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C O P Y
from ORM

May 7, 1992

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of April 9 which was forwarded to me by Senator Alan Simpson requesting the President to be your presenter when you are admitted to membership in the "Football Hall of Fame" on August 1, 1992.

We are aware that this is a very special event, and it is with sincere regret that I write to inform you that after an extremely careful review of the very demanding events on the President's calendar, we finally determined that we are unable to schedule his participation.

I know that this is a disappointing response to your letter; however, the President asked me to convey to you his sincere appreciation for your interest to include him in your plans and to send to you his very best wishes and congratulations on your induction.

Sincerely,



KATHERINE L. SUPER
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

Mr. R. John Riggins
Forty Four Corporation
10611 Vickers Drive
Vienna, Virginia 22180

KLS/lme

CE: Lucy Mischeking



32 MAY 4 AD: 21

May 3, 1992

Kathy Super

Re: John Riggins invitation (attached)

Kathy:

I am sure we cannot do this. If that is correct please draft a very warm letter to Riggins:

Sen. Simpson passed along to me your wonderful letter of April 9th. I am honored and very pleased that you wanted me to be your presenter at the Hall of Fame ceremonies in Canton.etc etc etc.:

Please get this back to RZ soon.

GB

4

FROM THE PRESIDENT

ALAN K. SIMPSON
WYOMING



United States Senate
Assistant Republican Leader
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 10, 1992

Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear George:

Here is one that I think you really ought to consider. John Riggins called me on April 8 and he was so excited because he would be admitted to the "Football Hall of Fame" in Canton, Ohio. I don't think that there is any more popular guy in this town -- still -- than John Riggins, from his days of taking the Redskins to great heights.

In speaking with me, he seemed unsure of how to communicate with you that he would like for you to be the "presenter" when he is admitted to membership in the "Football Hall of Fame."

The event takes place on August 1. I think that it would be a ten-strike for you to be the one who makes the brief remarks, to assure his membership in that venerable Hall of Fame. I sure hope that you can give that one to the schedulers and see if it can't be worked in. It would be a great stroke all around.

Your humble and obedient servant (most of the time!),

Your friend,

Al

AKS/wvp

Enclosure

Love to Barbara from us both

322672

R. John Riggins

Exclusively Represented by Forty Four Corporation

April 9, 1992

The Honorable George H. Bush
The President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. President:

Having just been inducted into the Pro Football Hall of Fame, I would like you to present me at the induction ceremony in Canton, Ohio on August 1, 1992.

I would be most appreciative and indebted if you could attend. It is billed as "Football's Greatest Weekend", so I'd have to believe the occasion would provide you with a unique forum. This weekend, sure as hell, is not about me; for me, it's about opportunities and from where they come.

Mr. President, there's a message here that would be best delivered by you. If there is any chance you'd be interested, please call (703) 391-9055 or drop me a line at P.O. Box 221253, Chantilly, Virginia 22022-1253.

I've also enclosed a copy of this letter to my preternatural guru, Senator Alan Simpson, who I'm happy to say was encouraging about the prospects of your attending. In the event the original letter gets caught in the White House shuffle, he may hand deliver his copy to you.

Regardless of your decision, you have my vote in November.

Sincerely,


R. John Riggins

cc: Senator Alan Simpson

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Thursday, May 7, 1992

Volume 28, Number 69

Today in Congress

House Floor: The House is scheduled to take up legislation (HR 4990) that would make a number of mostly defense-related cuts in fiscal 1992 appropriations bills approved last year.

The measure would rescind \$5.8 billion in spending, \$142 million more than requested by President Bush.

Nearly \$5 billion of the cuts would be in defense spending, including \$1.9 billion from canceling the order for one new *Seawolf* submarine and \$1.7 billion from research and development. Bush had requested that the production of two submarines be canceled.

About \$734 billion in domestic spending would be cut. Just under \$510 million of that would be slashed from a Department of Housing and Urban Development housing assistance program.

Senate Floor: Pending before the Senate is a motion to take up the conference report on Democratic-backed crime legislation (HR 3371).

The Senate has twice — once last November and again in March — failed to shut off a filibuster on the matter.

Yesterday, Majority Leader George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, moved to bring up the conference report after Republicans offered a GOP anti-crime package as an amendment to a telephone privacy bill (S 652).

HR 3371 would increase federal aid to state and local police forces, expand application of the death penalty and institute a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun.

Republicans say that the bill is weak in restricting habeas corpus appeals by death row inmates and does not go far enough to deter violent crimes.

The Senate may also take up a bill (S 1504) to reauthorize the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for fiscal 1994-96.

Budget Conference: House and Senate conferees will meet on a \$1.5 trillion

fiscal 1993 budget resolution (H Con Res 287). The resolution, which does not have the force of law, lays out congressional spending priorities for the next fiscal year.

The most nettlesome task conferees will face is determining the size of the reduction in defense spending. The House passed a version of the measure based on defense cuts of \$10 billion in outlays in fiscal 1993. That is roughly double the administration's proposed cuts of \$5.2 billion.

The Senate last month approved defense spending cuts of \$5.3 billion. On April 9, senators rejected, 45-50, an amendment that would have made reductions more in line with those in the House bill.

The House last night instructed its conferees to accept a Senate provision that calls on both chambers to approve a constitutional amendment requiring that the federal government's budget be balanced.

Defense Authorization: Three House Armed Services subcommittees will begin marking up next year's defense authorization bill.

The Investigations, Readiness, and Seapower subcommittees will start work on the bill (HR 5006). They will mark up the measure behind closed doors, and details on their plans were unavailable.

President Bush asked for defense spending authority of \$282 billion, and the House-passed budget resolution calls for a \$274 billion defense budget.

Some congressional Democrats had wanted even lower spending levels, to create a larger "peace dividend" to use for increased domestic spending.

Carnes Nomination: The Senate Judiciary Committee will vote on the controversial nomination of Edward Carnes to be a judge on the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Civil rights groups have opposed the

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Hill News

SENATE FLOOR: Rescission measure passes; caller ID debated.

The Senate passed, 61-38, legislation (HR 4990) that would cut, or rescind, nearly \$8.3 billion in funding already approved for fiscal 1992.

The bill would rescind funding for a variety of projects, the bulk of which would be defense-related.

The House-approved version of HR 4990 would make about \$5.8 billion in rescissions.

The president has requested a total of \$7.9 billion in rescissions, some of which are included in both the House and Senate versions of the bill.

Caller ID. The Senate debated legislation (S 652) that would limit the use of caller identification systems.

Caller ID displays the telephone number of anyone who calls a phone linked to the service. The bill would give callers the option of blocking the display of their numbers.

But consideration of the measure was halted when Phil Gramm, R-Texas, offered an unrelated amendment consisting of a GOP anti-crime package.

At press time, the Senate was debating whether to proceed to the conference report on Democratic-backed crime legislation (HR 3371).

HOUSE FLOOR: Lobbying restrictions focus of legal aid debate.

The House began, but did not finish, work on a bill (HR 2039) that would reauthorize the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) for the first time since 1980.

The agency, which funds state and community groups that provide legal assistance to the poor, in the last decade has often been caught in a political battle between Democrats and Republicans over government-sponsored legal aid.

Members took up competing amend-

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nomination because of Carnes' role — as Alabama's assistant attorney general — in defending the use of peremptory challenges to keep blacks off juries in capital murder cases involving black defendants.

Although some Democrats on the committee may vote against the nominee, Carnes is expected to win the support of the majority of the members.

Pornography Liability. The committee may also mark up legislation (S 1521) that would allow the victims of sex crimes to sue the producers and distribu-

tors of hard-core pornography.

At an earlier markup, members were unable to resolve differences over the controversial measure, leading the committee to put the bill aside until a later date. A similar stalemate may occur today.

Bilingual Ballots: Legislation (HR 4312) that would extend language assistance for voters under the Voting Rights Act will be marked up by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Civil Rights.

The bill would extend, for 15 years, provisions of the act that require states to provide bilingual services — including

campaign literature and ballots — in jurisdictions in which 5 percent or more of the voters are of a non-English-speaking minority.

The provision, which was last renewed in 1985, expires on Aug. 6.

The bill would also expand the act's coverage to jurisdictions with 10,000 or more non-English speakers of the same ethnic group, even if they do not make up 5 percent of the total population.

Some subcommittee Republicans are not convinced that this part of the Voting

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Owl vs. Jobs Battle Begins in House Panels

Congress took steps yesterday to resolve the impasse between environmentalists and the timber industry over logging in the Pacific Northwest's old-growth forests, as a House Agriculture subcommittee approved a bill (HR 4899) that supporters say would provide both a stable supply of timber from federal lands and preserve federal environmental laws.

After an all-day markup in which several competing proposals were aired, the Agriculture panel's Forests Subcommittee gave voice vote approval to an amended version of the measure that had been negotiated by key subcommittee members from the Northwest.

A key vote came earlier in the day when subcommittee members, on a 7-5 vote, endorsed a version of the bill offered by Chairman Harold L. Volkmer, D-Mo., that would require substantial reductions, from historical levels, in the timber harvest. But it would allow more trees to be cut than in 1991, when court injunctions blocked most timber activity.

A version of the measure that would require even greater reductions in the harvest is to be marked up today by a House Interior subcommittee. But even as the committees begin action, the outlook for success is mixed at best, with members on both sides remaining badly split.

At the heart of the issue is the northern spotted owl, which is dependent on undisturbed old-growth habitat for survival. Its status as a threatened species under the Endangered Species Act has meant a virtual halt to timber cutting on federal lands.

But to save the owl is to eliminate tens of thousands of timber-dependent jobs, and the timber industry has mounted a strong counterattack.

Because the issue is tied up in the courts, members are pushing for a legislative solution.

"What we are about to do is better than the legal gridlock," said Mike Kopetski, D-Ore., at yesterday's markup.

Competing Plans. The bill was introduced on April 9, with Interior Chairman George Miller of California, Agriculture Chairman E. "Kika" de la Garza of Texas and Merchant Marine Chairman Walter B. Jones of North Carolina all as cosponsors. Under the legislation, lawmakers would choose from 14 alternatives that were outlined in a recent report by four respected government scientists. The report offers lawmakers a painstakingly detailed analysis of an entire range of forest management solutions and how they will affect not only the forest, but also owl populations and timber jobs.

The Agriculture panel settled on the eighth option, which would allow about 2.2 billion board feet to be harvested per year. But under a compromise worked out by Kopetski and

Sid Morrison, R-Wash., those harvests would be somewhat greater in the initial years after enactment.

The Agriculture panel's approach is in sharp contrast to Miller's. As expected, Miller chose an option favored by environmentalists. The Interior version of the bill would select the 12th most restrictive option, which would bar logging on more than 8 million acres in the region and would greatly reduce timber harvests, to about 1.5 billion board feet. In 1990, the harvest was 4 billion board feet. According to the federal report, the Miller bill would cost as many as 61,000 jobs, but the timber industry says the job losses would be far greater.

The Merchant Marine Committee did not get jurisdiction over the bill.

Miller's bill will come under attack today by Rep. Peter A. DeFazio, who plans to offer a substitute amendment that would allow timber harvests in the range of 2 to 2.5 billion board feet.

Administration to Weigh In

Congressional action comes as the administration is crafting its bill. As required under the law, the administration has developed a recovery plan to protect the owl. It estimates that the plan — which would place 7.5 million acres of federal lands off limits to commercial logging — would cost about 30,000 jobs.

But arguing that that is too high a price, Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. is developing another proposal that would require congressional approval. The measure, which would emphasize saving jobs, is due to be released next week.

And a special, Cabinet-level government panel known as the "God Squad" will decide next week whether to allow timber sales blocked under the Endangered Species Act to go forward. The God Squad has the authority to take such action if it decides that economic considerations outweigh environmental ones.

Problems Ahead. But any ancient forests bill faces an uphill battle, given the continuing disagreements among Northwestern members. In addition, Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., has not played a vigorous role in compelling members to craft a compromise.

And Senate races in both Oregon and Washington will make it even more difficult to get a bill to the president's desk.

Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore., is pushing a bill (S 1156) written by timber industry representatives that would allow much wider timber cuts than under any of the House bills.

"The worst thing to have with this issue is the damn Senate races," said Kopetski.

—Andrew Taylor

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Rights Act is achieving its purpose of aiding non-English speakers at the polls or increasing their participation in the electoral process. But no opposition or amendments from minority members are expected until the measure reaches full committee.

Securities Bills: A bill aimed at tightening regulation of the market for government treasury bonds will be marked up by the House Energy and Commerce panel's Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee.

The measure would give significantly more regulatory authority to the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to oversee the largely unregulated market in federal securities.

The bill (HR 3927) comes in the wake of revelations of abuses and illegal activities involving the purchase of Treasury notes by Salomon Bros. Bill sponsor Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., says that state and local governments, as well as savings and loan institutions, have lost large amounts of money in the government securities market.

The bill would allow the SEC to more closely track broker activities in the market. The bill would also broaden SEC authority to crack down on fraudulent and manipulative practices in the market.

Haitian Sanctions: Legislation (HR 4761) that would promote efforts to return democracy to Haiti will be marked up by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs.

On Sept. 30, 1991, the popularly elected government of Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown in a military coup. The world community condemned the action and many countries — including the United States — imposed economic sanctions on the island nation.

The legislation would authorize \$3 million in fiscal 1992, \$5 million annually in fiscal 1993 and 1994 and \$6 million annually in fiscal 1995 and 1996 to support the Organization of American States' (OAS) civilian peacekeeping efforts in Haiti. The money would be taken from funds slated for economic assistance to Haiti but withheld because of the coup.

The bill would also authorize the seizure of the assets in the United States of Haitians who provided material or financial support to the military during and after the coup.

The measure has the support of a majority of members of the subcommittee and is expected to win easy approval. ■

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ments relating to the use of LSC funds for lobbying. George W. Gekas, R-Pa., offered an amendment to expand existing lobbying restrictions on LSC-funded lawyers, saying that the agency was created to ensure that the existing rights of the poor were protected, not to change current law.

But on a 222-196 vote, the House decided to strike Gekas' language and insert as a substitute an amendment offered by Barney Frank, D-Mass., that would allow LSC lawyers greater freedom to lobby. He argued that severe lobbying restrictions would tie the hands of LSC-funded lawyers, who can only aid a client by lobbying for a change in the law.

Several abortion-related amendments will be considered when the House resumes work on the bill next week.

JOBLESS BENEFITS extension moves forward after panel vote.

Legislation that would once again extend federal benefits to unemployed workers received voice vote approval yesterday from the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources.

The panel approved a substitute version of the measure (HR 4727), offered by acting Chairman Thomas J. Downey, D-N.Y., that would provide the emergency benefits for 20 or 26 weeks — depending on a state's unemployment level — beginning June 14, 1992, or the week after the week in which the bill is enacted. These extended benefits would be available through Jan. 1, 1993, or until one month after the national unemployment rate falls below 6.5 percent.

In February, a measure extending jobless benefits was enacted that gave unemployed workers an extra 13 weeks of benefits, but those benefits begin to run out July 4.

HR 4727 would also make permanent changes in the unemployment insurance system so that benefits would be extended automatically once a state's unemployment rate reached a certain level and the state met other economic criteria.

The administration opposes any permanent changes in the unemployment benefits system.

The panel rejected, also by voice vote, an amendment from Fred Grandy, R-Iowa, on behalf of the administration, that would have extended the benefits for 13 or 20 weeks through Oct. 3, 1992 and then would have phased out the program by providing 7 to 13 weeks through Jan. 2, 1993, and 4 to 7 weeks through Feb. 13, 1993.

The full committee is scheduled to take up the bill on May 13.

U.S. EXPORT promotion bill approved by House panel.

Federal programs that promote the export of U.S. products would be re-

authorized under legislation (HR 4996) approved by voice vote yesterday by the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Economic Policy.

Chairman Sam Gejdenson, D-Conn., estimated that the bill would create 125,000 American jobs annually by increasing the demand for U.S. exports.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which helps U.S. businesses find foreign investment opportunities, would be reauthorized through fiscal 1995. The agency finances its operations through fees and insurance premiums and does not require federal funding.

The Trade and Development Agency, which promotes both development projects and U.S. exports in developing countries, would be reauthorized at a level of \$55 million for fiscal 1992 and \$70 million for fiscal 1993. In fiscal 1992, \$35 million was appropriated.

COAST GUARD budget approved by House panel.

The House Merchant Marine Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Navigation yesterday approved legislation (HR 5055), by voice vote, authorizing \$3.6 billion for the Coast Guard in fiscal 1993.

The bill would authorize \$2.6 billion for operations and maintenance and \$420 million for acquisition and construction.

The bill also boosts the maximum fine for operating a boat under the influence of alcohol from \$1,000 to \$5,000.

In addition, the panel gave voice vote approval to a bill (HR 4715) that would authorize the Panama Canal Commission to continue operating the canal.

For fiscal 1993, the canal's operating budget is expected to be approximately \$536 million.

Members approved an amendment by voice vote that would cut a proposed 9.9 percent toll increase to 5.5 percent. The toll hike was proposed by the commission.

The panel also approved by voice vote a bill (HR 4693) that would repeal a fee on the issuance of licenses for maritime workers that was part of the 1990 budget agreement. The fee ranges from \$35 to \$347.

CUSTOMS BILL OK'd after filing procedure compromise reached.

The House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee yesterday wrapped up work on legislation (HR 3935) that would overhaul Customs Service procedures for clearing imports into the country.

The aim of the bill, approved by voice vote, is to centralize Customs Service import clearance procedures through the use of a nationwide electronic filing system.

The panel had tentatively approved most of the bill's provisions on April 8, but needed more time to reach agreement on filing procedures for importers and to resolve a dispute between air couriers and customs brokers.

The panel approved, by voice vote, an amendment that would allow, starting in 1997, brokers or importers to file Customs documents from a remote location, other than the point of examination.

But members were unable to forge a compromise between customs brokers and courier services. The brokers contend that the couriers have been skirting Customs regulations when they bring goods into the country. By voice vote, the panel approved an amendment to request the Customs Service to review whether couriers were complying with the regulations.

L.A. RIOTS spark congressional action on urban aid package.

House Democrats are working on a legislative package to respond to the civil unrest in Los Angeles, but yesterday some members said that it was unlikely that Congress would pass a comprehensive bill this year.

Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., said yesterday that Democrats would be meeting over the next couple days to put together a broader relief package that he thought would be considered in the next month.

Foley indicated that Democrats are likely to incorporate into the package a number of urban aid provisions in a tax bill (HR 4210) that President Bush vetoed earlier this year. They include money for urban enterprise zones and an extension of tax credits for construction of low-income housing and job creation by businesses in poor areas.

In addition, Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss., yesterday introduced a \$494.7 million supplemental appropriations bill (HR 5069) to provide emergency assistance and small-business loans for the Los Angeles area.

The fiscal 1992 bill includes \$169.7 million to help the Small Business Administration guarantee disaster relief loans.

Congress could act quickly on a short-term measure to help Los Angeles, then craft a more comprehensive bill to address inner-city needs later, said John Lewis, D-Ga., a civil rights activist.

Incumbents Successful in N.C., Indiana

There were no unwelcome surprises for incumbents in congressional primary balloting Tuesday in North Carolina and Indiana.

Unlike previous primaries in Maryland, Illinois and Pennsylvania, where incumbents were ousted, all incumbents seeking re-election moved on to the November ballot.

North Carolina. In North Carolina, most of the attention was on two open seats — both explicitly drawn as black-majority districts.

In the 1st District, however, white candidate Walter B. Jones Jr. was the leading vote-getter, as four black candidates split the black vote. But Jones — the son of retiring Rep. Walter B. Jones — didn't quite muster the 40 percent of the vote needed to avoid a runoff election. The 49-year-old Jones, a member of the state legislature, captured about 38 percent of the vote and will square off in a June 2 runoff against the second-highest vote-getter, Warren County Commissioner Eva Clayton, 57, who won 31 percent.

The runoff winner will be heavily favored in November against GOP nominee Ted Tyler, who is white.

In the new, oddly shaped 12th District — created when North Carolina gained a seat due to reapportionment — a black will assuredly be elected in November: Both the Democratic and Republican nominees will be black. Democrats nominated attorney Melvin Watt, 46, who captured 47 percent of the vote to easily defeat three other candidates, including state Rep. Mickey Michaux, who was the best known of the candidates entering the contest. Michaux won just 28 percent. On the GOP ballot, two black candidates, Barbara Gore Washington and George Jones, will battle in a runoff. Watt will be heavily favored over either Republican in November.

Only one of the 10 House incumbents seeking re-election had primary opposition. In the 8th District, Rep. W. G. "Bill" Hefner defeated Democratic challenger state Rep. Don Dawkins by a 2-1 margin.

• In the Senate race, former state Commerce Secretary and former Democrat D. M. "Lauch" Faircloth won the Republican nomination to face incumbent Democratic Sen. Terry Sanford in November. Faircloth, who switched to the Republican Party just last year, won about 48 percent of the vote, to defeat former Charlotte Mayor Sue Myrick (30 percent) and former Rep. Eugene Johnston (17 percent). Faircloth had the backing of GOP Sen. Jesse Helms' political organization.

Indiana. In Indiana, six of the 10 incumbents faced primary opposition. The toughest challenge came in the 7th District, where GOP Rep. John T. Myers (who had 61 House bank overdrafts) handily defeated Charles J. Metzger, 62 percent to 38 percent.

Elsewhere, Republicans in the 3rd District nominated Carl H. Baxmeyer to oppose freshman Democratic Rep. Tim Roemer. Baxmeyer, a 39-year-old city planner, captured 49 percent of the vote to defeat businessman Doug Allen Bernacchi, who had 41 percent. Republicans have made Roemer a prominent target for defeat in November.

In the 9th District, Republicans nominated Michael E. Bailey, an anti-abortion advocate who drew national attention with campaign ads showing aborted fetuses. The evangelical Christian, who captured 60 percent of the GOP primary vote, will face 14-term Democratic Rep. Lee H. Hamilton in the fall.

• The Senate race is already set: Neither GOP Sen. Daniel Coats nor his Democratic challenger, Indiana Secretary of State Joe Hogsett, had primary opposition.

DARMAN PUSHES balanced-budget amendment; CBO is wary.

The administration's budget chief told the House Budget Committee that a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget makes a great deal of economic sense, given Congress' inability to tame the deficit monster.

Richard G. Darman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, said growing deficits will undermine the nation's long-term future, and that instituting a balanced-budget requirement may provide the only realistic solution.

"Years ago, I would never have imagined that we would need a balanced-budget constitutional amendment," Darman said. "But our political system has demonstrated a consistent bias toward short-term political convenience at the expense of longer-term substantive responsibility."

But Robert D. Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office, was critical of a constitutional amendment, saying it would lead to irregular fluctuations in tax rates and harm government programs through unstable funding.

And committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta, D-Calif., said he doubted whether a constitutional amendment could be devised without giving the courts "an unprecedented and dangerous role" in the economic decision-making process.

The committee is holding a series of hearings on balanced-budget proposals. Governors from states with balanced-budget requirements and political scientists will testify next week.

AID PLAN for ex-Soviet republics too vague, some senators say.

The Bush administration's aid package for the former Soviet republics is in trouble because it fails to include specific spending proposals, senators warned yesterday.

Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., who chaired a joint hearing of the Agriculture Committee and the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, called Bush's package a "complex two-year aid package lumped together without theme, theory or consistency."

And Bob Kasten, R-Wis., said that rather than offering concrete and specific spending ideas, the package amounts to "mirrors and paper clips and smoke."

Last month, Bush sent Congress an aid bill that calls for a variety of technical and economic assistance measures to augment a \$24 billion multilateral aid package that requires no congressional action.

During the hearing, Richard Armitage, the State Department official in charge of U.S. relief efforts for the ex-Soviet republics, said the U.S. share of the \$24 billion international relief program would come to about \$5 billion.

What the White House seeks primarily, he said, is "a statement of congressional support" that will allow politically sensitive aid to go forward with a bipartisan blessing in an election year.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was scheduled to begin marking up the administration's aid proposal (S 2532) today, but that markup has now been postponed to May 13. It was rescheduled because the committee needs more time to review the package not because of the complaints raised at yesterday's joint hearing, a committee aide said.

HEALTH-CARE reform hearings begin in Senate Finance.

Hearings began yesterday in the Senate Finance Committee on one of this year's more potent political issues — health-care reform.

Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, told the packed hearing room that comprehensive health-care reform is a "critical part of the national agenda." And Majority Leader George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, who sits on the panel, said it is his intention to move forward on a comprehensive bill this year so that the 34 million uninsured Americans would receive some form of medical coverage.

But the exact type of reform to be enacted remains to be seen. Three approaches to modifying the current system have been floated, including an administration proposal that would provide tax subsidies to those who are uninsured to help them purchase private medical insurance; a "play or pay" plan championed by Mitchell that would require employers to offer health insurance to their employees or to pay a tax to offset the cost of a public insurance plan; and a national health plan that would cover all citizens.

Robert D. Reischauer, director of the

Congressional Budget Office, told the committee that getting control over the costs of health care would probably require extensive government involvement in the private health-care market so that there would be uniform policies covering prices and quantities of services.

But he warned that these uniform policies would likely disrupt some aspects of the current system that many people find desirable, including the freedom to choose health-care providers and alternative treatments.

OPM, DOD oppose bill to aid displaced federal workers.

Administration officials expressed their opposition yesterday to a bill that would require the Department of Defense (DOD) and the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to do more to aid federal workers laid off because of budget cutbacks in defense and other areas.

At a hearing before two House Post Office subcommittees — the Human Resources and the Compensation and Employee Benefits panels — Constance Berry Newman, director of OPM, said that new regulations could backfire and cause more layoffs. "...we are concerned that the high cost of this proposal as written could lead to even more separations than otherwise required," said Newman in a statement to the panel.

The bill (HR 4991), crafted by committee Chairman William L. Clay, D-Mo., would require that DOD notify employees who will be laid off at least 120 days in advance, giving them more time to take advantage of retraining opportunities. The measure also would allow employees to retain federal health insurance benefits at the rates they paid as employees; would call on DOD to offer civilian workers an early retirement incentive package equal to six months of basic pay; and would require OPM to expand the job listings provided for federal employees.

Democrat James P. Moran Jr., whose Northern Virginia district is home to thousands of federal employees, was openly scornful of OPM's record on placing laid-off employees, noting that in fiscal 1991, only 58 of the 4,000 employees using the agency's job placement program were placed.

A markup on the legislation is scheduled for next week.

INDIAN GAMING law gets scrutiny before Senate panel.

The implementation of a law regulating tribal-owned gambling operations was the subject of debate in a Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee hearing yesterday.

The 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act governs gambling activity overseen by Indian tribes. Several representatives

from Indian tribes testified that the gambling operations have benefited the tribes economically.

But a portion of the act has become a point of contention between states and tribes. States have called a provision allowing tribes to sue state governments unconstitutional. Tribes contend that some states are acting in bad faith by not agreeing to compacts that allow tribes to open gambling operations.

Wendell Chino, president of the Mescalero Apache Tribe of New Mexico, testified that the state of New Mexico ended compact negotiations, which resulted in the closing of the tribe's video gaming business.

"The state and governor have exercised their option not to be involved with us," and the process should proceed without them, said Chino. Other tribal representatives made similar arguments for tribal sovereignty.

But South Dakota Gov. George S. Mickelson, a Republican, defended the role of the states. "Unfortunately there are some ambiguities in the law that have impeded its progress... but it is nothing that cannot be fixed."

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR

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Committee Meetings Scheduled Today

Senate Committees

FY93 COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE & JUDICIARY APPROPS Senate 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. May 7

Agenda & witnesses scheduled: Supreme Court; Legal Services Corporation; Federal Trade Commission

Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia; George Wittgraf - chairman, legal services board of directors; Guy V. Molinari - vice chairman, legal services board of directors; Talbot d'Alemberte - president, American Bar Association; Janet D. Steiger - chairman, Federal Trade Commission

FY93 DEFENSE APPROPS

Senate Appropriations Committee

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

9am S-407 Capitol Bldg. (closed) May 7

Agenda & witnesses scheduled: National Foreign Intelligence Program, Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities

★ FY93 ENERGY APPROPS

Senate Appropriations Committee

Energy and Water Development Subcommittee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for energy research and conservation and nuclear energy programs.

2pm SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: William Happer - director, Office of Energy Research; Williams Youn - assistant secretary, Nuclear Energy, department of Energy; J. Michael Davis - assistant secretary, Conservation and Renewable Energy, Department of Energy

FY93 LABOR APPROPS

Senate Appropriations Committee

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

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Agenda & witnesses scheduled: Lynn Martin - secretary of Labor; Robert A. Georgine - president, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO; William H. Kolberg - president and CEO, National Alliance of Business; George J. Kourpias - international president, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace workers

FY93 VA, HUD APPROPS

Senate Appropriations Committee

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

★ New listing

9:30am SD-G50 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Agenda & witnesses scheduled: Edward Derwinski - secretary of Veterans Affairs; Frank Nebeker - chief judge, Court of Veterans' Appeals

■ ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH

Senate Armed Services Committee

The full committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on strategic environmental research and development programs.

9:30 SR-222 Russell Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Sean O'Keefe - comptroller, Defense Department; Victor Reis - Defense Research and Engineering, Defense Department; William Happer - Office of Energy Research, Energy Department; John Skinner - deputy assistant administrator, EPA; James Baker - Joint Oceanographic Institutes Inc.; William Layson - Science Applications International Inc.;

★ NTSB NOMINATION

Senate Commerce Committee

The full committee (Acting Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) will hold a confirmation hearing on the nomination of Carl Vogt to be chairman and a member of the National Transportation Safety Board.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. May 7

■ FIRE PREVENTION

Senate Commerce Committee

Consumer Subcommittee (Chairman Bryan, D-Nev.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1690) to authorize appropriations for activities under the Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974 and on legislation (S 1698) to establish a National Fallen Firefighters Foundation.

10am SR-232A Russell Bldg. May 7

Witness scheduled: Oil Green - U.S. Fire Administration

ENERGY DEPT. NOMINATION

Senate Energy Committee

The full 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

■ HEALTH-CARE COSTS

Senate Finance Committee

The full committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will begin hold a series of hearings on comprehensive health-care revision.

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Kevin Moley - deputy secretary of Health and Human Services; Lane Kirkland - president, AFL-CIO; Stuart Altman - dean, Heller Graduate School, Brandeis University; Deborah Steelman - chair, Advisory Council on Social Security

PANEL: Richard Davidson - president, American Hospital Association; Gerald Keller - vice president, American Academy of Family Physicians; Jerald Schenken - member, Board of Trustees, American Medical Association

PANEL: Robert Brandon - vice president, Citizen Action; Gregory Lau - assistant treasurer, General Motors Corp.

■ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

The full committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will meet to consider pending legislation, treaties and nominations.

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Legislation:

S Con Res 107 - Condemning the involvement of the military regime in Burma in human rights abuses, drug trafficking and build up of arms.

Note: Markup of legislation to authorize aid to the states of the former Soviet Union, originally scheduled for today, has been postponed until May 13

Treaties:

102-5 - Basel Convention on Hazardous Wastes

101-12 - Consular convention: Tunisia

101-13 - Consular convention: Algeria

101-14 - Consular convention: Mongolia

100-6 - Extradition treaty: Federal Republic of Germany

102-17 - Extradition treaty: Bahamas

102-23 - Extradition treaty: Australia

102-24 - Extradition treaty: Spain

102-16 - Treaties relating to mutual legal assistance in criminal matters: Jamaica

102-18 - Treaties relating to mutual legal assistance in criminal matters: Argentina

102-19 - Treaties relating to mutual legal assistance in criminal matters: Uruguay

102-21 - Treaties relating to mutual legal assistance in criminal matters: Spain

Nominations: Roman Popadiuk to be Ambassador to Ukraine; Sigmund Rogich to be Ambassador to Iceland

■ U.S. SECURITY

ISSUES IN AFRICA

Senate Foreign Relations

African Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Simon, D-Ill.) Committee will hold a hearing on U.S. security issues in Africa.

2pm SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: James Woods - deputy assistant secretary of Defense; Leonard Robinson - deputy assistant secretary of State; Michael Cotter - director, Office of Defense Relations and Security Assistance, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State; Martin Lowenkopf - former director, Office of Research and Analysis for Africa, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State; David Miller - former ambassador to Tanzania and Zimbabwe

INTELLIGENCE MATTERS

Senate Intelligence Committee

The full committee (Chairman Boren, D-Okla.) will hold hearings on intelligence matters.

2pm SH-219 Hart Bldg. closed May 7

■ JUDICIARY COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Judiciary Committee

The full committee (Chairman Biden, D-Del.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Agenda:

Nominations: Edward Carnes to be Judge, 11th U.S. Circuit; 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; John Walters to be Deputy

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

Director for Supply Reduction, Office of National Drug Control Policy

Legislation:

S 1521 - to provide a cause of action for victims of sexual abuse, rape, and murder, against producers and distributors of hard-core pornographic material

S 1941 - Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act for the purpose of reforming procedures for the resettlement of refugees in the United States

S 1096 - Ensure the protection of motion picture copyrights

S 2236 - Amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to modify and extend bilingual voting provisions of the act

HR 2324 - Prohibit the payment of a fee to a prison inmate who testifies as a witness before a federal court

HR 2549 - Make technical corrections to chapter 5 of title 5, U.S. Code

HR 3237 - Extend the terms of office of members of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission from 3 to 6 years

HR 3379 - Alter the authorities of the Administrative Conference

S 1569 - Implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee

S 1216 - Provide for the deferral of enforced departure and the granting of lawful temporary resident status in the U.S. to certain classes of nonimmigrant aliens of the People's Republic of China

S 2099 - Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to designate special inquiry officers as immigration judges and to provide for the compensation of such judges

S 2087 - Prohibit certain use of the terms "Visiting Nurse Association," "Visiting Nurse Service," "VNA," and "VNS"

S 1697 - Amend title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 to increase the penalties for violating the fair housing provisions of the Act

REFORMING SMALL EMPLOYER HEALTH-CARE INSURANCE

Senate Labor Committee

The full committee (Acting Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) will hold a hearing on health-care insurance reform for small employers.

2:15pm SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Alain Enthoven - professor, Stanford University; Mary Jane England - president, Washington Business Group on Health; Michael Stocker - executive vice president, U.S. Healthcare; William Link - executive vice president, Prudential Insurance Company; Thomas Pyle - chairman, Interstudy; Robert Schwartz - chairman, New Mexico Health Policy Commission

House Committees

FOOD SECURITY ACT

House Agriculture Committee

Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee (Chairman English, D-Okla.) will hold a hearing on the implementation of the conservation compliance provisions of the Food Security Act of 1985.

10am 1300 Longworth Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Ewing, R-Ill.

PANEL: Madison Angell - National Association of Wheat Growers; Frank Jones - National Cotton Council

PANEL: Roland Geddes - National Association of State Conservation Agencies; Read Smith - Na-

tional Association of Conservation Districts; Kristie Thorp - Center for Rural Affairs
PANEL: Norman Berg - Soil and Water Conservation Society; Kenneth Cook - Center for Resource Economics

FY93 DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

House Appropriations Committee

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

10am H-140 Capitol Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Thomas Baca - deputy assistant secretary of defense for environment, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense

Note: The 10am session was originally scheduled to be a hearing on special programs. That session has been postponed. The environmental programs session was originally scheduled for 1:30pm, but was moved up to the morning.

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 (if needed) B-308 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witness scheduled: Delos Cy Jamison - director, Bureau of Land Management

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. May 7

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:

FY93 DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

House Armed Services Committee

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) will mark up the subcommittee's portions of legislation (HR 5006) to authorize fiscal 1993 appropriations for military functions of the Defense Department and to prescribe military personnel levels.

10am 2216 Rayburn Bldg. open/may close May 7

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:

FY93 DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

House Armed Services Committee

Readiness Subcommittee (Chairman Hutto, D-Fla.) will mark up the subcommittee's portions of legislation (HR 5006) to authorize fiscal 1993 appropriations for military functions of the Defense Department and to prescribe military personnel levels.

2pm 2212 Rayburn Bldg. open/may close May 7

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:

FY93 DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

House Armed Services Committee

Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials Subcommittee (Chairman Bennett, D-Fla.) will mark up the subcommittee's portions of legislation (HR 5006) to authorize fiscal 1993 appropriations for military functions of

the Defense Department and to prescribe military personnel levels.

10am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. open/may close May 7

SECURITIES LEGISLATION

House Banking Committee

Domestic Monetary Policy Subcommittee (Chairman Neal, D-N.C.) will hold hearings on pending legislation.

10am 2222 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

Witnesses scheduled: Robert McKnew - Public Securities Association; Junius Peake - Peake/Ryerson Consulting Group; R. Steven Wunsch - president, AZX, Inc.

MORTGAGE DISCLOSURE ACT

House Banking Committee

Consumer Affairs and Coinage Subcommittee (Chairman Torres, D-Calif.) and Housing and Community Development Subcommittee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a joint hearing on the implications of data collected under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, especially the high rejection rate for minority applicants seeking mortgages from banks, thrifts and mortgage bankers.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 7, 14

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy II, D-Mass.; Rep. Tom Ridge, R-Pa.

PANEL: Allen J. Fishbein - director, Neighborhood Revitalization Project, Center for Community Change; Donald Martin - vice president, D.C. chapter, ACORN; Gail Cincotta - executive director, National Training Information Center; Gilda Haas - organizer, Communities for Accountable Reinvestment; Wade Henderson - director, Washington bureau, NAACP; Raul Yzaquierre - president, National Council of La Raza; Shanna Smith - director, National Fair Housing Alliance

PANEL: Joan Cadigan - commercial loan officer - Continental Bank; Warren Smith - president, Boston Bank of Commerce; Donald Walters - director, Community Development Division, Huntington National Bank, Columbus Ohio

PANEL: Leland C. Brendsel - chairman, Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation; James A. Johnson - chairman, Federal National Mortgage Association

NATIONAL HEALTH-CARE REFORM

House Education and Labor Committee

The full committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will hold an oversight hearing on national health-care reform proposals.

9:30am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Daniel Heslin - corporate director, Employee Benefits Programs, Rockwell International; Owen Bieber - president, United Automobile Workers

TEXTILE FRAUD

House Energy and Commerce Committee

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on the impact of textile fraud on interstate and foreign commerce.

11am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Carol Hallet - Commis-

House continued...

sioner of Customs; Charles Bremer - American Textile Manufacturers Institute; Art Gundersheim - Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Herman Starobin - International Ladies Garment Workers Union

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: SECURITIES BILLS

House Energy and Commerce Committee

Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee (Chairman Markey, D-Mass.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am 2322 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Agenda:

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

HR 3047 - to permit members of national securities exchanges to effect certain transactions with respect to accounts for which such members exercise investment and discretion

■ U.S. POLICY TOWARD HONG KONG

House Foreign Affairs Committee

Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Solarz, D-N.Y.), Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee (Chairman Yatron, D-Pa.), International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) and International Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Berman, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on U.S. policy towards Hong Kong

2pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Richard Solomon - assistant secretary of State

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PROMOTING DEMOCRACY IN HAITI

House Foreign Affairs Committee

Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Torricelli, D-N.J.) will mark up legislation (HR 4761) to support efforts to promote democracy in Haiti.

