO, which strives for impartiality, isn't used to controversy. As the source of 950 reports a year, many of them on government missteps and outright scandals, it is often caught in the middle of congressional finger-pointing.

"It's my job to look into problems in the government," said Brian P. Crowley, coauthor of GAO's 1991 House Bank report that started the current fracas. "There are times when our stuff gets used in ways we wouldn't like, but as long as our information is right and objective, we stand by it. That's what our job is."

These days, said GAO staff members, the agency is working even harder to stay above the political fray—where its reputation lies.

"We're in the middle right now because of our previous work" on government perks and travel, said Bernard Ungar, director of federal human resources management issues in the GAO's General Government Division. Ungar, an unflappable accountant, has seen many partisan battles in his 24 years at the agency. But it hasn't been as intense as it is now. "It hasn't been this comprehensive among the branches," he said. "We thought it would die to down, but it won't."

Ungar knows what it is like being in the middle. He testified recently before a House subcommittee looking into White House use of staff detailed to it from other agencies. One Democrat tried to get him to say the administration had engaged in criminal activity; one Republican berated him for not doing a similar report on the last Democratic White House—more than 10 years ago.

"From a practical standpoint," said Ungar, "we couldn't refuse to testify."

Since the GAO was founded in 1921 as an independent auditor of the smallest government vouchers, its reports, issued in uniform bright

CONGRESS'S 5,000 INVESTIGATORS BEHIND THE SCENES AT THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

The General Accounting Office was founded in 1921. It issues 950 reports a year, including recent ones on executive branch perks, the former House Bank, defense procurement and nuclear waste.



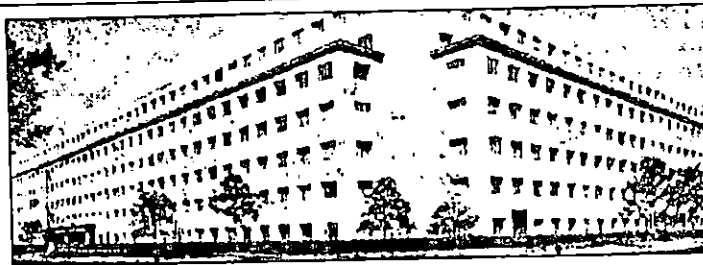
"It's critically important that they not only be nonpartisan, but be perceived as nonpartisan."

Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.)



"We're in the middle right now."

Bernard Ungar (GAO director of federal human resources issues)



SELECTIONS FROM THE GAO'S HIT PARADE:

- ❑ **Failed Banks: Accounting and Auditing Reforms Urgently Needed**—Uncovered an extra \$7.3 billion in losses among 39 failed banks.
- ❑ **Immigration Reform: Employer Sanctions and the Question of Discrimination**—Found that the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 reduced illegal immigration but created widespread discrimination against people whose foreign appearance or accent led employers to suspect them of being undocumented aliens.
- ❑ **Financial Integrity Act: Inadequate Controls Result in Ineffective Federal Programs and Billions in Losses**—Documented the serious breakdown of the federal government's internal financial accounting systems that were permitting the waste of tens of billions of dollars in various programs.
- ❑ **Nuclear Health and Safety: Status of GAO's Environmental, Safety and Health Recommendations to DOE**—Surveyed the effect of the 60 GAO reports over a 10-year period on problems facing the Energy Department's nuclear weapons complex.
- ❑ **U.S. Department of Agriculture: Revitalizing Structure, Systems and Strategies**—Reported that Agriculture's structure was no longer responsive to the country's needs.

—Dana Priest

THE WASHINGTON POST

blue binders, have become a major source of financial and policy information for Congress, the news media and the world of nongovernmental government experts.

Where once the agency was populated almost entirely by accountants and auditors, today there are just as many policy analysts, economists, foreign affairs experts, engineers, scientists, lawyers, and computer and health care specialists.

The staff of 5,000 is divided into 35 issue areas. By law, GAO has access to virtually any records possessed by government agencies including classified information.

When appropriate, the agency also collects data from outside sources, including industry interests with a clear bias. "This place is an information vacuum cleaner," said GAO spokesman Cleve E. Corlett. "We soak it up from everywhere."

Before publication, each report is reviewed within the division that produced it and fact-checking is done by staff members from outside the division. Particularly sensitive reports are also reviewed by Comptroller General Charles A. Bowsher, appointed by then-President Ronald Reagan to head the agency in 1981. Agencies that are the subject of GAO

reviews are briefed on the GAO's findings and their comments, including disagreements, are usually included in the final reports.

On just about any hot topic these days, chances are the GAO already has warned Congress about it.

When government travel and perks came under the spotlight, the GAO had 22 perks reports dating to 1972 on the shelf. The six-inch high stack contained critical findings on everything from the need to improve the management of government-owned civilian aircraft (1977) to the State Department's purchase of silverware for its overseas embassies (1987).

Over the years the GAO has issued nearly 20 reports on the banking crisis, over 30 on nuclear waste from weapons plants and close to 100 on problems with the defense procurement system.

In March 1990, in a report with a characteristically understated title, this one, "Defense Inventory: Top Management Attention Is Crucial," the agency reiterated its prior findings on defense inventories. It pointed out, again, that at least \$471 million in excess material was on order. But mostly, the report listed 40 pages of previous GAO studies.

The agency's involvement with the House Bank dates to 1947 when a former sergeant-at-arms was convicted of making false statements to the GAO. Until 1977, GAO audits of the bank's operations were not made public but the agency "consistently expressed misgivings about the volume of overdrafts on members' accounts," according to the House ethics committee report on the bank fiasco.

Once the reports became public, the agency ceased to criticize the overdraft problem in detail and instead footnoted it, a change GAO officials say was simply the result of a new report format. In 1990 the GAO published an audit report critical of the bank's check-cashing practices and members' overdraft problems.

The overdrafts received little attention, however, until Sept. 18, 1991, when a GAO report disclosed that 8,331 overdrafts had been written during the audited period. The ethics committee took over at that time and earlier this month the names of all members who wrote overdrafts were made public.

Attention on the House Bank has also drawn attention to the GAO's role in politically sensitive investigations.

"It's quite obvious that nothing is more political than the House Bank. Who else would you call in besides the GAO?" said Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee. "I suppose they'll have political stuff leveled at them by both sides before this is over."

Because they often attract media attention, GAO reports are often the subject of aggressive competition between committees with overlapping jurisdictions. GAO officials also pride themselves on the fact that their reports have angered both Democrats and Republicans.

Liberals Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.) have both taken swipes at the agency for not doing what they wanted.

Republicans were angered that the agency published a series of Transition Reports in 1988 that advocated, among other things, raising taxes to bring down the federal deficit.

Republicans also were critical of the assignment of 138 GAO staff members in fiscal year 1991 to work on congressional committees. The feeling among Republicans, said Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (Del.), ranking minority member on the

Governmental Affairs Committee, is, "Should they become a major source of new staff?"

What is especially irksome, say Republicans, is that 80 percent of GAO's work is done in response to requests for information from members. The agency prioritizes requests, taking those from committee chairmen first. All chairmen are Democrats.