1pm 2255 Rayburn Bldg. Open/may close May 7

■ SITUATION IN PERU & THE DRUG WAR

House Foreign Affairs Committee

Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Torricelli, D-N.J.) will hold a hearing on the situation in Peru and the future of the war on drugs in Latin America.

Follows (above) markup 2255 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Bernard Aronson - assistant secretary of State; Gen. George Joulwan - commander and chief, U.S. Southern Command

■ HEALTH CARE FRAUD & ABUSE

House Government Operations Committee

Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Weiss, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on fraud and abuse in the health care industry.

10am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Janet Shikles - General Accounting Office; Robert Muller III - assistant attorney general, Criminal Division, Department

of Justice; Stuart Gerson - assistant attorney general, Civil Division, Department of Justice; Larry Morey - deputy inspector general, Department of Health and Human Services; Rep. Kolbe, R-Ariz.

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 INTELLIGENCE BUDGET

House Intelligence Committee

Legislation Subcommittee (Chairman Kinnally, D-Conn.) will mark up the the fiscal 1993 budget for intelligence programs.

10am H-405 Capitol Bldg. closed May 7

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: OLD-GROWTH FORESTS

House Interior Committee

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) 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

■ EPA HAZARDOUS WASTE MANAGEMENT PERMIT

House Judiciary Committee

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on to examine the handling, by the Environmental Protection Agency, of a hazardous waste management permit for a hazardous waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Terri Swearingen - Tri-State Environmental Council, Chester, West Virginia; Hugh Kaufman - assistant to the director, Environmental Protection Agency; Charles Waterman - attorney, Bruckner & Eckler; William Muno - associate division director for RICRA, Environmental Protection Agency

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: BILINGUAL ELECTIONS

House Judiciary Committee

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 2237 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Agenda:

HR 4312 - Amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 with respect to bilingual election requirements.

HR — Amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 with respect to expert witness fees

■ CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION REAUTHORIZATION

House Judiciary Committee

Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Edwards, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on reauthorizing the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

Follows (above) markup 2237 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: John Dunne - assistant attorney general, Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ESPIONAGE

House Judiciary Committee

Economic and Commercial Law Sub-

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

10am 2141 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

■ WASTE WATER TREATMENT

House Merchant Marine Committee

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on innovative ecological waste-water treatments.

1:30pm 1334 Longworth Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Pelosi, D-Calif.; John Todd - Ocean Arks International Inc.; Gary Glenn - Massachusetts Foundation for Excellence; Michelle Pla - Department of Public Works, city and county of San Francisco; Lawrence Wood - Shelburne, Vt., Town Manager

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: MARAD AUTHORIZATION

House Merchant Marine Committee

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) will mark up legislation (HR 4484) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for the Maritime Administration (MARAD).

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. May 7

Background: The bill would authorize about \$500 million for MARAD activities, including \$431 million for the agency's principle duty, which is to maintain the Ready Reserve Fleet, a force of cargo ships that are used to transport supplies in the event of war.

■ CAPITOL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

House Public Works Committee

Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee (Chairman Fong, D-Ill.) will hold oversight hearing on the fiscal 1993 Capitol Improvement Program of the General Services Administration (GSA).

10am 2253 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

★ RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE

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

10:30am H-313 Capitol Bldg. May 7

Agenda:

HR 4111 - Amend the Small Business Act to provide additional loan assistance to small businesses

NASA CONTRACTING

House Science Committee

Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman Wolpe, D-Mich.) 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

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Mark Gebicke - director, NASA Issues, National Security and International Affairs Division, GAO; Donald P. Wurtz - director, High-Risk Programs, Accounting and Financial Management Division, GAO; Bill Colvin - Inspector General, NASA

PANEL 2: Darleen A. Druyun - assistant administrator for procurement, NASA; Thomas Campbell - comptroller, NASA

House continued...★ **ETHICS BUSINESS****House Standards of Official Conduct Committee**

The full committee (Chairman Stokes, D-Ohio) will hold a closed meeting to discuss pending business.

9:30am HT-2M Capitol Bldg. May 7

Joint Committees**AGRICULTURAL & ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY
Joint Economic Committee**

The full committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will hold a hearing on agricultural and environmental policy.

10am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Witnesses scheduled: David Swaim - Swaim and Associates; Justice Ward - Natural Resources Defense Council; Carl Zinsemeister - American Enterprise Institute

Conference Committees■ **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

1:30pm ST-28 May 7

Note: This conference has not been rescheduled

■ **FY93 BUDGET**

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

11am 210-B Cannon Bldg. May 7 & addl dates if needed

Senate conferees: Sasser, Johnston, Reigle, Exon, Domenici, Symms, Bond

House conferees: TBA

News Events continued...

Geiger of the City University of New York Medical School, and Dr. David Rush, director of the epidemiology program at Tufts University's Human Nutrition Research Center on Aging.

9:30am, National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, Lisagor Room May 7

Contact: Emily Green or Daryl Kimball, 202-785-3777

Note: Embargoed copies of the report are available

**DEFENSE CUTS
NEWS CONFERENCE**

Rep. Mary Rose Oakar, D-Ohio, holds a news conference to announce the introduction of legislation to assist workers, businesses and communities to cope with defense budget reductions. The Defense Economic Adjustment, Conversion and Reinvestment Act of 1992 earmarks \$2.96 billion in reduced defense spending to fund projects to ease the transition to a civilian economy.

10am 2220 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Contact: Herb Spira, 202-226-7515

**DOMESTIC PARTNERS
NEWS CONFERENCE**

Rep. Clyde Holloway, R-La., holds a news conference to discuss the introduction of a resolution that would nullify the Domestic Partners Act, which was recently approved by the D.C. City Council. The Domestic Partners Act would allow unmarried persons living together to register with the city as domestic partners and enable partners of city employees to get health insurance.

11am, The Capitol, House Triangle May 7

Contact: 202-225-4926

**NUCLEAR ENERGY
NEWS CONFERENCE**

Reps. Bob Clement, D-Tenn., and Joe Barton, R-Texas, hold a news conference to discuss support for their nuclear energy plant licensing reform legislation, H.R. 4488, the Nuclear Reactor Licensing Act of 1992. The bill would clarify the procedure for a combined operating and construction permit for nuclear energy plants.

11am 2203 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Contact: Craig Murphy, 202-225-2002

CATERPILLAR STRIKE

Charles McDonald, executive assistant to the AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, addresses a National Press Club luncheon. He will discuss the future of the labor movement in light of the Caterpillar strike. McDonald is scheduled to speak at 12:30pm

Noon, George Washington University's Marvin Center, 800 21st St. NW, third floor May 7

Contact: 703-536-9725

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$14 for members and \$20 for nonmembers.

BIOTECHNOLOGY SEMINAR

Congressional Biotechnology Seminar will sponsor a session on the opportunity for economic growth through biotechnology.

12:15pm to 1:30pm, B-369 Rayburn Bldg.

■ Revised listing

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.

LEGISLATORS CONFERENCE

The National Conference of State Legislatures hosts a State-Federal Assembly. First of three days.

8:30am, Hyatt Regency Hotel, 400 New Jersey Ave. N.W. May 7

Contact: Susan Seladones, Liz Dechert or Rosa Wright, 202-624-5400, or the hotel press room, 202-383-1331/1332

Highlights

8:30am to 5pm: Preconference seminar on "Telecommunications Policies for the '90s and Beyond: The Challenge to State Legislatures."

Noon: Luncheon address Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska

CALIFORNIA ISSUES

Washington-area alumni of the University of California will sponsor a discussion with members of the California congressional delegation on challenges facing the state.

9am 2325 Rayburn Bldg. May 7

Contact: Greg Sullivan at 202-785-2666

★ New listing

Agenda:

9am: Defense Conversion

Reps. Howard Berman, D-Calif., and Ron Packard, R-Calif.

9:50am: Access to Higher Education

Reps. George E. Brown Jr., D-Calif., and Julian C. Dixon, D-Calif.

10:40am: California's Changing Demographics

Reps. Jerry Lewis, R-Calif., and Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif.

Note: Following the discussions there will be a luncheon with UCLA Chancellor Charles E. Young in room SD-106 of the Dirksen Bldg. The charge for the luncheon is \$15. For reservations call the number listed above.

**TELECOMMUNICATIONS
NEWS CONFERENCE**

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks, D-Texas, holds a news conference to announce the introduction of antitrust legislation intended to ensure a competitive marketplace in all sectors of the telecommunications industry. The legislation would supersede certain court-ordered restrictions on the so-called Baby Bells placed on the regional companies following the breakup of communications giant ATT.

9:30am, House Radio-TV Gallery, Capitol Bldg. May 7

Contact: 202-225-6565

NUCLEAR WORKERS BRIEFING

Physicians for Social Responsibility holds a briefing on a new report, "Dead Reckoning: A Critical Review of the Department of Energy's Epidemiologic Studies." The report is critical of government health research on nuclear weapons workers. Participants include Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, Rep. Bill Richardson, D-N.M., and the report's authors: Dr. H. Jack

News Events continued...

May 7

Contact: Sarah Brown at 202-225-2815

Agenda:

12:15pm: Biotechnology - Jobs and Growth
Rep. Thomas J. Bliley Jr., R-Va.; Steven Mendell - chairman and CEO, XOMA Corp.
12:40pm: Attracting Biotech Jobs
Rep. Tom McMillen, D-Md.; Selig Solomon - director, Office of Technology Development, State of Maryland
1:05pm: Congress and the Industry
Jonathan MacQuitty - chairman and CEO, GenPharm International

Note: There is no charge for the presentations. There is a luncheon at noon. For the luncheon there is no charge for congressional members of the Caucus and their invited staff. Others may attend the luncheon (on a space available basis) for a \$25 charge. For lunch reservations call Laura at 202-857-0244

POLICE BRUTALITY NEWS CONFERENCE

Rep. Major Owens, D-N.Y., and New York City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman hold a news conference to call for federal legislation barring judges from transferring police brutality cases to jurisdictions with substantially different racial make-ups from the jurisdiction in which the crimes are committed.

12:30pm, The Capitol, House Triangle May 7

Contact: Margaret Summers, 202-225-6231

ENERGY & CLIMATE POLICY IN INDIA

Environmental and Energy Study Institute will sponsor a briefing on the outlook for energy use in India and an Indian perspective on the international negotiations for a framework convention on climate change.

1pm SD-562 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

Contact: Karen Schmidt at 202-628-1400

ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND REPORTS

8:30am: The Labor Department releases the weekly jobless claims report

2pm: The Federal Reserve releases consumer credit for March

4:30pm, approx: The Federal Reserve releases weekly reports on aggregate reserves and the monetary base, factors affecting bank reserves and money supply

Campaign: Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

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

May 7

In Oregon

Bill Clinton

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

May 7

In Little Rock, Ark.

No public events are scheduled

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Tom Kilgannon 703-790-9292

May 7

In Ventura, Calif.

Bush-Quayle

Contact: Torie Clarke or Devorah Goldberg, 202-336-7080

May 7

PRESIDENT BUSH

In Los Angeles, Calif.

Senators' Telephone Numbers

Name, Party, State	Telephone	Name, Party, State	Telephone
Adams, Brock, D-Wash.	224-2621	Kassebaum, Nancy Landon, R-Kan.	224-4774
Akaka, Daniel K., D-Hawaii	224-6361	Kasten, Bob, R-Wis.	224-5323
Baucus, Max, D-Mont.	224-2651	Kennedy, Edward M., D-Mass.	224-4543
Bentsen, Lloyd, D-Texas	224-5922	Kerrey, Bob, D-Neb.	224-6551
Biden, Joseph R. Jr., D-Del.	224-5042	Kerry, John, D-Mass.	224-2742
Bingaman, Jeff, D-N.M.	224-5521	Kohl, Herb, D-Wis.	224-5653
Bond, Christopher S., R-Mo.	224-5721	Lautenberg, Frank R., D-N.J.	224-4744
Boren, David L., D-Okla.	224-4721	Leahy, Patrick J., D-Vt.	224-4242
Bradley, Bill, D-N.J.	224-3224	Levin, Carl, D-Mich.	224-6221
Breaux, John B., D-La.	224-4623	Lieberman, Joseph I., D-Conn.	224-4041
Brown, Hank, R-Colo.	224-5941	Lott, Trent, R-Miss.	224-6253
Bryan, Richard H., D-Nev.	224-6244	Lugar, Richard G., R-Ind.	224-4814
Bumpers, Dale, D-Ark.	224-4843	Mack, Connie, R-Fla.	224-5274
Burdick, Quentin N., D-N.D.	224-2551	McCain, John, R-Ariz.	224-2235
Burns, Conrad, R-Mont.	224-2644	McConnell, Mitch, R-Ky.	224-2541
Byrd, Robert C., D-W.Va.	224-3954	Metzenbaum, Howard M., D-Ohio	224-2315
Chafee, John H., R-R.I.	224-2921	Mikulski, Barbara A., D-Md.	224-4654
Coats, Daniel R., R-Ind.	224-5623	Mitchell, George J., D-Maine	224-5344
Cochran, Thad, R-Miss.	224-5054	Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, D-N.Y.	224-4451
Cohen, William S., R-Maine	224-2523	Murkowski, Frank H., R-Alaska	224-6665
Conrad, Kent, D-N.D.	224-2043	Nickles, Don, R-Okla.	224-5754
Craig, Larry E., R-Idaho	224-2752	Nunn, Sam, D-Ga.	224-3521
Cranston, Alan, D-Calif.	224-3553	Packwood, Bob, R-Ore.	224-5244
D'Amato, Alfonse M., R-N.Y.	224-6542	Pell, Claiborne, D-R.I.	224-4642
Danforth, John C., R-Mo.	224-6154	Pressler, Larry, R-S.D.	224-5842
Daschle, Tom, D-S.D.	224-2321	Pryor, David, D-Ark.	224-2353
DeConcini, Dennis, D-Ariz.	224-4521	Reid, Harry, D-Nev.	224-3542
Dixon, Alan J., D-Ill.	224-2854	Riegle, Donald W. Jr., D-Mich.	224-4822
Dodd, Christopher J., D-Conn.	224-2823	Robb, Charles S., D-Va.	224-4024
Dole, Bob, R-Kan.	224-6521	Rockefeller, John D. IV, D-W.Va.	224-6472
Domenici, Pete V., R-N.M.	224-6621	Roth, William V. Jr., R-Del.	224-2441
Durenberger, Dave, R-Minn.	224-3244	Rudman, Warren B., R-N.H.	224-3324
Exon, Jim, D-Neb.	224-4224	Sanford, Terry, D-N.C.	224-3154
Ford, Wendell H., D-Ky.	224-4343	Sarbanes, Paul S., D-Md.	224-4524
Fowler, Wyche Jr., D-Ga.	224-3643	Sasser, Jim, D-Tenn.	224-3344
Garn, Jake, R-Utah	224-5444	Seymour, John, R-Calif.	224-3841
Glenn, John, D-Ohio	224-3353	Shelby, Richard C., D-Ala.	224-5744
Gore, Al, D-Tenn.	224-4944	Simon, Paul, D-Ill.	224-2152
Gorton, Slade, R-Wash.	224-3441	Simpson, Alan K., R-Wyo.	224-3424
Graham, Bob, D-Fla.	224-3041	Smith, Robert C., R-N.H.	224-2841
Gramm, Phil, R-Texas	224-2934	Specter, Arlen, R-Pa.	224-4254
Grassley, Charles E., R-Iowa	224-3744	Stevens, Ted, R-Alaska	224-3004
Harkin, Tom, D-Iowa	224-3254	Symms, Steve, R-Idaho	224-6142
Hatch, Orrin G., R-Utah	224-5251	Thurmond, Strom, R-S.C.	224-5972
Hatfield, Mark O., R-Ore.	224-3753	Wallop, Malcolm, R-Wyo.	224-6441
Hefflin, Howell, D-Ala.	224-4124	Warner, John W., R-Va.	224-2023
Helms, Jesse, R-N.C.	224-6342	Wellstone, Paul, D-Minn.	224-5641
Hollings, Ernest F., D-S.C.	224-6121	Wirth, Tim, D-Colo.	224-5852
Inouye, Daniel K., D-Hawaii	224-3934	Wofford, Harris, D-Pa.	224-6324
Jeffords, James M., R-Vt.	224-5141		
Johnston, J. Bennett, D-La.	224-5824		

Senate Committees Future Listings

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

224-2035

FOREST SERVICE

ADMINISTRATIVE APPEALS

Conservation and Forestry Subcommittee (Chairman Fowler, D-Ga.) of Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee will hold a hearing on a proposal by the U.S. Forest Service to change the administrative appeals process.

2pm SR-332 Russell Bldg. May 21

Appropriations

224-3471

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.

9am S-407 Capitol Bldg. (closed) May 7

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

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

May 7: National Foreign Intelligence Program, Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities

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

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.

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 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

FY93 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 7

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. May 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

★ New listing

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 7: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

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 inspectors general from Labor, HHS and Education

July 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30: Public Witnesses

FY93 MIL CON APPROPS

Military Construction Subcommittee (Chairman Sasser, D-Tenn.) of the Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. May 18

Agenda: Air Force construction projects

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 14, 21

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

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.

9:30am SD-G50 Dirksen Bldg. May 7

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

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

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

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

May 7: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

May 14: Federal Emergency Management Agency

May 21: National Service; Points of Light

May 22: Public witnesses

Armed Services

224-3871

FY93 DEFENSE BUDGET: TACTICAL ISSUES

Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Levin, D-Mich.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill (S 2629), focusing on requirements and modernization plans for tactical aircraft and service cooperation and

coordination.

9am SR-222 Russell Bldg. May 8

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

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) of Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the Export-Import Bank.

Time TBA SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. May 14

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

EXON-FLORIO

PENDING TRANSACTIONS

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Acting Chairman Exon, D-Neb.) will hold a hearing on pending transactions under the Exon-Florio amendment.

2:30 SR-253 Russell Bldg. May 12

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

U.S. FOREIGN & COMMERCIAL SERVICE

Foreign Commerce and Tourism Subcommittee (Chairman Rockefeller, D-W. Va.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the U.S. Foreign and Commercial Service at the Department of Commerce.

10:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. May 14

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...**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

GLOBAL WARMING

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

9am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

Agenda:

May 12: International agreements regarding carbon dioxide emissions

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 13

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

PETROLEUM REFINING ISSUES

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on issues related to the refining sector of the petroleum industry.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 19

★ New listing

USED OIL

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2631) to promote energy production from used oil.

2:30pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. May 20

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.

Time TBA SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. Date TBA

Agenda:**NOMINATIONS:**

Christian Holmes IV to be assistant administrator for Administration, Resource Management, and Chief Financial Officer, Environmental Protection Agency

Kenneth Rogers to be a member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission

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

S 2070 - the Judicial Space and Facilities Management Act

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

HEALTH-CARE COSTS

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

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. May 7 & addl dates TBA

Witnesses scheduled:

COMPETITIVENESS

Senate Finance Committee will begin a series of hearings on ways to improve the competitiveness of U.S. industry.

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. May 12 & addl dates TBA

Witnesses scheduled:

May 12: Fred Bergsten - chairman, Competitiveness Policy Council; Erich Bloch - Council on Competitiveness

★ **LONG-TERM HEALTH-CARE**

Medicare and Long Term Care Subcommittee (Chairman Rockefeller, D-W.Va.) of Senate Finance Committee will hold a hearing on the challenge of providing long-term health care.

2pm SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. May 13

Foreign Relations

224-4651

★ **FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: AID TO FORMER SOVIET UNION**

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will meet to mark up legislation (S 2532) authorizing assistance to the former Soviet Union.

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. May 13

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for May 7.

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

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 11

JFK ASSASSINATION DISCLOSURE

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on a resolution (S J Res 282) to require the federal government to disclose all materials concerning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

REAUTHORIZING McKINNEY HOMELESS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold an oversight hearing on legislation (S 2624) to authorize appropriations for the Interagency Council on the Homeless, the Federal Emergency Management Food and Shelter Program.

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

PENDING D.C. COURT NOMINATIONS

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on pending nominations.

2pm SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 14

Agenda: Judith Retchin to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court; Ann O'Regan Keary to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court; William Jackson to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court; Stephanie Duncan-Peters to be associate judge, D.C. Superior Court;

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...**OZONE DEPLETION**

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) and Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs (Chairman Lieberman, D-Conn.) will hold a hearing on the effects of ozone depletion.

10:15am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 15

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

MANAGEMENT OF FEDERAL CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT

General Services, Federalism and the District of Columbia Subcommittee (Chairman Sasser, D-Tenn.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the government-wide management of federal civilian aircraft.

2pm SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. May 21

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

★ New listing

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

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

ALASKA 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

Judiciary

224-5225

INSURANCE OVERSIGHT

Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights Subcommittee (Chairman Metzenbaum, D-Ohio) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the insurance industry.

9:30am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

REAUTHORIZING THE PATENT OFFICE

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

10am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. May 12

PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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

10:30am SR-385 Russell Bldg. May 13

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

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

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...**Small Business**

224-5175

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.

House continued...10am & 1:30pm (if needed) B-308 Rayburn Bldg. **May 7**10am B-308 Rayburn Bldg. **May 12**10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. **May 13**10am B-308 Rayburn Bldg. **May 14, 19****Agenda & witnesses scheduled:****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 18:** Members of Congress**House Committees Future Listings****Aging****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**

OLDER WOMEN AND POVERTY**Field Hearing**

Retirement Income and Employment Subcommittee (Acting Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on older women and the roots of poverty.

10am Town Hall, Brookline, Mass. **May 15****Witnesses scheduled:**

PANEL 1: Paula Rayman - associate professor, Wellesley College; James Schulz - professor of economics and Kirstein Professor of Aging, Brandeis University; Lynn Burbridge - associate director, Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College

PANEL 2: Jane Sjorgen - associate professor of economics, Simmons College; Katherine Villers - director, Massachusetts Office, Families U.S.A. Foundation; Regina O'Grady Leshane - Graduate School of Social Work, Boston College

PANEL 3: public witnesses TBA**HUNGER AND NUTRITION**

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a hearing on hunger and nutrition and its effect on the health of older Americans.

9:30am 345 Cannon Bldg. **May 21****Agriculture**

225-2171

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING & MARKUP: NUTRITION PROGRAMS

Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations

★ New listing

and Nutrition Subcommittee (Chairman Tallon, D-S.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on and mark up legislation (S 1742) to authorize grants to be made to state programs designed to provide resources to persons who are nutritionally at risk.

10am 1302 Longworth Bldg. **May 13****SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FARM CREDIT**

Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee (Chairman English, D-Okla.) of the House Agriculture Committee will mark up legislation (HR 4906) to establish a program to aid beginning farmers and ranchers, to improve the operations of the Farmers Home Administration, and to amend the Farm Credit Act of 1971.

10am room TBA **May 14****SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PESTICIDE SAFETY**

Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will mark up legislation (HR 3742) to amend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act to improve the safety of pesticides.

9:30am 1300 Longworth Bldg. **May 19****WELFARE & FOOD STAMPS**

Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations and Nutrition Subcommittee (Chairman Tallon, D-S.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing to review the current food stamp caseload and on legislation (HR 4046) to provide for a "Welfare Simplification Report."

2pm 1302 Longworth Bldg. **May 20****Appropriations**

225-2771

FY93 INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS

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

FY93 LABOR, HHS & EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS

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. **May 14****Witnesses scheduled:** Congressional and Public**Witnesses**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 7

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

MORTGAGE DISCLOSURE ACT Joint Hearing

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 data collected under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, especially the high rejection rate for minority applicants seeking mortgages from banks, thrifts and mortgage bankers.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. **May 7, 14****Witnesses scheduled:**

May 7: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

May 14:

PANEL: Lawrence Lindsey - governor, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve Board; Susan F. Krause - senior deputy comptroller for Bank Supervision Policy, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency; T. Timothy Ryan - director, Office of Thrift Supervision; Janice Smith - director, Office of Consumer Affairs, FDIC

PANEL: Alan Tubbs - president, American Bankers Association; Joe Belew - president, Consumer Bankers Association; Robert Hawkins - president, Independent Bankers Association; Angelo R. Mozilo - president, Mortgage Bankers Association of America

NON-PROLIFERATION

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4803) to promote the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction by using funding to the international development institutions as a bargaining tool.

■ Revised listing

House continued. . .**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

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
HOUSING PROGRAMS**

Housing and Community Development Subcommittee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will mark up draft legislation to reauthorize the programs administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Farmers Home Administration housing programs. The Subcommittee will also take up a bill to amend the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act (HR 4300).

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 13, 20 (if needed)

MORTGAGE REFINANCING

Consumer Affairs and Coinage Subcommittee (Chairman Torres, D-Calif.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing to discuss current mortgage refinancing conditions.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. May 19

**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 continue hearings on a proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget.

10am & 2pm 210 Cannon Bldg. May 11, 12 & 13

Witnesses scheduled:

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

**District of
Columbia****225-4457****D.C. JUDICIAL REVISION**

Judiciary and Education Subcommittee

★ New listing

(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 (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****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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

Time & Room TBA May 20

**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****★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
DAT RECORDING**

Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Collins, D-Ill.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will mark up pending legislation.

10am room TBA May 12

Agenda:

HR 4567 - to implement a royalty payment system and a serial copy management system for digital audio recording

H Con Res 246 - to express the sense of Congress with respect to the relation of trade agreements to health, safety, labor, and environmental laws of the United States

**★ TELEPHONE NETWORK
RELIABILITY**

Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee (Chairman Markey, D-Mass.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4789) to require the Federal Communications Commission to establish and enforce telecommunications network reliability standards.

9:30am room TBA May 13

**★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
BASE CLOSINGS**

Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee (Chairman Swift, D-Wash.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will mark up legislation (HR 4016) to require the federal government, before termination of federal activities on any real property owned by the government, to identify real property where no hazardous substance was stored, released, or disposed of.

9:30am room TBA May 13

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****FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
FY92 & 93 FOREIGN ASSISTANCE**

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Farnsworth, D-Fla.) 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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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

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

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

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 4999 - to reauthorize the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation

★ HISTORIC BUILDINGS

Field Hearing

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) of House

★ New listing

Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a field hearing on the Historic American Building Survey and the Historic American Engineering Record.

Time TBA Philadelphia, Pa. May 11

■ 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 340 Cannon Bldg. May 12

PUBLIC LANDS

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 12, 19

10am 340 Cannon Bldg. May 21

Agenda:

May 12:

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

May 19:

HR 3564 - to 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 - to withdraw and reserve certain public lands and minerals within the state of Colorado for military uses

May 21

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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

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

Agenda:

May 13:

HR 4899 - Establish an old-growth forest reserve

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 Fort Chicago Naval Magazine as a National Memorial

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

■ PENDING BUSINESS

Water, Power and Offshore Energy Re-

sources Subcommittee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will meet to consider pending Central Valley Project legislation.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 14

Agenda:

HR — - Central Valley Improvement Act

HR 3876 - to protect, restore, and enhance fish and wildlife habitat within the Central Valley of California, mitigate Central Valley Project impacts in order to maintain the continued orderly operation on the Central Valley Project

HR 4687 - to enter into negotiations with the state of California to transfer the Central Valley project to the state

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

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. May 21

★ BODIE BOWL

Mining and Natural Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Rahall, D-W.Va.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4370) to provide for the protection of the Bodie Bowl area of the state of California.

9:45am 2253 Rayburn Bldg. May 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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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

★ INDIAN BILLS

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on pending Indian affairs issues.

9am 1324 Longworth Bldg. May 29

Agenda:

HR 4026 - to formulate a plan for the management of natural and cultural resources on the Zuni Indian Reservation, on the lands of the Ramah Bank of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, and the Navajo Nation, and in other areas within the Zuni River watershed and upstream from the Zuni Indian Reservation

HR 4437 - to authorize funds for the implementation of the settlement agreement reached between the Pueblo de Cochiti and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers under the authority of public law 100-202.

HR 4027 - to carry out a demonstration program to transfer control of federally assisted Indian housing to selected Indian tribes and to permit the tribes to use assistance received under the housing improvement program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian housing programs

HR — - Jicarilla Apache Settlement legislation

Judiciary

225-3951

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

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: MARINE SANCTUARIES

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 markup of pending legislation.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. May 12

Agenda:

HR 4310 - to reauthorize and improve the national marine sanctuaries program, and to establish the Coastal Sanctuary Foundation

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PENDING LEGISLATION

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will

Immediately following markup above 1334 Longworth Bldg. May 12

Agenda:

HR 1271 - to authorize appropriations for the Office of Environmental Quality for fiscal years 1992-96

HR 3836 - to provide for the management of federal lands containing the pacific yew to ensure a sufficient supply of taxol, a cancer-treating drug made from the pacific yew

HR 1435 - to transfer jurisdiction over the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Colorado, to the secretary of the Interior

HR 2919 - to provide for the restoration of New England stocks of groundfish

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

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

10am Room TBA May 20

Witness scheduled: William Barr - attorney general

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 8

HEROIN CONTROL STRATEGY

House Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on heroin control strategy and the threat of a resurgence of use.

11am Room TBA June 9

CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES & MEDICAID FRAUD

House Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) will hold hearings on fraud in the prescription of controlled substances through Medicaid.

10am Room TBA July 22 & 29

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

POSTAL SERVICE OVERSIGHT

House Post Office and Civil Service Committee (Chairman Clay, D-Mo.) will hold an oversight hearing on the U.S. Postal Service.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. May 12

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FEDERAL EMPLOYEES ASSISTANCE

Human Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Kanjorski, D-Pa.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will mark up legislation (HR 4991) to provide assistance to federal workers displaced because of budget cutbacks.

10am 304 Cannon Bldg. May 12

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Post Office and Civil Service Committee (Chairman Clay, D-Mo.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:45am 311 Cannon Bldg. May 13

PARK SERVICE PERSONNEL PRACTICES

Civil Service Subcommittee (Chairman Sikorski, D-Minn.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will continue their hearings on the reassignment of Lorraine Mintzmyer, formerly a Park Service employee at Yellowstone National Park who was reassigned to the mid-Atlantic district after her participation in the writing of a controversial document on the future of Yellowstone.

9:30am 304 Cannon Bldg. (open/may close)

May 13

10am 304 Cannon Bldg. (open/may close)

May 14

CHANGING 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, and additional dates TBA

Agenda:

May 26 & 27: Population trends

■ Revised listing

★ New listing

House continued...

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

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

■ SOLID WASTE CRISIS

Field Hearing

Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Scheuer, D-N.Y.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a field hearing on the Long Island Sound solid waste crisis and toxic chemical exposure-induced breast cancer.

1:30pm Hempstead, N.Y. May 8

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

Science Subcommittee (Chairman Boucher, D-Va.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will mark up legislation (HR 3215), a bill to reinvigorate cooperation between the U.S. and Latin America in science and technology.

9:30am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. May 13

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for May 6.

SOVIET SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Science Subcommittee (Chairman Boucher, D-Va.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4550) to provide for the formation of an endowed, non-governmental, nonprofit foundation to encourage and fund collaborative research and development projects between the United States and Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and other democratic republics emerging from the former Soviet Union.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. May 13

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

★ New listing

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

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

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: DVA MEDICAL PROGRAMS

Hospitals and Health Care Subcommittee (Chairman Montgomery, D-Miss.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up draft legislation to improve Department of Veterans Affairs' (DVA) medical programs.

9am 334 Cannon Bldg. May 20

★ REVISING ELIGIBILITY ON DVA MEDICAL PROGRAMS

Hospitals and Health Care Subcommittee (Chairman Montgomery, D-Miss.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on revising the eligibility requirements for the Department of Veterans Affairs' medical programs.

Follows (above) markup 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

DECEPTIVE MAILINGS

Social Security Subcommittee (Chairman Jacobs, D-Ind.) and Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman Pickle, D-Texas) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a joint hearing on organizations and individuals that, for monetary profit, engage in deceptive practices that target consumers generally, and elderly Social Security beneficiaries in particular.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. May 14

MISCELLANEOUS TAX BILLS: PEACE TAX; TAX EARMARK

Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on pending tax legislation.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. May 21

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.

HR 1870 - 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.

Note: The hearing on HR 65 and HR 1733 was originally scheduled for May 5.

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

Note

The offices of all members of Congress and all congressional committees and subcommittees may be reached by calling (202) 224-3121.

Joint Committees

Joint Economic

APRIL EMPLOYMENT

Joint Economic Committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will meet to receive the employment and unemployment statistics for the month of April.

9:30am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. May 8

■ Revised listing

Conference Committees Future Listings

JOB TRAINING

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3033) to amend the Job Training Partnership Act to improve the delivery of services to hard-to-serve youth and adults.

Time & room TBA date TBA
Senate conferees: Kennedy; Metzenbaum; Simon; Hatch; Thurmond
House conferees: TBA

FAMILY PLANNING

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 323) to amend title X of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the programs of assistance for family planning services

Time & room TBA date TBA
House conferees: TBA
Senate conferees: TBA

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, Oakar, 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.

FY93 BUDGET

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

11am 210-B Cannon Bldg. May 7 & addl dates if needed

Senate conferees: Sasser, Johnston, Reigle, Exon, Domenici, Symms, Bond
House conferees: 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: Foscett, Berman, Weiss, Broomfield, Snowe
Additional conferees from the Committee on Science, Space, & Technology, for consideration of sections 427 and 1405 of the Senate bill, and sections 499A, 499B, and 499C of the House amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Brown, Boucher, Thornton, Walker, Packard
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 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, 109, 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

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

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

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 add 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 amendment, and modifications committed to conference: de la Garza, English, Staggers, Stallings, Nagle, Sarpalius, 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, Slaterry, Lent, Moorhead, Rinaldo, Ritter

Other continued...

tions send a check, made payable to NAM Issue Briefing Breakfast, to:

NAM

1331 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.

Suite 1500 - North Lobby

Washington, D.C. 20004-1703

NETWORKING

Women's Transportation Seminar will sponsor a luncheon seminar on "How to Work a Room."

11:30am, Bellevue Hotel, 15 E St. N.W. May 13

Contact: Martha Lawrence at 703-875-8790

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$16 for members and \$21 for nonmembers. For reservations call the number listed above.

EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION PROGRAMS

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute and the Employment Policy Foundation will sponsor a briefing for members of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus on "Employee Participation Programs: Do We Need to Change the Labor Laws?"

2pm to 3pm 2175 Rayburn Bldg. May 13

Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007

Participants: Reps. Marcy Kaptur, D-Ohio; Amo Houghton, R-N.Y.; Steve Gunderson, R-Wis.

Richard Davis - district director, United Steelworkers of America; Ed Lawler - director, Center for Effective Organizations; Charles Nielson - vice president, Human Resources, Texas Instruments; James Moore - vice president, Executive Resources and Development, Westinghouse Electric Corp.; Dan Yager - attorney, McGuiness & Williams

Note: There is no charge for this event, but attendance is by invitation only. For information on how to obtain an invitation call the number listed above.

JUDICIAL DISCIPLINE

National Commission on Judicial Discipline and Removal will hold a meeting and hearing.

Contact: Elizabeth Hutter at 202-254-8169

1:30pm SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. May 14

9:30am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. May 15

Agenda:

May 14: Public meeting

Discussion of research and organizational progress

May 15: Hearing

Role of Senate in trial and removal of federal judges

Judicial discipline mechanism

Role of executive branch in prosecuting federal judges

"DEMOCRATS AND THE AMERICAN IDEA"

Center for National Policy will sponsor a discussion on "Democrats and the American Idea: Lessons from a Party's History."

1pm to 5pm 345 Cannon Bldg. May 15

Contact: 202-546-9300

Participants:

PANEL 1: Sen. Bradley, D-N.J.; Kevin Phillips - editor, American Political Report; Robert Remini - professor, University of Richmond; Peter Brown - Scripps Howard News; Allan Lichtman - professor, American University; Cokie Roberts - National Public Radio and ABC News (moderator)

PANEL 2: Gary Hart - former U.S. senator; John

■ Revised listing

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.

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 202-842-3525

Note: There is no charge for this event, but reservations are required. For more information call the number listed above.

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 8, 19

Contact: 202-728-0993

Agenda:

May 8: U.S.-Japan Relations: Now What?

James Fallows - Washington Editor, *The Atlantic*

May 19: Japanese Capitalism: The Same of Differ-

ent; Better or Worse

Jon Woronoff - author of "Japanese Targeting" and "Japan As Anything But Number One"

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

AUTO FUEL ECONOMY: HOW FAR SHOULD WE GO?

Environmental and Energy Study Institute will sponsor a briefing on the recently released National Research Council report on corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) -- "Automotive Fuel Economy: How Far Should We Go?"

2pm 2318 Rayburn Bldg. May 11

Contact: Carol Werner or Doug Howell at 202-628-1400

PRODUCT LIABILITY

National Association of Manufacturers will sponsor a breakfast briefing with Sen. Bob Kasten, R-Wis., who will discuss product liability legislation, including S 640.

8:30am to 10am, Capital Hilton Hotel, 16th & K Sts. N.W. May 13

Contact: Michael Smith at 202-637-3115

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$45 for nonmembers. For reserva-

Other continued...

Culver - for U.S. senator; Ben Wattenberg - senior fellow, American Enterprise Institute; Alonzo Hamby - Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Jean Baker - professor, Goucher College; Margaret Warner - Newsweek (moderator)

CUSTOMS ISSUES

Washington International Trade Association will sponsor a seminar and luncheon on customs issues, include harmonization of the rules of origin and international business and customs.

9am Hotel Washington, 515 15th St. N.W.
May 18

Contact: 202-293-4193

Participants:

PANEL: Jim Clawson - IBGC (moderator); Hiram Lawrence - Office of U.S. Trade Representative; John Simpson - Treasury Department; David Rose Intel Corp.

PANEL: Edris Irvine - Nissan North America (moderator); George Weiss - House Ways and Means Committee; Bernadette Curry - U.S. Customs Service

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$55 for members and \$65 for nonmembers. The luncheon only is \$30 for members and \$35 for nonmembers. For reservations and information call the number listed above.

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

ELECTRONICS ISSUES

Electronics Industries Association will hold a five-year forecast conference on federal information needs.

8:30am J.W. Marriott Hotel May 20

Contact: Kelly Murphy at 202-457-8748

Congressional highlight

8:30am: Sen. Gore, D-Tenn.

PAY EQUITY

Women in International Trade will sponsor a luncheon meeting to announce the results of a salary survey on women in the field of international trade, including an analysis of the pay of their male counterparts.