But the most serious and hard to prove Republican criticism is that the GAO tailors its findings to suit the requester, a charge GAO officials vehemently deny.

"It's critically important that they not only be nonpartisan, but be perceived as nonpartisan," said Roth, who said GAO "does a very good job" on its investigations.

Last year Republican House members tried to cut GAO's \$440 million budget by nearly one-fourth after it issued reports recommending that fees for cattle grazing and coal mining on federal lands be raised.

This year Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R-Mo.), a former state auditor, threatened to mount an anti-GAO campaign after the agency issued a report on the Missouri River basin.

"It's like 'Alice's Restaurant,' you can get anything you want," Bond said on the floor. "It only takes a few atrocious studies to poison the entire batch."

Milton J. Socolar, special assistant to Bowsher, defended the Missouri River report, saying the GAO used a set of assumptions different from Bond's to arrive at its conclusions.

The GAO, he added, will turn down requests for studies that seem overtly political in nature. It refused, for example, to weigh in on which military bases should be closed after it got a request to look at 12 bases, all in the districts of Democrats who had voted to cut defense spending. Instead, the agency studied the methodology of the independent base closing commission.

Recognizing that the GAO's reputation is crucial to its credibility, Bowsher agreed last year to let the ranking Republican on the House Administration Committee sign off on all GAO staff detailed to committees. The Republican leadership also now receives quarterly reports on what the agency is working on. Bowsher and Congress are currently in "tender" negotiations over a peer review of the GAO's work, something Bowsher favors.

An 'Outsider' Triumphs Again

Political Newcomer Yeakel's
Support Crosses Gender Line

By Dale Russakoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, April 28—Last fall, Lynn H. Yeakel was a little-known president of a charity for women and children fuming to her friends and family about the Senate Judiciary Committee's handling of Anita F. Hill's sexual harassment charges against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

"I looked at those 14 men, and particularly at my senator, Arlen Specter, and I thought: These are not the people I want running my life and my children's and grandchildren's lives," said Yeakel, 50, a political novice who today won her party's nomination to challenge Specter in November.

That sentiment, the heart of Yeakel's campaign, appears to have electrified Pennsylvania's otherwise turned-off electorate more than anything that happened in the presidential primary. It was captured in a television ad that opened with Specter grilling Hill and then switched to Yeakel, who asked, "Did this make you as mad as it made me? I'm Lynn Yeakel and it's time we did something about the mess in Washington."

Yeakel, a resident of suburban Philadelphia's affluent Main Line and daughter of a former House member, loaned or donated more than \$200,000 of her own money to finance her ads.

See YEAKEL, A18, Col. 1

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992



Sen. Arlen Specter and his wife, Joan, leave polling place in Philadelphia after casting votes in the Republican primary.



Lynn H. Yeakel, Democratic candidate for the Senate, campaigns at Philadelphia's Reading Terminal Market Monday.

Yeakel's 'Outsider' Message Wins Support From Women, Men

YEAKEL, From A1

and raised more than \$500,000 from individuals and political action committees.

What surprised some political observers here is that her message worked with men as well as women. Exit polls showed women favoring Yeakel by 22 percent, and men by 7 percent, over her nearest rival, Lt. Gov. Mark Singel, 38, who received the state party endorsement and was favored to win until last week.

"I got into the race to unseat Arlen Specter and I think the fury at him is wider and deeper than anyone realized," Yeakel said Monday in a campaign swing through Philadelphia. In Pittsburgh, she was approached by a woman who said: "Every time that ad comes on and then you come on, I say, 'YES!'"

Declaring solidarity with other women candidates, Yeakel told sup-

porters at the Hilton Hotel tonight, "Many of us are coming out of the community, out of grass-roots organizations. We know about working with people of all different backgrounds... to get a job done, and that's what I'm going to take to Washington—the politics of experience."

As a leader of the charity Women's Way, she was successful in luring large corporate donations to funds program for battered spouses, job training, abortion counseling, family health care and other services.

Interviews with voters in the swing area of Allentown, about 60 miles northwest of Philadelphia, today showed enthusiasm for Yeakel in both parties. Sally Ebert, 50, a nurse and a registered Republican who was voting with her daughter, Leigh, 23, said they voted today for Specter in the

closed primary. But she said both of them would go with Yeakel in November. "She's the one we've been watching and we've already decided to vote for her."

On Monday, when she campaigned in predominantly black west Philadelphia, men and women on 52nd Street, known as "Main Street West Philly," immediately recognized her, called out "It's time for change" and pledged their support.

"I like the way she talks," said Brien Bethea, a street vendor of women's clothing. "There's too many men in Congress. It's about time we saw what women can do."

Yeakel's insurgent campaign, fashioned around a blitz of television advertising and travel in the last three weeks, began with her virtually unknown and with almost no support in statewide polls. Her victory echoed last year's anti-es-

tablishment revolution here in which Sen. Harris Wofford (D), also in his first political race, trounced former attorney general and two-time Pennsylvania governor Dick Thornburgh.

Despite the state party endorsement of Singel, Democratic leaders around the state began defecting to Yeakel this month, saying she stood the best chance of beating Specter.

"People's view of government is pretty cynical and jaded, and women don't carry the same baggage as men," said Yeakel's campaign manager, Eva Gladstein. "Men, too, are tired of incumbents and like the idea of outsiders."

Although positioned as an outsider, Yeakel is the daughter of former Rep. Porter Hardy (D-Va.), whom she called her political model. And while her attraction owed much to her gender, she campaigned for national health insurance, lifetime ed-

ucation, jobs, a refundable tax credit for children, abortion rights, major defense cuts and other issues.

Women's groups immediately hailed Yeakel's triumph as a signal of women's political ascendancy.

"Voters are using women to send a message of change against what they see as an ineffective and corrupt government," said Harriet Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus. "Who ever heard of Lynn Yeakel and who ever heard of Carol Moseley Braun [who defeated Sen. Alan J. Dixon in last month's Democratic primary in Illinois]? When those kinds of women win in addition to the household names, the Ferraros, the Feinsteins, we have to say something is going on in this country."

Specter's son and adviser, Shanin, tonight called Yeakel a "one-issue candidate," saying she would have to expand her message

SENATE PRIMARY UNOFFICIAL RESULTS

Candidate	Votes	%
REPUBLICANS	81% of precincts	
Stephen F. Freind	265,595	35
Sen. Arlen Specter	494,710	65
DEMOCRATS	81% of precincts	
Robert Colville	147,159	15
Lt. Gov. Mark Singel	324,944	32
Lynn H. Yeakel	446,586	44

SOURCE: Associated Press

to beat his father. But Specter himself was more humble as he declared his primary election win.

"We have to find jobs for millions of Americans," he said, "or there are going to be 537 people in Washington out of work—100 in the Senate, 435 in the House, and I'll leave the other two to your imagination."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

AIDS Activists Criticize Clinton For Canceling Visit at District Clinic

By Rene Sanchez
Washington Post Staff Writer

Aides to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton have scrapped an appearance they had planned for him today at the District's Whitman-Walker Clinic, prompting AIDS activists to complain that his presidential campaign is avoiding the issue.

Jim Graham, administrator of the clinic, which serves more than 2,000 city residents infected with the HIV virus, said yesterday that several organizers of Clinton's District campaign staff told him that the event was canceled amid concern that he would be met with protests by Act-Up, a militant AIDS activist group.

"Apparently they wanted to shy away, for now, from the AIDS issue, and they were worried about a protest being staged," Graham said.

Leaders of the Clinton campaign in the District, however, disputed Graham's account, saying that though they had hoped the Democratic candidate would stop by the Northwest Washington clinic, scheduling conflicts prevented it.

"There are a lot of rumors going around about this," said D.C. Council member Jack Evans (D-Ward 2), who is co-chairman of Clinton's campaign as it gears up for next Tuesday's presidential primary in the District. "But in no



JIM GRAHAM

... they're "shying away from us"

way does this relate to him backing away from the AIDS issue.

"We wanted to get in the community," Evans added, "but there's just not enough time. This is life in a campaign. Things are chaotic at best."

Clinton is scheduled to meet today with a group of city ministers and to attend an evening fund-raising dinner.

Aides to Clinton's campaign visited the Whitman-Walker Clinic last week in preparation for the candidate's arrival, but the event was erased from his schedule Monday, organizers said.

Though they cited lack of time as the chief reason for the switch, several aides to Clinton's campaign organization here conceded that the prospect of a protest by Act-Up was discussed. While Clinton was campaigning in New York's Democratic primary last month, he was confronted by an Act-Up activist at a rally, which sparked a shouting match with him that was broadcast nationally.

"Some people were worried about that happening again," one aide said.

Other aides, however, said a protest was unlikely because a leader of the District's Act-Up chapter is on Clinton's payroll as a grass-roots organizer.

"The whole thing is just a glitch," said another aide.

Graham, however, said the Clinton campaign's decision has angered many at the clinic. Graham, a member of the Democratic Party's platform committee, said he would bring the issue up at its meeting next month when its policies are tailored on AIDS and many other issues.

"We need a candidate who's very forthright on AIDS issues," he said. "What's ironic is that the clinic is being honored at the White House Friday as a 'Point of Light' by a conservative Republican president, while a liberal Democrat is shying away from us."

Today's debate is on **REGULATION** and White House attempts to cut back in order to help businesses compete.

Go easy on trashing vital federal regulations

OUR VIEW Vice President Quayle should abandon his back-door attempt to subvert environmental laws.

A law is a law is a law.

Except when Vice President Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness gets its claws into a new one it thinks would create too much regulation — such as the Clean Air Act of 1990.

Quayle is pressuring the Environmental Protection Agency to let 40,000 large utilities, oil companies and factories emit more pollution than their EPA permits allow, bypassing public review mandated by the law.

Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., head of a House panel overseeing EPA, calls it a backdoor effort to let industry pollute.

EPA Director William Reilly reportedly is fighting the change. The comptroller general, environmentalists and those who wrote the law also oppose it.

But that hasn't slowed the Competitiveness Council, which threatens to cause more problems than it solves in its zeal to achieve its mission: cutting down on government regulation.

This is not the first time.

The council previously tried to stop EPA from curbing power-plant emissions strong enough to smog the Grand Canyon. It also has opposed stricter auto-efficiency standards and has pushed to shrink acreage covered by wetlands-protection law — opening land for development.

All of this is done in the dark. The council holds no hearings and keeps its activities secret, offering an ear to insiders but allowing no prying eyes.

The effect is to put business before the environment and profits before people already saddled with the cost of other deregulatory disasters, most notably the S&L bailout.

No doubt, businesses face a variety of ill-considered regulations that deserve scrutiny. But when scrutiny turns into a crusade that undercuts the law, the nation is ill-served.

Today, President Bush is expected to extend and expand a 90-day moratorium on new regulations. If he truly is the environmental president, he should proclaim his support for the Clean Air Act, not encourage attempts to subvert it.

End pointless regulation

OPPOSING VIEW Protect individuals and businesses from onerous and sometimes deadly mandates.

Regulation is on the rise, costing U.S. consumers and businesses \$400 billion annually. Inflation and new regulatory burdens such as the Clean Air Act Amendments and the Americans with Disabilities Act will add another \$140 billion to the burden in 1992.

Swimming against this tide have been Vice President Dan Quayle and his Council on Competitiveness. With a staff of only six full-time professionals, the council has done an outstanding job protecting individuals and businesses from needlessly onerous and sometimes deadly mandates. Unfortunately, the council's efforts often face opposition from special interests and an entrenched regulatory bureaucracy that view deregulation per se as necessarily harmful to



By Matthew B. Kibbe, director of federal budget policy for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

the environment and consumer safety.

The opposite is true. For example, the council's position against the EPA's proposed clean air permit rule, rather than being an invitation to pollute carte blanche without fear of reprisal, would have zero environmental consequence. What the council is opposed to is unnecessary creation of costly red tape.

Likewise, its efforts to streamline the FDA approval process for new pharmaceuticals will save, not endanger, human lives. For victims of AIDS, cancer and other deadly diseases, quicker access to new drug therapies could mean the difference between life and death.

Government regulation ought to be a delicate balancing act between real costs and expected benefits. Unfortunately, that scale today has become permanently tipped against economic growth. By fighting unnecessary regulatory costs, the Competitiveness Council seeks to fill the important gap of regulatory oversight within the Bush administration. In the process, it works to enhance U.S. competitiveness abroad, ease the substantial regulatory burdens on private enterprise, protect consumer sovereignty and save individual lives.

Indictments move closer to ex-HUD chief

By Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

Special prosecutors looking into the 4-year-old HUD scandal moved closer Tuesday to a possible indictment of former secretary Samuel Pierce.

A federal grand jury in Washington indicted Pierce's former executive assistant, Deborah Gore Dean, on felony charges of accepting an illegal gratuity and making a false statement to Congress.

The charges, Dean said, were brought in an attempt by prosecutors to compel her to testify against Pierce. "They have hoped by threatening to ruin my reputation with an onslaught of accusations that I would relent, plead guilty (and) testify against my bosses at HUD," she said.

Dean's predecessor at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Lance Wilson, was indicted four months ago on 24 counts of fraud and conspiracy.

The pair were perhaps Pierce's closest aides at HUD. Like Pierce, they invoked their Fifth Amendment rights against self-incrimination in answer to a congressional subpoena in 1989.

Pierce, 69, who splits time between his homes in New York and Washington, could not be reached for comment.

Special prosecutor Arlin Adams, appointed two years ago, has been presenting evidence to a grand jury since December 1990. His investigation is continuing, according to a statement issued by his office.

"They're working their way up, so to speak," said Stuart Weisberg, a committee aide to Rep. Tom Lantos, D-Calif.

Lantos led the congressional inquiry into allegations of influence-peddling and cronyism at HUD under Pierce, the only Cabinet member to serve President Reagan the entire eight years of his two terms.

"This is just one transaction," Weisberg said. "This is just scratching the surface. There's a lot more out there."