Noon to 2pm, National Press Club, 524 14th St., N.W. May 20

Contact: Colleen Morton at 202-659-1547

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$22 for members and \$32 for non-members. For reservations call 703-506-9365.

NETWORKING

Capitol Telecommunications Professionals will sponsor a meeting on networking for business people.

★ New listing

6:30pm, Omni Georgetown Hotel 2121 P ST.
N.W. May 20

Contact: 301-564-1032

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$15 for members and \$25 for nonmembers. For reservations call the number listed above.

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 in-

quiries to Rian Smith, ext. 32)

Agenda:

May 26: Realities of Engagement: Programs, People 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

Candidates

DEMOCRATS**Jerry Brown**

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

May 7

In Oregon

May 8-10

In California

Bill Clinton

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

May 7

In Little Rock, Ark.

No public events are scheduled

May 8

In Little Rock, Ark., and Phoenix, Ariz.

May 9

In California

May 10

In California, Nebraska and Little Rock, Ark.

May 11

In Little Rock, Ark.

REPUBLICANS**Pat Buchanan**

Contact: Tom Kilgannon 703-790-9292

May 7

In Ventura, Calif.

May 8

In Washington, D.C.

May 9

In Lynchburg, Va.

Gives the commencement address at Liberty University.

May 10

In Washington, D.C.

May 11

In San Diego, Calif.

Bush-Quayle

Contact: Torie Clarke or Deborah Goldberg, 202-336-7080

May 7

PRESIDENT BUSH

In Los Angeles, Calif.

INDEPENDENTS**Lenora Fulani**

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

May 7

In New York City

Noon: Debate with Ron Daniels, Apollo Theatre, broadcast on WLII

7:30pm: Weekly town meeting to discuss Rodney King verdict, Harriet Tubman School, 250 W. 127th St.

May 13

In Davis, Calif.

4pm: University of California at Davis

Primaries & Caucuses

May 7: Nevada Republican caucus.

May 9: Delaware Republican caucus.

May 12: Nebraska and West Virginia primaries

May 19: Oregon and Washington state Republican primaries

May 26: Arkansas, Kentucky and Idaho primaries

May 30: Arizona and Virginia Republican conventions

June 2: Alabama, California, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico and Ohio primaries

June 9: North Dakota Republican primary

June 18: Washington State Republican convention

June 26: Missouri and Utah Republican conventions

■ Revised listing

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CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



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Washington, D.C. 20037

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

R2

DATE: 5/6/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MOUNT ZION
 SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES
 MAY 7, 1992

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	HORNER	☐	☐
SKINNER	☐	☒	MCBRIDE	☐	☒
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	MOORE	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	PETERSMEYER	☐	☒
BRADY	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☐	☒
CALIO	☐	☒	ROLLINS	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒	SMITH	☐	☒
FITZWATER	☐	☒	YEUTTER	☐	☒
GRAY	☐	☒	FINDLAY	☐	☒
HOLIDAY	☐	☒	KAUFMAN	☐	☒
			MCGROARTY		☒

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THOUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN
SUBJECT: MOUNT ZION MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

On Thursday, May 7th, at 5:50 a.m., you will deliver brief remarks (7 minutes/cards) to the congregation of Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church. Reverend E.V. Hill will introduce you.

Your remarks take aim at questions of racial division and violence. You note your meetings with the civil rights community, and acknowledge advances in civil rights legislation. Yet you stress that our problems cannot be solved by law alone. As your remarks fall on our National Day of Prayer, you acknowledge that we are "one nation under God," and suggest that some of the answers we seek may already live in our hearts.

(Grossman)
May 5, 1992
Draft One
CHURCH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MOUNT ZION
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Rev. Hill, thank you for that introduction. Over the years I've turned to the good reverend for advice. His guidance has always echoed the words of another Baptist minister, a man from Atlanta, Georgia. \ Martin Luther King said, I don't know what the future holds but I know who holds our future. That's why we're here.

I've come to Mount Zion on this National Day of Prayer, as a man who cares about his family. Not just the one I share with my wife and my children -- but the one I share with you. For better or for worse, in sickness or in health, America is one family -- one people -- one Nation Under God. You see, I believe that we are our brother's keeper. Not to keep him back. Not to keep him down. But to keep him well, and safe. To keep him in our hearts and in our counsel.

I've been keeping quite a bit of that counsel these past few days. From the advice of Rev. Hill \ to the guidance of civil rights leaders \ to the letters of thousands of Americans just like you. The cynics can paint it any which way they like -- that won't change what I know to be right, and how I've fought to do right. In ways small and large, I have spent a good part of my life working on something we want to give to our grandchildren: an America where they can work and play -- freely

\ safely \ and together. I've said it before and I'll say it again: we must not and will not tolerate racism, bigotry, or anti-semitism in America.

I believe we've made progress. We killed Jim Crow. We leveled the legal walls that divided us. Most recently, we took another step: last November I signed new civil rights legislation to strengthen protections against discrimination. I did this not because it was the easy thing to do \ not because it was the political thing to do \ but because it was the right thing to do.

But law alone won't solve our problems. No law can reach what we have in our hearts or change what we have on our conscience. Government can abolish "back of the bus" rules -- but it can't make people share a seat. It can punish cruel acts -- but it can't silence cruel words. Government can make good laws -- but it can't make men good.

I heard a story about one good man. Another man of the cloth, Rev. Bennie Newton, laid his life -- literally -- on the line because he believed he was his brother's keeper. During the riots he saw a man being beaten to the ground. Despite the threats and the blows, Bennie walked into the fray and laid his body over the bloody man until the beating stopped. "My heart was crying," said the pastor. He saved the man's life.

A terrible thing happened to the family we call America, a dark hour that left many wondering what to do. But it's people like Rev. Newton that carried part of the answer within them all along. There were answers in the churches -- churches that

opened their doors, congregations that opened their hearts. I think of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church. During the nights of violence, this house of God also found room for families displaced by fire, for citizens trying to help, and for parishioners seeking to pray.

The Bible tells us, "He has showed you, O man, what is good; and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" These are words to remember on this National Day of Prayer. All across our land, thousands of churches and synagogues are filled with the prayers of our citizens. Prayers, like the words of the great spiritual anthem, "full of the faith that the dark past has taught us and the hope that the present has brought us." If we "lift every voice," I believe we will be heard.

I heard about the prayers of one little girl, 4-year-old Ryan Bennett -- about the age of my granddaughter Ashley. During the nights of rioting, Ryan's neighborhood was sprayed with bullets, her candy store was looted, her nightmares were real. "I'm saying special prayers," she said, "I asked [God] if He could make it so that it's not dark anymore." Let's make a promise to Ryan and to all the children like her: never again will we let it become that dark again. Never again as dark as the darkest nights of that young life.

We've made a start. As I speak the trucks are rolling in -
- 6 tractor-trailer loads of food from Oklahoma City, from Albuquerque, from Tucson and Biloxi. A convoy of caring

organized by Feed the Children International, a non-profit church group. Churches throughout the southland are collecting money, food, and clothing -- reaching out to the community. That's the America we know. The America we're praying for. Thank you. God bless you, and God bless the United States of America.

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News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992
6 A.M. EDT EDITION

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH UNLIKELY TO MAKE MAJOR PROPOSAL WHILE IN L.A. -- President Bush will walk the scorched streets of Los Angeles Thursday to get a personal taste and feel for what the city needs to recover, but he has apparently sided with those advisers who oppose a broad new urban strategy. (Chicago Tribune)

PEROT BEATS BUSH AND CLINTON IN COLORADO POLL -- Ross Perot beat out President Bush and Gov. Clinton in a Colorado preference poll published Wednesday. (Reuter, New York Times)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

UKRAINE AGREES TO ELIMINATE NUCLEAR ARMS -- President Bush and President Kravchuk reached agreement Wednesday on Ukraine's adherence to the 1991 START treaty and the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons on its soil before the end of the decade, the two leaders announced. (Washington Post)

WHITE HOUSE HAS 'SERIOUS PROBLEMS' WITH SPECIES-SAVING ACCORD -- The White House wants to gut a proposed U.N. accord on preserving the diversity of plant and animal species, according to a leaked memo distributed by environmental groups on Wednesday. (AP)

NETWORK NEWS (Wednesday evening)

TRIP -- A major political battle is underway about which administration's economic and social policies contributed to the Los Angeles riots.

D.C. -- Within a mile of the Capitol, President Bush could see first-hand all the disintegration afflicting most major American cities.

ECONOMY -- The Fed says the recovery is coming slowly but unevenly.

NATIONAL NEWS.....A-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-9

NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

BUSH UNLIKELY TO MAKE MAJOR PROPOSAL WHILE IN L.A.

LOS ANGELES -- President Bush will walk the scorched streets of Los Angeles Thursday to get a personal taste and feel for what the city needs to recover, but he has apparently sided with those advisers who oppose a broad new urban strategy. That makes it unlikely the President will seize the moment, as some advisers have urged, to announce a new federal effort on race relations or to search for an innovative way to bridge the political divisions between Republicans and Democrats or even within the GOP....

"The issue is between law and order and social justice," said Thomas Gilligan of USC. "It's clearly a case when the President and his advisers believe the status quo is law and order, so why innovate policy if you're already on the winning side?" (Timothy McNulty, Chicago Tribune)

OFFICIALS FEAR VIOLENT RESPONSE TO BUSH'S VISIT TO L.A.

LOS ANGELES -- After five days of relative peace in Los Angeles following last week's rioting, law enforcement authorities braced Wednesday for the possibility of more violence as President Bush prepared to tour neighborhoods ravaged by looting.... More than 6,000 National Guard troops and federal law enforcement officials will be on the streets during Bush's visit and will keep the President far away from any disturbances, law enforcement officials said.

Concerning the probe of the police officers, Associate Attorney General Wayne Budd said: "The investigation is proceeding. It is active, and it is proceeding with all due speed...."

"Bush is as culpable for the fires and the looting as anyone who was arrested because he has basically treated the people who live in these communities as garbage," said Jefferson Lamont, executive director of a social service agency in Watts.

(Diego Ribadeneyra, Boston Globe)

BUSH NOT TAKING BLUEPRINT TO L.A.,
BUT SAYS COUNTRY CAN 'DO BETTER'

LOS ANGELES -- President Bush arrived in riot-scarred Los Angeles Wednesday night, vowing to help the city's recovery efforts but insisting that money alone cannot solve the underlying social problems of urban America....

Immediately after his arrival remarks, Bush huddled with state and local leaders and a group of Administration officials despatched earlier to Los Angeles to help assess the city's needs in the wake of last week's ruinous three days of violence....

Meanwhile, Rep. Whitten Wednesday introduced a supplemental appropriations bill that would make available an additional \$800 million in emergency funds for victims of the Los Angeles riots and the Chicago flood. The bill did not specify how much each city would receive.

(Mark Barabak & Benjamin Shore, copy)

Bush Plans L.A. Tour Despite Safety Fears

LOS ANGELES -- President Bush flew here Wednesday night to see for himself human and physical scars of a riot he said proved him right in charging that Great Society programs generated racial animosity and dependence....

Friday, Bush will address firefighters, police and other local law enforcement officers, then will go to Los Angeles Coliseum to talk with many of the 14,000 federally controlled forces.

("Look, don't you dare name me, but the last thing we need to worry about is protecting the President of the United States," an ATF officer told AP.) (Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

Bush Arrives In Los Angeles, Pledges Help For Poor

LOS ANGELES -- ...Sen. Kennedy introduced a \$5 billion package to help meet the needs of the cities and urged its approval before the end of June. The bill would cover job creation and small business development, educational investment, improved availability of basic health services, emergency food and shelter assistance, and police training and anti-crime projects....

Bush declared Thursday as a national day of prayer and intended to mark it attending services in riot-torn areas.

(Thomas Ferraro, UPI)

BUSH ARRIVES IN L.A. TO SEE RIOT AREAS, HEAR PROPOSALS

LOS ANGELES -- Here to tour the desolate craters of this riot-torn city, President Bush pledged Wednesday that in rebuilding "we will not just create what we had but build something better. There will be no return to the status quo."...

At his hotel, Bush was met by several hundred demonstrators, most of them Korean-Americans with signs. Some signs were poignant: "We are hungry. Help us." Others were more phlegmatic: "Peace." The ones Bush probably noticed most said: "If you can't do it, Clinton will."

Bush said there will be hotlines in many languages for crisis counseling and job assistance for the unemployed.... The cost of the violence will exceed \$1 billion, the White House now believes.

(Ann McFeatters, Scripps Howard)

BUSH PROMISES REAPPRAISAL OF HIS URBAN POLICIES

LOS ANGELES -- President Bush backpedaled Wednesday from his Administration's assertion that 1960s-era programs had caused urban poverty and said the Los Angeles riots would prompt him to reexamine his own policies, including whether trickle-down Reaganomics had failed to help the poor.

He also suggested that he would reconsider cutbacks in aid to cities and whether to restore revenue-sharing "if I have some revenue to share." Bush said he wanted to look at "proposals that would really assist in rebuilding and in harmonizing this country."...

Bush in effect appeared to concede a main argument made by Democrats in this election year, that many people have been "bypassed" during the record economic growth of the 1980s.

(Michael Kranish, Boston Globe)

BUSH LINKS RIOTING TO '60s POLICY

LOS ANGELES -- President Bush said Thursday that last week's riots in Los Angeles prove his argument that many federal government social programs of the 1960s did not work, but he added that it is a time to heal rather than assign blame.

Bush's made the remarks in Washington before arriving here for a two-day visit that Administration and Bush-Quayle campaign officials said they hoped would counter what many have seen as a stumbling, uncertain reaction by the White House to the rioting. Officials hope the trip will display a President as confident and commanding during a domestic crisis as he was during the Persian Gulf War....

"He really is terrifically engaged in trying to understand these issues and these problems -- as engaged as he was during the gulf," one aide said, adding, "Of course, the learning curve is a little steeper."...

A senior official, acknowledging that Bush had not "come across well" in his overall public performance on the crisis, said the two-day trip "has to show that he understands and cares about what happened in Los Angeles and what is happening in other cities, that he is totally engaged in how he and the government can help with this problem and has more to offer than blame."...

"You have a President whose team has now, by definition, not figured out how to communicate to the country, because you're not at 33 percent in the polls as President, as the incumbent, if you're dominating" the national debate, Rep. Gingrich told a business audience Wednesday. (Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A1)

Bush Calls For Healing, Says This Is 'No Time To Play Blame Game'

...In his remarks Wednesday, President Bush also took issue with critics who have charged that he has not fought hard for programs his Administration put forth to help the cities or that spending for the poor has suffered during the Reagan and Bush years.

He told the American Newspaper Publishers Association that both spending and the number of programs had gone up in the past decade but that "has not solved many of the fundamental problems that plague our cities." (Kathy Lewis, Dallas Morning News)

JACKSON CALLS FOR DAY OF PROTEST ACROSS U.S.

Jesse Jackson Wednesday urged Americans to make June 19 "a national day of protest and healing" and called on President Bush to propose a comprehensive plan to rebuild America's cities and rescue its youth.

Jackson spoke after a hastily called meeting in Washington, where more than 200 national political and civil rights leaders met to map an agenda to deal with urban unrest. His comments about the session were long on criticisms of the Administration but short on specific plans.

Jackson charged that the President is "disconnected,...too shielded from American reality" and has used the riots that followed the Rodney King verdict to polarize rather than heal the nation. (Saundra Torrey, Washington Post, A28)

TELEVISION'S POLITICAL IMPRESSIONS IN RIOTS' AFTERMATH

The televised images for President Bush have been mostly negative: Bush sounding defensive at a Cabinet meeting. Bush trying to explain the Willie Horton commercial. Angry demonstrators outside the White House.

The televised images for Bill Clinton have been mostly positive: Clinton touring a riot-scarred section of Los Angeles. Clinton hugging a black woman. Clinton scoffing at White House attempts to blame the Los Angeles riots on the social programs of the 1960s....

As Bush left for Los Angeles Wednesday night, the tone of the coverage on the network newscasts was strikingly harsh. How the President's trip plays in the news media may well form a lasting impression on his attempts to defuse the political fallout of the riots.

The Administration's criticism of Great Society programs has clearly boomeranged. "Mr. Bush spent the day backing away from a political firestorm," CBS's Bill Plante said. NBC's John Cochran said Bush had been "bashing Democrats, including a dead one, Lyndon Johnson," and "wound up looking dumb."

(Howard Kurtz, Washington Post, A30)

**ON THE ISSUE OF RACE, BUSH APPEARS TO DISPLAY
A CURIOUS MIX OF SENSITIVITY AND OBLIVIOUSNESS**

Thursday morning, hours after Los Angeles erupted in riots, President Bush convened an Oval Office meeting with Attorney General Barr, Samuel Skinner and Secretary Sullivan.

Someone suggested that Sullivan arrange a meeting of black leaders with the President. But before he could answer, Bush -- aware that the secretary, a scholarly physician, might not want to be used as his point man on black issues -- jumped in, saying: "Don't put Lou in that box." He relented only when Sullivan assured him he was eager for the assignment.

The display of personal sensitivity wasn't unusual for Bush. But neither were his remarks a year earlier when, two days after the Rodney King beating, he lavishly praised Daryl Gates as "an all-American hero," seemingly oblivious to the fury the beating had caused or how it reflected on Gates' leadership.

The incidents show the two sides of Bush on the subject of race. Privately, his personal empathy in dealings with individuals he knows can surprise both blacks and whites. At other times, his apparent ignorance of the common sensibilities of blacks and other minorities can be so complete that people of all races assume him at best a captive of his privileged background or at worst a crass manipulator of racial stereotypes.

(Michel McQueen, Wall Street Journal, A16)

AS LOS ANGELES SMOKE LIFTS, BUSH CAN SEE KEMP CLEARLY

Suddenly, everyone wants to talk to Secretary Kemp. Members of Congress do. Television networks do. And what is most important, President Bush does, summoning him to three Cabinet meetings in three days and saving him a seat on Wednesday's plane ride to Los Angeles. "It's nice to be needed," Kemp said in an interview Wednesday.

Most likely, it is an uncommon feeling. Beset by the charge that the Bush Administration has let the problems of urban America fester, the White House has now reached out to Kemp, declared renewed interest in his proposals for a conservatives' war on poverty, and stepped up attacks on congressional Democrats for not enacting them.

What the White House has left unstated is that Kemp's moment in the sun comes after three years of a kind of internal exile.... "It's terrible that Jack has been relegated to a back seat up to now," said Rep. Weber. Asked if the Administration has accomplished anything in anti-poverty policy, Weber said, "Not really."
(Jason DeParle, New York Times, A1)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Urban Policy Is Back On The Agenda," by Judy Keen, appears in USA Today, page 1A.

"National Guard's Often-Disputed Role Gives Rise To Misunderstanding," regarding the Los Angeles riots, by Bill McAllister, appears in the Washington Post, page A23.

PEROT BEATS BUSH AND CLINTON IN COLORADO POLL

DENVER -- Ross Perot beat out President Bush and Gov. Clinton in a Colorado preference poll published Wednesday. Perot was favored by 35 percent of Colorado voters responding to a poll by the Denver Post and KCNC radio. Bush received 30 percent and Clinton came in fourth with 16 percent, behind the 18 percent who said they were undecided. In a contest without Perot, Bush would beat Clinton by 47 percent to 31 percent.
(Reuters)

Perot Ahead Of Bush And Clinton In 2 Polls

...In a three-way matchup in California, Perot would take 38 percent, Bush 32 percent and Clinton 20 percent. The poll of 808 registered voters was taken by Mason-Dixon Political-Media Research between April 30 and May 4. It was published in the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.
(AP, New York Times, A24)

BUSH'S MAN IN TEXAS ACCUSES PEROT OF DUCKING OUT

DALLAS -- Bush Texas campaign chairman Jim Oberwetter accused Ross Perot on Wednesday of shrinking from public scrutiny by curtailing his appearances while he develops a campaign platform. "This is not a good thing for the process," said Oberwetter, who spoke to reporters who came to hear Perot address The Volunteer Center of Dallas. "It could mean that America goes on a blind date for four years with someone they really don't know."

(Barbara Kessler & David Jackson, Dallas Morning News)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Republican Sleuths On Clinton's Trail," regarding Bush-Quayle campaign researchers, by Richard Berke, appears in the New York Times, page A24.

DARMAN: AMENDMENT ONLY WAY TO CONTROL DEFICIT

OMB Director Darman, arguing that lawmakers no longer can be trusted to protect future generations from onerous debt, said Wednesday that a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget is the only realistic way to bring the runaway deficit under control.

"The reality is that our representative democracy is not working satisfactorily...(and) the protection of future interests cannot be left to rely on politics of the moment," Darman told the House Budget Committee.

"This might be a depressing commentary on our democracy if it were not for this consoling thought: The public itself is now clearly fed up."...

Rep. Panetta warned that the proposed amendment is no substitute for tough decision-making by the White House and Congress on tax and spending priorities.

Congressional Budget Office Director Robert Reischauer testified that "it would be a cruel hoax" in an election year to suggest "that one more procedural promise in the form of a constitutional amendment is going to get the job done."

(Eric Pianin, Washington Post, A4)

U.S. ECONOMIC REBOUND IS UNEVEN, FED SAYS

The nation's economy is showing further signs of reviving, according to the latest Fed periodic survey of national economic conditions. But the central bank report was guarded in its assessment of business activity, which it said stayed "sluggish" on the West Coast and in the Northeast.

Manufacturing led the "uneven" growth in the U.S. economy, the survey reported, as orders for machinery and electrical equipment increased and motor vehicle and steel production rose throughout the nation. The Fed also pointed to widespread growth in home building and retail sales as evidence of a modest economic recovery.

(Steven Mufson, Washington Post, B12)

HOME SALES UP IN MOST AREAS IN FIRST QUARTER

Sparked by falling mortgage rates, sales of existing homes increased in 45 states and median sale prices rose in 109 of 127 metropolitan areas during the first quarter, the National Association of Realtors reported.... The median for a single-family home was \$103,000 in the first quarter, 6.7 percent above the year-ago figure. (Mitchell Pacelle, Wall Street Journal, A2)

JOBLESS MEASURE CLEARS CONGRESS PANEL

A House subcommittee Wednesday approved an extension of jobless benefits that raises \$2.9 billion over the next five years. On a voice vote, the Ways and Means human resources subcommittee sent to the full committee a measure to extend jobless benefits through July 1993.

(Reuter)

SENATE VOTES TO CUT B-2, SDI AND BUILD SEAWOLF SUBMARINES

The Senate shrugged off a veto threat from President Bush Wednesday and approved a bill slashing the B-2 bomber and Star Wars antimissile programs but rescuing two Seawolf submarines Bush wants canceled. Senators approved the legislation on a 61 to 38 vote. ("On Capitol Hill," Washington Post, A14)

Senate Approves \$8.3 Billion Cut In Spending

...An angry Sen. Byrd lashed out at President Bush and said the President's "refusal to compromise...is to doom the people to the spectacle of gridlock."

Byrd said the tone was set by Bush when he bashed Congress during his speech announcing the Administration's proposed rescissions but added that members of the Appropriations Committee he chairs "did not take the bait." "At no time did I say to the staff -- stick it to the White House," Byrd said. "We could have done that." (Steve Gerstel, UPI)

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Ardor To Trim Defense Hits Political Obstacle: The Fear Of Job Losses," regarding the Seawolf, by Jackie Calmes, appears in the Wall Street Journal, page A1.

BUSH AIDE LOSES LAWSUIT OVER UNIFORMS FOR IRAQ

White House staffer Jack Brennan, involved in a messy court dispute over the 1984 sale of military uniforms to Iraq, has been rebuffed in his efforts to collect millions of dollars in commissions on the deal.

Brennan filed suit in the name of his old company, Global Research International, claiming that it had been cheated by a Lebanese arms merchant who was instrumental in getting Baghdad to buy the uniforms.

But Superior Court Judge Colleen Kollar-Kotelly ruled Tuesday that Global had failed to prove that the arms dealer defrauded the company....

An administration official said Gen. Scowcroft, a former business partner of Brennan, had not "lifted a finger" to get Brennan a job and was not aware he was working at the White House until weeks after he started.

(George Lardner, Washington Post, A10)

USDA PROPOSES IRRADIATING POULTRY

The Agriculture Department Wednesday proposed the use of irradiation, a technology that exposes food to gamma rays from radioactive sources, to kill salmonella and other bacteria in raw poultry. Russell Cross, administrator of the department's Food Safety and Inspection Service, called the proposal a "good example" of a "prevention program to protect the public health."

(Carole Sugarman, Washington Post, A15)

**FEDERAL WORKERS WILL GET CENSORED CHAPTER
ON BIRTH CONTROL AFTER ALL**

Basic information on birth control -- removed from a popular health book on orders from the Bush Administration -- will be mailed to federal workers who received the censored version, congressional sources said Wednesday. The reversal comes a month after key members of Congress blasted the decision to remove the chapter from all copies of "Taking Care of Your Child."

(Tom Webb, Knight-Ridder)

HEALTH CARE FRAUD TO GROW, GAO SAYS

Fraud in the nation's health care system -- public and private -- is growing unchecked and will reach \$100 billion by 1995, congressional investigators have concluded in a report obtained Wednesday by AP. The fraud may amount to 10 percent of the nation's more than \$700 billion-a-year spending on health care, investigators concluded.

(AP, Washington Post, A12)

BIG FEDERAL ROLE SEEN IN HEALTH CARE REFORM

Substantial federal intervention will likely be needed to control rising health care costs, and despite considerable publicity, most Americans are not aware of the magnitude of the problem, the Senate Finance Committee was told by Congressional Budget Office Director Robert Reischauer....

Without overall government control, putting cost controls on one part of the health care market, such as Medicare, "can be effective for that community or part of the market, but it's like a balloon," he said Wednesday. "If costs go down in one place, they will pop up somewhere else."

(Joyce Frieden, UPI)

JUSTICE REFUSES TO BLOCK PROBE

Chief Justice Rehnquist Wednesday refused to halt a special counsel's review of records from the now-closed House Bank. Rehnquist, without comment, denied an emergency request by Rep. Gonzalez to block Malcolm Wilkey from examining the extensive records pending further court action. (AP, Washington Times, A3)

REP. McDADE INDICTMENT STEMS FROM TIES TO DEFENSE FIRMS

The federal indictment of Rep. McDade alleges he took more than \$100,000 in bribes and illegal gratuities in return for his efforts to steer federal contracts to five companies. Some of the alleged bribes were disguised as campaign contributions. Others took the form of free plane trips, furniture, clothing, golf equipment, vacations and college tuition for his son, according to the indictment.

(Sharon LaFraniere, Washington Post, A13)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

UKRAINE AGREES TO ELIMINATE NUCLEAR ARMS Bush Says More Work Is Needed On START

President Bush and President Kravchuk reached agreement Wednesday on Ukraine's adherence to the 1991 START treaty and the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons on its soil before the end of the decade, the two leaders announced.

Appearing with Kravchuk in the White House East Room, Bush said more work must be done to completely parallel U.S. agreements on the START treaty with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the other three nuclear-armed states of the former Soviet Union. Bush said Secretary Baker may be traveling soon to resolve the remaining differences....

Administration officials said no U.S. guarantees of Ukrainian security were provided to Kravchuk, but that he was told the best security guarantees would be full Ukrainian integration into the global economy and Western economic and political institutions.

In the East Room ceremony, Bush and Kravchuk signed a U.S.-Ukraine Trade Agreement, which will be the basis for most-favored-nation tariff treatment to products of the two countries, and an agreement permitting the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corp. to guarantee U.S. private investments in that country.

(Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post, A1)

BUSH ASSURES UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT

President Bush told President Kravchuk Wednesday that he will use his influence with Russia to help settle territorial and military disputes between Russia and Ukraine....

Russian Amb. Vladimir Lukin told the Washington Times Wednesday he foresees conflict between Russia and Ukraine over the issue of which republic gets the bulk of the Black Sea Fleet....

At the East Room ceremony, Bush drew attention to Amb. Roman Popadiuk, expected to win full Senate approval to his new post Thursday.

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A3)

RUSSIAN TALKS ABOUT ARMS SALES, BLACK SEA FLEET

Russian democracy faces a period of high risk over the next two months and only "Almighty God" knows how long the political patience of its people will last, Russian Amb. Vladimir Lukin warned Wednesday.

Lukin, in a meeting with Washington Times editors and reporters, also said conflict was likely to continue with Ukraine over control of the Black Sea Fleet. And he defended Russian international arms sales, saying they would continue because his country needed the money.

(Martin Sieff, Washington Times, A9)

FOREIGN AID

Senators bluntly warned the Bush Administration Wednesday that its aid package for the former Soviet Union is in danger because it can be seen as a foreign aid blank check. During a joint Agriculture Committee-Appropriations foreign aid panel hearing, Sen. Kasten pointed out vague language in the bill calling for "such sums as may be necessary" for various aid programs. Sen. Leahy said President Bush's package lacks "theme, theory or consistency."
("In Washington," USA Today, 4A)

THE FURLING OF CHURCHILL'S 'IRON CURTAIN'

FULTON, Mo. -- Near the gymnasium where Winston Churchill declared Europe a continent divided by "an iron curtain," Mikhail Gorbachev Wednesday called for a global alliance against the common problems that threaten peace.

"In the major centers of world politics, the choice, it would seem, has today been made in favor of peace, cooperation, interaction and overall security," Gorbachev told a cheering crowd of 15,000. "A major international effort will be needed to render irreversible the shift in favor of a democratic world -- and democratic for the whole of humanity, not just half of it."

(Gary Lee, Washington Post, A3)

SNIPERS HIT CAR OF U.N. ENVOY IN SARAJEVO

BELGRADE -- U.N. special envoy Marrack Goulding, visiting Bosnia-Herzegovina, was fired on again Wednesday by snipers as he toured the republic's besieged capital, Sarajevo. The snipers' bullets struck a car carrying Goulding and President Izetbegovic....

Meanwhile, the U.S. moved to isolate the government of Serbian President Milosevic. At a meeting in Helsinki of the CSCE, Amb. John Kornblum said representatives of a new, two-republic Yugoslav state dominated by Serbia should be barred from all CSCE activities.

"A further shock treatment is needed.... The time has come for participating (CSCE) states to demonstrate that they will not sit still in the face of aggression," Kornblum said. "If matters improve, we should say so. If they do not, we should consider even more drastic action."
(Blaine Harden, Washington Post, A33)

BUSH PRAISES HONDURAN PRESIDENT ON ECONOMIC REFORMS

President Bush met Wednesday with President Callejas and congratulated him on the success of his two-year economic reform program and efforts to strengthen democracy, the White House said. Callejas, in turn, thanked Bush for granting substantial debt relief and other assistance, a White House statement said. (AP)

BUSH LIKELY TO GO TO ECOLOGY TALKS

Ending one of the more fractious debates within his Administration in recent months, President Bush is expected to announce soon that he will fly to Brazil for the Earth Summit that his conservative advisers call a trap and his economic experts see as a fiscal debacle.... "My sense is that he will attend," said one Administration official. "The President has nothing to be ashamed of -- we've got a good environmental record -- and we've told him he ought to make the case for the good methods of achieving these goals rather than the command-and-control methods they've been talking about." (Michael Wines, New York Times, A1)

**WHITE HOUSE HAS 'SERIOUS PROBLEMS'
WITH U.N.'S SPECIES-SAVING ACCORD**

U.N. -- The White House wants to gut a proposed U.N. accord on preserving the diversity of plant and animal species, according to a leaked memo distributed by environmental groups on Wednesday. The reported objections to the biodiversity accord follow the Bush Administration's near-complete rejection of a U.N. proposed convention on global warming.

The memo, leaked from Vice President Quayle's office, expresses fear that the proposed biodiversity convention would require costly new U.S. environmental laws....

The April 14 memo, from Quayle aides David McIntosh and John Cohn to Bill Kristol, also suggests that if Bush attends the Earth Summit, "the U.S. will be under enormous pressure...to sign" the biodiversity convention.

A U.S. official in Washington said the delay in the expected announcement that Bush will attend is a bargaining chip for the White House as it seeks to temper the biodiversity and global warming treaties.

(Peter James Spielmann, AP)

IRAQ SAYS U.S. COUNTERFEITS IRAQI CURRENCY

U.N. -- Iraq accused the U.S. Wednesday of trying to wreck its economy by circulating funny-money versions of its dinar notes.... A letter from Foreign Minister Ahmed Hussein al-Samaraei addressed to Secretary General Boutros-Ghali said that the CIA had smuggled large quantities of forged currency into Iraq via Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey and Jordan.

(Reuter)

ISRAEL TO SHUN 2 SESSIONS OF PEACE TALKS

Israel told the U.S. Wednesday that it will boycott meetings of the Middle East peace process dealing with refugees and economic development because Palestinian exiles would be permitted to take part, U.S. and Israeli officials said.

The Israeli decision, which caps months of dispute about who will represent the Palestinians, will affect the peace process session on economic problems beginning Monday in Brussels and the refugee session that starts Wednesday in Ottawa.

U.S. officials said that while they hope Israel will reconsider, the U.S. regards the rules for participation as a matter to be worked out by Israel and its Arab adversaries.

(John Goshko, Washington Post, A37)

NETWORK NEWS

TRIP

ABC's Peter Jennings: President Bush has left for Los Angeles. And seven days after the verdict in the Rodney King case set off the worst riot in modern times, a major political battle is under way about which administration's economic and social policies contributed to those conditions in which such rage and revenge were possible.

ABC's Brit Hume: After top Administration officials had spent two days assigning blame for the L.A. riots to Great Society social programs, the President tried today to shift to higher ground. He got a chance in a news conference with visiting President Kravchuk of Ukraine. The questions to Mr. Bush were nearly all about the roiling debate his aides had started over whose policies caused the riot.

(President Bush: "It's not a question of assigning blame. It's a question of realistic and assessment: Have we as a country done everything we can to help those people that have been left behind? And I'm not satisfied. We need to do more, and we are trying to do more.")

The President might have had in mind that while most Great Society social programs were enacted under President Johnson, a Democrat, many were greatly expanded under Republican presidents Nixon and Ford. And some have continued to grow under him. He might also have had in mind that he's never given great emphasis to his own modest urban agenda, though he said he will now.

(President Bush: "That's exactly what I'll be trying to do. And that's what I think we've been trying to do. We got to get it in better focus, and we need some action.")

By action, of course, he meant congressional passage of his own programs. Today, though, the top congressional leaders were still seething over what his aides had said and were not mollified by the President's new tone.

(Sen. Mitchell: "To suggest that President Johnson and the policies of his presidency are responsible for the riots in L.A. is, of course, absurd and ridiculous.")

The President said today that his aides' comments about Great Society programs had been grossly misinterpreted and that he is intent on healing not dividing. As Senator Mitchell's remarks suggest, that won't be easy. For just as the President and Congress disagree about the causes of urban riots, they also disagree about the cures. (ABC-Lead)

NBC's Tom Brokaw: As for President Bush, he moved up his departure for the trip to California so he could spend more time on the trouble -- the trouble on the streets and his own political trouble.

NBC's John Cochran: The White House began this week by bashing Democrats, including a dead one -- Lyndon Johnson. But the confrontational approach didn't work. And today the President changed course. Smarting from accusations that he is dividing the country, the President said he will stop accusing and start proposing new ideas for inner-cities.

(President Bush: "And when I look at the devastation and look at some of the hopelessness, not just in this particular area but others, it seems to me that the time has come to try something different.")

Aides say Bush's new ideas are really ones he has suggested before but never with any passion or urgency. First, he would make it easier for public housing tenants to buy their homes. Bush also wants tax breaks for businesses willing to go into high-risk urban areas. But the White House, while trying to play a sophisticated political game, wound up looking dumb. Knowing that Democrats like Ted Kennedy would call for new spending on cities, Bush launched a preemptive attack on Monday blaming Democrats for ignoring his own domestic program.

(TV coverage of President in cabinet room.)

Spokesman Fitzwater went further, leaving the impression that Lyndon Johnson's poverty programs contributed to the L.A. riots. Editorials and politicians from both parties denounced the White House charges which were not so new. A year ago Bush himself said Johnson's programs generated racial animosity.

(Cochran at news conference today: "You actually used the words racial animosity. We still are unable to get a specific list out of the White House. Which programs have done this?")

(President Bush: "John, I think this is an inappropriate time to start a divide. So there is no point in trying to go into your question -- answering the specifics, trying to assign blame.")

Jesse Jackson called for a mass march on Washington to push for action.

(Jackson: "We need a president with a vision who can take us forward by healing and hope and not backwards by fear, division and scapegoating.")

White House aides are not fans of Jesse Jackson. But they say that while in L.A. the President will be doing pretty much what Jesse Jackson wants.

(NBC-2)

CBS's Dan Rather: President Bush is on his way to Los Angeles tonight. During his stay in the city Mr. Bush will tour the civil strife damage and attempt to contain political damage -- political damage caused, at least in part, by something the President had one of his spokesmen say.

CBS's Bill Plante: Mr. Bush spent the day backing away from a political firestorm over remarks made by his press secretary, who suggested that blame for the riots could be laid to the social programs of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

(President Bush: "I really don't think this is a time for blame. I think this is a time to move forward. And I think what Marlin said got grossly misinterpreted.")

But Mr. Bush himself was singing from a different sheet of music a year ago when he suggested that the Great Society programs hadn't worked.

(President Bush, May 4, 1991: "And in time this crusade backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony generated animosity. Programs intended to help people out of poverty invited dependency.")

And today the architects and defenders of the Great Society lined up to register their outrage.

(Maria Edelman, Children's Defense Fund: "Which Great Society program is it -- Head Start -- that caused these problems? Is it immunizations and preventive health care that caused these problems? And what is he talking about?")

(Joseph Califano, Former Secretary of HEW: "Those programs gave enormous help to poor people. The poverty rate was cut in half during the Johnson years. It has doubled since the last 12 years.")

(Rep. Lewis, D-GA: "I would prefer the new frontier of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the beloved community of Martin Luther King, Jr., the better world of Robert F. Kennedy, and the Great Society of Lyndon Johnson over the do-nothing new world order of the present Administration.")

Following a meeting of big-city mayors and black leaders, Jesse Jackson moved to make the L.A. riots a political issue, calling for a mass march on Washington in 10 days and a national day of protest next month.

(Jackson: "This is no time to use people on aid to dependent children as a scapegoat for the collapse in Los Angeles.")

The President's trip to L.A. is just the beginning of a damage control effort to keep the riots from being blamed on Administration policy or the lack of it. Massive voter registration drives and massive demonstrations could hand the Democrats a better election-year issue than any they've come up with so far. (CBS-Lead)

CBS's John Blackstone reports the voters President Bush will try to satisfy in L.A. are not those who were in the midst of the flames and the anger but those who were watching from more comfortable neighborhoods not far away. (CBS-2)

CITIES IN TROUBLE/D.C.