By Wilfredo Lee, AP
DEAN: Top Pierce aide indicted by federal grand jury



By Dean Curtis, USA TODAY
PIERCE: Subject of influence-peddling inquiry of HUD

Dean, 36, who now runs the American Dream Antiques shop in toney Georgetown, is the fourth person indicted in the scandal. Pierce's assistant from 1984-87, Dean had little experience in housing. She previously was a bartender.

The indictment charges she accepted a \$4,000 check from "a private individual" to ensure federal funding of a housing project.

Dean refused to identify the person, saying, "It involves a very close personal friend and has nothing to do with HUD."

Dean said at a news conference that "some people sold influence" at HUD but that she is innocent. She declined to name those she called "bad apples."

IN WASHINGTON

REGULATION FREEZE: The Bush administration announced another package of cuts in government red tape for the financial markets on Tuesday in its election-year push to ease regulatory burdens on the economy. The new proposals, mostly aimed at making it easier for smaller companies to issue debt, were part of a 90-day moratorium on new regulations and regulatory review ordered by President Bush in January to boost the economy. Bush is expected to announce today an extension of the moratorium and to order a tighter review of regulations. The New York Times reported the moratorium would last for at least another several months.

NO COIN CHANGE: The Senate refused to challenge the House's overwhelming opposition to redesigning the nation's coins. Senators said they agreed with Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., that new designs were needed, but didn't want to hold up a bill authorizing minting of four commemorative coins and a silver medal for gulf war veterans.

CRASH LANDING: The Air Force said the only flyable test model of the planned F-22 Stealth fighter was destroyed by fire in a crash-landing at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif., on Saturday. The pilot escaped with minor injuries.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

GERMAN STRIKE: Strikes by public workers intensified Tuesday, leaving autobahns in chaos, commuters fuming at bus stops, and garbage on street corners. More than 150,000 workers stayed off the job, the first such strike in 18 years. The unions demand a 9.5% pay increase to compensate for 4.8% inflation and tax increases.

MEXICO BLASTS: The state oil company Pemex checked for underground gasoline leaks near a refinery in Monterrey, Mexico, after angry residents threw a match on "water samples" and ignited them. Residents said they had complained for three years that their wells smelled of gasoline and finally got action a week after the

Baker talks up peace talks

Secretary of State James Baker said Tuesday that Middle East peace talks were "alive and well."

But, in the latest round of talks, Palestinians dismissed Israel's offer to hold municipal elections in the occupied territories for the first time since 1976.

Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi described the Israeli proposal as "not well thought out."

Retorted Israeli Deputy Minister Benjamin Netanyahu: "Maybe there is disappointment in some quarters that this is actually proceeding in a businesslike and concrete way."

— Johanna Neuman

sewer explosions in Guadalajara that killed 193 people.
WAR IN BOSNIA: Bosnia-Herzegovina ordered Yugoslav troops off its territory after proclamation in Belgrade of a new Yugoslavia. Serb forces responded with heavy

shelling, shattering a truce.
SRI LANKA STRIFE: Tamil rebels shot or hacked to death 48 villagers, police said. They said the killings occurred when rebels attacked a village in Sri Lanka's east Batticaloa district.

High noon at the House bank

Afghan coalition enters Kabul



MUJAHEDDEEN MOCKERY: In Kabul, Afghanistan, a Mujahedeen fighter plays his guitar in the marble bathtub that belonged to ousted president Najibullah. After a triumphant return to Kabul Tuesday, a rebel coalition led by Sibghatullah Mojaddidi declared an Islamic government, then attacked troops loyal to a radical rival. Despite its calls for unity, the council appeared determined to deny fundamentalist leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar a role in governing.

By Lu Hong Sheng, AP

Russia's capitalist coup

Economic chief secures international aid

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Yegor Gaidar returns to Moscow today with the finest souvenir a spring visitor to Washington could wish for: promises of money.

Gaidar, 36, Russia's current economic star, this week earned a name for himself in the West as well, with his earnest — and ultimately successful — pleas for support at an international financiers meeting.

The World Bank and International Monetary Fund welcomed Russia and 14 other former Soviet republics into membership, opening doors for billions in aid.

Gaidar, leaving a White House meeting with President Bush Tuesday, called entry into capitalism's most elite clubs the crowning achievement of his five-day visit.

"He is completely happy," said Alexey Morozov, Gaidar's chief of staff.

Gaidar was a relatively obscure economic technocrat until a month ago, when he stomped out of the Kremlin, threatening to resign as Russian economic chief, after conservative lawmakers tried to hogtie government reform efforts. Parliament backed down and reforms survived.



SUCCESSFUL TRIP: President Bush meets with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar at the White House Tuesday.

By Marcy Nighswander, AP

Gaidar, who is short and pudgy and said to have trouble with high blood pressure, is married and has three pre-teen-age children. Morozov says he's a dream boss: "He's not like a chief. He's more like a friend. He has a very warm attitude and it's very easy to work with him all day because he understands us and our problems. He is direct and open to any question."

Now, Gaidar and his program have clout from abroad. Conditions attached to international aid, that the ex-republics move steadfastly toward a

market economy, are goals Russian President Boris Yeltsin says he wants to pursue.

But Yeltsin proclaimed in Moscow that his administration will not bow to IMF rules, despite membership. "We do not intend to work to the direct dictation of the IMF," he said.

In Washington, Gaidar tried to soft-sell the belligerent tone, noting that Yeltsin's statements were aimed at the Russian public, to show that "we are promoting this program not because anyone is imposing this program on us, but because we believe in this program."

U.S.: Peru attacked marked plane

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

The Pentagon released photos Tuesday showing that an unarmed U.S. C-130 military transport attacked last week by Peruvian army jets was painted in standard camouflage with clear Air Force markings.

The aircraft, still at El Pato Airfield on Peru's Pacific Coast, was forced to land last Friday after being fired on by Peruvian fighter jets. The daylight attack came over the ocean as the C-130 was returning to Panama from a drug-related mission over Peru's coca-growing Huallaga Valley.

One of the plane's 14 crewmen was blown out of a plane window and is presumed dead. He was identified as Master Sgt. Joseph C. Beard, Jr., 34, of Kalamazoo, Mich. Four other crew members were wounded.

Peru's government has issued no formal apology for the incident. The State Department's Margaret Tutwiler said Tuesday, "We are not going to draw any final conclusions until our own review is over."

The Pentagon also said its investigation was in the preliminary stages. The major question is why Peru, which has never shot down any of the many drug-smugglers using its

air space, would make a U.S. military aircraft a target by Soviet-made SU-22 fighters.

The C-130 aircraft may have been attacked because it detected Peruvian military involvement in drug trafficking, one analyst said.

"Either (the C-130 crew) were collecting evidence that the Peruvians were engaged in something illegal, or (the Peruvians) thought we were," said Gordon McCormick, a senior analyst on Peru with the private Rand National Defense Research Institute in Santa Monica, Calif.

Contributing: Kirk Spitzer, Gannett News Service.

Dems fight release of financial records

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

The House headed Tuesday toward a showdown over its check-writing problems, as Republican leaders called for full compliance with a special counsel's subpoena of the records of its defunct bank.