Jennings: As we said, the President is on his way to the West Coast. In explaining his trip to L.A., Mr. Bush said I want to go out there and see that we are doing everything we can to assist in the recovery. Los Angeles is not the only city in need of help.

ABC's Carol Simpson says in the 3 1/2 years George Bush has lived in the White House, the President has only twice ventured into the predominantly black neighborhoods of Washington, D.C. Within a mile of the Capitol, Mr. Bush could see first-hand all the social, physical and economic disintegration afflicting most major American cities. (ABC-3)

TORONTO RIOTS

Rather reports that in Toronto young blacks and whites rioted for a second straight night in what started out as a protest against the King verdict. Twenty-two people were arrested for looting and throwing fire bombs. Two police officers were injured. (CBS-6)

L.A./NATIONAL GUARD

Jennings reports National Guard troops and Marines continue to patrol the streets of L.A. this evening. There was only incident early this morning. National Guardsmen shot and wounded a motorist who had run over a policeman. Otherwise this was a day for burying the dead, prosecuting the looters and trying generally to put things back together.

ABC's John Martin reports Daryl Gates admitted today that his men should have been ordered to respond sooner to quell the violence. (Gates: "We did not do our job. We did not follow the plan that we ordinarily follow. There was a breakdown, and it was not at the sergeant's level. It was not at the police officer's level. They wanted to go out and do it.") (ABC-2)

L.A./WHAT WENT WRONG?

NBC's Tom Brokaw: As the President heads for southern California tonight, in L.A. the challenge is to find out what went wrong and how to avoid it in the future. In his report tonight, NBC's George Lewis deals with economics and jury pressure.

Lewis reports it's estimated 40,000 jobs have been lost as a result of destroyed businesses in the riot zone. Ten thousand of those job losses may be permanent. (NBC-Lead)

PEROT

Brokaw says while both the President and Clinton are concentrating on L.A. this week they best be keeping a close watch on Ross Perot, who today leads both Californian and Colorado polls. As NBC's Lisa Myers reports tonight, the maverick Texas billionaire is catching on fast. Some say he's formidable even without them [answers to the nation's problems].

(Harrison Hickman, Democratic pollster: "Voters are faced with a president who disappoints them, a Democratic candidate they don't trust, and they're looking for an alternative.")

Yes, Perot lacks specifics. But like Ronald Reagan, Perot connects with voters, inspires confidence that he can take this country where it needs to go. The Bush and Clinton campaigns may be seriously underestimating this man. (NBC-3)

ECONOMY

Brokaw reports economic recovery may be commencing. It's coming slowly but unevenly says the Federal Reserve. The latest numbers show a pick-up in manufacturing during April in most parts of the country. (ABC-4, NBC-10)

ANITA HILL

Brokaw reports another investigation has been completed: the search for the source who revealed Anita Hill's charges of sexual harassment by Clarence Thomas.

NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports after a four-month investigation that may have cost taxpayers \$1 million nobody knows who made the leaks. In his report, the special prosecutor concluded we are unable to identify any source of these disclosures. Contrary to Republican charges at the time, the report says the actual FBI report on Thomas was never leaked. And it says leaks of Anita Hill's affidavit to the Senate did not come from Hill. (NBC-5)

KRAVCHUK VISIT

Rather reports President Kravchuk assured President Bush that the former Soviet republic will get rid of all its nuclear weapons. The two presidents signed agreements promoting trade and setting up an American Peace Corps program in Ukraine. (TV coverage of signing ceremony.) (CBS-7)

TRADE/CHINA

Brokaw reports it is called Operation Q-tip. NBC's John Miller is here tonight with a major investigation by U.S. officials. The charge is export fraud by China.

Miller reports U.S. lawmen are targeting Chinese businesses and officials in a scheme that may have cost 40,000 American jobs. U.S. Customs officials charge that the Chinese government smuggled \$2 billion dollars worth of apparel into the U.S. market over and above the nearly \$4 billion they are allowed to export under U.S.-Chinese trade agreements.

(Carol Hallett, U.S. Customs Commissioner: "We estimate that by the time all 50 of the various investigations are completed, we will be able to identify many millions of dollars in lost duty to the U.S. government.")

All of this went on while the Bush Administration was pushing Congress to maintain China's status as a most-favored nation for U.S. trade.

(Hallett: "The White House, along with many officials in our government, have been aware of this entire investigation for in excess of six months. They have been extremely supportive of our efforts.")

While garment industry analysts favor these prosecutions, they're concerned that the message being sent to China isn't clear.

(Dr. Herman Starobin, Industry analyst: "You have a schizophrenic policy: You have the commissioner, on the one hand, doing the good, the true and the beautiful, which her office has known about for years. At the same time we continue to grant China MFN treatment.")

U.S. officials say the only response they got from the Chinese government was a threat; if prosecutions of Chinese businesses continue they would retaliate against American companies doing business in China. (NBC-4)

ISRAELI SOLDIERS

Rather reports Israel denied today that its soldiers are shooting to kill Arab protesters in the West Bank. An army commander said the military has toughened its rules but is not condoning murder. (CBS-10)

MIDEAST PEACE TALKS

Jennings reports the government of Israel said it will boycott two different negotiations with its neighbors next month to discuss cooperation on regional economic development and refugees. Israel refuses to meet with Palestinians from outside the occupied territories, some of whom were expected to participate in the talks. (ABC-9)

BOSNIA

Jennings reports the Bush Administration said today that the Yugoslav republic of Serbia should be expelled from Europe's major organization to keep the peace because its forces have invaded Sarajevo. (ABC-8)

HEALTH CARE FRAUD

Jennings comments on a new government report on fraud in the health care system. It warns that it could reach \$100 billion by the year 1995. (ABC-5)

-End Of News Summary-

--- Thursday --- May 7, 1992 ---

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--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

CITY OF ANGLES

Bush touches down in L.A., offers twist on Fitzwater Great Society slap. Aides debate merits of "law & order" campaign. (#1, #2) Meanwhile, Clinton presides over execution of AR cop-killer tonight. (#9)

VEEP WATCH: Campaigning in WV, they ask him about Rocky. OR reporters ask about Roberts (who faces a possible recall showdown today -- see #17). More early faves: Bradley (who says he's put himself on the pine), and a persistent campaign for Simon. (#9)

WHAT'S GOOD FOR THE GOOSE ... ?

Indicted Rep. McDade (R-PA) fingers U.S. Atty, ex-aide to Sen. Specter, for "steering" probe away from old boss. (#13)

OUT-A-HOUSE UPDATE: James (R-FL) puts total at 66. (#16)

REMAP MAP: Update on state decisions still pending. (#15)

CALIFORNIA POLLS (#18-19)

Did riots swing "A" seat back to Herchensohn, McCarthy? Ventura Co. agrees with city on verdict, not on justice system.

SPOTLIGHT

ALL EYES ON PEROT

THE HISTORIANS: AP has found Nixon White House memos describing both \$60M Perot proposal to polish Nixon image -- and a host of White House favors for him. Perot denies it all: "Can't control what people scribble on pads." Colson says no one could "muscle" into Nixon's confidence quicker than Perot. (#6)

THE SKEPTICS: All across the Beltway spectrum (from Safire to McGrory/Herblock/Schlesinger, even including "insider" Doonesbury) they seem wary. Safire: "What kind of leader needs 60-day wonderment to decide his basic approach to complex issues?" (#7)

THE BELIEVERS: CO poll (like CA, TX, OK, NM) shows Perot lead (tied in AZ). TX petitions filed 5/11. (#8)

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"I never heard of them.

But I know that rap is the music where it rhymes."

-- George Bush on rap star Ice Cube, as related by WH staffer Carvel Lewis, NEWHOUSE NEWS SERVICE, 5/7. (#1)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: New doubts raised over safe levels of lead in children's blood.

FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Chicago parents and teachers oppose a plan to transfer Head Start out of public schools.

FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: ME Planned Parenthood joins list of states that will forgo Title X --"gag rule"-- money.

FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: Flip -- OPM strikes birth control chapter from health book. Flop -- OPM puts chapter back in.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

BUSH: Touches ground in riot-torn L.A. (#1)

BUSH: TV examines Great Society critique. (#2)

L.A. RIOTS: Names in the news. (#3)

BUSH: Return of the education/environmental president? (#4)

QUAYLE: It was just N.Y. Post-icide. (#5)

PEROT: Details of relationship with Nixon White House. (#6)

PEROT: The skeptics keep doubting his staying power. (#7)

PEROT: The believers keep getting good news; statelines. (#8)

CLINTON: Veep watch in full swing; AR execution tonight. (#9)

JACKSON: Calls for national day of protest. (#10)

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE MEDIA MARKET SCHEDULES (#11)

SENATE WATCH

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Rauh on the air; Elias in the race. (#12)

PENNSYLVANIA: Specter pulled into McDade controversy. (#13)

WASHINGTON: Murray backer author of "offensive" '89 memo. (#14)

ON THE HOUSE

REDISTRICTING UPDATE: States still pending. (#15)

HOUSE RACE BRIEFING: AR, FL, MI, NH, PA, VA. (#16)

HOTSPOTS

OREGON: Deadline today for recall against Roberts. (#17)

CALIFORNIA CABLE

SENATE WATCH: Poll shows two "A" seat toss-ups. (#18)

RODNEY KING: Ventura view of verdict parallels city view. (#19)

TV MONITOR (#20)

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

DNC chair Ron Brown, a big NYC booster, may be cheering against his home-team Knicks and Rangers. If the Rangers stay in the NHL playoffs, they could occupy Madison Square Garden until 6/12. The Knicks, who astoundingly defeated Michael Jordan and the Bulls in Chicago in Game 1, could keep the NBA playoffs at the Garden until 6/17. The Dems are supposed to get total access to the arena beginning 5/19 (courtesy Wm Bunch, N.Y. NEWSDAY).

*1 BUSH: TOUCHES GROUND IN RIOT-TORN L.A.

USA TODAY's Judy Keen writes when Bush "tours this riot-scarred city today, the nation ... will turn to him for answers. Some will see a gritty leader committed to controlling the violence in their neighborhoods. Others will see the architect of that decay and despair. And as Bush prays for unity, consoles victims and denounces lawlessness, the nation will witness the shift of the presidential campaign, at least for a time, from the economy to a discussion of the incendiary issues of racial mistrust, class welfare, poverty and fear" (5/7). Bush, shortly after Air Force One landed in L.A. last night: "I'm very pleased to ... hear that calm has returned to this city. Now the good people of South Central L.A. are free to come out from behind those doors and begin the difficult but extremely important task of rebuilding." During the 2-day trip, Bush "is expected to combine a tough law-and-order stance with more compassionate themes aimed at racial harmony and proposals for solutions to urban ills" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 5/7). W. POST's Ann Devroy reports WH officials "hope the trip will display a president as confident and commanding during a domestic crisis as he was during the Persian Gulf War." Bush "will offer nearly a half-dozen sets of remarks, each aimed at a different audience and all prepared to be what [WH press sec. Marlin] Fitzwater called a 'mosaic' of reaction." Dep. CoS Henson Moore and deputy press sec. Judy Smith were sent to L.A. to advance the trip, while CoS Skinner, OMB dir. Darman, Quayle CoS Wm Kristol, Fitzwater and campaign chair Teeter spent all week reviewing their work (5/7).

GREAT SOCIETY: BOSTON GLOBE's Kranish reports Bush, before leaving for L.A., "appeared to turn away from comments" made by Fitzwater 5/4, blaming the riots on failed Dem policies of the '60s and '70s. Bush: "I say I don't want to assign blame. I don't. And if I said a year ago that these programs weren't working, perhaps I have been vindicated. But there's no point in going into that." Kranish notes Bush's "tone" yesterday differed from that of his 5/1 national TV speech. Then, "Bush rejected a proposed draft that focused on healing divisions between the races. ... But Wednesday, Bush sought to highlight the thrust of the healing speech that he did not deliver" (5/7). On 5/5, Fitzwater "pulled back from his remarks, but they suggested, and Mr. Bush in effect confirmed ... that the Republicans think they have found the formula they need to escape blame for the riots" (Apple, N.Y. TIMES, 5/7).

RACIAL POLITICS: W.S. JOURNAL's Michel McQueen uses two events to exemplify Bush's personal views on race: 1) When one adviser suggested Bush use HHS Sec. Louis Sullivan as his "point man" on black issues, Bush responded, "Don't put Lou in that box." Bush "only relented when Dr. Sullivan assured him he was eager for the assignment." 2) That contrasts with Bush's welcome of LAPD chief Daryl Gates two days after the King beating (5/7). NEWHOUSE's Michael Shanahan reports Bush had a private lunch with five minority WH staffers. Each "recounted stories of obstacles they have encountered as the result of racism or racial stereotypes." One staffer: "The president couldn't understand gang involvement in the riots so I told him that the young men in south central L.A. are living in a cycle in which all they know is to live the same lives that their fathers did. He said he understood." The staffer described Ice Cube, a rap artist, to

Bush. Bush was quoted as saying, "I never heard of them. But I know that rap is the music where it rhymes" (5/7). PHILA. INQ's Polman examines the fallout of the L.A. riots. Dem strategist Tom Pazzi, of Macomb Co., MI: "Who votes? It ain't those people who are flipping over cars." Dem consultant Brian Lunde: "Bush's attitude is 'The customer is always right.' It's crass marketing but it works." A GOP consultant "familiar" with Bush-Quayle: "Swing voters have strong feelings about the acquittal, like everyone else. But that's a separate issue from disorder in the street." Polman cites a '72 memo from a Nixon aide explaining that "full funding to a Cleveland playground was program was being denied, because 'the program is designed to impact inner-city residents, and this does not fall within our political guidelines.'" The author was now-Bush manager Fred Malek (5/7). One Bush adviser, on the L.A. trip: "He has to remember that our voters live in the suburbs not the cities -- but their lives are affected by what happens in the cities" (W. POST, 5/7). Bush pollster Fred Steeper: "The inner cities are becoming a threat. But from a polling point of view, it's not one of the top five issues in the country. People care. But there are other things they care more about" (L.A. TIMES, 5/7).

*2 BUSH: TV EXAMINES GREAT SOCIETY CRITIQUE

All nets examined the backlash from WH press sec. Marlin Fitzwater's 5/5 "Great Society" remarks. CBS' Bill Plante in the lead story: "Bush spent the day backing away from a political firestorm." Bush: "I really don't think this is the time for blame. I think this is a time to move forward. And I think what Marlin said [was] grossly misinterpreted." Plante: "But Mr. Bush himself was singing from a different sheet of music a year ago." Bush at 5/4/91 U. of MI commencement speech: "And in time this crusade backfired. Programs designed to ensure racial harmony generated animosity." Plante: "And today the architects and defenders of the Great Society lined up to register their outrage." Children's Defense Fund pres. Marian Wright Edelman testifying before Congress: "Which Great Society program? Is it Head Start that caused these problems? Is it immunization and preventive health care that caused these problems? What is he talking about?" Carter HEW Sec. Joseph Califano: "The poverty rate was cut in half during the Johnson years. It's doubled since the last 12 years." Rep. John Lewis (D-GA) said he would prefer the "New Frontier" of JFK, the "Beloved Community" of MLK, the "Better World" of RFK and the "Great Society" of LBJ "over the do-nothing 'New World Order' of the present [admin.]."

Plante: "The President's trip to [L.A.] is just the beginning of a damage control effort to keep the riots from being blamed on his administration's policy, or the lack of it. Massive voter registration drives and massive demonstrations could hand the Democrats a better election-year issue than any they've come up with so far" (5/6). ABC's Brit Hume in the lead story: "After top [admin.] officials ... spent two days assigning blame for the ... riot to Great Society social programs the President tried today to shift to higher ground." Bush: "It's not a question of assigning blame, it's a question of realistic assessment. Have we, as a country, done everything we can to help those people that have been left behind?" Hume pointed out Nixon and Ford expanded Great Society programs and some have continued to grow under Bush. Hume: "[Bush] might also have had in mind that he's never given great emphasis to his own modest urban agenda, though he said he will now." Bush: "That's exactly what I'll be trying

to do and what I think we've been trying to do. We've got to get it into better focus and we need some action." Hume: "By action, of course, he meant Congressional passage of his own programs. Today though, top Congressional leaders were still seething over what his aides had said, and were not mollified by the President's new tone." Hume on Bush's "intent on healing not dividing.": "That won't be easy. For just as the President and Congress disagree about the causes of urban riots, they also disagree about the cure" (5/6). NBC's John Cochran in the #2 story: "The [WH], while trying to play a sophisticated political game, wound up looking dumb." Cochran to Bush at WH press conference, on Bush's 5/91 speech: "You actually used the words 'racial animosity.' We still have been unable to get a specific list out of the White House about which programs have done this." Bush: "John, I think this is an inappropriate time to try to divide. So there is no point going into your question answering the specifics, trying to assign blame" (5/6). "MacNeil/Lehrer" ran excerpts from Cochran's and other reporters questioning of Bush (PBS, 5/6). Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) on what Bush can do: "He's got to grapple with the realities of what has happened in these cities, not a quick visit. It'll take staying power" ("Today," NBC, 5/7). ABC's Ann Compton: "Bush is meeting with ... virtually every faction caught up in the riots ... except the gangs" (5/7). CBS' Randall Pinkston: "The larger question, so far unanswered, is the long range plan for tackling the sources of urban poverty and unrest. ... In other words, no more status quo. President Bush said it is time to try something new" (5/7). Dem strategist Bob Beckel: "His speech on Friday night was one of the least empathetic speeches I've heard a president give. ... You could hear the high-fives slapping all over Bush headquarters saying 'good, now we have an issue to run against the Democrats. Law and order one more time.'" GOP strategist Ed Rollins: "His speech was a very good speech. The critical thing is not playing politics. ... We need to stop the fingerprinting. ... [Law and order] will be a critical issue to be debated" ("CBS This Morning," 5/7).

*3 L.A. RIOTS: NAMES IN THE NEWS

JACK KEMP: N.Y. TIMES' Jason DeParle profiles HUD Sec. Jack Kemp's newly-expanded role. Kemp: "It's nice to be needed." Notes DeParle, "Most likely it is an uncommon feeling. ... Kemp's moment in the sun comes after three years of a kind of internal exile." Asked if WH aides, such as OMB dir. Dick Darman, "had slowed his efforts," Kemp replied "in a virtual whisper": "Are you crazy? You're trying to get me into an internecine warfare on the night I'm going out with the President to help implement these ideas" (5/7). Kemp is accompanying Bush on his L.A. trip. Michael Kinsley takes on Kemp's enterprise zone proposal as a "gimmick that has more to do with Republican theology about taxes and regulations than with practical help for the poor" (W. POST, 5/7). Balto. SUN cartoonist KAL shows Bush feverishly shaking the hand of Kemp, saying, "Jack? Jack Kemp!? The Jack Kemp!?! Champion of the urban free enterprize zones? Is that you? How are you? Great to see you!! Keeping well? Gosh! You look terrific!! Where've you been?!?" (5/7). At a briefing for foreign reporters, Kemp "urged" Clinton and Bush to "lower the level of political rhetoric" about the L.A. riots and suggested that efforts to get an urban reform package through Congress "would be more successful if both sides stopped playing for advantage": "I call on Bill Clinton to put aside politics, and

I'll get Marlin Fitzwater ... to lower his level of rhetoric and leave the comments on urban America to me." Fitzwater "commented only that Kemp is doing a good job to articulate [Bush's] proposals" (Turner, BUFFALO NEWS, 5/6).

COLIN POWELL: In a commencement address at Nashville's Fisk Univ., JCS chair Powell said of the Rodney King video: "My heart hurt I know that your hearts hurt. I didn't want to believe what I was seeing. ... The problem goes to the despair that still exists in the black community over the inability of black Americans to share in the American dream. ... We have an American problem. ... Together, intertwining our many differences and diversities into a mosaic of strength, we will prevail over the darkness of racism" (W. POST, 5/7).

DOUG WILDER: Before the Detroit Bar Assn: "Unfortunately, like many others in Washington today, President Bush just doesn't get it that it is the willful neglect and lack of moral leadership in Washington that has put us where we are today. The problem is a sense that our future will not be able to live up to the ideals of our past and that those who seek to lead are not up to the task" (RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 5/6).

*4 BUSH: RETURN OF THE EDUCATION/ENVIRONMENTAL PRESIDENT?

Reports that Bush is set to go to the Rio Earth Summit were buttressed by a front-page N.Y. TIMES' story. Michael Wines writes, "Ending one of the more fractious debates within his administration in recent months, [Bush] is expected to announce soon" he will attend the meeting which "his conservative advisers call a trap and his economic experts see as a fiscal debacle" (5/7). S.F. CHRONICLE's Petit & Diringer report Bush "now seems sure to go" but "only because the [U.S.] is apparently winning a battle to water down key items on the agenda." The "latest example of U.S. recalcitrance surfaced" 5/6 in the "form of a leaked" memo from VP Quayle's office "attacking a draft treaty on preservation. Calling for a 'significant redraft' of the 'extensively flawed' treaty" the memo said the present treaty would "hamper" the U.S. biotech industry, "greatly expand" the Endangered Species Act and "force" the U.S. to "enact a host of other regulations" (5/7). Balto. SUN also reports the memo and notes a copy of it was circulated 5/6 by the Environmental Defense Fund and the World Wildlife Fund (5/7).

SCHOOL DAZE: A Bush proposal to create a new student loan program "is under fire from higher education leaders who say it is a belated, election-year attempt by [Bush] to plump up his domestic policy record." They say Bush "waited until the presidential campaign" to introduce legislation and it is "so late, there is little chance of passing a bill this year." There appears to be consensus in the higher ed. community that the proposal is "flawed" as well as late. Some contend the plan is "really an administration flip-flop on direct lending." The plan "is not unlike the one advanced" by Clinton (Neuffer, BOSTON GLOBE, 5/7).

SOMETHING FISHY GOING ON: A group of NC fishermen are suing the GOP for the \$400,000 paid by "little known fat cat" Michael Kojima at last week's President's Dinner. Atty Deyan Ranko Brashich said Kojima "stiffed the fishermen out of \$280,682 a couple of years ago" and "with interest, costs and penalties 'that \$400,000 is theirs.'" Brashich asked a Raleigh, NC federal court to order the NRCC and NRSC to turn over Kojima's donation to the fishermen (Kranes, N.Y. POST, 5/7).

MORE MONEY MATTERS: A N.Y. DAILY NEWS editorial, headed,

"All talk, no action" states Bush "stands idly by" while the GOP accepts "huge gifts" and "hefty bundles. ... How is the U.S. ever going to free its politics from the obscene taint of special interest money if the President gives only lip service to reform?" (5/7).

*5 QUAYLE: IT WAS JUST N.Y. POST-ICIDE

Quayle press sec. David Beckwith took strong exception to a N.Y. POST story which said Quayle asked a NYC hospital staff if AIDS patients were taking "DDT" (see HOTLINE 5/6). Beckwith said Quayle asked about "ddC," a recently-approved AIDS drug, the first drug approved due to new fast-track diligence of Quayle's Competitiveness Council. Beckwith said he knows what Quayle said: "He was standing right next to me" (HOTLINE interview, 5/6). Beckwith called the story "ridiculous": "The New York Post ought to be ashamed of itself for running that kind of stuff" (W. POST, 5/7). N.Y. POST got the item from MANHATTAN SPIRIT. SPIRIT publisher Tom Allon: "We stand by our story" (N.Y. POST, 5/7).

*6 PEROT: DETAILS OF RELATIONSHIP WITH NIXON WHITE HOUSE

AP's John Solomon reports the National Archives show substantial communication between Perot and the Nixon WH: "In private meetings with Nixon, according to [WH] memos, Perot offered \$50 million for a public relations effort in 1969 that included plans to buy a major newspaper and television network and \$10 million in 1970 to create a pro-Nixon think tank. Nixon accepted both offers, but Perot never delivered, according to the documents." Archive documents also show: Nixon encouraged Perot to invest in 1971 in DuPont Gloire Forgan, and Perot invested \$55M; Perot had at least 3 private meetings with Nixon, attended 8 WH social events and sometimes had as frequent as weekly WH contact; Perot sought and received personal favors such as autographed photos of Nixon, an Apollo launch seat for his son, a presidential prayer breakfast spot for his mother; WH intervention with IRS for him regarding a political contribution to Nixon claimed on his corporate return as a deduction. The WH also attempted to intercede for Perot after EDS lost a Medicare processing contract in CA, helped release \$400K held from Perot's company in Social Security funds in a dispute over whether EDS had overcharged on TX Medicare processing, awarded a \$62.5K contract to EDS on Medicare processing without competitive bidding as required; WH aide Peter Flanigan talked to or met with Perot 40 times. REAX: Flanigan described Perot as "the ultimate insider." Nixon CoS H.R. Haldeman "said in an interview that he vividly remembers Perot initiating the public-image offers, particularly \$50 million to buy news media outlets, because Nixon was excited at the possibility 'there would be one medium interested in our side of the story.'" Nixon WH aide Charles Colson: "I don't know anybody in the whole four years I was at the White House who was able to muscle himself in quicker into the president's own confidence." Nixon declined comment. PEROT REAX: "I can't control what people scribble on pads. At no time did I bring up ever a \$50 million program or did we ever have a conversation about a \$50 million program for the president. That's just something floating out there in space." Solomon: "While Perot insists his contacts with the White House generally were limited to his well publicized efforts to free POWs, most of the favors detailed in White House memos involved personal or business matters" (AP, 5/7).

MORE NIXON NEWS: N.Y. TIMES' William Safire (on the Nixon

WH staff at the time) reports in 1970, Perot ("the short Texan with the Haldeman crewcut") came up with an idea "to dramatize the vastness of our support" from the public against Vietnam protesters. "He ran pro-Nixon, anti-protester ads in various cities, each containing a coupon to get a mail pull and build a mailing list." Safire says then-CoS H.R. Haldeman complained he never got the names, which Perot claimed he kept in banks in cities where the ads were run. Safire calls the mysterious letters "the seeds at the core of the up-from-the-people, Perot-for-President campaign": "It's troubling to see good people ... throwing themselves into the arms of a master manipulator" (5/7).

IL MEDICARE CONTRACT: COX NEWS' Joseph Albright reports of a 12/80 GAO report on EDS handling of backlogged Medicare claims throughout IL. At a time when Perot was CEO, "the company's reputation for efficiency was tarnished when federal auditors concluded it had improperly thrown away many clues to possible Medicare fraud and abuse." The 5-year contract to streamline Medicare processing in IL was awarded in 1979 (and ended in 1984 when another firm won a competitive bid). 5 months after beginning 450K+ in claims had piled up in EDS' offices: "To cut down on the mail backlog, EDS supervisors ordered the destruction of what they viewed as unneeded duplicate paperwork. But the federal auditors later said" among those things purged were important mail records necessary to show medicare fraud and abuse by doctors and vendors. EDS spokespeople said Perot was not involved in the details of the contract implementation -- other than to order, once the backlog had been discovered to "fix it" (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 5/7).

OTHER PRINT HISTORIES: W. TIMES continues its "Driving Mr. Perot" series today with Miles Maguire's analysis of how making friends and contributions to them helped EDS secure advantageous treatment: "Perot became a welfare Billionaire the old-fashioned way. He made friends in high places." The article focuses on the 1968 EDS contract with Blue Cross-Blue Shield of TX to process Medicare claims: "Federal officials estimated the deal yielded Mr. Perot an 'atrocious' profit of close to 200%." Maguire notes Perot had worked with BC/BS until just before he was awarded the contract, for which no other bids were sought (5/7). BOSTON HERALD continues its "Waiting for Perot" series with lengthy and generally laudatory articles by Ed Cafasso on Perot's efforts to fight against drugs and for better schools in Texas (5/6). C.S. MONITOR runs John Dillin's analysis of his style with Scott Pendleton's plus-and-minus report on his TX school reform efforts: "Even those most skeptical about the reforms admire how hard Perot worked to bring them about" (5/7).

*7 PEROT: THE SKEPTICS KEEP DOUBTING HIS STAYING POWER

NBC's Lisa Myers: "Yes, Perot lacks specifics. But like Ronald Reagan, Perot connects with voters, inspires confidence that he can take this country where it needs to go. The Bush and Clinton campaigns may be seriously underestimating this man" (5/6). But the DC establishment, regardless of party or ideology -- including favorite insider critics of the insiders -- continue to sound as if they expect Perot to fade in the Fall. Reaction to Perot's 5/3 "Meet the Press" grilling by NBC's Tim Russert is the current example of what could mean future trouble.

EXAMPLE: W. POST's Mary McGrory, who seems laudatory on Perot's personal attributes: "If he's going to be this shirty about the fine print this early in the proceedings, it is hard to see him keeping cool during a presidential debate when a rival

charges him with being all wet" (5/7). EXAMPLE: N.Y. TIMES' Safire: "The putative savior of the Republic now deflects inquiry by withdrawing into the silences of 60 days to work out what he stands for. Such an autocratic moratorium should give even believers in the Tooth Fairy pause. What kind of leader needs 60-day wonderment to decide his basic approach to complex issues? ... The Perot candidacy is an amusing diversion for outrage groupies, their coupons destined for bank vaults. The rest of the electorate has a serious choice to make" (5/7).

EXAMPLE: Historian Arthur Schlesinger op-ed in the W.S. JOURNAL: "It cannot be said that Presidents Hoover, Carter and Bush make an overpowering case for business as the ideal preparation for government ... This combination of, say, Will Rogers and Henry J. Kaiser is beguiling ... My bet, though, is that Mr. Perot's luster will dim under questioning he will not be able to avoid ... in short, that inflation will be followed by deflation" (5/7).

EXAMPLE: Herblock's cartoon depicts Perot the boxer warming up with great crowd appeal, but looking small compared to his imposing ring opponent "Real Issues Calling for Real Answers" (W. POST, 5/7). EXAMPLE: Doonesbury's Mark Slackmeyer continues his NPR talk-show "interview" with Perot, with the candidate refusing specifics on his war on drugs: "America's owners want bold action, not another thumb-sucking white paper. The owners of this country are going to take back their streets ..." Mark: "Any implications for the bill of rights?" Perot: "The what?" Mark: "The owner's manual" (5/7).

ALSO: TX Bush chair Jim Oberwetter criticized Perot's hiatus: "I'm really disappointed to see him pulling away from the public just at a time when the public needs to be asking him more and more questions ... This is not a good thing for the process. It could mean that America goes on a blind date for four years with someone they really don't know" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 5/7).

*8 PEROT: THE BELIEVERS KEEP GETTING GOOD NEWS; STATELINES

AZ: A new statewide survey (365 AZ voters polled 4/25-5/3 by KAET-TV; margin of error +/- 5%) shows Perot 37%, Bush 37%, Clinton 15%. Pollster Bruce Merrill added Perot's current ratings show "the kind of support in Arizona that should make the Bush campaign very nervous" (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 5/7).

CO: A poll (504 registered voters interviewed 4/24-5/3 by Talmey-Drake; margin of error +/- 4.4%) shows Perot in the lead. Pollster Paul Talmey: "Perot isn't just nibbling around the fringes of Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton's support. He's ravaging both of their core constituencies, but Mr. Clinton's in particular. The presidential campaign in [CO] appears to be shaping up as a two-man contest -- between Mr. Perot and Mr. Bush" (Talmey-Drake release, DENVER POST, KCNC-TV, 5/6).

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND	MEN	WOM
Perot	35%	30%	33%	47%	40%	30%
Bush	30	52		25		
Clinton	16		36	7		
Undec.	19			21		

IL: Tuesday (5/5) was the first day signatures could be collected and in Dupage County (suburban Chicago), 2000 had been gathered between midnight and 6AM (CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 5/6). 25,000 signatures are required by 8/3, and collectors are carrying two petitions, one for those who voted in the 3/17 primary and one for those who didn't -- just to avoid challenges under state laws that are "vague about who is eligible to sign" (ST LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 5/6).

NE: 1000 supporters have attended organizational meetings around the state to help take part in the petition drive which starts 5/13, the day after the NE primary. 2500 signatures are needed and 2500 people have volunteered to help collect them. U-NE Omaha's James Johnson: "He's tapping into the anti-incumbency, anti-insider sentiment. He's kind of Jerry Brown with a crew cut" (OMAHA WORLD-HERALD, 5/6).

NH: The goal is to complete the signature drive by Friday (5/8), a month in advance of Perot's expected announcement of candidacy. In NH, 3000 individual signed petition forms are required. The self-imposed 5/8 deadline would provide a one month period to process all signatures for presentation to the Sec/State (Manchester UNION LEADER, 5/5).

TX: 5 PM Monday (5/11) is the deadline to deliver at least 54,275 valid petition signatures of registered voters who did not vote in the 3/10 primary. Perot is expected to personally deliver up to 100 cartons containing 200,000 petition signatures to the state Capitol on Monday and to address a rally of the petition passers (S.A. EXPRESS-NEWS 5/6).

*9 CLINTON: VEEP WATCH IN FULL SWING; AR EXECUTION TONIGHT
COPLEY's Mark Barabak examines the "odd ritual" of campaigning for the VP nod. Mentioned: Sens. Bradley, Graham, Kerrey, Kerry, Rockefeller, Simon, Harkin, Lieberman, Wofford, and ex-Sen. Tsongas. Barabak cites ex-Simon press sec. Terry Michael for "perhaps the most nakedly aggressive campaign" on behalf of his candidate (S.D. UNION-TRIBUNE, 5/7). Morton Kondracke writes on Bush strategy to "keep black turnout low by raising doubts about [Clinton's] racial and criminal justice record ... In a polarized atmosphere it will be hard [for Clinton] both to mobilize blacks ... and get whites to support him." Kondracke suggests the "normally reclusive" Bradley -- who has "come to life on the race issue, for VP, despite his frequent disavowals of interest" (W. TIMES, 5/7). N.Y. POST's Pagnozzi floats Rep. Maxine Waters (D-CA) on the strength of her criticism of Bush's urban policies (5/7). N.Y. POST's Orin writes many Dems think Bradley is still Clinton's "best bet," since "credentials on urban and race issues" are more of an asset. She also mentions Sens. Moynihan, Rockefeller, Wofford and Simon. Gore, Kerrey, and Tsongas "might outshine him," and Clinton's handling of Jesse Jackson "could make it complicated for him to consider any other black." TX Gov. Richards will "at least" be floated, and Harkin is said to be "lobbying hardest" for the job (5/7). NEWHOUSE's Ota suggests the high-profile success of female Senate candidates thus far could lead to a woman VP pick. Outside-DC possibles: Govs. Richards (TX), Finney (KS), and Roberts (OR). Richards is considered unlikely for geographic reasons, and Finney unlikely because of her pro-life position. In DC possibles: Reps. Schroeder (CO), Kennelly (CT), Pelosi (CA); Del. Norton (DC), DC mayor Kelly. Dem strategist Ann Lewis talks up Gov. Roberts: "She can talk ... as compellingly as anyone I've ever heard." One possible drawback: Roberts faces a possible recall drive, fueled partially by the timber industry. Recall petitions are due today. Lewis also mentions a few good men: JCS chair Powell, Sens. Mitchell, Kerrey, and Kerry. She notes, "We are paying a price for having elected too few women until recently. If only Nancy Kassebaum was a Democrat" (Portland OREGONIAN, 5/7). Clinton said he was "very impressed with Barbara Roberts. I think she is ... increasingly going to be recognized as a national leader." He also told WV coal miners

Rockefeller "would be a good one... I've been looking up to him for so long that he would certainly keep me humble" (AP, 5/7).

DEATH PENALTY: Convicted AR cop-killer Steven Douglas Hill will be executed tonight at 9 pm CDT, barring a last minute reprieve from one of two federal courts or a pardon from Clinton. Hill would be the second inmate executed this year, the fourth since AR resumed capital punishment in 1990 (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 5/7). DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Feeney notes 6 other 20th century presidential candidates have presided over executions in an election year -- including FDR, whose NY government executed 18 men in 1932 alone (5/7).

RIOT TALK: L.A. TIMES' Bob Shogan writes while Bush "ponders what course to follow" in the wake of the L.A. violence, Clinton "is already pushing a package of remedies ... seek[ing] to steer away from the heavy funding investments typifying traditional [Dem] activism." Many believe the "fundamental problem" of the Dem party -- keeping loyal black voters satisfied while appealing to middle-class whites -- has been "exacerbated" by the recent violence. Pollster Daniel Yankelovich warns if Clinton "is pushed by political pressures into promising economic programs targeted to blacks, ... he will fall back into a major trap" (5/7). ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH's Lambrecht: "Clinton shows little sign of being able to cash'in from the riots other than rhetorically" (5/6).

MORE: KNIGHT-RIDDER's Voboril examines Clinton's welfare program, noting AR "closed 2,744 welfare cases" in the first year of a training program called Project Success (PHILA. INQUIRER, 5/7). DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Feeney reports on logistical problems in setting up a venue for an endorsement by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX). One associate of Bentsen says the campaign simply hasn't asked: "If a guy like Clinton wants a guy like Bentsen to endorse a guy like Clinton, a guy like Clinton ought to go see him" (5/7). N.Y. TIMES' Berke profiles the GOP opposition research operation on Clinton (5/7).

*10 JACKSON: CALLS FOR NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST

TV: CBS' Bill Plante: "Following a meeting of big city mayors and black leaders, Jesse Jackson moved to make the Los Angeles riots a political issue, calling for a mass march on Washington [5/16] and a national day of protest next month." Jackson: "This is no time to use people on Aid to Dependent Children as a scapegoat for the collapse, for what happened in Los Angeles." In a separate focus on individuals wounded in the riots, Jackson was shown praying with, and holding the hand of a man in a hospital bed (5/6). NBC's John Cochran: "Jackson called for a mass march on Washington to push for action." Jackson: "We need a president with a vision who can take us forward by healing and hope. And not backwards by fear, division and scapegoating." Cochran: "White House aides are not fans of Jesse Jackson, but they say, while in Los Angeles, the president will be doing pretty much what Jackson wants" (5/6).