The GOP position — at odds with House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., who denounced the Justice Department subpoena as "overly broad" — is likely to win when the House votes Thursday.

"It will be good for the renewal of the institution to have it all brought to light," said Minority Leader Robert Michel, R-Ill.

The recommendation was a reversal for Michel, who on Monday called special counsel Malcolm Wilkey's request for 41 rolls of microfilm bank records a "fishing expedition."

In a letter to House members, Wilkey said his month-long probe had found evidence "that a classic check-kiting scheme may have occurred."

Democrats meet today to discuss the subpoena.

At issue is whether Wilkey, a retired federal judge who was appointed by Attorney General William Barr, should have access to detailed financial transactions of all House members and spouses who had accounts at the House bank.

Several lawmakers have asked why 170 members who wrote no overdrafts should be lumped in with the 325 current and former members who wrote 24,000 overdrafts.

Congress' credibility is "more important than individual members' privacy," said Rep. Vin Weber, R-Minn. "The political handwriting is on the wall. The vote's going to be nearly unanimous."

But Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Texas, vowed to go to court to block Wilkey from obtaining the records "to protect the Constitution" against an "insidious scalawag" of an ex-judge.



By Cliff Owen, UPI
SMITH: Decides not to seek re-election

Gonzalez, who's not on the list of check-bouncers, complained that "almost without a whimper, the House is about to surrender the co-equality and independence of the legislative branch."

But Rep. Thomas Bliley, R-Va., said: "The House cannot at this time hide behind a technicality. The public will perceive it as nothing but a coverup."

Meanwhile, Rep. Lawrence Smith, D-Fla., who had 161 overdrawn checks, became the 51st House member to announce his retirement in 1992.

"I understand the reaction to stories about Congress," he said. "The truth is, those who hold public office are not perfect. Surely, I'm not. I've made mistakes, and I regret them."

Vacationing Congress gets unexpected earful

By Richard Wolf
and Maria Puente
USA TODAY

Angry constituents sent 535 members of Congress back to Washington Tuesday with a renewed sense of how little they have achieved.

Rather than being hounded about bad checks and savings-and-loan bailouts, the lawmakers heard more about the \$400 billion overdraft of the U.S. Treasury and how little voters were saving in hard times.

The hottest topics on the hustings: the federal deficit, health care, unemployment.

"There's been a total mischaracterization of the emotion out there," said Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn. "They're worried about their own jobs, not Congress' jobs."

This was the spring break senators and House members dreaded, coming on the heels

of the House check-overdraft scandal. And lawmakers did find constituents were ornery.

"People are angry and frustrated, but it's not a frightening amount of hostility," said Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Nebr.

Most found the criticism directed not at Congress, its perks or bank, but at festering national problems that have gone unresolved for years.

"It's not whether you're an incumbent, it's whether you want change," said Sen. Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., who sensed voters are angry because they don't detect a "sense of urgency" about the economy.

Several members took to the House floor Tuesday to report their findings:

► "The people in Wyoming believe the deficit is dragging down the economy," said Republican Rep. Craig Thomas. "It's hard to believe that we don't spend more time dealing with that issue."

► Rep. Clifford Stearns, R-Fla., said 12 town meetings produced broad concern about the rising costs and declining availability of health insurance. "The American people are fed up ... with Congress sidestepping this issue."

► In Ohio, said Democratic Rep. Douglas Applegate, voters say they are disgusted with President Bush's inability to work with Congress. "My people are saying, 'Why doesn't he grow up?'"

Some are convinced the anti-incumbent mood is exaggerated by the media.

"Not once out of thousands of people did I hear questions about (bounced) checks, about perks, about campaign finance. Not once," said Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt. "I heard more slams against the press."



By Marly Baumann, USA TODAY

Anger catapults political unknown

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

Lynn Yeakel has another woman to thank for her stunning victory in Pennsylvania's Democratic Senate primary Tuesday: Anita Hill.

Yeakel now faces two-term Republican Sen. Arlen Specter, who angered many women when he grilled Hill over her charges she was sexually harassed by Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas.

"The performance of Arlen Specter ... humiliated American women across this country," Yeakel said.

Only two weeks ago, Yeakel (pronounced YAY-kull), who had never run for office, barely showed up in polls.

But, using \$203,000 of her own money, she outspent Lt. Gov. Mark Singel, who had party leaders' support, and three other primary opponents. She ignored them all, attacking Specter's role in Thomas' confirmation hearings last fall.

In a TV ad she replayed a snippet of Specter at the hearings and asked: "Did this make you as angry as it made me? ... It's time we do something about the mess in Washington."

But Specter, a moderate who easily won his GOP primary, said Tuesday night: "There's a lot more to a U.S. Senate race than a single issue."

Democratic National Com-

mittee Chairman Ron Brown disagreed, saying that Yeakel is Specter's "worst nightmare as a candidate."

Said Harriett Woods of the National Women's Political Caucus: "Lynn Yeakel is a blip turned into a bombshell."

Like Illinois Democrat Carol Moseley Braun, who upset Sen. Alan Dixon in March, Yeakel capitalized on voter disgust with the political status quo and the Thomas hearings. Specter and Dixon voted for Thomas.

CNN reported that exit polls showed 51% of Democratic voters opposed Thomas' confirmation — which helped Yeakel.

Yeakel, 50, founded and runs Women's Way, a Philadelphia fund-raising organization for women's community programs. Her father, Porter Hardy, was a Virginia congressman for 22 years, but she attacked "career politicians."

During the campaign, Specter, a former Philadelphia district attorney, defended his disputed questioning of Hill as legally appropriate but "politically unwise."

And he said that "when the voters take a hard look at women's issues, I'll be all right."

In the GOP primary, Specter, 62, trounced state Rep. Steve Freind, who made his opposition to abortion his chief political platform.

Specter, who supports abortion rights and has crossed par-



By George Widman, AP

CELEBRATION: Lynn Yeakel waves to supporters in Philadelphia on Tuesday after her victory in the Democratic Senate primary.

ty lines to vote with Democrats on a host of domestic issues, said: "I am especially happy that the Republican voters ... have given me such an enormous victory when people know I have been independent,

and when my conscience and my state require a difference with my party I have not hesitated to vote independently."

De Lores Weaver, who chairs the bipartisan Women for Specter group, said the contest

against Yeakel "won't be any more difficult than any of his other races. In terms of issues that impact on women, he's got a record to stand on."

But Millersville State University pollster Terry Madonna said Yeakel picked up votes from both women and men who were unhappy over Specter's role in the Thomas hearings.

"This is unlike anything the state has seen," he said. "What we are seeing in two industrial states — Illinois and Pennsylvania — with rich partisan traditions are candidates who run without the endorsement of the party, who challenge the power structure."

Women's Campaign Fund director Jane Danowitz added: "Women in this country are angry and they want change, and they've figured out how to accomplish it."

In House primaries in Pennsylvania:

► Five-term Democratic Rep. Joe Kolter — embarrassed by an audio tape on which he called himself a "political whore" — was defeated by former TV reporter Ron Klink.