*11 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SCHEDULES

	5/7	5/8	5/9	5/10	5/11
BROWN 213/449-1992 I. Wachtel	NE Portland OR	OR Davis, Sac. CA	S.F. Palo Alto L.A.	L.A. Orange Co CA	CA NE WV
CLINTON 501/372-1992 J. Eller	Little Rock AR	AR Phoenix AZ	L.A. S.F.	S.F. Omaha, NE AR	Little Rock AR
BUCHANAN 703/790-9292 G. Mueller	Ventura CA	DC	Lynchburg VA	DC	DC
BUSH 202/336-7080 T. Clarke	L.A.	L.A. DC	DC	DC	DC

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*12 NEW HAMPSHIRE: RAUH ON THE AIR; ELIAS IN THE RACE

With the primary still five months away, businessman John Rauh (D) is "trying to attract an audience for roundtable discussions he's holding across the state" with a TV ad "airing at least 20 times in two weeks" (Snyder, CONCORD MONITOR, 5/6). TEXT: "Hi, I'm John Rauh. All my life I've built businesses and created jobs. But today, our state and our nation are in economic crisis. We won't solve the economic crisis until we deal with the leadership crisis. Both political parties are at fault. Victory is not just winning elections. Victory is doing the nation's business as well. In the months ahead, I'll be meeting and talking with people all across [NH]. I'd like to hear from you." ANNCR: "Real change now. Vote for John Rauh" (Rauh release, 5/1). Rauh staffers say he "wants to draw as many people as he can to his meetings because he plans to use their comments" in an economic plan to be unveiled in a few months. (MONITOR, 5/6). Franklin Mayor Brenda Elias (D) officially announced her candidacy hours after her husband brought a \$6,988 check to city hall to pay the couple's property taxes "some of them left over from 1991." Elias: "The funds were not available prior to today" (Mertens, CONCORD MONITOR, 5/6). The city of Franklin had placed liens on her home last month because she hadn't paid her taxes (Cousineau, Manchester UNION LEADER, 5/6). Also running: Gov. Judd Gregg (R), businessman Hal Eckman (R), businessman Larry Brady (R), atty Rob Rabuck (R), state Rep. Donald Raulston (R), Dr. Terry Bennett (D). Primary 9/8.

*13 PENNSYLVANIA: SPECTER PULLED INTO MCDADE CONTROVERSY

PHILA. INQUIRER's Cusick & Roche reports U.S. Atty Michael Baylson's "former political work for his patron," Sen. Arlen Specter (R), "has become an issue in Baylson's efforts to convict" indicted Rep. Joseph McDade (R-10). McDade has "vigorously denied the charges" that he accepted illegal campaign contributions and gratuities from businessmen he "helped" and "sought to turn the the accusation back on Baylson and Specter." On 5/5, McDade released campaign finance records showing Specter "also received thousands of dollars from contributors connected with some of the same businesses. Baylson, then a private attorney, was Specter's campaign treasurer at the time. ... McDade and his lawyers have asked why he is the only one accused, and whether Baylson may have steered the investigation away from Specter." In a '91 letter to the DoJ, McDade's attys "asked that the investigation be taken away from Baylson because of his job" as Specter campaign treasurer. Noting that DoJ's "guidelines require prosecutors to remove themselves from cases where they have personal or political relations," McDade attys asked, "Why were certain contributions scrutinized; why were others omitted ... did you [Baylson] knowingly or even unwittingly deflect any leads away from Senator Specter and yourself; were various people questioned about ... McDade also questioned about Senator Specter and Mr. Baylson?" Specter spokesperson Dan McKenna said Specter "would not comment on the Baylson matter" and had "absolutely no knowledge of the (McDade) investigation." McKenna said investigators had not questioned Specter about the contributions. Baylson said he will only respond to this matter if "accusations" are made in court (5/7).

YEAKE: Backers of defeated House candidate C. Delores

Tucker (D) say Sen. nominee Lynn Yeakel (D) "stabbed Tucker in the back with a move more likely to come from a weaselly ward leader than a political neophyte." Yeakel's campaign distributed two sample ballots in the 2nd CD, one backing Tucker, whom Yeakel endorsed, and one supporting Rep. Lucien Blackwell (D). Dem activists "commended Yeakel for smart street politics." A "politician close to the issue" said Yeakel called Tucker after the election "asking that Tucker keep quiet about the incident." Yeakel manager Eva Gladstein "confirmed" the two had spoken but gave no details (Baer, PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 5/7).

LOOKING TO NOVEMBER: ROLL CALL's Charlie Cook predicts the Specter-Yeakel race will not be a repeat of Thornburgh-Wofford '91 as Specter "has never been faulted for not having sufficiently high political antennae" and he has "worked the state's press assiduously for years." His problems stem from Anita Hill backlash and his "aggressive style." GOPers say once Yeakel "is forced to take positions on issues ... she can be pushed into left field and stripped of her larger-than-life persona." Specter's got a big financial edge but "it was the aggressive behavior that got him into trouble to begin with and going too hard against Yeakel could be a problem" (5/7).

*14 WASHINGTON: MURRAY BACKER AUTHOR OF "OFFENSIVE" '89 MEMO

Spokane SPOKESMAN-REVIEW's Jim Lynch reports Spokane consultant David Carlson, who suggested in an '89 memo that Spokane councilman Rob Higgins could beat Sheri Branard if he hired Ben Goddard someone "who exploits weaknesses in women candidates, is now corraling support" for state Sen. Patty Murray (D). Carlson sent a letter inviting potential donors to a breakfast to meet Murray and "turned some heads" among some WA Dems including WA Dem exec. dir. Jeff Smith who called it "fascinating." In the memo, Carlson promoted Goddard as someone who "has a great track record of successfully handling other women candidates ... [he] knows where their weaknesses are with the voters and just how to turn those weaknesses into doubts that result in lost support." Barnard, who supports Murray, said Murray should get assurances from Carlson that "he doesn't participate in that kind of politics anymore." Carlson said Murray has not hired him or the Gallatin Group, on whose letterhead the invitation is printed. Murray: "He's not doing my campaign. It's just a breakfast" (5/6).

WAS IT OR WASN'T IT? King Co. exec. Tim Hill (R) "said he can't remember what official business prompted him to visit the Tri-Cities at taxpayer expense last July" but "while he was there [he] was the guest of honor at a reception. ... He said it wasn't a campaign event but the hosts said it was." Public Disclosure Commis. reports say Hills' Senate campaign paid for the event. Under county code employees must submit detailed travel expense claims "time, place, business purpose and participants." Some of Hill's records were incomplete "mentioning places without saying what was done there" (George, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 5/2).

GOP PROFILES: In one of a POST-INTELLIGENCER series profiling the candidates, Scott Maier writes Hill "doesn't have pizzazz" and there are signs his campaign "still needs to catch fire," but that Hill is committed to staying in. His key proposals include medical insurance for the working poor, a \$1,000 limit on PAC donations, personal responsibility in public assistance (requiring welfare parents to immunize their children) and preservation of a woman's right to abortion (5/5). P-I's Connelly/Hanson profile Rep. Rod Chandler (R-08) whose key

proposals include changing the Endangered Species Act to give economic considerations higher priority, and assuring "basic needs" -- health insurance for everyone with minimal impact on business. While Chandler is pro-choice (he supports parental notification for minors and opposes most federal funding), his voting record is still the most conservative in the WA delegation (5/4). State Sen. Leo Thorsness (R), called "Leo the Hero" because "he trots out his war record so often," was held in a Vietnamese POW camp for 6 years and "makes no apologies for wrapping his candidacy around his POW status": "I'm the only candidate running who has been homeless ... who's gone for 6 years without medicine ... and who's been violently abused. These were defining years." Thorsness vows to serve no more than 2 terms, supports \$500 fines for Reps. who miss a vote and demands Congress cut its pay 10% every year the national debt persists. GOP consultant Brett Bader, backing Chandler: "He's a plain-spoken type of guy and that has appeal. He needs to be taken seriously" (Maier, 5/6). Also: ex-Rep. Don Bonker (D) and ex-state Supreme Ct. Justice Wm Goodloe (I). Primary 9/15.

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

*15 REDISTRICTING UPDATE: STATES STILL PENDING

AZ (+1): A 3-federal judge panel completed a remap yesterday that favors AZ's 5 incumbents and leaves the new 6th "up for grabs." Although the incumbents were "pleased," Hispanic groups and state Senate Dems expressed concern that the plan creates only one minority-majority CD, instead of two. Senate Dems "had hoped to give minorities a chance to continue to elect" Rep. Ed Pastor (D-02) or any other Hispanic in the 2nd CD, "while giving Hispanics and Native Americans a chance of joining to elect a minority" in the new 6th. Southwest Voter Registration Project exec. dir. Richard Martinez said he will ask the DoJ to intervene and is "considering an appeal" to the U.S. Supreme Court (Yozwiak, ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 5/7). The ruling set off a scramble among potential candidates. 1st CD: state Rep. Bill Mundell (R) immediately announced his challenge to Rep. Jay Rhodes (R-01); state Rep. Stan Barnes (R) had previously announced. 3rd CD: '90 Rep. Bob Stump (R-03) challenger Roger Harstone (D) is planning a second try. 6th CD: Senate Maj. Leader Alan Stephens (D) is "leaning" toward the 6th; state Sen. Karan English (D) is "all but committed" (Yozwiak, ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 5/7). Filing deadline: 6/25. Primary: 9/8.

FL (+4): Judge Clyde Atkins assumed the remap 4/7 after the Leg. could not reach a compromise. Atkins has until 5/15 to present a federal panel with a map. They will issue a ruling by 5/29 (HOTLINE sources, 5/6). Filing deadline 7/10. Primary 9/1.

KS (-1): A compromise is expected to be reached today or tomorrow between a House-proposed plan and a Senate proposed plan. Both are fairly similar, but lawmakers are hung up over one county in Rep. Dan Glickman's 4th CD. All KS counties have a GOP majority, but one county has several strong Dem pockets that have elected Dems to the state House. Lawmakers are lobbying to keep such areas intact. Both plans eliminate Rep. Dick Nichols' (R) 5th CD and throw him in with Rep. Jim Slattery (D-02). Slattery has a slight problem with House bank overdrafts, but would likely defeat Nichols (HOTLINE sources, 5/7).

LA (-1): On 5/5, the House voted 54-49 for an amended plan that does not create a second black-majority CD. The plan's author, state Rep. Sherman Copelin (D), immediately withdrew it

from the floor, saying the DoJ would reject it without the second minority seat. The Senate passed a bill that creates a second black CD. "Copelin has the choice of bringing [the Senate] bill before the House or trying to get his bill restored to its original form." The final plan faces DoJ approval (N.O. TIMES-PICAYUNE, 5/6). Filing deadline 7/24. Primary 10/3.

ME (0): Maine, unlike any other state, has until 1993 to complete its remap -- in time for the '94 elections. The Leg. will appoint a remap commission in December, which will include 6 House Dems and GOPers, 2 Senate Dems and GOPers and several members of the public. Bipartisan commiss. will then draft one plan (HOTLINE sources, 5/6). Filing deadline 4/1. Primary 6/9.

MA (0/-1): The Supreme Court heard oral arguments 4/21 on whether or not MA should give up its 11th CD. At issue is the inclusion of federal personnel living abroad in the '90 reapportionment formula. If the formula is upheld, MA will lose it's 11th CD to WA. The Supreme Court expects to make a ruling by July, in time for the '92 elections (HOTLINE sources, 5/6). Filing deadline 6/2. Primary 9/15.

NY (-3): A 3-judge federal panel issued a 5/12 deadline to Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) and the Leg. to reach an agreement. If they do not, and many say that is likely, the courts will intervene (HOTLINE sources, 5/6). Filing deadline 7/16. Primary 9/15.

RI (0): A plan that includes only minor changes to RI's two CDs will be heard in a Senate cmte this afternoon and on the Senate floor 5/12. It has already passed the House and is expected to pass the full Senate without difficulty (HOTLINE sources, 5/6). Filing deadline 6/24. Primary 9/15.

TN (0): A remap cleared the House and Senate yesterday, leaving TN's 9 incumbents relatively safe with little change to their CDs. But Senate GOPers are opposed to the plan because two of Rep. Don Sundquist's (R-07) GOP-leaning counties were replaced with 2 Dem-leaning counties. The new configuration is not expected to be a problem for Sundquist, who is popular among Dems and GOPers alike. But Republicans fear they may lose the seat to the Dems if Sundquist runs for governor in '94, as expected (HOTLINE sources, 5/6). Filing deadline 5/21. Primary 8/6.

*16 HOUSE RACE BRIEFING

AR 01: Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL's Joan Duffy reports Rep. Bill Alexander (D) is a member of the all-white Little Rock country club that caused a stir with Bill Clinton last March. Alexander's office confirmed his membership. Ex-Alexander aide Blanche Lambert (D), challenging her former boss in the Dem primary, said his membership shows "insensitivity to his constituents" (5/2). Primary 5/26.

AR 03: David Duke '88 pres. campaign manager Ralph Forbes (I) filed for retiring Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt's (R-03) CD. Forbes headed CA's American Nazi Party from '60-68. Dems: Dr. Bill Harrison, Don Nelms, Dan Ivy and John VanWinkle. GOPers: Dryden Pence and state Reps. Dick Barclay and Tim Hutchinson (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 5/5). Primary 5/26.

AR 04: Sec/State Bill McCuen (D) challenged Rep. Beryl Anthony (D) to make his House bank records public, suggesting Anthony, who had 109 overdrafts totalling \$57,000 "may be hiding something." McCuen: "There's got to be something there that's incriminating. Probably the size of the checks or maybe who they were sent to." Anthony spokesperson Karen Hancox said the allegation was "absolutely false." Others: Atty Jay Dickey (R) and Pat Pappas (D) (DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 5/5).

FL 04: "Surprising political friends and foes while touching off a likely free-for-all for his seat," Rep. Craig James (R) announced his retirement 5/5 (Quintana/Mitchell, ORLANDO SENTINEL, 5/6). In a press release, James "said he is fed up with the partisan bickering in Congress and fears being besmirched by the scandals that have beset the House" (MIAMI HERALD, 5/6). His announcement "immediately sparked speculation" of the fate of his seat since the courts have taken over the remap. A decision is expected 5/29. Atty Dan Webb (D) had previously launched a James challenge. Possible GOPers: state Sen. Locke Burt and state Rep. Dick Graham (SENTINEL, 5/6).

FL 16: MIAMI HERALD reports Rep. Larry Smith (D), "using money that originated with his re-election campaign ... paid a \$4,000 gambling debt he ran up during a long weekend in the Bahamas." Smith atty Neal Sonnett: "[Smith] regrets it very much. This was a very isolated incident. I think he recognizes it was a very stupid thing to do." The \$4,000 was part of the \$10,000 that came from a "check swap" (see HOTLINE 4/13) between Smith's campaign and his ex-law partner Brian Berman. Sonnett: "The misjudgment here was in utilizing what were campaign funds for personal loans." The FL Bar and the FEC are investigating Smith's dealings with Berman (5/5). Smith: "I am not an avid or fixed gambler, and I don't have a gambling problem. ... This indiscretion is something that hopefully is measured against my 14 years of service" (Greene/Anderson, MIAMI HERALD, 5/6).

MI 09: State Sen. Wm Van Regenmorter (R) has decided against a primary challenge to NRCC chair Guy Vander Jagt (R), but not because of the phone calls from "high-ranking politicians," like RNC chair Rich Bond. Rather, Van Regenmorter cited "the stress a campaign would put on his family and because Vander Jagt vowed to accommodate the critics who said he'd become aloof" from his district because of his duties as NRCC chair. Vander Jagt still faces a primary challenge from ex-state Rep. Mel DeStigter (Montemurri, DETROIT FREE PRESS, 5/5).

NH 02: "Unhappy" with Rep. Dick Swett's (D) stand on abortion, Keene State prof. Emily Northrop (D) announced her candidacy. Swett has previously said he opposes abortion, but supports rights. Northrop: "There ought to be a [Dem] on the ballot who supports women's rights as in Roe v. Wade" (Manchester UNION-LEADER, 5/5). Businessman Steve Duprey (R) is running an ad that suggests he is a political outsider "who will rely on business experience to straighten government" (CONCORD MONITOR, 5/6). Ex-state Rep. Bill Hatch, outlined his proposal to cut 90 programs that would save \$362B (UNION LEADER, 5/6).

PA 10: PA Elections Commis. William Boehm said because no Dems ran in the 4/28 primary for Rep. Joseph McDade's (R) seat, only an independent could challenge him in the general election. An independent has until 8/3 to register. If convicted of the racketeering, conspiracy and illegal gratuities charges, (see HOTLINE 5/6) McDade could be sentenced to 34 years in prison and fined \$1.25M (AP/W. TIMES, 5/7).

VA 06: "Faced with elimination" from the Dem race to succeed retiring Rep. Jim Olin (D), atty John Edwards "has thrown the political equivalent of a Hail Mary pass to force" to stay in the 5/8 Dem convention. Running behind insurance exec. Steve Musselwhite and atty John Fishwick in the delegate count, Edwards would have been forced off the ballot as the lowest vote-getter. But, "unable to block that rule, Edwards has simply scrambled around it." Three supporters filed as candidates, assuring him a place on the ballot (Roanoke TIMES-WORLD NEWS, 5/5).

*17 OREGON: DEADLINE TODAY FOR RECALL AGAINST ROBERTS.

A petition drive, launched by an anti-tax activist but fueled recently by the timber industry, must submit 167,000 signatures by 5:00p today in order to trigger a recall election of Gov. Barbara Roberts (D), elected in '90. Herschel Taylor began the drive 2/92 "declaring that Roberts 'hasn't listened to the people' and that government continues to be wasteful in spite of the Measure 5 property tax limit." Taylor said timber companies have recently contributed \$50,000 to the effort. Roberts "says she's frustrated that the timber industry is stoking [the] efforts ... because of anger over problems not of her making." She "says recall advocates are taking out on her a myriad of frustrations, including the [S&L] crisis, bounced checks in Congress and high-paid bureaucrats": "Taylor happened to be in the right place at the right time in terms of the (timber) issue being used with his recall effort." Timber interests "rallied around Taylor's campaign" after Roberts announced OR would oppose 44 timber sales on U.S. Bureau of Land Management land. Of the 167,000 valid signatures needed, Taylor said 5/6 that his group had 155,000 "and that more were continuing to come in" (AP, 5/6-7).

===== CALIFORNIA CABLE =====

*18 SENATE WATCH: POLL SHOWS TWO "A" SEAT TOSS-UPS

The Political/Media Research poll, conducted 4/30-5/4, surveyed 341 likely Dem voters and 271 likely GOPers; margins of error +/- 5.4% for Dems, +/- 6.1%. The earlier PMR poll, conducted 3/20-22, had much smaller subsamples: 220 Dems +/- 6.7%, 169 GOPers +/- 7.6% (KCAL-TV, 5/6).

	4/30-5/4	3/20-22	FAV/UNFAV	ID	L.A. TIMES 4/23-26
"A" DEMS					
McCarthy	30%	37%	39% / 15%	93%	24%
Levine	25	8	23 / 11	75	21
Boxer	24	20	28 / 13	66	26
Undec.	21	35			29

	4/30-5/4	3/20-22	FAV/UNFAV	ID	L.A. TIMES 4/23-26
"A" GOP					
Hersch.	32%	33%	23% / 13%	58%	23%
Campbell	27	22	18 / 13	50	28
Bono	13	15	27 / 30	100	13
Undec.	28	30			36

	4/30-5/4	3/20-22	FAV/UNFAV	ID	L.A. TIMES 4/23-26
"B" DEMS					
Feinstein	51%	53%	49% / 22%	100	57%
Davis	30	27	42 / 5	84	29
Alioto	4	--	18 / 9	63	--
Undec.	15	20			14

	4/30-5/4	3/20-22	FAV/UNFAV	ID	L.A. TIMES 4/23-26
"B" GOP					
Seymour	32%	33%	20% / 16%	63%	31%
Dannmyr.	14	18	18 / 10	51	14
Allen	3	1	7 / 6	26	--
Undec.	51	48			55

*19 RODNEY KING: VENTURA CO. VIEW OF VERDICT PARALLELS CITY VIEW
 The L.A. TIMES surveyed 591 Ventura Co. adults 5/5; margin
 of error +/- 5% (5/7). The L.A. (city) voters were surveyed from
 5/3-4 (see HOTLINE 5/6)..

KING VERDICT	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
Agree strongly	9%	8%
Agree somewhat	9	5
Disagree strongly	12	10
Disagree somewhat	57	71

WAS THE VIDEOTAPE ITSELF EVIDENCE ENOUGH TO CONVICT COPS OF USING EXCESSIVE FORCE?	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
Enough evidence	62%	71%
Not enough evidence	32	25

WAS THE JURY BIASED?	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
In favor of the cops	46%	69%
Against the cops	0	1
Unbiased	38	24

FOR A FAIR TRIAL, SHOULD THE JURY HAVE CONTAINED BLACKS?	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
Yes	66%	74%
No	29	24

YOUR CRIM. JUSTICE SYSTEM	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
Sound	67%	31%
Not sound	25	65

GOVT. ATTENTION TO MINORITIES	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
Too much	15%	13%
Right amount	23	15
Too little	49	65

SYMPATHY FOR L.A. BLACKS' POST-VERDICT ANGER	VENTURA CO.	L.A.
Very sympathetic	38%	39%
Somewhat sympathetic	41	41
Not too sympathetic	6	6
Not at all sympathetic	12	3

SYMPATHY FOR KING JURORS	VENTURA CO.
Very sympathetic	24%
Somewhat sympathetic	31
Not too sympathetic	9
Not at all sympathetic	28

*20 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" hosted NYC Mayor David Dinkins. NBC's "Today" hosted Sen. John Kerry (D-MA), Newark, NJ Mayor Sharpe James, L.A. community activist Fred Williams and L.A. DA Ira Reiner. "CBS This Morning" hosted Dem strategist Bob Beckel and GOP strategist Ed Rollins on riot's political effects (5/7).

A.M. QUOTABLES: David Dinkins on possibility of more racial violence: "The danger remains because the inequalities are still here" (ABC, 5/7). Dem strategist Bob Beckel on Bush: "He wouldn't know poverty if he tripped over it" (CBS, 5/7).

LAST NIGHT: ABC, CBS and PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with reax to WH press sec. Marlin Fitzwater's Great Society remarks. NBC led with L.A. recovery. "M/L" focused on reaction to riots with L.A. students. CNN's "Crossfire" reexamined the Gulf War with "George Bush's War" author Jean Smith and CSIS' James Blackwell. ABC's "Nightline" looked at violence toward L.A. Korean-Americans with Korean-Am. Bar Assoc. pres Angela Oh (5/6).

A LINE IN THE RUBBLE: All nets gave high priority to the state of America's cities and the political implications. CBS' John Blackstone following the lead story Fitzwater/Great Society: "The voters President Bush will try to satisfy in Los Angeles are not those who are in the midst of the flames and the anger, but those who were watching from more comfortable neighborhoods not far away. ... In an election year some are wondering if politicians dare spend the kind of money that's needed in the inner city. After all, doing what's needed may help a lot of people who don't vote and anger a lot of people who do. ... For voters and politicians alike, the lesson of [L.A.] may be, the problems of the inner city are closer than you think" (5/6). ABC's Carole Simpson outlined the urban plight of D.C., reporting Bush, in three and a half years has "only twice ventured into the predominantly black neighborhoods" of the city. Over shots of windowless buildings, black men drinking out of brown-paper bags and vacant lots, Simpson explains the neighborhoods are "within a mile of the Capitol" and Bush could see "firsthand" examples of "all the social, physical and economic disintegration afflicting most major American cities." Simpson profiles D.C. statistics: 22% black unemployment rate, 20% of blacks below the poverty line, prevalence of drug and alcohol addiction, over-crowded public housing, 55% high school drop out rate, below average scores on nat'l standardized tests, single-mother households, infant mortality, 80% of homicide victims are black males "in the murder Capital," and 40% of black males are in the legal justice system. Simpson quotes Richard Nixon from '69: "These rotting, boarded up structures are a rebuke to us all and an oppressive demoralizing environment for those who live in their shadow." Simpson: "It is worse today, twenty-three years later" (5/6). NBC's John Cochran on Bush's current urban programs (see #1): "Aides say Bush's new ideas are really ones he's suggested before, but never with any passion or urgency" (5/6). CNN's Charles Bierbauer outlined Bush's plans for cities, noted alternate plans by Sens. Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) and Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and closed, "Bush says he heads West with optimism for two days of assessment and will present his recommendation some time after his return to Washington" (5/6).

YUCKETY YUCK: NBC's Johnny Carson on Mother's Day: "I wonder if Patti Davis is gonna pop for a nice gift? I understand she's taking [Raisa] Gorbachev out for brunch." On criticisms of

Perot recusing himself from media scrutiny to work on policies:
"It's only fair, we've given Bush four years." On Bush trip to
L.A.: "To bone up on the 'black experience,' he watched three
episodes of 'Fresh Prince of Bel Air'" ("Tonight," 5/6). Dennis
Miller on press criticism of Perot's lack of indepth policies:
"He said, 'If you don't like my answers, quit listening.'" On
DoJ new student loan policies: "College students who get caught
smoking marijuana are at risk of losing their loans, while
students who don't inhale are at risk losing their credibility"
("Dennis Miller Show," 5/6).

David Letterman's Top 10 Things Mike Tyson Does to Pass Time in
Solitary Confinement:

10. Tons -- And I mean TONS -- of shadow boxing.
9. Earns extra cash writing term papers for local college kids.
8. Plans "discussion" with Don King about missing money.
7. Mastering the pan flute.
6. Uses ThighMaster to strengthen his jaw.
5. Professor Tyson's Performing Cockroach Circus.
4. Lies on floor and spins in circle like Curly.
3. Works on toothpick model of really big toothpick.
2. Plans escape route to Bangkok in time for Friday's Miss
Universe Pageant.
1. Chill.
("Late Night," NBC, 5/7).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"Doing what's needed may help a lot of people who don't vote and
anger a lot of people who do."
-- CBS' John Blackstone on urban plight, 5/6.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FOR: ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY

The President's *unpublished* schedule for

5/7



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Thursday, May 7, 1992

6:45 am	The President departs Westin Bonaventure Hotel for Crenshaw and Slauson Streets Damage Area	Los Angeles
7:05 am	<u>Tour of Riot Damaged Area</u>	
8:30 am	The President arrives Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church for Prayer Service (Rollins)	
9:15 am	Arrives Congregation Hall for Community Leaders Meeting (Rollins)	
10:45 am	Arrives Governor's Office for Meeting with State and Local Officials (Rollins)	
12:10 pm	Arrives Westin Bonaventure Hotel for Working Luncheon (Rollins)	
2:00 pm	Arrives Radio Korea Broadcast Studio Meeting Room for Meeting with Korean Community Leaders (Rollins)	
3:30 pm	Arrives Westin Bonaventure Hotel for Private Time	
4:05 pm	Hispanic Economic Development Meeting in Hotel (Rollins)	
5:30 pm	Meeting with Presidential Task Force in Hotel (Holiday)	
6:50 pm	<u>Arrives Suite</u>	

UNP 05/06/92
6:00 pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

WALKING TOUR OF CRENSHAW AND SLAUSON RIOT DAMAGED AREAS

DATE: May 7, 1992
TIME: 7:05 a.m.
LOCATION: South Central Los Angeles
THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: CECE KREMER *cece*
CLAYTON FONG

I. PURPOSE

To view the damage and devastation caused by the riots in South Central Los Angeles and meet affected business owners.

II. BACKGROUND

The riots that ravaged Los Angeles began within hours of the announcement of the Rodney King trial verdict on April 29, 1992. Initially the violence was centered in an isolated area but grew to encompass much of the South Central, Mid-Wilshire, Westside, Hollywood, San Fernando Valley and Downtown areas.

South Central Los Angeles was particularly hard hit by violence and looting. Approximately 35 businesses were either severely damaged or destroyed. Estimates of total property damage was \$5 million.

Many businesses were looted and burned at the Crenshaw Town Center at Crenshaw Boulevard and Slauson Avenue, including a Boys Market, a Thrifty drugstore, and several smaller establishments.

The Boys Market operates a chain of supermarkets in urban areas of Los Angeles that other chains had abandoned. Some residents of the Crenshaw area have been critical of the chain, claiming the stores have a near-monopoly status and high prices.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Governor Pete Wilson
Crenshaw Town Center business owners
Dereke Carr, Manager, Boys Market
William E. Faulkner, D.D.S., displaced owner

IV. PRESS PLAN

Expanded press pool

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You arrive at Crenshaw and Slauson Streets.
- You begin participation in walking tour of riot damaged area.
- You depart.

VI. REMARKS

None required

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MOUNT ZION BAPTIST CHURCH NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER SERVICE

DATE: May 7, 1992
TIME: 8:30 a.m.
LOCATION: Mount Zion Baptist Church
THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: CECE KREMER 
CLAYTON FONG

I. PURPOSE

To participate in a special church service called to bring the community together in prayer for healing and to recognize the Annual National Day of Prayer.

II. BACKGROUND

The National Day of Prayer was established by a unanimous vote by Congress as the first Thursday of May and signed into law by President Reagan on May 5, 1988. You and Mrs. Bush are the Honorary Chairpersons of the National Day of Prayer Committee and have served in this capacity for two years.

Because of the events that took place in Los Angeles and your planned trip to the city, Reverend E.V. Hill has organized a healing service for this year's National Day of Prayer. Approximately 250 people will attend.

The Mount Zion Baptist Church is located at the heart of South Central Los Angeles. The church has coordinated various volunteer efforts to aid those left in need from the riots. Several tractor-trailers filled with food, donated from across the nation, will be parked by the church.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Governor Pete Wilson
Edward V. Hill, Pastor, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church
Cardinal Mahoney
Bishop Blake
Juanita Scott
250 church attendees

IV. PRESS PLAN

Expanded Pool Coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

--You enter Mount Zion Baptist Church and take seat.

--You participate in church service.

--You are introduced for brief remarks by Reverend E.V. Hill.

--You conclude remarks and return to your seat.

--You depart for roundtable discussion in Church Annex.

VI. REMARKS

To be prepared by speechwriters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEETING WITH NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY LEADERS

DATE: May 7, 1992
TIME: 9:15 a.m.
LOCATION: Mount Zion Baptist Church Annex
THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: CECE KREMER
CLAYTON FONG
WILLA HALL SMITH

I. PURPOSE

To meet with neighborhood community leaders and to listen to their concerns and to show your support for the rebuilding process.

II. BACKGROUND

Reverend E.V. Hill, the pastor of the church, was present in the Roosevelt Room meeting with minority community leaders on May 1, 1992. This meeting in Los Angeles will continue the dialogue established in the Roosevelt Room on a more local level. The meeting at Mount Zion Baptist Church will begin the much needed healing process, as well as solidify support for positive action during the city's rebuilding process.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Governor Peter Wilson
Edward V. Hill, Pastor, Mount Zion Baptist Church
Members of the Los Angeles Community (please see attached list).

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You enter the Mount Zion Baptist Church Annex.
- You participate in discussion with community leaders.
- You exit Mount Zion Baptist Church Annex.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points prepared by the Office of Public Liaison.

PARTICIPANTS

Jim Flournoy, long-time Republican activist and community leader, attorney

Celes King, friend of President, businessman, chairman of California Black Republicans

Emily Hartsfield, President of Compton NAACP, testified in support of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas

Warren Valdry, President of 100 Black Men; his building was burned in riots; targeted as a daily Point of Light

Thelma Eaton, President of the Coalition of 100 Black Women of LA, professor of social work

Paul Hudson, President of Broadway Federal Savings; main branch was burned in riots

Meta Chamberlain, Regional Director of the National Council of Negro Women

Leon Watkins, founder of Family Helpline, named as a Point of Light

Bishop Charles Blake, Presiding Prelate of the 1st District Church of God in Christ

Clyde Oden, M.D., Executive Director of the Watts Health Foundation

Rod Davis, owner of Firestone Tire and Rubber Company which was destroyed due to riots

Joe Hicks, President of SCLC

Cheryl Walker, first Black Miss USC, young marketing/account executive

Leslie Small, Young Republican man whose company is investing \$250,000 to help rebuild burned out area

John Mack, President of Los Angeles Urban League

Allen Stinson, assisting for loans in the riot areas

Baxter Sinclair, owner of Sinclair Construction

Rev. Larry T. Kirkland, Pastor of Brookings AME Church

PARTICIPANTS (continued)

Rev. Albert Nicholas, Pastor of St. Peter's Baptist Church which was destroyed in the riot

Lois Hill, educator, involved with young people

Walter Goodman, Local 300, an unemployed laborer who helped in the clean-up

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY LEADERS

- o I am pleased that so many of you could meet here in E.V. Hill's church. I am here because it is important for me to see firsthand what has happened in Los Angeles.**
- o I am grateful that calm has replaced the chaos. There is no room for hatred in our communities and there must be no room for violence.**
- o I want to address your concerns, namely what we will do to help rebuild the city and heal the scars of hatred and bigotry I've seen firsthand.**

- 2 -

- o First, I have asked the Justice Department to fully investigate the Rodney King case: As we speak, the Department is reviewing evidence and federal grand jury action is underway.**
- o I will see to it that justice is served in this case, and that Americans' faith in the judicial system remains strong.**
- o Second, I have ordered the federal government to direct its resources towards a speedy reconstruction of Los Angeles' neighborhoods and businesses.**

- 3 -

- o Through the Presidential Disaster declaration, FEMA will make assistance available to those hit hardest by the violence. A preliminary estimate of this assistance is approximately \$300 million.
- o Tomorrow, disaster application centers will open in seven locations in Los Angeles County to begin the disaster assistance process. Individuals, families and businesses directly affected can visit any of these centers to apply for aid from a variety of federal and state agencies.

- 4 -

- o The SBA is also making available low-interest disaster loans for business losses and home damage.
- o All told, federal aid to Los Angeles and the surrounding areas may total as much as \$600 million.
- o And finally, I have asked several of my able Cabinet secretaries to look into the underlying causes of this tragic event.

- 5 -

- o We've got some very good, comprehensive proposals that are being considered now. When they are announced, I hope they will receive your enthusiastic support.**
- o I believe the federal government is playing a crucial and positive role in rebuilding South Central Los Angeles.**
- o Your comments and suggestions are critical as we chart this course.**

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEETING WITH GROUP OF ELECTED OFFICIALS FROM LOS ANGELES AREA

DATE: Thursday, May 7, 1992
TIME: 10:45 a.m.
LOCATION: Governor Wilson's office
THROUGH: Sherrie Rollins
FROM: Bobbie Kilberg BK
Mark Frantz

I. PURPOSE

To discuss with local officials the civil unrest in Los Angeles and the underlying problems facing urban communities today.

II. BACKGROUND

Shortly after the acquittal, the city of Los Angeles erupted with riots which lasted for three days and claimed 58 lives. Damage to the community is estimated at \$750 million.

The officials at this meeting represent those localities in the Los Angeles area which were directly affected by the riots.

III. PARTICIPANTS

California Governor Pete Wilson

Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley

Los Angeles County Board Chairman Deane Dana

Compton Mayor Walter Tucker

Hawthorne Mayor Steve Anderson

Inglewood Mayor Edward Vincent

Long Beach Mayor Ernie Kell

Lynwood Mayor Louise Heine

Pasadena Mayor Jess Hughston

Peter Ueberroth

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Photo/Writing Pool

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You enter room and shake hands
- You deliver opening remarks
- You participate in discussion
- You depart

VI. REMARKS REQUIRED

Talking points to be provided by the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs

MEETING WITH GROUP OF ELECTED OFFICIALS
FROM LOS ANGELES AREA

- I am here because it is important for me to see firsthand what has happened in Los Angeles.
- We are grateful that calm has replaced chaos.
- There is no room for hatred in our communities and there must be no room for violence.
- No American ever wants to see a recurrence of what happened last week and we all want to work on solving the problems.
- Now, let me review with you what we have done so far.

- 2 -

- Through the Presidential Disaster declaration, FEMA will make assistance available to individuals, families and the City and County of Los Angeles. A preliminary estimate of this assistance is approximately \$300 million.
 - Grants will be made directly to people hit hardest by the violence. Included in that assistance will be personal grants up to \$11,500 to meet urgent needs like food, clothing and medicine. Grants will also help with temporary housing to provide shelter for families who lost their homes and with repair to homes with minimal damage.
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- 3 -

- We are also helping with crisis counseling and disaster unemployment assistance for those who are without jobs as a result of the rioting.
- A disaster field office is operational here and FEMA's 800 number is ready to receive calls in English, Spanish, Chinese, Thai, Korean and Laotian.
- FEMA also will assist the public sector to repair and restore public utilities like water and electricity.

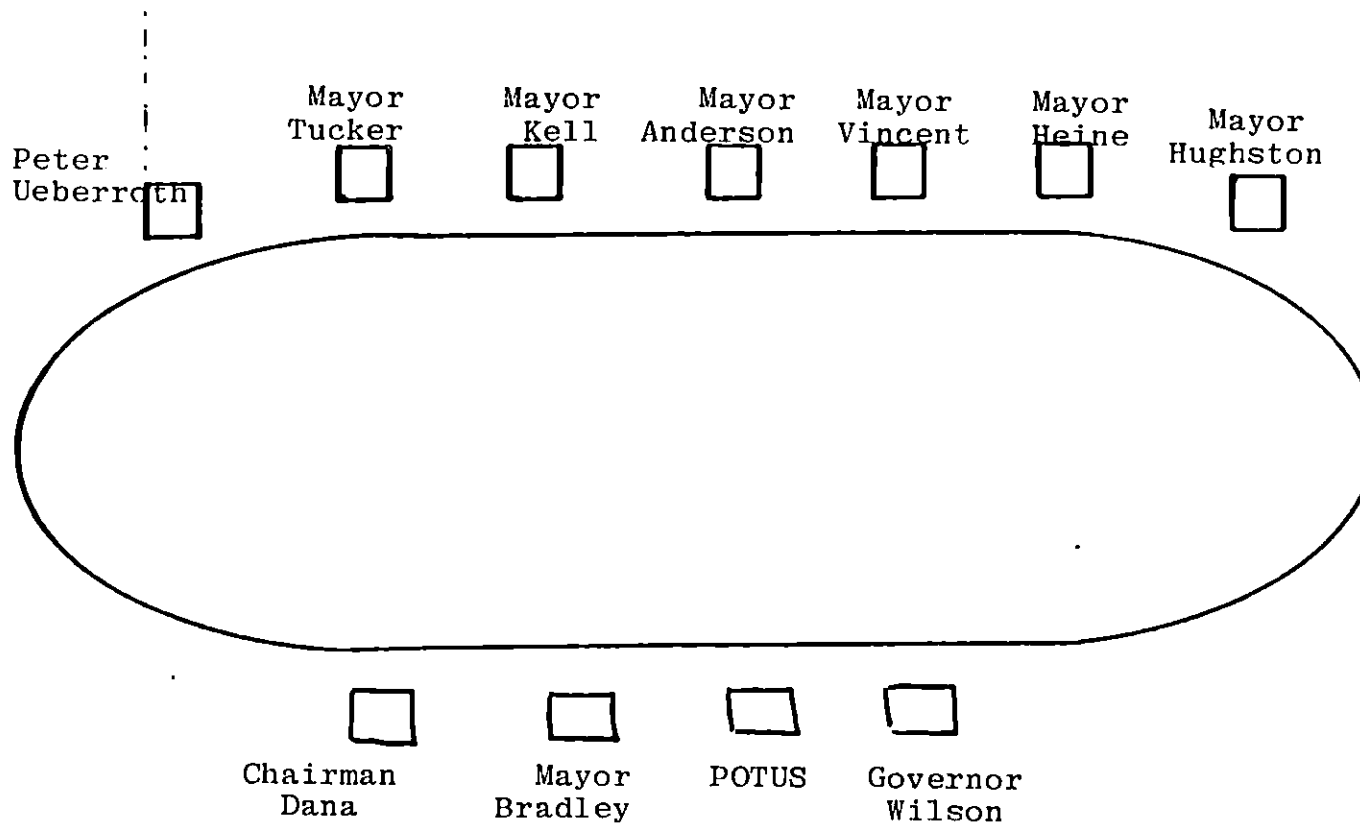
- 4 -

- In addition to this FEMA activity, SBA will provide low-interest disaster loans - up to \$500,000 for business losses that exceed insurance coverage and up to \$100,000 to homeowners and renters for damage not covered by insurance. Our preliminary estimates are that the loans will total roughly \$300 million.
- We need an honest, open discussion about what has occurred and why it occurred and I'm very anxious to hear your perspectives now.

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MEETING WITH GROUP OF ELECTED OFFICIALS FROM LOS ANGELES AREA

May 7, 1992



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF THE KOREAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

DATE: May 7, 1992
TIME: 2:00 p.m.
LOCATION: Radio Korea Broadcast Studio
THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: CECE KREMER
CLAYTON FONG

I. PURPOSE

To listen to the concerns of the Korean-American community and to show your support of their rebuilding efforts.

II. BACKGROUND

The Korean-American community bore a disproportionate share of the looting and fire damage that occurred in Los Angeles during the riots. Damage to the area known as "Koreatown" is second only to that which occurred in the South Central Los Angeles area.

There have been recent tensions between members of the African-American and Korean-American communities which were exacerbated by the well publicized case of a Korean store owner shooting and killing a young African-American girl.

Damage estimates for this area have been placed at over \$300 million with approximately 1700 Korean-American businesses either damaged or completely destroyed by fires and looting.

Radio Korea, located in the heart of Koreatown is the only 24 hour Korean language radio station in Los Angeles and served as a lifeline during the riots for businesspeople in the community. An example of this occurred when a store owner trapped by looters and rioting mobs phoned in to the station to plea for help. A call for assistance went out over the air, and within minutes other members of the community came to her assistance.

The radio station now serves as a central collection site for food, clothing, blankets and other necessities for those victimized by the riots.

III. PARTICIPANTS

THE PRESIDENT

In attendance: Governor Pete Wilson

18 Korean-American Community Leaders
(Please see attached list of participants)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Press pool coverage at the top of the meeting

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You enter meeting room.
- You participate in discussion community leaders.
- You depart meeting room.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points provided by OPL

PARTICIPANTS

Mr. Jay Hyon
Mr. John S.C. Lim, President, Los Angeles Korean Bar Association and spokesman for the Korean-American community
Mr. Edward Chang, Business professor
Mr. Hyung K. Jin, Professor of Economics, UCLA
Rev. Paul Yang, Minister of the Young Nak Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles
Mrs. Helen Lim, grocery store owner
Mr. David Kim, President, Korean-American Grocers Association of Southern California
Dr. Kee W. Ha, Co-Chairman, Koreatown Emergency Task Force
Dr. Ing Dong Oh, Co-Chairman, Koreatown Emergency Task Force
Mr. Yang Il Kim, President, Korean-American Grocery Association of America
Mr. Chai Byun, Lawyer and Advisor, Korean Association of Los Angeles
Mr. Yong C. Kim, President, YKK Enterprises Inc.
Mr. Eui Shik Chung, President, Korean Senior Citizens Association of Los Angeles
Rev. Young Hwan Kim, Minister
Mr. Kyung Man Seo, President, Koryo Health Foundation
Ms. Stacy Kang, Commercial Realtor
Mr. Jang Hee Lee, President, Radio Korea
Mr. Tong Soo Chung

TALKING POINTS - KOREAN COMMUNITY LEADERS

May 7, 1992

- o I want to thank all of you for coming here today. The destruction I've just seen in Koreatown and throughout Los Angeles is appalling.
- o I also want to applaud Radio Korea for the constant support you have given to the Korean community here. Radio Korea has truly acted as a lifeline in this tragic situation.

- 2 -

- o Two immediate concerns I want to raise with you are: 1) What will the government do to bring about a speedy economic recovery, and 2) what can we do to ease the evident racial tension here in Los Angeles and throughout the country.
- o I want you to know that the situation in L.A. is on the minds of all citizens. I am thankful now that the streets are safer, our children are back in school and businesses are reopening.
- o Now that order has been restored we need to concentrate on rebuilding.

- o I have signed a disaster declaration for the area, and have directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and the Small Business Administration (SBA) to provide immediate assistance to victimized parties.
- o FEMA, for example, is providing grants for personal needs such as food, clothing and medicine, for minor home damage, and unemployment assistance to those who are now without jobs because of the disaster.
- o An 800 assistance number will also receive calls in six languages.

- o The SBA is also making available sizable disaster loans for business losses and home damage. These loans could total over \$300 million.
- o All told, federal aid to Los Angeles and the surrounding areas could total as much as \$600 million.
- o Now, I want to hear your concerns regarding the current situation.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

RADIO KOREA ADDRESS TO THE LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY

DATE: Thursday, May 7, 1992
TIME:
LOCATION: Radio Korea Broadcast Studio
THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS
FROM: CECE KREMER
CLAYTON FONG

I. PURPOSE

To acknowledge the volunteer efforts of the Korean-American community during the Los Angeles riots.

II. BACKGROUND

This event allows you to praise the Korean-American community for its volunteer efforts to protect both lives and property during the Los Angeles riots. In addition, your address commends the on-going initiatives by Korean-Americans to aid victims of the riots.

Radio Korea has spear-headed the initiative to assist the victims of the riots by serving as central collection site for food, clothing, blankets and other necessities.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You enter Radio Korea broadcast studio.
- You give brief radio address.
- You depart Radio Korea broadcast studio.

VI. REMARKS

To be provided by Speechwriters.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

HISPANIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MEETING

DATE: MAY 7, 1992
TIME: 4:05 p.m.
LOCATION: THE BONAVENTURE HOTEL
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS

FROM: CECE KREMER
CLAYTON FONG *Clayton Fong*
SHIRÉE SANCHEZ *Shirée Sanchez*

I. PURPOSE:

To discuss the Hispanic community involvement in the recent Los Angeles disturbances and focus on how economic development initiatives will help address urban problems that affect Hispanics.

II. BACKGROUND:

Los Angeles County is home to about 3 million Hispanic Americans, who make up 38 percent of the Los Angeles population. L.A. is the largest concentration of Latinos second only to Mexico City.

Over 50,000 Los Angeles businesses are owned by Hispanic Americans. There were many Hispanic-owned businesses, primarily in South Central L.A., that sustained millions of dollars worth of damages. Of those killed as a result of the violence, fifteen were of Hispanic origin.

Many Hispanics in the South Central part of Los Angeles are of Central American origin, are illegal aliens and are socio-economically disadvantaged. Consequently, they have no political voice, or community leaders. This leadership void is being filled with Hispanic leaders from other areas, mostly East Los Angeles.

These business and organization leaders believe that successful economic development in the Hispanic community will have long-term benefits to the community-wide rebuilding process.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President
Governor Pete Wilson
15 Hispanic leaders (see attached list)

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Press Pool.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

- You arrive.
- You participate in roundtable discussion.
- You depart.

VI. REMARKS:

Talking points provided by Public Liaison.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

David Lizarraga, CEO
The East Los Angeles Community Union

Ana Barbosa, President
Latin Business Association

Monica Centinino, Associate Publisher
La Opinion (largest Spanish daily newspaper)

Lillian Aguilar, Board Member
U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce

Steve Soto, President
Mexican American Grocers Association

Mary Ann Casillas-Chalker, President
LFC, Inc. (insurance co.)

Sergio Banuelos, Owner
Cali-Mex Market

Richard Amador, President
CHARO (housing, community service, employment training)

Ed Avila, Director
Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles

Sal Rivera, Director
SER Jobs for Progress

Zeke Hernandez, State Chairman
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)

Orlando Loera, Senior V.P., Int'l Banking, Commerical Division
Bank of America

Herman Gallegos, Director
Union Bank

Bert Corona, National Executive Director
Hermandad Nacional Mexicana

Art Escelara, Senior Vice President
American Savings

STAFF / GOVERNOR WILSON

Sal Vasquez, Director Community Affairs
Office of the Governor

Bob Casteneda, Hispanic Liaison
Office of the Governor

**TALKING POINTS FOR
HISPANIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MEETING
THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992, 4:05 P.M.
BONAVENTURE HOTEL, LOS ANGELES**

- 
- o It is good to be here with all of you today, some of us have gotten together before to discuss timely issues, – now all of us need to focus today on what happened recently, why, and how to develop a realistic economic recovery program.

- 2 -

- o We need an honest, open, national discussion—about family, about values, about national policy—and about race. That is the only way forward—and that is what I intend to do in the days ahead.
 - o I have spent the day seeing and talking to those who have been hurt by this tragic series of events—and making sure that these folks have all the assistance they need to rebuild.
- 

- 
- o I have mobilized federal resources to help with the immediate clean-up. I have directed FEMA -- the Federal Emergency Management Agency-- to ensure that assistance is available to individuals, families, and local governments.
 - o For businesses, I have ordered the Small Business Administration to provide low-cost disaster loans--up to \$500,000 for damages that exceeded businesses insurance coverage.

- 
- o But right now I'd like to hear from you. I know I've got some real experts here who can give me advice on economic development initiatives that will help the California Latino community.
 - o Please keep me informed, I would like to follow up on the things discussed here today.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, May 7, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
✓Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Sherrie Rollins	West Wing
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

WASHINGTON HOME/MAY 7, 1992



PICTURE IT: Sen. Ted Kennedy and his bride, Vicki Reggie, dressed in the 19th-century costumes of the legendary English lovers Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton, standing on the bow of a yacht as it sails up the Cape Cod coast, putting in at ports along the way so they can shake hands with citizens, until they finally make a triumphal entry into Boston Harbor.

OR: First Daughter Doro Bush LeBlond and her new husband, Democratic aide Bobby Koch, exchanging vows in the well of the House of Representatives before straw-hatted legislators waving state banners and seated according to political party, then adjourning to a bipartisan Texas barbecue, to which guests were invited by George and Barbara Bush's red, white and blue wedding announcements festooned with an elephant and a donkey.

These "dream" wedding proposals are compliments of some bridal consultants who were invited to unleash their fantasies on the upcoming nuptials of two Washington celebrities. The purpose was to generate fresh ideas for second weddings by using real life models.

While these sequences appear to have been nightmarishly contrived with one eye on the couples and the other on the elections, practical suggestions evolved that could be used by anyone preparing to hear "O Promise Me" one more time.

When it comes to I Do Déjà Vu—and more than 800,000 American couples do annually, according to the Census Bureau—couples are often left in a lurch etiquette-wise. Most books and bridal magazines contain a modicum of advice about "encore" engagements (the term used by professionals to avoid referring to his third wife or her eighth marriage). The bride and groom taking a second chance on marriage may be torn between what is considered proper—that is, if they can find the rules—and what they personally want.

It used to be so simple. After running off to Reno, where she could obtain an absolute divorce decree on liberal grounds in only six weeks, the no-longer-blushing bride would slip away with her intended to a marriage mill to do the deed quickly and quietly. The surroundings and witnesses were often makeshift; the bride never wore white; and the after-the-fact announcements were very discreet.

At least that's the way second weddings were depicted in movies of the 1930s and '40s and by the queen of etiquette, Emily Post.

More than half a century later in 1991 the subject merited an entire book, "Emily Post on Second Weddings," by her granddaughter-in-law and successor, Elizabeth L. Post. In a cultural about-face, Post writes, "Recently second weddings with all the fanfare of first weddings have become generally acceptable. Your decision depends more on what you are most comfortable doing than it is one of etiquette."

She enumerates *mirabile dictu* a list of choices for almost everything to do with second weddings. Notwithstanding, it wouldn't be a Post manual if it didn't have a few dos and don'ts.

I Do Déjà Vu

Planning Weddings The Second Time Around

By Nancy L. Ross



Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Victoria Reggie (top).
Robert P. Koch and Dorothy Bush LeBlond (below).

- Don't mix orange blossoms and crow's-feet.
- Don't invite your son to a bawdy bachelor party.
- Do trick your uncooperative ex-spouse if necessary to get your children to your second wedding.

In "Miss Manners' Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Behavior," author Judith Martin summarized in 1982 three basic types of altar events: the "Snickers-Proof Wedding," in which everything is low key; the "This Time We Know What's What Wedding," which is less formal and more fun; and the "I Got Cheated Last Time Wedding" for those who never had one with all the frills.

Miss Manners recommends the second type.

In "Second Wedding Handbook," New York freelance writer Judith Slawson offers second thoughts on a second chance at happiness. Don't try to redo your first wedding. Be flexible; suit yourselves. Above all, for those going back to square one with number two, "there are no rules."

Flotilla or Rally?

When planning encore performances, consultants take into account the bride's and groom's previous experience as well as their interests and leisure activities. The 10 advisers invited to imagine they had Kennedy and LeBlond as clients were told the following: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), 60, was first married in 1958 in a formal Catholic ceremony in Bronxville, N.Y. He was divorced in 1983 and has three children, ages 32, 30 and 24. Victoria Anne Reggie, a 38-year-old lawyer from a wealthy Louisiana family, was married in a society Catholic wedding in 1981. The mother of two children, ages 9 and 6, she divorced in 1990. He summers in Hyannisport; she summers on Nantucket.

Dorothy Bush, 32, was first married in 1982 in Kennebunkport at an Episcopal church with a reception for 350 guests at a private club. She has a son, 7, and a daughter, 5. After her 1990 divorce she moved to Washington. Her fiancé, Robert P. Koch, 31, has never been married. He is ranked by Roll Call, the Capitol Hill newspaper, as one of the Hill's "most powerful staffers." They share an interest in tennis.

The consultants displayed no matrimonial or political unanimity. Half said that Kennedy and Reggie should keep their ceremony very private for family and friends only. Four voted for holding the wedding in a public place with full press coverage. And one described the ideal ceremony as semi-public, "half way between family only and a media circus."

Slawson, who suggested the event off Cape Cod with the numerous relatives of Kennedy and Reggie gathered on a flotilla of small boats, advocates using as much imagination as possible in picking a locale, dress and ceremony. She started with the couple's interest in sailing; the political symbolism of the newlyweds sailing to meet his constituents developed from there.

Bill Vanderbilt, publisher of the Wedding Pages, a wedding planning magazine based in Falls Church, contrived the extravaganza on Capitol Hill for LeBlond and Koch. He latched onto the theme of bipartisan union in the marriage of the Republican president's

daughter to the aide of the rival Democrats' House Majority Leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri. Never mind that Vanderbilt's fantasy is a constitutional impossibility—the amalgamation of Congress and a nominating convention—he believes it could have "great benefit" in an election year.

"When something as wonderful as this [wedding] occurs, George Bush and the Congress could put their differences aside," he hypothesized. New York marriage consultant Myrna Ruskin separately conceived a similar scenario for LeBlond.

Vanderbilt was more restrained when it came to the senator: a private formal wedding at Kennedy's McLean estate. Guests tend to get less rowdy with champagne and cutaways than they do with beer and jeans, he said. After the bad publicity Kennedy received in the past year as a "womanizer and partier in Palm Beach, he doesn't need that now," said the adviser.

On the contrary, declared Bethesda wedding consultant Rita Bloom Smith of Creative Parties Ltd., "They're too public. People would whisper, wondering whether they can handle it if they sneaked off quietly. Remember, the private wedding of Liz Taylor last October turned into a three-ring circus. They should do something warm and of the people."

Cape Cod has too many memories, she added. Instead, they should marry on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial in early morning. "It would put him in sync with the national leaders of the United States. Maybe it [the presidency] is something he will aspire to again," said Smith. The wedding breakfast would be held under a marquee on the Mall, with the leftovers distributed to the homeless.

As for the Bushes' daughter, seven consultants opted for a large public marriage; three for a small, private event. Four wanted to hold the wedding at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., the ultimate Washington address.

"The president will want to have an all-out bash at the White House where he can get the greatest mileage," said Tessa Warschaw, a New York psychotherapist and marriage counselor. As for Koch, "He's not just marrying the daughter; he's marrying the whole [Republican] party."

The arguments against the White House ranged from Alexandria consultant Marsha Glidden's objection to holding a second marriage there to a feeling of Diana Castagnero, who runs Galas Unlimited in Tequesta, Fla., near Palm Beach, that a big wedding in the presidential

mansion would seem ostentatious—and therefore politically unwise—in the current economy.

"Stay away from anything political," advised Mariann Michaels, who runs Dream Weddings in Yorba Linda, Calif. But she relented enough to suggest topping the cake with an elephant and a donkey.

Real-World Scenarios

For less high-profile couples, fantasy can still take flight even if your name—or your bank account—isn't that of a Kennedy or Bush.

Although many encore weddings take place in a church, home or club, acceptable alternatives, according to the experts, include sites that are romantic (a country inn or the place where they met, such as scuba divers burbling their vows under water), thematic (a Southern style mansion with the wedding party dressed as characters from "Gone with the Wind") or historical. The marriage may even take place on a mountaintop or in a foreign country or both.

One of the most frequently asked questions is whether the bride should wear white. The conventional attire for a repeat trip down the aisle is a pastel dress or suit with a hat, according to Miss Manners. But the attraction of a traditional wedding gown for the second time bride—especially if she missed out on the frills the first time—is strong. Glidden recalls a 55-year-old grandmother who wore one, veil and all.

Elizabeth Post would permit a white wedding dress on brides under 40 but no train, blusher veil or orange blossoms which smack of virginity redux. Slawson advises, "Wear a white wedding dress if you're still fairly young" and childless. "If you had a large wedding the first time, think twice about white." Her alternative suggestions include bright colors, secondhand clothes from the 1940s, Victorian dress or costumes.

For the famous couples, formal versus informal was a dead heat in the poll of wedding consultants. Besides 18th-century costume, it was suggested that the Kennedy-Reggie nuptials could have a Great Gatsby theme. Gayle Labenow of You Are Cordially Invited in Babylon, N.Y., pictured Reggie in palazzo pants and straw hat with streamers at a Cape Cod clambake. Ruskin envisaged the senator in navy blazer and white shorts; his bride in white lace shorts for a hot air balloon marriage above the Mall. For LeBlond, Slawson chose a Victorian tea gown with flowers for an afternoon party on the White House tennis court; Labenow fancied the bride in a short green dress with lace.

Sharing Decisions

Whose wedding is it anyway?

Usually the bride and her mother plan a first wedding, whereas the second is up to the couple and their respective children. The bride and groom usually pay for the second wedding. Their parents may make a gift to them for part of it, but if they do a repeat on footing the entire bill, then all bets are off. The hand that writes the check, etcetera.

In a case where it is a second marriage for just one of the spouses, deference should be given to the one who has not been married on the grounds that everybody should have a "real"

(traditional) wedding once in his or her life. "Koch will want a lovely wedding in the White House," said Labenow. She suggested that a Supreme Court justice—one appointed by a Democratic president—preside.

The second time around, Slawson suggests, the mother of the bride could be given the role of hostess at the reception. According to Miss Manners, "The idea of a father's giving away a grown woman is ridiculous." Yet Shelby Tuck-Horton, president of Exquisite Expressions and Events in Upper Marlboro, in recommending a second formal church wedding for LeBlond, said that George Bush should once again give his daughter in marriage. "He would get a lot of publicity taking time out to be a paterfamilias in an

election year," she reasoned.

Instead of the bride's father symbolically giving her away again, most consultants advise modifying the format to reflect reality. Post suggests having the bride's children answer "We do" to the ritual question "Who gives this woman?"

There should be fewer attendants for a second ceremony, but they should include the children of both families. A grown son can serve as his father's best man; younger children, as junior ushers or bridesmaids. To avoid favoritism in designating who gets what role, Slawson suggests that all family members join hands in a circle around the couple and clergy.

Post would bar any reference to the first marriage in the vows or toasts to avoid comparison with the predecessor. But Slawson said

touching on the past is permissible in a re-union, especially if one is widowed.

Gifts are not required at an encore wedding, and that goes double for those guests who gave the first time. Many consultants agreed that guests at the Kennedy-Reggie and Koch-LeBlond weddings should be invited to contribute to charities, while others proposed offering gifts keyed to their leisure activities.

For those who wish to give a present, a gift registry can be even more useful the second time around, Slawson observes. Unlike the young couple setting up house who need everything, the biggest problem of the older husband and wife-to-be may be how to blend his and her silver patterns. A registry may reveal that they covet a bread maker but would be nonplused by a surplus cappuccino machine. LeBlond and her fiancé, on the other hand, appear to be starting over on housewares, according to Bloomingdale's, where they have registered.

For the record, mother-of-the-bride Barbara Bush told reporters that Koch and LeBlond plan to be married at Camp David—a locale, incidentally, that eluded our consultants altogether. Sources said they have picked June 27, but the First Lady's press secretary, Anna Perez, pleads no knowledge of the date.

Likewise, Kennedy's press secretary, Paul Donovan, insisted no plans have been announced and no date set, although several newspapers have speculated that the knot will be tied in July at a family affair on Nantucket.

Tempo

Chicago Tribune Wednesday, May 6, 1992

Washington's animal house

Presidential pets let the political process go to the dogs, cats, goats

By Lynn Van Matre



Photo from Niall Kelly's "Presidential Pets" (Abbeville Press)
Betty and Susan Ford get help with Christmas decorating from Mlsty, one of Liberty's pups.

Poor President Bush. As if plummeting public-approval ratings for domestic policies weren't enough, now comes speculation that First Springer Spaniel Millie may present image problems with cash-strapped voters.

"I'm not sure Millie gives off the best image," muses Niall (pronounced Neal) Kelly, author of the recently published "Presidential Pets" (Abbeville Press), a light-hearted look at the hundreds of critters that have called the White House home. "She's a little too effete. A golden retriever might be better for Bush—more all-American."

Still, Americans have always had a soft spot for animals, and presidents are no exception. During the last two centuries, the White House and its grounds have been home to more than four dozen dogs, three dozen birds, nearly a dozen horses and nine cats, along with smaller numbers of pet goats, fish, hamsters, mice, squirrels, rats, snakes, alligators, ponies and at least one jackass. Theodore Roosevelt's family alone accounted for literally dozens of pets,

See Pets, pg. 5

Animal ambassadors

including Maud the pig, Josiah the badger, Bill the lizard, Skip the mongrel, a small bear named Jonathan Edwards, a pony named Algonquin, a six-toed cat named Slippers, and several kangaroo rats whose names apparently are lost to history.

Pet opossums, including Benjamin Harrison's Mr. Reciprocity and Mr. Protection, have waddled placidly across the White House lawn. Woodrow Wilson's sheep, including a tobacco-loving ram named Old Ike who eagerly gobbled cigar stubs, grazed on the grounds. Nanny and Nanko, pet goats belonging to the family of Abraham Lincoln, were given the run of the White House corridors and often could be found dozing on First Son Tad's bed.

Calvin Coolidge regularly walked his raccoon, Rebecca, around the White House on a leash; when White House renovations forced the Coolidge family to relocate and Rebecca had to be boarded temporarily at a zoo, "Silent Cal" pined for his bushy-tailed pet so much that he dispatched a presidential limousine for her. Meanwhile, First Lady Grace Coolidge took special delight in dressing the couple's white collie, Prudence Prim, in beribboned floppy hats and other dainty garments for White House garden fetes.

"Dressing up the dog for White House parties was definitely considered odd, even in the Roaring '20s," Kelly confirms.

Warren Harding's Airedale, Laddie-Boy, sat in on Cabinet meetings in his own chair and charmed the American public—though not quite enough to distract them from the Teapot Dome scandal that brought down Harding's administration. Teddy Roosevelt's six-toed Slippers once stopped a diplomatic procession in its tracks by sprawling full length on the carpet just outside the State Dining Room as a group of ambassadors and their wives were leaving.

"Roosevelt's first inclination was to move the cat, but he realized that this would hold up the line and cause a disconcerting pause. So he simply bowed to the lady on his arm and escorted her around Slippers," says Kelly, who cites the episode as one of his two favorite presidential pet stories included in the book. The other, an anecdote gleaned from one of John Tyler's descendants, concerns President Tyler's attempts to find a suitable bride for his canary, Johnny Ty, in the mid-1800s.

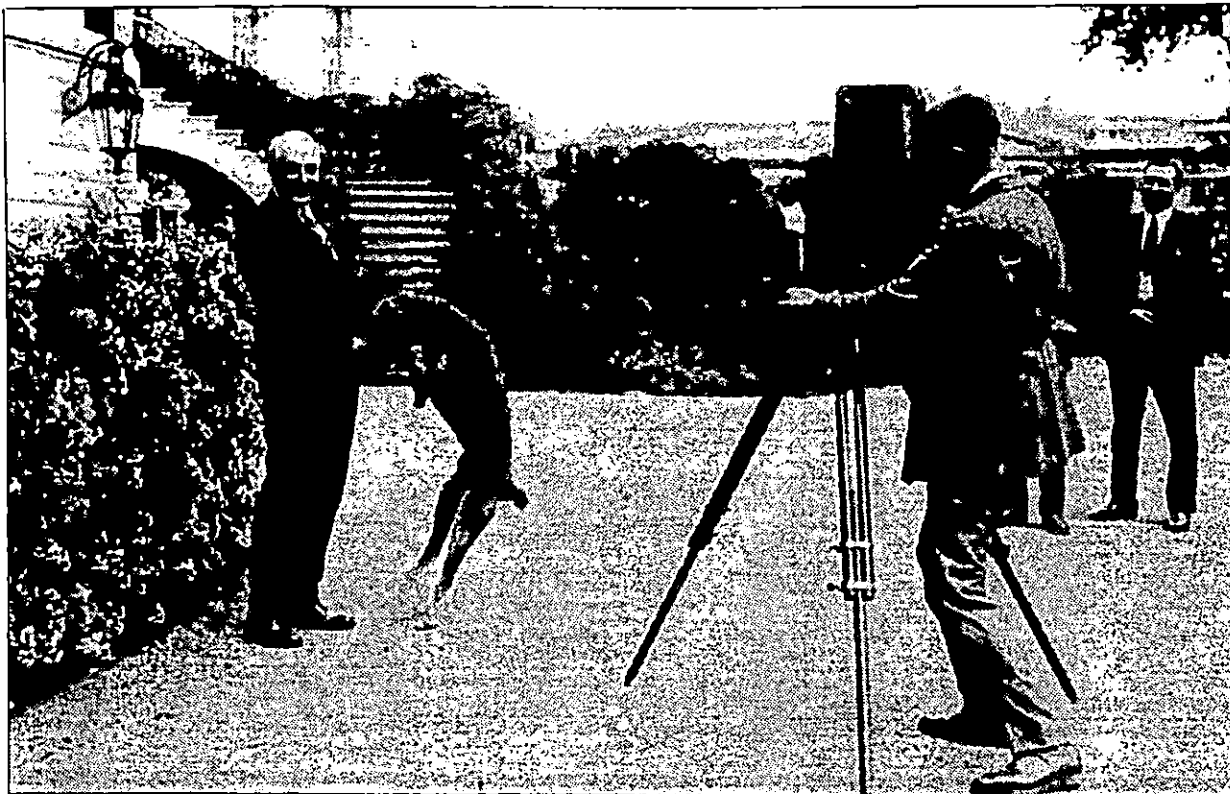
Tyler, the first vice president to assume office on the death of a president (William Henry Harrison), spared no expense to find a worthy consort for the canary. When a suitable mate was located in New York, the president had the bird shipped by steamboat to Richmond, Va., then transported by carriage to his getaway home in Virginia. Sadly, when Tyler put the blushing bird bride into the groom's cage, Johnny Ty jumped off his perch and hid his head under his wings. He died a week later.

The tragedy didn't end there. When the grieving Tyler and his wife took a closer look at the remaining canary, they made a distressing discovery.

"The Tylers had married Johnny Ty off to another male bird!" Kelly announces with a laugh.

At first glance, Kelly might seem an odd candidate to write a book about American presidents' pets. Born and raised on a farm in Ireland, Kelly, a 36-year-old copywriter for a major New York advertising agency, arrived in the U.S. only a decade ago.

"I think my interest in presidential pets grew out of two things," he says. "When I was a child, I used to look at old photographs of my mother and other family members with their dogs. People remembered the names of the relatives, but quite often they couldn't recall the dogs' names, and that bothered me. That's when I became fascinated with old photo-



A president and his dog: Warren Harding plays with Laddie Boy. The charming Airedale could do only so much to divert attention from the Teapot Dome scandal.

graphs of dogs and other pets.

"Then, when I came to America in 1982, Ronald Reagan was president, and Nancy Reagan had a very large dog, a sheepdog called Lucky. I noticed the dog was always dragging Nancy away from the reporters and photographers and Ron always was following after her, shouting, 'What? I can't hear you.'

"Later I wondered, 'Was that why it took so long for us to find out about Iran-contra and the other things going on in the administration—because Reagan always was off chasing Nancy and Lucky instead of talking to reporters?' " Kelly says jokingly. "I started thinking about the part Lucky might have played in Reagan's administration, and I wondered if other presidents' pets might have played roles too. I found out that Franklin Delano Roosevelt's dog, Fala, and Richard Nixon's dog, Checkers, both played big roles in politics, when the presidents used them to get votes and sympathy. Then I discovered that Lyndon Johnson stirred up a big controversy when he picked up his beagles by the ears.

"I decided there was a book there, so I wrote up a couple of chapters, got together some photos and found a publisher."

What about Chester Arthur?

Kelly gathered material by doing research at the Library of Congress, perusing vintage newspapers, reading presidents' correspondences and rooting through presidential biographies for any mention of pets. Occasionally, he struck out.

"I didn't come across much on Chester Alan Arthur or Franklin Pierce," he admits. "They were such obscure presidents, not much has been written on them."

While many presidents had cats and birds, and dozens of presidents had relatively exotic pets, newspaper photographs invariably show America's top political leaders posing with dogs rather than felines, opossums, alligators, badgers and other fauna.

"Dogs seem to be the only pets that really make a difference [as an image-builder]," Kelly Says. "Just about every president has had at least one, although the Truman family dog didn't last very long before he developed rickets and had to be sent away."

The presidential penchant for posing with canines, Kelly believes, "may have something to do with the idea that dogs look to us as their den leaders. Posing with a dog makes the president seem like the leader of the pack, and automatically puts him into a leadership mode.

"But I can't think of any pet that has reflected badly on a president. Actually, almost any animal tends to impart a positive image."

Where does that leave the hapless Millie? The author admits he could be barking up the wrong tree by suggesting that Bush swap the liver-spotted springer spaniel for a more "all-American" breed.

"I did notice that during the New Hampshire primary, Democratic presidential candidate Tom Harkin was pictured with a golden retriever," Kelly says. "It obviously didn't help him much."

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or call 576-READ to charge your contribution by phone.

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT BUSH

 MAY 7th , 19 92

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

May 7, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	AM		Mrs. Barbara P. Bush Residence, Kennebunkport, Maine 207-967-8990	Tlkd-ok 3:29 PM
~~INC~~	3:28 PM	3:37		
OUT	AM		Ms. Chris Baldwin Office, Los Angeles, California 310-98703604	Tlkd-ok 3:55 PM
~~INC~~	3:54 PM	4:05		
OUT	AM		Major Kimberly A. Sinischalchi Westin Bonaventure Hotel Los Angeles, California 213-624-1000	Tlkd-ok 7:03 PM
~~INC~~	6:54 PM	7:05		
OUT	AM		Mrs. Jane Weintraube Residence, Beverly Hills, California 213-275-0197	LW with Ms. Jamie Weintrauge 7:09 PM
~~INC~~	7:09 PM	8:01		
OUT	AM			Tlkd-ok 7:57 PM
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Mrs. Susan Grimes Residence, Santa Monica, California 213-395-7285	Tlkd-ok 7:16 PM
~~INC~~	7:14 PM	7:28		
OUT	AM		Mr. David F. Demarest Jr. Office, Los Angeles, California Los Angeles Signal 3-1281	Tlkd-ok 7:32 PM
~~INC~~	7:30 PM	7:35		
~~OUT~~	AM		Secretary Nicholas F. Brady Residence, Los Angeles, California Los Angeles Signal 3-1277	Tlkd-ok 9:05 PM
INC	9:05 PM	9:07		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

May 7, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	4:42 AM	4:56	Mrs. Barbara P. Bush Residence, Kennebunkport, Maine 207-967-8990	Tlkd-ok 4:46 AM
~~INC~~	PM			
~~OUT~~	8:42 AM		Ambassador Steven Rhodes Office, Los Angeles, California 310-478-0069	WCB 8:46 AM Tlkd-ok 4:08 PM
INC	PM	4:11		
OUT	10:20 AM	10:29	Ms. Rose M. Zameria Office, Washington, D.C. 456-6508	Tlkd-ok 10:25 AM
~~INC~~	PM			
OUT	AM		General Brent Scowcroft Office, Washington, D.C. White House Signal 7-2260	Tlkd-ok 12:22 PM
~~INC~~	12:20 PM	12:27		
OUT	AM		Conference Call: President Turgut Ozal Methodist Hospital of Houston	Tlkd-ok 12:43 PM
~~INC~~	12:35 PM	12:47		
OUT	AM		Houston, Texas 713-797-1595	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Mr. Cornelius F. O'Leary White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Mr. Hollis S. Summers White House Situation Room White House Signal 7-2264	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Dr. Robert L. Hutchings Office, Washington, D.C. 395-5732	
INC	PM			
OUT	AM		Dr. Burton J. Lee III Westin Bonaventure Hotel Los Angeles, California 213-624-1000	Tlkd-ok 12:50 PM
~~INC~~	12:47 PM	12:51		
OUT	AM		Mr. Richard G. Darman Office, Washington, D.C. 395-4840	Tlkd-ok 12:54
~~INC~~	12:52 PM	1:11		

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Los Angeles, California

DATE 7 May 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0659	Depart Westin Bonaventure Hotel via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
0730	Arrive Crenshaw and Slauson Streets Damage Area (LOW KEY)
0757	Depart Crenshaw and Slauson Streets Damage Area via
	Motorcade (LOW KEY)
0802	Arrive Los Angeles Police Department Southwest Division
	Station (LOW KEY)
0821	Depart Los Angeles Police Department Southwest Division
	Station via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
0832	Arrive Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church (LOW KEY)
0959	Depart Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church via Motrcade
	(LOW KEY)
1017	Arrive Ronald Reagan State Office Building (LOW KEY)
1209	Depart Ronald Reagan State Office Building via Motorcade
	(LOW KEY)
1213	Arrive Westin Bonaventure Hotel (LOW KEY)
1343	Depart Westin Bonaventure Hotel via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1358	Arrive Radio Korea Broadcast Studio (LOW KEY)
1516	Depart Radio Korea Broadcast Studio via Motorcade
	(LOW KEY)
1523	Arrive Westin Bonaventure Hotel

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

10 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

AFTER THE VERDICT

Minority staff explains rap, racism to Bush

By Michael Shanahan
Newhouse News Service

WASHINGTON—Seeking a better understanding of the riots that erupted in Los Angeles last week, President Bush invited five young minority members of the White House staff to lunch Monday. They told him about rap music, youth gangs and life in the inner city.

All five of the people invited to the private lunch recounted stories of obstacles they have encountered as the result of racism or racial stereotypes.

One of them, Myra Johnson, who works in the White House records office, told Bush that the Los Angeles riots would have happened with or without the not guilty verdict in the trial of the policemen charged with beating Rodney King.

"She told the president that Los Angeles was a bomb waiting to go off," recalled Carvel Lewis, 21, a native of Georgetown, Ga., who has worked at the White House for nearly a year.

"The president asked us if we thought racism was on the rise in America. He asked if we had been stopped by the police and if we thought the police had too much power."

Bush briefly described the encounter at a closed meeting with Senate Republicans on Tuesday and White House deputy press secretary Gary Foster and Lewis confirmed the details.

"The president wanted to find out their experiences and their feelings about the situation in Los Angeles," said Foster.

Besides Lewis and Johnson, those who attended were David Hala, an Asian American in the White House counsel's office; Willy Lawson, a soldier who works for the National Security Council,

and Willa Smith, deputy director of the Public Liaison Office.

In an interview, Lewis said he explained to Bush that the role models for the young blacks who rioted in Los Angeles are rap artists and other entertainers, not the leaders of civil rights organizations or prominent black officials.

"If they had to pick [Health and Human Services Secretary Louis] Sullivan or [NAACP President] Ben Hooks out of a lineup, they wouldn't know who they are," Lewis told Bush. "The only focus they have are rap groups and music videos and people like Arsenio Hall from television."

"The president couldn't understand gang involvement in the riots; so I told him that the young men in South-Central L.A. are living in a cycle in which all they know how to do is to live the same lives that their fathers did. He said he understood."

At one point, Lewis said he described to the president a rap artist called Ice Cube. "I never heard of them," Bush was quoted as saying. "But I know that rap is the music where it rhymes."

WASHINGTON
GEORGE BUSH

Phone Call

5-7-92

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Feb 13th 45

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POOL REPORT # 3

May 7, 1992

Motorcade and tour of Riot Areas

First the president's remarks as he visited the Los Angeles Police Southwest Station (his second stop and the only one where he said anything your pool could hear). In a crowded room inside the station house, Captain Garrett Zimmon pointed on a map to the various damaged zones. A pooler asked Bush for his first reaction to what he had seen on the streets.

Bush: ``One of horror and dismay and sharing the sense of outrage that the people--honest people--in the community feel. And had some very interesting talks there with that young man that runs that Boys market. Saw one of his own employees running in to loot --take stuff out. This is just wanton lawlessness as he described it to me. So there is that aspect. Then you recognize you got to try to do everything you can to guard against it. You've got to enforce the law and then you have to try to get to the cause of the unrest. And we're trying to do that and have been.''

He then thanked the police officers and said: ``It's not easy times.''. He added of police efforts: ``I'll support them and I will continue to do it.''

The president then said he wanted to talk to the officers without the pool being present.

Now, from the beginning of the motorcade:

The extraordinarily long line of cars (we figure at least 30), departed at 7 a.m. for the approximately 30 minute drive down 3rd where we saw the first burned out evidence of the rioting at the intersection of Kenmore, where a shopping center had been torched. On the charred remains of a building only a huge cardboard sign remained, telling dental patients where to call. A Mexican restaurant El Pollo Taco had its ``open'' sign still intact, but the building was in ruins.

We turned onto Western and began to see more evidence of the destruction, although it was spotty. Some blocks were untouched, but others completely burned out. McDonalds suffered some broken windows. Kinney Shoes was completely burned. As we passed the skeletal remains of strip shopping centers, the smell of smoke was still noticeable.