► Democrat Rep. Austin Murphy, seeking his ninth term, was in a close race. He was criticized for writing six bad checks at the House bank.

► Primary results, 1A
► Campaign roundup, 4A

Justice's announcement drew quick opposition.

The Justice Department — reversing what Congress thought was a firm promise of support — Tuesday said it will oppose efforts to open sealed files on the JFK assassination.

The announcement came as a House subcommittee began hearings on legislation aimed at immediate disclosure. "My worst fears were realized," said subcommittee chairman John Conyers, D-Mich. "It is difficult to imagine any legitimate national security reasons to keep these records secret any longer."

The 80 boxes of material are now set to be released in 2029. Assistant Attorney General W. Lee Rawls said Justice will urge President Bush to veto the bill — he has already hinted he might — if it isn't changed to better protect intelligence methods and sources.

Justice's announcement drew quick opposition.

The advocacy group Public Citizen threatened to sue for release of almost 200 photos and X-rays of Kennedy's body. The photos are now in the National Archives.

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

Justice Dept. reneges on opening JFK files

And film director Oliver Stone, who testified at Tuesday's hearings, said, "This is typical of the stonewalling that has taken place for 30 years."

"What do they have to lose?" asked Stone, whose movie, JFK, spurred calls to open the files. Among data withheld:

► 40 boxes of Warren Commission material.
► "Scattered documents" from the Secret Service.
► 11 boxes at Justice.
► Material from the CIA, Army and Navy intelligence — including some that are thought to mention Bush.

Reagans' daughter: My mother abused me

By Desda Moss
USA TODAY

Don't expect Patti Davis' new autobiography to be on her parents' coffee table.

Davis, daughter of Nancy and Ronald Reagan, says her mother physically abused her and claims the former first lady was hooked on tranquilizers.

"Yes, there was abuse in this family. There was emotional abuse," she says in an interview about her book *The Way I See It*. "There was substance abuse."

The interview is to air Thursday on ABC's *PrimeTime Live*.

Davis, 39, says her mother struck her "every day for a while. I think the most prominent memory I have ... is that I didn't measure up. I could never get it right."

After she told her father, Ronald Reagan, about the beat-

ings, "he said I was lying and he said I was crazy. ... I remember feeling like there were miles between us."

It isn't the first time Davis' writing has put her at odds with her famous parents. Her first book, *Home Front*, a fictional story about the rebellious daughter of a California governor who later becomes president, caused a stir.

Ronald Reagan called it "interesting fiction."

And the Reagans' response to the new claims:

"We have always loved all of our children, including

our daughter, Patti. We hope the day will come when she rejoins our family. We see no purpose for further comment."

Kitty Kelley, who wrote *Nancy Reagan: The Unauthorized Biography*, said she's not surprised by Davis' story: "There's no question she had an excruciating childhood."



By Roger Ressmeyer
DAVIS: 1985 photo

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Republicans, Dems ponder 'Perot factor'

Now that the Democrats have nearly settled on Bill Clinton and the Republicans are renominating President Bush, both sides are worrying about the effect an independent run by Ross Perot will have on their chances in November.

► Bush, who carefully avoids direct public comment on Perot, showed he's taking the Texas billionaire seriously by discussing Perot's views with GOP congressional leaders Tuesday. Perot has aimed most of his criticism at Bush as he ponders a run.



USA TODAY
PEROT: Pulling equal support

► A new ABC News/Washington Post poll showed that in a three-way race, Bush leads with 38%, followed by Clinton at 31%, and Perot a close third at 27%.

► A Los Angeles Times poll showed Perot would run neck-and-neck with Bush in California, if the vote were today, and Clinton close behind: Bush, 33%; Perot, 32%;

Clinton, 26%.
► California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a Democrat, told reporters Tuesday that his party should consider making Perot its nominee if Clinton runs into another character problem or if the convention deadlocks: "If by circumstances something happens, and it's clear that Clinton is not electable, the party will have to find another candidate, and I think Ross Perot will be the most natural place to go."

Brown, California's most powerful Democrat, admitted he has "absolutely no idea what Mr. Perot stands for," but thinks he merits Democratic consideration because he's "attractive to the public."

"That is the one element we have never had in our (Democratic) candidates," he said. "I am pursuing a winner, and right now I don't see Clinton in that role."

A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll last week showed Perot pulling support equally from Bush and Clinton.

Perot, who is capitalizing on discontent with the political establishment, is capturing public attention because he's "hitting the themes that people listen to," said Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., after meeting with Bush. "He's got a lot of resources, and I think he's doing it just about right — not being a candidate, but firing with it."

Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson, R-Wyo., said the White House discussion centered on Perot's political positions and how they'd fare "when pressed to the light." The consensus, Simpson said, was that when Perot faces the "withering fire" of the news media, "he will be seared."

Bush press secretary Marlin Fitzwater admitted Tuesday the White House is worried about Perot's potential to become a major contender because of the size of his bankroll.

"We're always nervous when somebody has that many hundreds of millions of dollars to spend to influence the public," said Fitzwater. "When you can buy television, you exert an extraordinary amount of control."

The Dallas tycoon is said to be worth \$2 billion. Perot says he'll spend whatever it takes of his own money, even \$100 million, if he runs.

— Richard Benedetto

Election coverage

- Pa. primary, 1A
- More Pa. results, 5A

NEXT: With Pennsylvania's presidential primary out of the way, Clinton is well ahead in the delegate count and has a fairly easy couple of weeks ahead of him — except that he can expect to spend much of his time on planes. On May 5, there are contests in Washington, D.C., Indiana and North Carolina. Clinton, the leading Democratic presidential contender, seems in good shape for all of those. Nebraska and West Virginia are the following week.

The next really big day is the last of the primary season: June 2. Candidates literally will have to campaign from coast to coast: Democrats vote in California, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Alabama and Montana. California's the big prize. Clinton rival Jerry Brown may give him a race. A poll in Monday's *Los Angeles Times* showed Democrats rallying around their former governor by 51%-to-37%.

BROWN'S VOW: Democrat Jerry Brown dismissed his poor showing in Pennsylvania's primary Tuesday and vowed to press on with his campaign because President Bush and Bill Clinton are "auctioning" off political favors. "The whole game now in politics is sell and buy," Brown said at an Indianapolis union hall. "The politicians sell, and the top 1% buy, and the people suffer." Brown's targets:

► Bush raising \$9 million at a dinner Tuesday, and having his picture taken with supporters who brought in \$92,000. "Now is politics the first oldest profession or the second?" Brown asked.

► Clinton's fund-raising technique of letting the top contributor at a Boston fund-raiser ride in his car. "Can you imagine Thomas Jefferson auctioning off a ride in his carriage?" Brown asked.

But Brown, who limits donations to \$100, edged out Clinton in federal matching funds this month. Brown, the former California governor, qualified for \$1.16 million to Clinton's \$1.07 million. The Federal Election Commission reported Monday. Bush beat them both: \$1.88 million; his challenger, Pat Buchanan, got \$786,465. Cumulative totals so far: Bush, \$8.75 million; Buchanan, \$2.88 million; Clinton, \$4.24 million; and Brown, \$2.02 million.

AMUSING POLITICS? From the folks who brought you the funny side of President Bush's State of the Union Address comes live — and twisted — coverage of this summer's political conventions. Cable TV's Comedy Central network plans to cover the Democrats July 13-16 and the Republicans Aug. 17-20. Anchoring: Al Franken, the nasal-toned writer-performer on *Saturday Night Live*. Franken admits he's at a disadvantage, staffwise, but figures he can press bored delegates into service. "A convention is full of people with nothing to do who want to be there and who literally have no job ... There's actually no reason that for a dime we can't put together a real newsgathering operation that's three or four times bigger than any other network's."

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: Omaha, Neb., University of Nebraska rally. Bill Clinton: Washington, meets with House Democrats at Capitol; tours day-care center at Allen A.M.E. Church; meets Senate Democrats at Capitol.

Republicans George Bush: White House, sees President Richard von Weizsacker of Germany, delivers Rose Garden address on government deregulation. Pat Buchanan: Visits Salisbury, Raleigh, N.C.; Bales Creek, N.C., speaks at Campbell College; Goldsboro, N.C.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Adam Nagourney, Jessica Lee, Brian O'Connell

Pa. helps Clinton 'turn the corner'

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

Bill Clinton's big Pennsylvania victory Tuesday seems to prove what he has been arguing all along: He does better when people focus on his ideas, rather than his foibles.

For three full weeks, there were no stories about Clinton and the draft, marijuana or his marriage. His last remaining Democratic rival, Jerry Brown, was so hobbled by his third-place finish in New York that he was barely a factor in Pennsylvania.

As a result, Clinton was undistracted as he ran a pure general election campaign: challenging President Bush one day on the economy, the next on the environment.

On the most basic political level, Clinton's victory — his best showing in six weeks — cemented him as the party's presumptive nominee. It may even quiet the sizable chorus of Democrats who have been warning that Clinton is a fat target to send against Bush.

One of those Democrats, Maryland state Chairman Nathan Landow, accepted the results: "After going through what he has and coming out with this percentage of the vote, I think it's clear that he will be the nominee."

Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown, who has urged Democrats to rally around Clinton, said he now could not "imagine a scenario under which Bill Clinton will not have a majority of the delegates by the end of the primary season."

Still, the importance of the victory goes beyond its size. Democratic voters in Pennsylvania told pollsters they had better impressions of Clinton than voters in New York, where the campaign pl-

voted on character.

For example, 64% told pollsters Clinton was honest enough to be president — up from 49% in New York. And, while 53% said they wanted another candidate, that's still down from 66% in New York.

"The more people see of Bill Clinton, the more they like him," said his deputy campaign manager George Stephanopoulos.

But even though this primary showed the power of Clinton's appeal to middle-class voters, there's no telling if Clinton will be thrown off stride yet again by another damaging story.

Clinton also had the luxury of three weeks to introduce himself and his ideas to Pennsylvania voters. That is not going to be so easy in the final primary stretch — 16 states between now and June 2 — or in the general election.

California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown said that, while Clinton comes off best when voters see him, he might have "to make more personal appearances than is probably humanly possible" in order to quell doubts.

One of Clinton's biggest doubters, Pennsylvania Gov. Bob Casey, was quick to throw a shadow over the victory in his state.

Casey noted that, once again, turnout was down (about 1.2 million Democrats voted compared with 1.5 million in 1988) and Clinton's showing was paltry compared with Michael Dukakis' 67% in 1988.

And Paul Tsongas, the non-candidate, scored a double-digit showing once again.

"It's a case of selecting a nominee who can win," Casey told a TV interviewer. "Frankly, I'm tired of losing."



Reuters
BROWN:irate about all the 'auctioning'

B2 Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Friday, April 24, 1992

GOP ballot pits Bush against gay

Michael wants more done for AIDS crisis

By Ellis E. Conklin
P-I Reporter

When Steve Michael isn't running for president, he's often running for cover.

Don't look for the Secret Service to offer him protection. Usually, they haul him away.

Michael, a 36-year-old gay activist who secured a spot on the ballot for the state Republican Party primary May 19, delights in heckling and taunting other presidential contenders, particularly Bill Clinton and George Bush. Both, he says, have done nothing to address the AIDS crisis.

It was Michael who helped organize the ACT-UP group that drowned out a Clinton speech in New York earlier this month. Michael was carted away by agents in Wayne, Mich., when he loudly pressed the Arkansas governor about his commitment to AIDS funding. He also staged a condom distribution effort at a Florida prep school attended by one of George Bush's grandsons.

Next month, Michael is planning a protest march outside Clinton headquarters in Little Rock, Ark. "Clinton and Bush are both equally bad on the AIDS issue. They've done nothing toward working to fight this disease that's killing thousands."

Michael's campaign manager, Wayne Turner, went even further: "They are practicing a policy of genocide against people with AIDS."

Yesterday, Michael and a small group of supporters converged in front of Bush campaign headquarters on Eastlake Avenue. The door was locked, but Michael wasn't deterred. He tacked his certification of candidacy on the metal entranceway while his followers stood on the curb waving placards to motorists that read, "Bush is getting away with murder" and "George Bush policy on AIDS and Health Care . . . This will not stand."

Asked what the most difficult part about getting on the Washington ballot was, Michael smiled widely and replied, "The hardest part was finding a thousand queer Republicans to sign the petition."

Michael is serious, though, about the presidential race and is calling his effort "Queer Campaign '92," saying he wants to focus attention on AIDS, "queer rights" and health care reform.

Michael was born and raised in Longview. He attended the University of Southern California



for a few semesters while living in Los Angeles. Michael was married briefly but said it was the worst mistake of his life.

In Seattle, when not organizing political events, Michael writes for gay publications.

By building a coalition of abortion, child care and health-related groups, along with his gay network, Michael believes it's possible to finish second in the primary behind Bush while garnering a delegate-qualifying 15 percent of the vote. He said he intends to spend up to \$40,000 and plans to begin running TV and radio spots next week.

"We think it's time the queers take over this country," Turner said.

Michael conceded he's not really a Republican and that he might even vote for Clinton over Bush if it comes to that in November.

But the main goal, he said, "is to be at the Republican convention (in Houston). We want some delegates there, and we want to be on the inside. If they don't talk about AIDS, we will."

No-inhale claim still dogs Clinton

B6 The Morning News Tribune, Saturday, April 25, 1992

Candidates for gove for dollars, as well a

By Hal Spencer
The Associated Press

OLYMPIA — Republican candidate Sid Morrison so far has collected the most campaign contributions of those running for governor.

But the giving is not yet over. Still to be heard from are political action committees for groups ranging from state trial lawyers and teachers to big business and labor.

Given the number of candidates vying for governor, the struggle to raise money will be more heated than usual, campaign spokespersons said.

"There are an awful lot of people competing for a reduced pot of money," said Darry Sragow, campaign manager for gubernatorial candidate Joe King, the Democratic speaker of the state House.

Morrison's campaign showed income of \$543,250 and spending of \$364,074 by April 7, according to the most recent campaign-finance report. The reports are on file at the state Public Disclosure Commission.