Several signs posted on storefronts said the following: ``Shopping center is black owned--don't burn'' and ``Black owned. God is Love.''

The motorcade briefly took the Santa Monica Freeway and then turned south on Crenshaw Blvd. At the Broadway department store, the parking deck was turned into a staging area for the National Guard and their camouflage trucks.

A touch of irony: all along the way we could see dashes of brilliant color from the flowering trees and shrubs, especially from the deep blue wisterias.

Scattered onlookers were solemn and passive for the most part, although children waiting for school buses waved cheerfully. There were some signs of normalcy. A delivery man carried a vase of red roses along Western Ave. Children assembled on school playgrounds.

At about 7:30 a.m. the motorcade pulled into what remains of the Crenshaw Town Center's Pioneer Plaza, an L-shaped strip shopping center. The president walked along the front of the burned out Boys supermarket with the store's manager Dereke Carr (dressed in a red polo shirt), 30, who is black. Above were helicopters while at least three sharpshooters kept watch from the rooftop with binoculars. A surviving sign on the store read: ``We have double coupons. Lucky doesn't.''

The president and an entourage of business owners and officials walked across the parking lot, passed a series of totally destroyed stores. With Bush were Carr, black dentist William Faulkner who had an office there, and L.A. Urban League head John Mack. Also in attendance: SBA chief Patricia Saiki, HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan, Gov. Pete Wilson, and Sen. John Seymour (who stuck close by the president for the photo sessions). Also conspicuously following behind, with his suit coat thrown over his shoulder, was HUD Secretary Jack Kemp. Kemp tagged along well behind the group, gazing into the burned out structures.

Bush and the group, with Kemp joining in, huddled for several minutes outside what was left of the end store in the shopping center. All that was left to that business were the VISA and Mastercard emblems. As the photographers shot pictures, someone complained that Sullivan was blocking the view of the president. "Excuse me for being here," he quipped.

One business in the shopping center was still operating: Pete's Haven, a burger restaurant that is black-owned, your pool was informed.

Around 7:50 a.m. the motorcade left and drove to the police station on M.L. King Blvd., where the limousine pulled up to the rear. A large hand-written sign said: "Prisoner holding area." Bush visited outside with a group of officers. One handed him a cup of coffee, and he headed inside for the tour. He could be heard asking "Were these young hoodlum guys, or were they gang guys?" We couldn't hear the response. But here are some snatches of his discussion with the police: "Certainly respect what you do and support you. ... There are a lot of problems but we're very grateful to the police for what they do and their lives are risked for all of us."

Sidebar: Kemp was very much in evidence, often walking alone or talking to reporters and cameras. As Bush was inside the police station, he spoke at length to the remaining poolers, saying he was "sick to my stomach" at what had happened to the neighborhood and adding that he used to drive his father's truck through it when he was growing up in West L.A.

Kemp: "It is a tragedy... that has caused us to reach perhaps critical mass in which Democrats and Republicans, the Congress and the White House, the black mayors --which I just spoke to last week--could come together on an urban economic development, job creation, entrepreneurship and housing ownership plan to begin to inject some hope and equality of opportunity in the ghettos and barrios of America.

"If I simply stand out on the streets of Los Angeles and point the finger at Democrats and they point the finger at Bush and you (press) point the finger at us, we're going to lose the moment. We're going to lose this feeling that I have of critical mass. I think that we've reached a consensus now that more jobs, more housing and home ownership and better educational choice and giving people a stake in a community will help bring stability to a neighborhood.... The system keeps people from climbing out of poverty. It really is smothering the incentive and the potential of our inner cities to develop."

Or, if you prefer, this quickie: "There's going to have to be compromise on both sides!" (to get a long-range program passed.)

After Bush left the police station, he motorcaded to the church prayer service.

Julia Malone, Cox Newspapers and Kathy Lewis, Dallas Morning News

POOL REPORT # 5

May 7, 1992

Bush meets with local and state leaders at Ronald Reagan State Office Building downtown.

No readout at this point on what went down, Bush, Sen. John Seymour and Sec. Sullivan described it as a "very good exchange."

"The mayor's that were present expressed their particular needs," Seymour said, adding that they were more interested in getting more support for existing programs than any new ideas that might be on the horizon. He said they asked Bush for more money to help with infrastructure, and that there was also a lot of interest expressed in enterprise zone proposals.

But Seymour said "I didn't hear any calls for new kinds of programs. I heard a lot about the need for more support for existing programs." Said there was talk about loans for businesses and to help people who lost homes or jobs get relief.

Seymour and Sullivan described the meetings as "upbeat" and "optimistic." Seymour said: "There was no finger pointing whatsoever." Just a real sense, he added, that "We can really rebuild Los Angeles and do it right this time."

He said Bush listened but asked a lot of questions in the session, which ran for more than one and a half hours. Bush was particularly interested, Seymour noted, in learning what he could about the gangs. "He asked for profiles of the gang leaders of the Bloods and the Crips (I was told that these spellings were correct but I'm not sure. Anyway, they are two prominent gangs in the L.A. area that were, I presume, involved in the rioting)," Seymour said after the meeting broke up. "He was interested in getting a better feel for what the average gang member, or their families..."

He said Bush was told about the risk of death, and how hopeless a lot of the gang families feel. This exchange was apparently prompted by a comment in the church meeting this morning from someone who said it was time to take advantage of "a truce" between gangs that's apparently been declared in the wake of the rioting.

Sullivan said everyone in the meeting expressed a commitment "to rebuild and restore" Los Angeles.

The pool was not allowed in at the top of the meeting, but still got in for photos at end. An elevator stalled in the building with part of your pool, which apparently prompted the decision to close access at the top rather than wait for hot and bothered colleagues to be freed.

At the meeting: Wilson, Bradley, Peter Ueberroth, Deana (yes, Deana, but pronounced Dean) Dana, chairman of L.A. Board of Supervisors, and the following mayors -- Walter Tucker III, Compton; Edward Vincent, Inglewood; Louis Heine, Lynwood; Steve Anderson, Hawthorne and Ernie Hall, Long Beach. Also present, Kearns and Dellibovi of the federal task force Bush sent in, Kemp, Sullivan, Seymour, Marlin and assorted others.

Matt Quinn informs that some have asked about pre-church service comments from some this morning.

Actor Edward James Olmos (Stand and Deliver, Miami Vice fame), who's been involved from the beginning in the cleanup and bringing people together, said Bush should have come to L.A. sooner and criticized Bush for, he said, calling the looters and rioters "thugs." "He could have been trying to understand the problem rather than calling them thugs," he said.

He also said it was hard to avoid the situation being politicized this election year. But he said he hopes "The sincerity (of Bush's visit) will come through in his statements afterwards." "I think that he's actually here to learn, but I think the campaign is motivating him," he added.

In addition, Second District Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, who is confined to a wheelchair, said before entering the church that Bush's presence was "an outward sign of inward concern that he cares about the people of L.A." But he said he expected action instead of talk from the government. "Faith without works is dead," he said. "We have to have works." "The burnt out businesses need help now," he added. "Not a lot of regulations."

McDonald - Houston Chron

May 7, 1992

BUSH MEETS WITH KOREAN-AMERICAN LEADERS**(Los Angeles, California)**

Bush was met on arrival at Radio Korea in Koreatown by several hundred Korean-American demonstrators assembled there to demand compensation from damage they suffered in the riots. "We Thought America was No. 1. Sorry, We Were Dead Wrong," one sign read. Other banners read "We Lost Everything" and "No More Gates."

The atmosphere inside Bush's meeting with two dozen Korean-American leaders was equally emotional and contentious. Bush was confronted with sharp complaints about police conduct and with demands for increased federal compensation. The remarks were piped in to the briefing room, and you should get a transcript. But here is some color and identification of those who questioned Bush.

The President sat on a folding chair as part of leaders seated in an oval in what appeared to be the newsroom of Radio Korea, KBLA AM 1580. He was introduced by David Kim, head of the Korean Chamber of Commerce, who said that "most of us Korean Americans have felt abandoned by the government and the police ... it wasn't until the federal troops moved in that Korean Americans felt safe."

Bush was greeted by a standing ovation when he walked in, and used his remarks in part to praise Jeng Hong Lee, head of the radio station. But not everyone in the group applauded when he finished his opening remarks. The attorney who immediately urged that Bush "make the victims whole" by extending special compensation to the Korean community was John S. C. Lim, president of the Korean-American Bar Assn. of Southern California.

The woman who later complained that "ten years or 20 years of hard work went down the drain overnight" was Helen Lim, a grocery store owner. She said that the community could not wait "for two weeks or three week waiting period for so-called government aid."

The woman who later identified herself as a housewife but challenged Bush to "protect us from the people who are attacking innocent civilians" was Young Choi. She suggested that Bush would "be concerned about Beverly Hills or whatever," prompting Bush to ask: "Why do you assume that I'm only concerned about Beverly Hills?"

The man who suggested that Daryl Gates had abandoned his duty was John Young Hwan, a local pastor. It was In Dong Oh of the Korean-American coalition who complained that the community "had the feeling that we were betrayed."

Bush stopped by a private relief center established by the radio station before he walked into the session, which was on Westlake Avenue near 9th St.

In his opening remarks, Bush again spoke with emotion as he referred to the "turmoil that every American regrets." Marlin Fitzwater said after the session that Bush was reacting to "a pretty incredible day" in which he had heard "a lot of heart-rending stories." "It's a pretty rare thing," Fitzwater said of Bush's many discussions with citizens affected by the riots.

Fitzwater made a point to emphasize what he called the "very sophisticated language" of those with whom Bush had spoken and noted that many advocated enterprise zones and other "modern-day approaches" embraced by the Administration. In Bush's meetings with African-Americans and Korean-Americans, Fitzwater said: "There was not a person who talked about handouts or increases in welfare. It's a different population."

Fitzwater said that Bush intended to outline "a number of ideas but not a specific agenda" for urban America in his address tomorrow morning. But Housing Secretary Jack Kemp later indicated otherwise, strongly hinting that the trip would end with a new push for urban Enterprise Zone legislation. And both Kemp and domestic policy adviser Roger Porter reminded one pooler that Bush had discussed enterprise zones in his discussions with the Koreans this afternoon.

Douglas Jehl, Los Angeles Times
Pam Kramer, San Jose Mercury News
Jonathan Alter, Newsweek

The President was on a folding chair as part of the crowd seated in an oval in front of the White House. He was introduced by David Keene, head of the American Council on Education, who said that the President had been "abandoned by the government and the police... it is not until the federal troops moved in that the Koreans were able to leave."

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POOL REPORT # 7

May 7, 1992

Bush meets with Hispanic leaders

(Los Angeles, California)

Looking weary, Bush met with 15 Hispanic leaders to talk about economic redevelopment in South LA.

Kemp held animated conversations with several of the leaders gathered around a large oval table.

Bush arrived accompanied by Gov. Wilson, shook hands all around, and spoke for five minutes in very general terms. A transcript is coming.

Both Wilson and David Lizarraga, CEO of E LA Community Union, endorsed Kemp's urban programs.

"It is very important to get the kind of programs Secretary Kemp has advocated before," Lizarraga told Bush.

"There are those experiments in the Great Society that worked," said Lizarraga, citing Head Start. "We don't have to reinvent the wheel."

Bush replied, "Some worked, some didn't."

After a few more minutes of this, your pool was gently ejected from the room.

Shanahan-NewHouse Newspapers
Mecoy-McClatchy Newspapers

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT MOUNT ZION MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

Los Angeles, California

9:10 A.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Reverend Hill. Let me just say to his parishioners and to his fellow members of the clergy that we Bushes have great respect for your pastor, respect for what he stands for, respect for his leadership and respect for his emphasis on family values.

I listened to prayers with wonder, admiration. I think we got a pretty good start, don't you, with Miss Elmore singing -- (applause) -- but I heard what His Eminence, Colonel Mahoney said about racial tension; we must address that. What Bishop McMurray and Dr. Billy Ingram said about healing; we've got to address that. What Dr. Massey said about the importance of the church. And as you look at the chaos and turmoil in this country, not just in the wake of the riots of Los Angeles, but all the problems we face in the country, the problems we face internationally, I keep coming back to my own thinking: to the importance of the church, the importance of our faith.

And then Reverend Massey talked about this is no time for blame. And he's right about that. This is not a time for blame. And I am not here in the mode of politics, I am not here in the mode of partisanship, I am not here in the mode of blame. I'm here to learn from the community, and at this moment to tell you of the values that I strongly believe in.

When Reverend Hill and other national leaders came last Friday to the White House, I reminded the group of what Mayor Tom Bradley and other mayors -- urban mayors, rural mayors -- had to tell me not so many months ago. They told me of their concerns for their cities, their municipalities. But they came together on one key point: They told me that their major concern about the problems in the cities was the decline of the American family, the fact that the family is weaker today. I think that we have simply got to find ways to help strengthen the American family. This church does that for the immediate family; all of your churches do that for the families of your parishioners. But we've got to broaden it out.

This church brings the generations -- grandparents, great-grandparents and grandkids -- here to work within this church. That strengthens the American family. And to give the kids not only indoctrination into faith and into the teachings of the Lord, but the church helps kids understand the larger family. We are one nation under God. We must remember that. We must advocate that. We must continue to state that we are one nation under God.

And we are our brother's keeper. Not to keep him back. Not to keep him down. But to keep him well and to keep him safe, and to give him a shot at the American dream. Family values, that means respect for one another, and it does mean honor thy mother and thy father.

MORE

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I talked to Barbara this morning and told her a little bit -- I didn't know it fully -- about what Reverend E.V. Hill had in store for all of us today, but particularly for me. He had failed to point out that he had the distinguished leaders of various denominations here and that I would be flanked behind me by people who are active pastors in the wonderful churches of this area. And she told me, she said, you've got your nerve -- you've got a lot of nerve to stand up in front of all those people and tell them what you think about values. (Laughter.) But I'm going to try anyway. (Laughter.)

I do want to single out Reverend Jones and Mrs. Jones for what they do -- reaching across the states, bringing help to others. That's family. That's God's family. Family values means the church must continue to teach the kids right from wrong.

I was over at a supermarket, and the guy with tears in his eyes was telling me, one of my own employees came in and took stuff out of this store. And he couldn't understand it. We've got to teach right from wrong. Government cannot do that. We can try, those of us in public life, to set reasonably good examples of family and faith. But the values have to be taught, and the church has a tremendously important role on that.

I think that when Barbara reads to kids that she is emphasizing not just the importance of education that we all believe in -- so many of you working with children -- but she's emphasizing the importance of the role of grandparents; even more, the importance of love.

To struggle against hard times, to overcome the devastation of poverty, of racism or of riots, we need our family. We need our own family, we need our church family, and we must find ways to strengthen America as a family. Back to what the Cardinal said: We are embarrassed by interracial violence and prejudice. We're ashamed. We should take nothing but sorrow out of all of that and do our level best to see that it's eliminated from the American dream. A family that respects the law, a family that can lift others up. We need a family that is truly committed to faith; for, again, we are one nation under God -- a family that says "I'm my brother's keeper." But it's here -- it was here in the ugliest moments of the rioting, the brother's keeper aspect. I saw it in a police station just now. And God bless the honest policemen that are defending the families of the neighborhood -- all of them. (Applause.)

But the message they got to me this morning was a little different than the one that I see in that first two minutes on the evening news. This was a message of forgiving and healing. How neighbors had called in and said, here's where you can go and pick up some looted goods, or brought them to the police station so that they could be returned to their owners. We don't hear enough of that kind of family action or that kind of fellowship.

Another pastor, Reverend Bennie Newton, laid his life on the line for his brother. He saw a man literally beaten into the ground. And he waded through the fray and he laid his body on top of the victim until the beating stopped. And here's what he said. He said, "My heart was crying," but the bottom line is, he saved that man's life. He was his brother's keeper. These are the stories that I think America needs to know about. We saw the violence. We've seen the hatred. And we've got to heal, to see the love.

Los Angeles is going to recover. This is a great city. (Applause.) And I have pledged to the Governor, to the Mayor the full support of the federal government. And if I might take one mention of personal pride here to say that I'm very pleased the way these departments in the federal government have responded. Not to preempt, not to get credit -- again, not to assign blame, but to supplement the work in the communities, the work of the Mayor, the

MORE

- 3 -

work of the Council and the work of the Governor. And I'm proud that Lou Sullivan, our Secretary of HHS; and Jack Kemp, our Secretary of HUD are here today. And many others wanted to be with me, but somebody had to mind the store back there. (Laughter.)

Now, Los Angeles will recover. I believe it is well on its way to recovery, thanks to what the local government and the state government and the federal presence are doing. And as Los Angeles comes back to its glory, all of us must ask ourselves: What can we do to help?

This is no time to outline federal programs. This is a National Day of Prayer. This is a day to give our thanks. But we will do what we can to help and to assist and to lead in this reconciliation. To truly help, we've got to understand the agony of the depressed. You can't solve the problem if you don't feel its heartbeat. You've got to understand the hopelessness of those who literally have had no opportunity.

Trucks bringing food and bricks and mortar are rolling into Los Angeles. And this city will be rebuilt. And I am confident that new opportunities will arise. But all across this nation, we've got to renew our fight to strengthen the American family. It isn't a burnt-out area in Los Angeles. It isn't California. It is the entire country. That's where everyone in this room, everyone in this hallowed sanctuary comes in. We've got to find ways to do that. We've got to fight against discrimination. We've got to continue to speak out against bigotry. We've got to fight for justice and equality. And on this National Day of Prayer it is fitting that we pray to God to help us.

Abraham Lincoln was right -- you can't do it alone. If we asked him what he did in times of turmoil -- you think of the problems he faced -- he said, I spent a lot of my time on my knees. We have to understand that that faith is still terribly important to leaders, terribly important to citizens that lead these communities.

So I pray to God that he will give us the strength and the wisdom to bring the family together -- the American family. Barbara and I prayed that our personal family and your personal families will be engulfed in God's love, and that every kid will have someone who knows his name and really cares about him.

One little four-year-old girl -- maybe you heard the story -- Ryan Bennett -- prayed special prayers as she saw her neighborhood riddled with bullets, her candy store destroyed. And Ryan said, "I asked God if he could make it so it's not dark anymore." Let this nation vow to help that it won't be dark. (Applause.)

END

9:30 A.M. PDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

The President today accorded Jay Van Andel, of Michigan, the personal rank of Ambassador during his tenure as Commissioner General of the United States Pavilion at the International Exposition in Genoa, Italy. Currently, Mr. Van Andel serves as Chairman of the Board of Amway Corporation in Ada, Michigan.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Henry Gerald FitzGerald, of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador to Ireland. He would succeed Richard Anthony Moore.

Since 1959, Mr. FitzGerald has served as President of the FitzGerald Corporation in Washington, D.C. In addition, he serves as Vice Chairman of the African Development Foundation; and as Chairman of the Atlantic Council of the United States Foundation. Mr. Fitzgerald founded and was Chairman of the Board of the North American Housing Corporation, 1972-1989.

Mr. FitzGerald was graduated from the United States Naval Academy (B.S., 1931). He was born December 23, 1909 in Boston, Massachusetts. Mr. FitzGerald served in the United States Navy, 1941-1948. He is married, has two children and resides in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate William T. Pryce of Pennsylvania to be Ambassador to the Republic of Honduras. He would succeed Cresencio S. Arcos.

Since 1989, Mr. Pryce has served as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Latin America and the Caribbean at the National Security Council.

Before coming to the NSC, Mr. Pryce served as Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C. He served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Panama from 1982 to 1986. Prior to that, he was Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Bolivia, and Counselor for Political Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City.

Mr. Pryce joined the Foreign Service in 1958 after serving in the United States Navy from 1954 to 1958. During most of his career, he has specialized in Latin American and Eastern European Affairs. His early assignments included Mexico City, Moscow, and Panama, as well as service in the Department as Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. After serving as Chief of the Political Section in the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala City, Mr. Pryce was assigned in 1974 as Chief of Soviet Programs for the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. He attended the National War College in 1976 prior to serving as Executive Assistant to Ambassador at Large Ellsworth Bunker.

Mr. Pryce was born in San Diego, California, and grew up in Ebensburg, Pennsylvania. He was graduated from Wesleyan University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He is married to Joan MacClurg Pryce and has three children.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Princeton Nathan Lyman, of Maryland, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. He would succeed William Lacy Swing.

Since 1989, Dr. Lyman has served as Director of the Bureau for Refugee Programs at the United States Department of State. Prior to this, he served as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1986-1989; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs at the Department of State, 1981-1986; and as Director of the Office of Inter-African Affairs at the Department of State, 1980-1981.

Dr. Lyman was graduated from the University of California (A.B., 1957); Harvard University (M.A., 1959; Ph.D., 1961). He was born November 20, 1935 in San Francisco, California. Dr. Lyman is married, has three children and resides in Chevy Chase, Maryland.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate David C. Fields, of California, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Marshall Islands. He would succeed William Bodde, Jr.

Since 1990, Ambassador Fields has served as Director of the Office of Foreign Missions at the United States Department of State in Washington, D.C. Prior to this, he served as United States Ambassador to the Central African Republic, 1986-1989; Deputy Assistant Secretary for Security at the Department of State, 1984-1986; and as Administrative Counselor at the American Embassy in London, England, 1980-1984.

Ambassador Fields was graduated from Armstrong College (B.A., 1960). He was born January 13, 1937 in San Pedro, California. Ambassador Fields served in the United States Army, 1955-1957. He is married, has two children and resides Vienna, Virginia.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Teresita Currie Schaffer, of New York, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador to the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador to the Republic of Maldives. She would succeed Marion V. Creekmore Jr.

Since 1989, Ms. Schaffer has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs at the United States Department of State. Prior to this, she served at the Department of State as: Director of the Office of Egyptian Affairs, 1987-1989; Director of the Office of International Trade, 1982-1984; and as Chief of the Division of General Commercial Policy, Office of International Trade, 1980-1982.

Ms. Schaffer was graduated from Bryn Mawr College (B.A., 1966). She was born September 28, 1945 in Washington, D.C. Ms. Schaffer is married, has two children and resides in Washington, D.C.

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Pool Report # 4

May 7, 1992

COMMUNITY MEETING AFTER CHURCH SERVICE AT MT. ZION MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH, MOTORCADE TO RONALD REAGAN STATE OFFICE BUILDING AND MEETING WITH GOVERNOR

((Note, what follows is from notes. The White House will provide a transcript. It was hard to hear most of the speakers so please check our quotes against the transcript.))

After the church service, the Rev. E.V. Hill hosted a meeting of about two dozen community leaders, business leaders and victims of the riot in the basement of the hall adjoining the church. The session, which lasted about 20 minutes, was very polite and calm.

The President began by telling the leaders he wanted to "get the heartbeat of the community" from them and their suggestions on how the federal government can help. After mentioning some of the federal programs available, Bush said, "I don't want to go in to all these programs." He thanked them for coming and said he wanted to "let you know that justice will prevail, that we will follow through with my responsibilities under the law and the Department of Justice is following through on the justice side of the equation to see that, to examine to see if civil rights of anybody have been violated, Rodney King or anybody else. There will be fair play and equity there."

The President sat at the center of a horseshoe of people in folding chairs, his hands folded in his lap most of the time as he listened earnestly to their pleas. He emphasized that he did not want this to be a political visit, saying again, "I don't want it to be political." He added that there was "no way for a president to come here" in an election year and not have that accusation made. Many of the comments from the participants reiterated the idea residents of South Central LA wanted federal aid to help rebuild the area themselves. With Secretary Kemp looking on eagerly from the sideline, many of them endorsed the ideas of empowerment and home ownership. At one point, Kemp expressed his approval of the comments with a "hear, hear." At another point, Kemp jumped up from the bench where he had been seated so that he could get closer to the circle, apparently to hear more. He often nodded his head in obvious approval.

One of the participants, Rod Davis (please check spelling when transcript comes out), who identified himself as a small businessman, said: "We are totally burned out. Now is the time someone has to come to my aid. I don't know where to turn. I've never had an SBA loan." He said he needed help to "put my family and my business back together." Bush responded, "The federal government can, in a situation like this, be of real assistance ... to others like you whose life has gone up in smoke. We can give assistance with no strings attached." Another participant, Dr. Clyde Oden, president of the Watts Health Foundation, endorsed the idea of helping south central residents to own their homes as part of the rebuilding effort. "The people of LA want to own their own community," he said, "people want to protect what is theirs." Bush nodded his approval and said, "I strongly agree with that concept." Another participant, Lois Hill, president of a community group and board of education employee, said she did not have "a political ax to grind," but that she wanted a "number of unfavorable elements" removed from her community. She complained that the neighborhood's after school program needed \$6 to \$10 million to continue because of recent budget cuts. She also said a feeding program for area families "is being cut because there is no money to fund it." With her voice choking with emotions, she told the President that she lived at 89th and Avalon, an area so unsafe that she had to forbid her grandchildren from playing in a nearby park.

Another participant told Bush that the headquarters for "100 Black men" had been burned down and wanted to rebuild. Bush asked, "100 Black Men has no enemies. Why would somebody target it? Why the 100 Black Men?" One participant responded that perhaps the building had a city emblem on it; another participant suggested that the rioters felt so helpless that they were not rational. Another participant said told Bush the rioting was a "reflection of the class problem we have here. It was integration at its worst. They had no stake" in the community. The Rev. Albert Nicholas of the St. Peter's Baptist Church, told Bush at least 25 churches in the city had been burned and asked whether SBA low interest loans would be available for their rebuilding. Bush said, "it ought to" and turned to SBA head Pat Saiki and asked if she knew if the churches qualified. She said she did not know, but promised to look into it. Leon Watkins of the Family Health Line told Bush that in addition to rebuilding the structures of the community, "We need to begin to rebuild our young people, the ones who fell through the cracks." Thelma Eaton, the president of the coalition of black women, said the area needed more than a "band-aid approach." Walter Goodman, an unemployed metrorail construction worker, said, "I don't think you know of the discrimination that has been done to us." He added that he had been trying for months to get a job and couldn't. Leslie Small told Bush that he had benefited from a program under which he was able to go to college when he was in the "10th grade." The program has since been cancelled, but he called for more such efforts. "We need see a light at the end of the tunnel, not a handout but an opportunity to develop."

At the end of the session, Gov. Wilson, who was seated next to Bush, spoke about the roots of the community, personal ownership and family values. "We have to see to it that young men do not casually father children and then walk away." Rev. Hill then called the meeting a "new beginning for LA." He called on Bush to appoint a "blue ribbon committee" to assess race relations in the U.S. "If the drug problem demanded a czar and a commission to find a solution, ... race relations is potentially more dangerous than drugs." He said the commission was necessary so that people in the community know where to turn for help, what federal programs are available. He told a joke about a "Negro down in Alabama" who had never used a phone before. He picked up the phone and the operator said, "What number do you want?" He replied, "Don't get smart with me. What numbers do you have." Bush and the other participants laughed. Hill said that the riots might not have occurred if the people of the streets had been aware that the police could be charged under federal civil rights laws. "The streets didn't have that knowledge and thought we had hit a blank wall." He also said there could be "money that we don't know is there" and various federal programs unused if the government did not do a better job getting the word out. "The number one issue in this nation right now is race relations."

Bush thanked them for coming and the meeting concluded.

The motorcade was uneventful. The route: west on Vernon and north on the freeway. Little damage from the riots was visible.

Your pool was not allowed in to the meeting with the governor and state officials. The highlight of the event was when a number of your poolers got stuck in the elevator.

Quinn, Hearst
McDaniel, Newsweek

POOL REPORT # 7

May 7, 1992

Bush meets with Hispanic leaders

(Los Angeles, California)

Looking weary, Bush met with 15 Hispanic leaders to talk about economic redevelopment in South LA.

Kemp held animated conversations with several of the leaders gathered around a large oval table.

Bush arrived accompanied by Gov. Wilson, shook hands all around, and spoke for five minutes in very general terms. A transcript is coming.

Both Wilson and David Lizarraga, CEO of E LA Community Union, endorsed Kemp's urban programs.

"It is very important to get the kind of programs Secretary Kemp has advocated before," Lizarraga told Bush.

"There are those experiments in the Great Society that worked," said Lizarraga, citing Head Start. "We don't have to reinvent the wheel."

Bush replied, "Some worked, some didn't."

After a few more minutes of this, your pool was gently ejected from the room.

**Shanahan-NewHouse Newspapers
Mecoy-McClatchy Newspapers**

May 7, 1992

BUSH MEETS WITH KOREAN-AMERICAN LEADERS

(Los Angeles, California)

Bush was met on arrival at Radio Korea in Koreatown by several hundred Korean-American demonstrators assembled there to demand compensation from damage they suffered in the riots. "We Thought America was No. 1. Sorry, We Were Dead Wrong," one sign read. Other banners read "We Lost Everything" and "No More Gates."

The atmosphere inside Bush's meeting with two dozen Korean-American leaders was equally emotional and contentious. Bush was confronted with sharp complaints about police conduct and with demands for increased federal compensation. The remarks were piped in to the briefing room, and you should get a transcript. But here is some color and identification of those who questioned Bush.

The President sat on a folding chair as part of leaders seated in an oval in what appeared to be the newsroom of Radio Korea, KBLA AM 1580. He was introduced by David Kim, head of the Korean Chamber of Commerce, who said that "most of us Korean Americans have felt abandoned by the government and the police ... it wasn't until the federal troops moved in that Korean Americans felt safe."

Bush was greeted by a standing ovation when he walked in, and used his remarks in part to praise Jeng Hong Lee, head of the radio station. But not everyone in the group applauded when he finished his opening remarks. The attorney who immediately urged that Bush "make the victims whole" by extending special compensation to the Korean community was John S. C. Lim, president of the Korean-American Bar Assn. of Southern California.

The woman who later complained that "ten years or 20 years of hard work went down the drain overnight" was Helen Lim, a grocery store owner. She said that the community could not wait "for two weeks or three week waiting period for so-called government aid."

The woman who later identified herself as a housewife but challenged Bush to "protect us from the people who are attacking innocent civilians" was Young Choi. She suggested that Bush would "be concerned about Beverly Hills or whatever," prompting Bush to ask: "Why do you assume that I'm only concerned about Beverly Hills?"

The man who suggested that Daryl Gates had abandoned his duty was John Young Hwan, a local pastor. It was In Dong Oh of the Korean-American coalition who complained that the community "had the feeling that we were betrayed."

Bush stopped by a private relief center established by the radio station before he walked into the session, which was on Westlake Avenue near 9th St.

In his opening remarks, Bush again spoke with emotion as he referred to the "turmoil that every American regrets." Marlin Fitzwater said after the session that Bush was reacting to "a pretty incredible day" in which he had heard "a lot of heart-rending stories." "It's a pretty rare thing," Fitzwater said of Bush's many discussions with citizens affected by the riots.

Fitzwater made a point to emphasize what he called the "very sophisticated language" of those with whom Bush had spoken and noted that many advocated enterprise zones and other "modern-day approaches" embraced by the Administration. In Bush's meetings with African-Americans and Korean-Americans, Fitzwater said: "There was not a person who talked about handouts or increases in welfare. It's a different population."

Douglas Jehl, Los Angeles Times
Pam Kramer, San Jose Mercury News
Jonathan Alter, Newsweek

Pam Kramer, San Jose Mercury News

Jonathan Alter, Newsweek

POOL REPORT # 5

May 7, 1992

Bush meets with local and state leaders at Ronald Reagan State Office Building downtown.

No readout at this point on what went down. Bush, Sen. John Seymour and Sec. Sullivan described it as a "very good exchange."

"The mayor's that were present expressed their particular needs," Seymour said, adding that they were more interested in getting more support for existing programs than any new ideas that might be on the horizon. He said they asked Bush for more money to help with infrastructure, and that there was also a lot of interest expressed in enterprise zone proposals.

But Seymour said "I didn't hear any calls for new kinds of programs. I heard a lot about the need for more support for existing programs." Said there was talk about loans for businesses and to help people who lost homes or jobs get relief.

Seymour and Sullivan described the meetings as "upbeat" and "optimistic." Seymour said: "There was no finger pointing whatsoever." Just a real sense, he added, that "We can really rebuild Los Angeles and do it right this time."

He said Bush listened but asked a lot of questions in the session, which ran for more than one and a half hours. Bush was particularly interested, Seymour noted, in learning what he could about the gangs. "He asked for profiles of the gang leaders of the Bloods and the Crips (I was told that these spellings were correct but I'm not sure. Anyway, they are two prominent gangs in the L.A. area that were, I presume, involved in the rioting)," Seymour said after the meeting broke up. "He was interested in getting a better feel for what the average gang member, or their families..."

He said Bush was told about the risk of death, and how hopeless a lot of the gang families feel. This exchange was apparently prompted by a comment in the church meeting this morning from someone who said it was time to take advantage of "a truce" between gangs that's apparently been declared in the wake of the rioting.

Sullivan said everyone in the meeting expressed a commitment "to rebuild and restore" Los Angeles.

The pool was not allowed in at the top of the meeting, but stills got in for photos at end. An elevator stalled in the building with part of your pool, which apparently prompted the decision to close access at the top rather than wait for hot and bothered colleagues to be freed.

At the meeting: Wilson, Bradley, Peter Ueberroth, Deana (yes, Deana, but pronounced Dean) Dana, chairman of L.A. Board of Supervisors, and the following mayors -- Walter Tucker III, Compton; Edward Vincent, Inglewood; Louis Heine, Lynwood; Steve Anderson, Hawthorne and Ernie Hall, Long Beach. Also present, Kearns and Dellibovi of the federal task force Bush sent in, Kemp, Sullivan, Seymour, Marlin and assorted others.

Matt Quinn informs that some have asked about pre-church service comments from some this morning.

Actor Edward James Olmos (Stand and Deliver, Miami Vice fame), who's been involved from the beginning in the cleanup and bringing people together, said Bush should have come to L.A. sooner and criticized Bush for, he said, calling the looters and rioters "thugs." "He could have been trying to understand the problem rather than calling them thugs," he said.

He also said it was hard to avoid the situation being politicized this election year. But he said he hopes "The sincerity (of Bush's visit) will come through in his statements afterwards." "I think that he's actually here to learn, but I think the campaign is motivating him," he added.

In addition, Second District Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, who is confined to a wheelchair, said before entering the church that Bush's presence was "an outward sign of inward concern that he cares about the people of L.A." But he said he expected action instead of talk from the government. "Faith without works is dead," he said. "We have to have works." "The burnt out businesses need help now," he added. "Not a lot of regulations."

McDonald - Houston Chron

POOL REPORT # 3

May 7, 1992

Motorcade and tour of Riot Areas

First the president's remarks as he visited the Los Angeles Police Southwest Station (his second stop and the only one where he said anything your pool could hear). In a crowded room inside the station house, Captain Garrett Zimmon pointed on a map to the various damaged zones. A pooler asked Bush for his first reaction to what he had seen on the streets.

Bush: ``One of horror and dismay and sharing the sense of outrage that the people--honest people--in the community feel. And had some very interesting talks there with that young man that runs that Boys market. Saw one of his own employees running in to loot --take stuff out. This is just wanton lawlessness as he described it to me. So there is that aspect. Then you recognize you got to try to do everything you can to guard against it. You've got to enforce the law and then you have to try to get to the cause of the unrest. And we're trying to do that and have been.''

He then thanked the police officers and said: ``It's not easy times.''. He added of police efforts: ``I'll support them and I will continue to do it.''

The president then said he wanted to talk to the officers without the pool being present.

Now, from the beginning of the motorcade:

The extraordinarily long line of cars (we figure at least 30), departed at 7 a.m. for the approximately 30 minute drive down 3rd where we saw the first burned out evidence of the rioting at the intersection of Kenmore, where a shopping center had been torched. On the charred remains of a building only a huge cardboard sign remained, telling dental patients where to call. A Mexican restaurant El Pollo Taco had its ``open'' sign still intact, but the building was in ruins.

We turned onto Western and began to see more evidence of the destruction, although it was spotty. Some blocks were untouched, but others completely burned out. McDonalds suffered some broken windows. Kinney Shoes was completely burned. As we passed the skeletal remains of strip shopping centers, the smell of smoke was still noticeable.

Several signs posted on storefronts said the following: ``Shopping center is black owned--don't burn'' and ``Black owned. God is Love.''

The motorcade briefly took the Santa Monica Freeway and then turned south on Crenshaw Blvd. At the Broadway department store, the parking deck was turned into a staging area for the National Guard and their camouflage trucks.

A touch of irony: all along the way we could see dashes of brilliant color from the flowering trees and shrubs, especially from the deep blue wisterias.

Scattered onlookers were solemn and passive for the most part, although children waiting for school buses waved cheerfully. There were some signs of normalcy. A delivery man carried a vase of red roses along Western Ave. Children assembled on school playgrounds.

At about 7:30 a.m. the motorcade pulled into what remains of the Crenshaw Town Center's Pioneer Plaza, an L-shaped strip shopping center. The president walked along the front of the burned out Boys supermarket with the store's manager Dereke Carr (dressed in a red polo shirt), 30, who is black. Above were helicopters while at least three sharpshooters kept watch from the rooftop with binoculars. A surviving sign on the store read: ``We have double coupons. Lucky doesn't.''

The president and an entourage of business owners and officials walked across the parking lot, passed a series of totally destroyed stores. With Bush were Carr, black dentist William Faulkner who had an office there, and L.A. Urban League head John Mack. Also in attendance: SBA chief Patricia Saiki, HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan, Gov. Pete Wilson, and Sen. John Seymour (who stuck close by the president for the photo sessions). Also conspicuously following behind, with his suit coat thrown over his shoulder, was HUD Secretary Jack Kemp. Kemp tagged along well behind the group, gazing into the burned out structures.

Bush and the group, with Kemp joining in, huddled for several minutes outside what was left of the end store in the shopping center. All that was left to that business were the VISA and Mastercard emblems. As the photographers shot pictures, someone complained that Sullivan was blocking the view of the president. "Excuse me for being here," he quipped.

One business in the shopping center was still operating: Pete's Haven, a burger restaurant that is black-owned, your pool was informed.

Around 7:50 a.m. the motorcade left and drove to the police station on M.L. King Blvd., where the limousine pulled up to the rear. A large hand-written sign said: "Prisoner holding area." Bush visited outside with a group of officers. One handed him a cup of coffee, and he headed inside for the tour. He could be heard asking "Were these young hoodlum guys, or were they gang guys?" We couldn't hear the response. But here are some snatches of his discussion with the police: "Certainly respect what you do and support you. ... There are a lot of problems but we're very grateful to the police for what they do and their lives are risked for all of us."

Sidebar: Kemp was very much in evidence, often walking alone or talking to reporters and cameras. As Bush was inside the police station, he spoke at length to the remaining poolers, saying he was "sick to my stomach" at what had happened to the neighborhood and adding that he used to drive his father's truck through it when he was growing up in West L.A.