Morrison, a U.S. representative from Zillah, is the only candidate to have spent a big chunk of his money

on television. His campaign was \$10,000, a businessman.

Republican Morrison had raised \$38,000. He had spent \$1,000 of the largest contribution.

Attorney General Gregoire, another GOP gubernatorial candidate, had the same period of Davis, a contributor at \$8,100.

Democrat Joe Davis had \$116,974. His last name is F. Daniel. He had \$15,000. Frost is a food processor.

Former Democrat Renton, who receded the gubernatorial race, had \$22,048. His last name is Dr. Richard Rap.

Lesser known candidates have money in their treasury. Independent N. and spent \$3,000, and spent nearly



Bush has AIDS activist as foe in state primary

The Associated Press

Gay activist Steve Michael has already made it over the biggest hurdle in his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination — he's on the ballot.

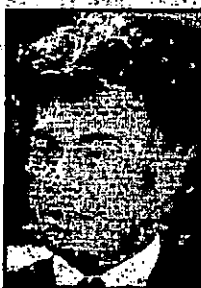
"The hardest part was finding a thousand queer Republicans to sign the petition," the 36-year-old Seattle resident said with a smile.

Actually, Michael's not really a Republican. He concedes he might even vote for Bill Clinton if the Arkansas governor is the Democratic presidential candidate in November.

In the meantime, he's using the time before Washington's May 19 presidential primary to heckle other contenders — especially front-runner Clinton and President Bush. Neither has done anything to address the AIDS crisis, says Michael, who is trying to focus attention on AIDS, "queer rights" and health-care reform with his Queer Campaign '92.

"We think it's time the queers take over this country," said his campaign manager, Wayne Turner.

The candidate believes he may finish second to Bush in May and perhaps even secure a delegate.



qualifying 15 percent of the vote with his coalition of abortion-rights, child-care and health-related activist groups.

The main goal, Michael said, is to attend the Republican National Convention in Houston this summer.

"We want some delegates there, and we want to be on the inside. If they don't talk about AIDS, we will," he said.

Michael said he intends to spend \$40,000 on his campaign, and plans to begin broadcasting campaign ads next week.

"Clinton and Bush are both equally bad on the AIDS issue. They've done nothing toward working to fight this disease that's killing thousands," Michael said in a recent interview.

He helped organize the ACT-UP group that drowned out a Clinton speech in New York earlier this month. In Wayne, Mich., Michael pressed the Democrat loudly about AIDS funding until Secret Service agents hauled him away. He was involved in a condom-distribution effort at a Florida prep school attended by one of the president's grandsons.

The candidate, born and raised in Longview, attended the University of Southern California for a few semesters while living in Los Angeles.

When not organizing political events, he writes for gay publications.

May 1

2 upstairs

Small one upstairs

Walking de's

South Columbus

395 King St.

157 30th -

door
women

Tracy

12M8

Dadue

Consumers

703

931

2217

3/4 of way on Sherry

South Columbus

Secunda

2nd Parking lot

on Right

2933 South

Columbus

3rd
Fris

No Fris

Evening ~~Selling~~

Tonight

Tracy
Boreau

8 7:30

7:30 8:30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1992

Dear Lionel:

The flowers were gorgeous and added a special touch to our celebration of Easter. Barbara and I always appreciate your kind remembrances. Thanks so much for sharing the spirit of the holiday with us in this thoughtful way.

Our warm best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. Lionel Hampton
Apartment 28K
20 West 64th Street
New York, New York 10023

Hope your trip is
going well





THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Brad,

Thank you so much for your supportive letter and your wonderful drawing of Desert Storm. I always enjoy hearing from young people like you.

I hope you enjoy this photo of me and my dog Ranger.

Sincerely,

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

THE W
WAS

Master Brad Federico
4817 Augusta
Frisco, Texas 75034

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. Modesto A. Maidique
President
Florida International University
University Park
Miami, Florida 33199

Trip
cc: John [unclear]



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Mitch,

Just a quick note of thanks for those kind words in your introduction at the F.I.U. commencement. It was great to be with such an enthusiastic crowd.

I wish you and the university continued success in the years to come. And, again, thanks for a great day.

Sincerely,

Teb tells me the press was great. What a job you've done here at FIU!!

Ag. [unclear]

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Bill Farish

JAN'S

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

China

Mr. Sheldon M. Atlas
211 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Sheldon,

Thanks for the copy of my eighteen-year-old note to you. That and your letter jogged fond memories of our China days. What a very special time it was for us.

Here's hoping all is well with you, and thanks again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be "Bill Clinton".

CC: (in/out)
Rose Zamaria
(lcc)

Handwritten initials, possibly "JZ", in cursive script.

JAN'S

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Miss Jean Pauline Leyson
33 Wheeler Avenue
Staten Island, New York 10314



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Jean,

I received your nice letter, and I appreciate it. I'm glad to hear you like music and sports, too.

Your uncle is a great help to us at the White House. We are very lucky to have him around.

Good luck in school, and have a terrific summer.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush".

Please sign letter
and attached photo.

sg

JAN 1

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wip

✓

Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
Courtelis Company
Suite 1400
701 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131-2822



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Alec,

Just a quick note to say that it was great to see you in Miami for the F.I.U. commencement. I am always happy to visit the sunshine state and to see old friends and, of course, my Jeb.

Barbara and I send our best wishes to you and Louise.

Warm regards,

*Thanks, old
friend -*

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Bill Farish

JAN'S

JPB
Sunny
Jie

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1992

Personal

Dear Suzanne:

Barbara and I were pleased to receive your thoughtful letters and the gifts that you sent with them. You were kind to share your product with us, and we appreciate it.

My gratitude for your support, and our best wishes.

Sincerely,

JPB

Ms. Suzanne Somers
Suite 250
10850 Wilshire
Los Angeles, California 90024

Martin is looking rather
svelte. I wonder if he's
using his thigh-master.
Thank for thinking of him too
L

JPB

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

The Honorable Elsie Vartanian
Director - Women's Bureau
U.S. Department of Labor
Room S-3002
200 Constitution Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20210



THE PRESIDENT

April 29, 1992

Dear Elsie,

Thanks for your recent letter about the U.N. Conference.
I share your high regard for Judy McLennan and am
grateful for your participation, too.

Keep the troops marching over at Labor. In spite of all
the politics, this is going to be a good year!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Bush".

Handwritten initials, possibly "AG", in cursive script.

JAN'S

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

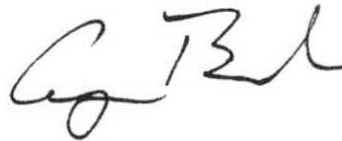
April 29, 1992

Dear Cecil:

Sam Skinner passed along the "Bush" golf towels that John Kent sent to him at your request. The logo you designed is terrific, and I'm delighted to be remembered with this special gift. More than that, I'm grateful for your personal support and for your dedication to our Party. Many thanks for everything.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



Mr. Cecil Whitehurst
Post Office Box 2877
Durham, North Carolina 27705

JB