Kemp: "It is a tragedy... that has caused us to reach perhaps critical mass in which Democrats and Republicans, the Congress and the White House, the black mayors -- which I just spoke to last week -- could come together on an urban economic development, job creation, entrepreneurship and housing ownership plan to begin to inject some hope and equality of opportunity in the ghettos and barrios of America.

"If I simply stand out on the streets of Los Angeles and point the finger at Democrats and they point the finger at Bush and you (press) point the finger at us, we're going to lose the moment. We're going to lose this feeling that I have of critical mass. I think that we've reached a consensus now that more jobs, more housing and home ownership and better educational choice and giving people a stake in a community will help bring stability to a neighborhood.... The system keeps people from climbing out of poverty. It really is smothering the incentive and the potential of our inner cities to develop."

Or, if you prefer, this quickie: "There's going to have to be compromise on both sides" (to get a long-range program passed.)

After Bush left the police station, he motorcaded to the church prayer service.

Julia Malone, Cox Newspapers and Kathy Lewis, Dallas Morning News

Pool Report # 4

May 7, 1992

COMMUNITY MEETING AFTER CHURCH SERVICE AT MT. ZION MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH, MOTORCADE TO RONALD REAGAN STATE OFFICE BUILDING AND MEETING WITH GOVERNOR

((Note, what follows is from notes. The White House will provide a transcript. It was hard to hear most of the speakers so please check our quotes against the transcript.))

After the church service, the Rev. E.V. Hill hosted a meeting of about two dozen community leaders, business leaders and victims of the riot in the basement of the hall adjoining the church. The session, which lasted about 20 minutes, was very polite and calm.

The President began by telling the leaders he wanted to "get the heartbeat of the community" from them and their suggestions on how the federal government can help. After mentioning some of the federal programs available, Bush said, "I don't want to go in to all these programs." He thanked them for coming and said he wanted to "let you know that justice will prevail, that we will follow through with my responsibilities under the law and the Department of Justice is following through on the justice side of the equation to see that, to examine to see if civil rights of anybody have been violated, Rodney King or anybody else. There will be fair play and equity there."

The President sat at the center of a horseshoe of people in folding chairs, his hands folded in his lap most of the time as he listened earnestly to their pleas. He emphasized that he did not want this to be a political visit, saying again, "I don't want it to be political." He added that there was "no way for a president to come here" in an election year and not have that accusation made. Many of the comments from the participants reiterated the idea residents of South Central LA wanted federal aid to help rebuild the area themselves. With Secretary Kemp looking on eagerly from the sideline, many of them endorsed the ideas of empowerment and home ownership. At one point, Kemp expressed his approval of the comments with a "hear, hear." At another point, Kemp jumped up from the bench where he had been seated so that he could get closer to the circle, apparently to hear more. He often nodded his head in obvious approval.

One of the participants, Rod Davis (please check spelling when transcript comes out), who identified himself as a small businessman, said: "We are totally burned out. Now is the time someone has to come to my aid. I don't know where to turn. I've never had an SBA loan." He said he needed help to "put my family and my business back together." Bush responded, "The federal government can, in a situation like this, be of real assistance ... to others like you whose life has gone up in smoke. We can give assistance with no strings attached." Another participant, Dr. Clyde Oden, president of the Watts Health Foundation, endorsed the idea of helping south central residents to own their homes as part of the rebuilding effort. "The people of LA want to own their own community," he said, "people want to protect what is theirs." Bush nodded his approval and said, "I strongly agree with that concept." Another participant, Lois Hill, president of a community group and board of education employee, said she did not have "a political ax to grind," but that she wanted a "number of unfavorable elements" removed from her community. She complained that the neighborhood's after school program needed \$6 to \$10 million to continue because of recent budget cuts. She also said a feeding program for area families "is being cut because there is no money to fund it." With her voice choking with emotions, she told the President that she lived at 89th and Avalon, an area so unsafe that she had to forbid her grandchildren from playing in a nearby park.

Another participant told Bush that the headquarters for "100 Black men" had been burned down and wanted to rebuild. Bush asked, "100 Black Men has no enemies. Why would somebody target it? Why the 100 Black Men?" One participant responded that perhaps the building had a city emblem on it; another participant suggested that the rioters felt so helpless that they were not rational. Another participant said told Bush the rioting was a "reflection of the class problem we have here. It was integration at its worst. They had no stake" in the community. The Rev. Albert Nicholas of the St. Peter's Baptist Church, told Bush at least 25 churches in the city had been burned and asked whether SBA low interest loans would be available for their rebuilding. Bush said, "it ought to" and turned to SBA head Pat Saiki and asked if she knew if the churches qualified. She said she did not know, but promised to look into it. Leon Watkins of the Family Health Line told Bush that in addition to rebuilding the structures of the community, "We need to begin to rebuild our young people, the ones who fell through the cracks." Thelma Eaton, the president of the coalition of black women, said the area needed more than a "band-aid approach." Walter Goodman, an unemployed metrorail construction worker, said, "I don't think you know of the discrimination that has been done to us." He added that he had been trying for months to get a job and couldn't. Leslie Small told Bush that he had benefited from a program under which he was able to go to college when he was in the "10th grade." The program has since been cancelled, but he called for more such efforts. "We need see a light at the end of the tunnel, not a handout but an opportunity to develop."

At the end of the session, Gov. Wilson, who was seated next to Bush, spoke about the roots of the community, personal ownership and family values. "We have to see to it that young men do not casually father children and then walk away." Rev. Hill then called the meeting a "new beginning for LA." He called on Bush to appoint a "blue ribbon committee" to assess race relations in the U.S. "If the drug problem demanded a czar and a commission to find a solution, ... race relations is potentially more dangerous than drugs." He said the commission was necessary so that people in the community know where to turn for help, what federal programs are available. He told a joke about a "Negro down in Alabama" who had never used a phone before. He picked up the phone and the operator said, "What number do you want?" He replied, "Don't get smart with me. What numbers do you have." Bush and the other participants laughed. Hill said that the riots might not have occurred if the people of the streets had been aware that the police could be charged under federal civil rights laws. "The streets didn't have that knowledge and thought we had hit a blank wall." He also said there could be "money that we don't know is there" and various federal programs unused if the government did not do a better job getting the word out. "The number one issue in this nation right now is race relations."

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Quinn, Hearst
McDaniel, Newsweek

Thursday
May 7, 1992

Re Rug:

send to Library

Mr. President:

1. The rug from His Excellency Askar Akayez, President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan is under value (\$175) and you can keep it. It has been logged by the gift unit and the thank you is being prepared. ✓
2. The fishing rod and reel from Andy Mill and Chris was valued at \$280. I told the gift unit you would take the "hit". The rod and reel are in the fishing closet on the 3rd floor of the Residence. Do you need to send a thank you? The rod is personalized, President George H.W. Bush, and is a "Randy Towe" signature series. Reel is "Stradic 3000" with custom aero wrap system. Very nice quality.
3. Your Reebok shoes and clothes arrived today and they are in your bathroom along with some other clothes that I found in the gift unit (all under value) that I thought you might like to keep or give away. I love the elephant shirts! ✓
4. I sent the NEW BALANCE running shoes to Neil Bush. According to Sharon, he wears a size 11 1/2. If they don't fit, she will send them back to us for Mary. ✓
5. Neil Bush will be in town next Friday for a dinner in honor of Julie and Gregg Petersmeyer. Their wedding is schedule for next Saturday (5/16). Sharon will not accompany Neil -- she has a previous commitment in New York (Long Island) with her charity (Karatas). Per Nan Ellis, John Bush is attending Sharon's event. ✓
6. George W. will be here next Thursday (I've alerted Laurie so she can invite him to the Gorbachev dinner). George departs the next morning (Friday, May 15). ✓
7. Dr. Falwell attended the National Day of Prayer event at the White House Thursday morning and brought with him the "Liberty Singers"-- students from Liberty University. The group consisted of 5 men and 5 women -- they sang a cappella -- and it was very nice. You might want to keep them in mind for something special at the Camp David chapel. The harmony was beautiful! ✓
see above

Dr. Falwell asked to be remembered to you and the First Lady.

8. Commander Camp called to let us know that Dr. Broomley's visit to Camp David this week went very well. He and his daughter arrived Monday morning and departed Wednesday morning very relaxed.

Andy Card is tentatively scheduled to go up in June. Admiral Watkins, Lynn Martin and Lou Sullivan are scheduled for July.
Lamar Alexander is scheduled for 2 days in August.

9. I spoke to Alan Alper today and offered him 4 of Sig's tickets for one of the Oakland/Orioles baseball games next week. He was pleased and took 4 for Tuesday night.

During the course of our conversation, he asked if you were using Jean. I told him "no". He said she "put him out of business". She got everything and he got nothing. He's seeing a bare minimum of people right now because he doesn't have any space. He's negotiating with the Omni Shoreham, but that's taking time -- to offer Alan space, they have to remodel an area. He said it is very tough getting re-established.

10. How was your Dobson meeting?

oops!!
I hope your wings don't
fall off - cry,

Have a good weekend --

see you Monday! (get it SEE you!)

— yes I
get it!!!

Patty

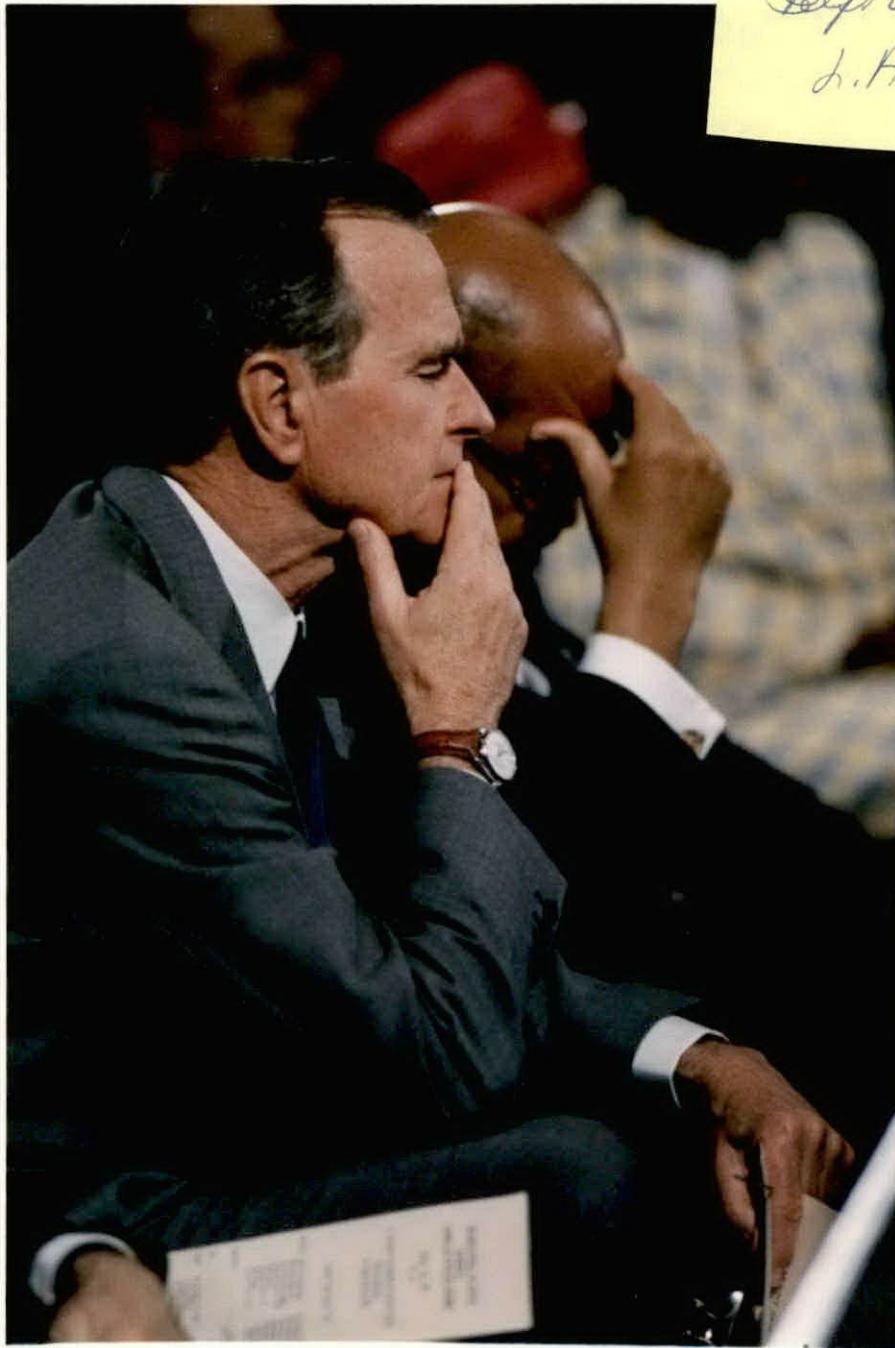


Meeting with
Mayors in L.A.



Korean Community
L.A. Calif

Mount Zion
Baptist Church
L.A. Calif







Hispanic
Grp.
Meeting
L.A. CA.

DATE: May 7 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

Who Gained in the 1980s? Everybody

By ALAN REYNOLDS

While enumerating the causes of riots on a recent TV talk show, Jerry Brown was incensed that "the top 1% have more wealth than the bottom 90%." The inference was that those who have not acquired much wealth are entitled to take it from others, either through politics or less organized forms of looting.

The source of Gov. Brown's remark was a New York Times story, loosely based on a Federal Reserve survey. This front-page story claimed the wealthiest 1% had 37% of all net worth in 1989, up from 31% in 1983. This, said the Times, seems to "fly in the face of America's idea of itself." One irate professor spoke of an "unprecedented jump in inequality to Great Gatsby levels." Another Harvard professor became nostalgic about depressions and wars, admiring "the great leveling of wages and wealth during the New Deal and World War II." Since virtually all of the alleged redistribution of wealth occurred within the top 10%, though, this righteous indignation is about some millionaires doing better than others.

Estimates of the share of wealth owned by the top 1% can't really be taken seriously. After all, 1% means just 31 families among the 3,143 sampled. Some years ago, the late Warren Brookes uncovered that a similar Fed survey had been grossly distorted by an error involving a single individual. This time, perhaps the survey stumbled upon Donald Trump, Leona Helmsley or Mike Milken (in which case a newer survey might already look a bit different).

To see how small samples create mean-

ingless figures, consider the fact that this same study shows the highest median stock ownership among families earning less than \$10,000. Only 2% of such families own stock, but half of those own more than \$30,000 worth, compared with a \$12,000 median for those earning more than \$50,000. If we are to take small samples seriously, we would have to conclude that a lower capital gains tax on stocks would be of greatest benefit to the very poorest families in the U.S.

The serious data from this same survey, published in the Federal Reserve Bulletin in January, tell a quite different story. They show that 40% of families earning between \$20,000 and \$50,000 saw their average real net worth rise by 28% from 1983 to 1989, while the 20% earning more than \$50,000 had only a 6.6% gain. The Fed report concludes that, "Families headed by persons having some higher education and married couples headed by persons under 55 years of age showed particularly large increases." The data clearly show a broad-based increase in wealth, particularly among people with modest incomes.

The Fed study notes that "the mean," or average, "is a better indicator of the dollar amount of income or assets held by all families because it considers all values, the extreme as well as the typical." Mean net

worth rose by 23% for all families, while median net worth rose by 11%. The study leaps to the conclusion that "the contrast between the median and mean suggests an increase in the concentration of net worth among wealthy families." In contrast with this speculation, though, the facts clearly show that the largest increases in mean

Everybody Got Richer

Net worth in 1989 dollars, rounded

INCOME	1983 MEAN	1989 MEAN	1983 MEDIAN	1989 MEDIAN
\$10-20,000	\$ 30,000	\$ 30,000	\$ 19,000	\$ 27,000
\$20-30,000	70,000	90,000	37,000	37,000
\$30-50,000	118,000	150,000	68,000	69,000
\$50,000 & up	551,000	587,000	176,000	186,000

Source: Federal Reserve Bulletin

wealth were among families with income of between \$20,000 and \$50,000, while the largest increases in median wealth were at lower and higher incomes.

Privately owned businesses are the largest item of wealth by a wide margin, and also accounted for the largest increase in wealth, with investment real estate a distant second. For Jerry Brown and the New York Times to gripe about the increase in net worth amounts to complaining that there are more businesses and buildings in the U.S., and they are worth more.

It is no surprise to find that wealth is closely correlated with age. In 1989, median net worth among household heads under age 35 was \$6,800, while that of households with heads aged 45 to 64 was \$91,300. Ownership of businesses, however, shows an increasing tendency to decline with age. In 1989, 17% of all families aged 35 to 44 owned a business, but this declines to 11.3% at age 55 to 64, 7.9% at 65 to 74, and 4.7% above age 75.

The fact that business ownership accounted for most of the increased wealth in the 1980s thus suggests a redistribution of wealth toward younger people. This also unravels the mystery of why mean wealth grew faster than median wealth, even though wealth gains were largest among those earning less than \$50,000. "Mean" ownership of private businesses rose by 95,000. But "median" ownership of such businesses is relatively small, because only 11.5% of all families own their own businesses. Since business ownership declines with age, while incomes usually rise before retirement, the increase in "mean" wealth cannot be simply equated with high incomes.

The fact that real household wealth rose substantially among middle-class households should put to rest another sturdy myth — namely, that there was an enormous and dangerous increase in personal debt in the 1980s. The Fed study points out that "much of that increase [in debt] was in families reporting the most financial assets." In all income and age groups, the increase in assets far exceeded the increase in debt, even in the peak years of 1983 and 1989. And by far the largest increases in assets were tangible, not financial — businesses and buildings. Critics of the Reagan years can and do complain about too many assets and also about too much debt. But elementary bookkeeping requires that we subtract the debt from the assets. A broadly based 23% rise in average, real net worth means the "debt binge" stories are pure myth.

When comparing income or wealth over many years, what we most need to know is the threshold or minimum cut-off defining the top 1%. This is where all these "studies" become prudently elusive. The Times

simply says the richest 1% are "millionaires at a minimum," glossing over the fact that this means a million dollars of wealth, not income. Many owners of farms, small businesses, homes and pensions have a net worth well above a million dollars. And a million dollars invested at 6% yields an annual income of \$60,000, which scarcely ensures a Great Gatsby retirement.

It is quite possible that the value of assets counted among the top 1% may have risen mainly because of the increase in assets held by those well below the top 1%. How is that possible? Because broadly based increases in wealth must raise the minimum threshold or cut-off point defining the top 1%. Suppose, for example, the "top 1%" used to mean a net worth above \$1 million (in constant dollars), but now means a net worth above \$3 million. Clearly, the total or average value of all net assets above \$3 million will be a larger number than the sum of assets above \$1 million. This does not mean "the rich are getting richer." What it means is that it now takes a much higher net worth to be counted among the top 1% than it did in 1983, when there were fewer privately owned businesses and buildings.

Too many families crowding into millionaire status meant the benchmark had to be raised, with only much higher net worth now included among the top 1%. But that benchmark is being pushed up from below — by a larger percentage of families with higher wealth — not pulled up by the same 1%. By itself, the share of wealth or income counted among the top 1% in two different time periods does not tell us anything about what happened to wealth or income among those below the top 1%. Statistical gamesmanship about the horrors of affluence is inherently misleading and essentially meaningless.

Mr. Reynolds is director of economic studies at the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis, Ind.

New Facts on the POWs Stalin Kept

By JOHN MILLER

Gen. Dimitriy Volkogonov, President Yeltsin's most senior military adviser, stood in front of the hastily assembled press corps in Moscow last month and made an astonishing pronouncement. He said that he believed that at least 76 or 78 American servicemen of Russian or Jewish ancestry had been held by the Soviet government after World War II and had died in Soviet prison or labor camps. His comments were addressed to a former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Malcolm Toon, and other members of a newly-formed Russian-U.S. commission on POW MIAs, including myself.

The general's claim may seem difficult to accept. But consider these corroborative facts:

1. Declassified U.S. military cables reveal that as early as 1945, the Supreme Allied Command was aware that American POWs were being held captive by the Soviets. Gen. Eisenhower advised his superiors that the Soviets were holding 25,000 U.S. POWs hostage. U.S. Army Lt. Colonel James Wilmet had been refused access to U.S. POWs held in Soviet-occupied Poland. Maj. Gen. R. W. Barker, in charge of prisoner repatriation, was refused permission by the Soviets to fly out Americans held in four known Soviet POW camps.

2. In a soon to be published book, "Soldiers of Misfortune," reporters Mark Sauter and Jim Sanders document through extensive interviews that many American and British POWs fled Soviet-held POW camps in 1945 Germany, and after reaching the West, told American authorities of scores and hundreds of American POWs left behind.

3. The U.S. ambassador to Moscow at the time, W. Averell Harriman, advised President Roosevelt in 1945 that the Soviets

were violating the Yalta Agreement provision for access to and repatriation of POWs. Roosevelt cabled Stalin to protest, but when Stalin denied the charges, the U.S. government let the matter drop.

Now a minority report from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has produced declassified documents that reveal an irritated Harriman recommending that the U.S. retaliate against the Soviets. Harriman wanted the retaliation to include restricting Soviet access to Soviet prisoners in U.S. hands, stopping certain land-lease shipments and arranging for those Americans who had been repatriated by the Soviets to tell the press of the Soviet mistreatment of American POWs and the Soviet violation of the Yalta repatriation agreement. But Harriman's recommendation went nowhere. Instead, a directive came down from Washington to avoid any criticism of the Soviets.

4. On April 18, 1991, after 46 years of official denial, President Mikhail Gorbachev hand-delivered to then-Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama a purportedly "complete" list of nearly 60,000 Japanese POWs and Koreans employed by the Japanese who died while in Soviet captivity after World War II.

It was this latter information that finally persuaded the State Department to follow the lead of such nations as Japan, Italy and Hungary, and press Mr. Gorbachev for access to the Soviet archives that could hold information on the fate of our country's POWs. Gen. Volkogonov's information ought to keep the State Department on the trail.

Rep. Miller (R., Wash.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, serves on the joint Russian-U.S. Commission on POW MIAs.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

Bush Reaffirms View That Federal Aid Isn't the Solution to Cities' Problems

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—President Bush flew to riot-torn Los Angeles for what he called "honest talk" about the nation's urban problems, but he reiterated his view that large-scale federal aid is not the answer.

Before leaving the White House, Mr. Bush sought to play down the political

SBA Plans Aid

Small Business Administration aid to Los Angeles may go beyond disaster loans. See story on page B2.

recriminations that began earlier this week when his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, blamed Great Society programs for causing inner-city problems. "I don't want to assign blame," Mr. Bush said. "This isn't the time to go out and try to divide the country... We've got to begin the healing process."

At the same time, Mr. Bush didn't back away from the substance of Mr. Fitzwater's statement, which the president himself has expressed before. On the contrary, Mr. Bush said the urban crisis highlighted by the riots "vindicated" his critique of existing social welfare programs.

"We've got to get past this view, and it's tough in an election year, when you hear all the promises of these grand designs which means just more federal spending," Mr. Bush told the American Newspaper Publishers Association in a teleconference. "I don't think the highly centralized federal answers work."

Instead, the president reiterated his support for what he called a "diffused, decentralized" approach emphasizing individual opportunity in such areas as education, health, housing and welfare policy. "It is far more important to give people a piece of the action than it is to have the federal government simply dump largesse on them," Mr. Bush said.

Before leaving for Los Angeles, the president met for the third day in a row with cabinet members to discuss the administration's response to the riots. Mr.

Fitzwater said the president's visit, which is scheduled to end tomorrow, will be primarily "a listening session" in which Mr. Bush will hear from elected officials and community leaders.

The administration already has made available some \$600 million in emergency aid, including grants of as much as \$11,500 for people urgently in need of housing, food, clothing and medicine. Business owners can receive loans of as much as \$500,000 for riot losses not covered by insurance, while homeowners and renters can receive loans of as much as \$100,000 for uninsured losses. As for the long term, Mr. Bush is expected to step up support for urban policies the administration has offered but hasn't aggressively pushed in the past.

"We're not going there to put [out] a new blueprint for solving the problem in the city of Los Angeles," Mr. Fitzwater said.

Northeast Utilities

Thirteen Workers Suspended For Inspection Discrepancies

Northeast Utilities, Berlin, Conn., suspended 13 workers after an investigation showed they missed or improperly recorded inspections at the Millstone nuclear power plants in Waterford, Conn.

The investigation, which began in early April and concluded last week, was reported to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which has been sharply critical of the company's nuclear operations.

Northeast also suspended two other workers under contract after discrepancies were found in a review of inspection records. The workers were in health physics, responsible for monitoring health hazards to workers from exposure to radiation.

The suspensions varied depending on the number of incidents under question and the reasons the operators gave for missing or improperly recording the inspections. Most have completed their suspensions and returned to work, a spokesman said.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

On the Issue of Race, Bush Appears to Display A Curious Mix of Sensitivity and Obliviousness

By MICHEL McQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Thursday morning, hours after South Central Los Angeles erupted in riots, President Bush convened an Oval Office meeting with Attorney General William Barr, Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner, and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan, the only black member of his cabinet.

Someone suggested that Dr. Sullivan arrange a meeting of black leaders with the president. But before he could answer, Mr. Bush—aware that the secretary, a scholarly physician, might not want to be used as his point man on black issues—jumped in, saying: "Don't put Lou in that box." He relented only when Dr. Sullivan assured him he was eager for the assignment.



George Bush

The display of personal sensitivity wasn't unusual for Mr. Bush. But neither were his remarks a year earlier when, two days after white Los Angeles policemen were captured on videotape brutally beating a prone black motorist, he lavishly praised their chief, Daryl Gates, as "an all-American hero," seemingly oblivious to the fury the beating had caused or how it reflected on Mr. Gates's leadership.

Public and Private Faces

The incidents show the two sides of George Bush on the subject of race. Privately, his personal empathy in dealings with individuals he knows can surprise both blacks and whites. At other times, his apparent ignorance of the common sensibilities of blacks and other minorities can be so complete that people of all races assume him at best a captive of his privileged background or at worst a crass manipulator of racial stereotypes.

"You could talk about this in terms of the public and the private man," says Stephen Hess, a Brookings Institution analyst who served in the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations. "The private man has been quite exemplary, a very decent human being, who has repeatedly done things that were special for his time." But at the same time, Mr. Hess says, "The record as a public man is quite a checkered one . . . nothing that matches our understanding of him as a private man."

With Mr. Bush in Los Angeles today to grapple with the issues presented by the rioting, his attitudes and vision about race are being tested as never before. During his two-day visit, he is expected to meet with black, Hispanic and Asian-American representatives and to discuss ways to improve conditions in Los Angeles and other cities.

More broadly, the visit will be a part of a larger test of the president's ability to address newly charged racial issues in a way that balances his responsibilities as the leader of all the nation's people with the realities of being a political leader with a conservative base.

There is already evidence the public finds him wanting on that score. Polls in the wake of the rioting suggest voters see probable Democratic challenger Bill Clinton as better able to improve race relations and address the root causes of racial disturbances.

Nothing irritates George Bush more than the suggestion that he is racist or unfair. That is in part because of his and his family's long history of support for such causes as the United Negro College Fund. He and his defenders also point to his appointments of blacks to such positions as Supreme Court justice, chairman of the

Joint Chiefs of Staff, HHS secretary, chief White House congressional lobbyist, and directors of Social Security and the federal personnel office.

Clash Over Civil-Rights Bill

His resentment flashed at a news conference last summer as he and Democrats in Congress fought over a civil-rights bill. His voice rising, Mr. Bush denied allegations that his comments on the bill—suggesting that Democrats favor hiring quotas—were exacerbating racial tensions in the country. He cited his nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court as evidence of his good intentions toward minorities.

Still, he added, the allegation "does concern me because . . . this kind of drop, drop, drop, of water on a rock could make a difference." His message to black Americans, he said, was: "Hey listen, we've got a good record on civil rights and we're going to continue on it and you ought to be rejoicing that we have a very able judge to be elevated to the Supreme Court."

Many black people who know Mr. Bush personally believe in his sincerity on the subject of race. In Houston, for example, the Ferrell family, owners of the prominent local catering company Bennie Ferrell Catering Inc., is so devoted to Mr. Bush that two of the daughters have become registered Republicans.

The relationship began decades ago when Mr. Ferrell was a bartender for a white caterer who organized parties for the Bushes. One night, recalls the late Mr. Ferrell's wife, Norma, a guest of Mr. Bush's began making racist jokes. Mr. Bush ordered the man to leave and apologized personally to the staff. "That just wasn't done," says Mrs. Ferrell. "This was the 1950s, when it was fashionable to tell these jokes."

Mr. Bush has signaled his concern about civil rights in other unlikely places. In a visit to a Glynn, Ga., law enforcement center in June of 1989, a young border-patrol student asked what advice he would offer. His answer was that "despite the suspicion, circumstantial evidence, an individual should be respected, given his rights. I know that's sometimes difficult."

But it is perhaps because of his intense regard for individual dignity that his detachment from group sensibilities is so striking. In his autobiography, Mr. Bush wrote of wanting to use his position as a Republican county chairman in Texas in 1963 to attract black voters to the GOP. Yet a year later, in a bid for a Senate seat, he was actively campaigning against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, calling it a "radical" intrusion on states' rights.

That sort of split was on display again during the fight over the civil-rights bill, a bill designed to counter a series of Supreme Court decisions weakening certain job-discrimination laws. Mr. Bush went from opposing the need for a bill to negotiating one with Congress to vetoing it—despite rare personal appeals by two of his highest-ranking black appointees, Dr. Sullivan and Office of Personnel Management Director Constance Newman.

Strained Relations

Though he ended up signing another version of the bill just over a year later, the conflict strained relations with some of his longest-standing associates in the black community, including Vernon Jordan, a Democrat, and William Coleman, a Republican, both prominent Washington lawyers and former civil-rights activists.

The president's wavering on these issues leads many people to assume he has no vision of race relations, only political impulses. "What he ought to do is stop, at least for once, that whatever-it-takes-to-win mentality, and actually look at the cities," says Linda Williams, a University of Maryland political scientist.

Almost four years after it was used in

the 1988 campaign, the Willie Horton issue continues to rankle. Images of the black convict, who raped a white woman and also assaulted her husband while on furlough from a Massachusetts prison, were used in independent TV ads supporting Mr. Bush's election as well as in literature of the Bush campaign itself—even though most of the convicts furloughed under the Massachusetts program were white. Although many of Mr. Bush's closest black advisers, including Dr. Sullivan, have been quoted as saying they were uncomfortable with the use of the Horton case, Mr. Bush has never repudiated it. At a news conference last year, the president said that "the point on Willie Horton was not Willie Horton himself; the point was, do you believe in a furlough program that releases people from jail so they can go out and rape, pillage and plunder again?"

Still, William McInturff, a Republican pollster who worked as a consultant to Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign, suggests: "At the end of his life he may well say, 'God I wish we didn't do that,' because it has colored everything about his discussions of these issues since."

As the president seeks to move forward in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, William Bennett, formerly the director of Mr. Bush's anti-drug program, says the president should begin to conduct a serious dialogue on race and urban problems. Mr. Bush, he says, now has an opportunity to advance programs, such as urban enterprise zones, that he has proposed but done little to push.

"If something like this happens, the issues are out on the table, whether you want them there or not," Mr. Bennett says.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

House Panel Votes to Extend Jobless-Aid Plan

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — A House subcommittee approved another extension of emergency jobless benefits, through year end, along with a change in the payroll tax that employers pay to finance unemployment aid.

The measure, which would extend the program for the third time since last fall, would allow jobless workers who have exhausted their basic 26 weeks of state aid to qualify for an additional 20 or 26 weeks of added federal compensation. The duration of extra aid would depend on the unemployment rate in a worker's state.

The bill, sponsored by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.) and Rep. Thomas Downey (D., N.Y.), who heads the subcommittee that approved it yesterday, would also make permanent changes in the unemployment-compensation system to make it easier for longtime jobless people to draw emergency federal aid in the future. The measure could go to the full committee as early as next week, aides said.

The Bush administration, which last fall supported the emergency-aid program only after a long battle with Democrats, backs an extension without the permanent changes. Some conservative Democrats likewise are wary of broader changes, and would prefer a simple, quick extension. At the same time, Democratic leaders in the House and Senate are considering folding the jobless-aid measure into a broader package of domestic initiatives.

Such talk has increased in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, which drew the politicians' attention to urban problems.

The cost of the latest jobless-aid proposal, \$6.6 billion over six years, would be met by extending two laws limiting the tax deductions and personal exemptions that upper-income taxpayers can claim. The bill also would alter employers' payroll tax liability to finance jobless benefits, but in a way that doesn't raise any more revenue than the current system.

Currently, employers pay a 0.8% tax on the first \$7,000 of each employee's annual wages. The bill would lower the tax rate, but raise the amount of wages subject to the tax, thereby spreading the tax burden more among employers of higher-wage workers. The tax rate would drop to 0.3% in 1994 through 1996, and to 0.25% in 1997 and thereafter. The wages subject to tax would be \$27,000 in 1994, supporters estimate, and the amount would rise in subsequent years, according to national wage trends.

The subcommittee approved the measure by voice vote, after defeating a series of GOP amendments aimed at scaling back the Democrats' proposal. The panel's top Republican, Florida Rep. Clay Shaw, warned Democrats, "You're looking at an absolute, certain veto."

Among the rejected GOP proposals was one from Iowa Rep. Fred Grandy that was said to represent the administration's position. It would have provided extended federal aid of 13 or 20 weeks, depending on a state's jobless rate, through Oct. 3, and then fewer weeks' benefits through next Feb. 13. The aid would be partly financed by cutting back tax benefits now allowed for purchasers of failed thrift institutions.

Without an extension, the current emergency aid program expires July 4. Those receiving aid on that date would draw the remaining benefits to which they're entitled.

Darman Backs Amendment Requiring Balanced Budget

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — White House Budget Director Richard Darman said he backs a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget because of "the frequent failure of the political system to do what responsible analysis would seem to suggest is right."

Mr. Darman told the House Budget Committee yesterday that he became a convert to the cause after concluding that the political system — namely, Congress and the president — has evaded all previous attempts to force it to cut the budget deficit.

A constitutional amendment would provide "the extra discipline" required to protect the interests of Americans who will be forced to pay the debts incurred today, Mr. Darman argued.

President Bush favors such an amendment, and support in Congress is building. The amendment won a symbolic test vote yesterday in the House, which voted to instruct conferees on the fiscal 1993 budget resolution to join their Senate counterparts in endorsing the concept.

House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta (D., Calif.) protested that the constitutional amendment wouldn't give the president or Congress "the guts to cut spending or raise revenues" and could create thorny enforcement and legal problems. He suggested that Mr. Bush initiate another round of deficit-reduction negotiations with Congress. Mr. Darman replied that such talks would probably fail in an election year.

Mr. Bush's latest budget shows annual deficits of nearly \$200 billion through 1997.

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Ross Perot and the Business of Politics

By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

"The businessman dealing with a large political question," the elder Henry Cabot Lodge wrote Theodore Roosevelt in 1902, "is really a painful sight. It does seem to me that businessmen, with a few exceptions, are worse when they come to deal with politics than men of any other class."

The elder Lodge was himself an unregenerate conservative, so his comment was addressed not to policies advocated by business but to the failure of businessmen to grasp the democratic process. And indeed, among the 40 men who have served as president of this republic, only three — and they arguably, marginally and remotely — can be described as having succeeded in business: Herbert Hoover, Jimmy Carter and George Bush. Most of our presidents have been lawyers, a few have been generals, and nearly all became — had to become — professional politicians.

Have the voters been wrong in choosing politicians rather than businessmen as our presidents? Would the republic have been better off if 30 rather than three of our presidents had come out of business?

Command and Obedience

It cannot be said that Presidents Hoover, Carter and Bush make an overpowering case for business as the ideal preparation for government. In fact, business and government are radically different trades requiring radically different qualities. The problem is one of *modus operandi*. Business executives are accustomed to issuing orders for instant execution by deferential underlings — or else. Their habit is command; their expectation is automatic obedience. As for the underlings, their's not to reason why.

This mode of operation unquestionably can achieve mighty results in business — especially in those cases when CEOs know what they are doing. But you can't run a government this way, at least in a democracy. Legislators and voters insist on knowing the reason why. Democratic government does not operate by command and obedience. It operates by persuasion, compromise and consent.

Persuasion, compromise and consent call on qualities that are not essential to success in business. Business leaders tend to be autocrats, not educators. But politics is at bottom an educational process — which is no doubt why so few businessmen have become president, why those who make the presidency tend to fail at it, and why so many politicians, conservatives as well as liberals, agree with Henry Cabot Lodge.

Yet Americans have had a long romance with the idea of a business executive, salty, downright and vigorous, who would cut through legalisms, sweep out bureaucracies, discipline politicians, abolish waste and fraud, crack down on criminals, clean up the town and, above all, GET THINGS DONE. Nearly 60 years ago Walter Huston played the type in a film called "Gabriel Over the White House." And there is a distinct Frank Capra touch in today's prospective drama of Mr. Perot going to Washington.

Ross Perot, judging from his billions, is a formidable business achiever. He is also,

people enter politics. How will Ross Perot bear up under the microscrutiny to which the media will now subject him? How will he take to minute inquiries into his past? How will Mr. New Broom justify his own successful manipulation of government through lawyers, lobbyists and well-placed campaign contributions? When will Mr. Clean give us his income tax returns?

Will he maintain his breezy cockiness when reporters ask him the impertinent questions they have become accustomed to asking candidates? Of course he might brazen things out, figuring that the media are so unpopular that prosecutorial inquisi-

Board of Contributors

It cannot be said that Presidents Hoover, Carter and Bush make an overpowering case for business as the ideal preparation for government.

judging from his television appearances, an engagingly opinionated man, refreshing in his cockiness and candor, a small-town crackerbarrel philosopher straight out of Norman Rockwell but at the same time a hard-riding, leathery fellow used to getting his own way, and at once.

This combination of, say, Will Rogers and Henry J. Kaiser is beguiling, all the more so in a year when most voters seem to be turned off by the major party candidates. Of course, Ross Perot's eruption as a contender is entirely a by-product of this current state of acute political frustration. But how long will his sudden popularity last? and how far is he likely to go?

Some may object that, since businessmen already control the economic power of the country, it is a little much — and against the checks and balances of our system — to give businessmen the political power too. As Theodore Roosevelt put it, "There is absolutely nothing to be said for government by a plutocracy, for government by men very powerful in certain lines, and gifted with 'the money touch,' but with ideals which in their essence are merely those of so many glorified pawnbrokers." Still plenty of American businessmen are mavericks with larger aims than profits, and Ross Perot seems to be one of them.

Yet can he adapt to the glare of politics? CEOs on the whole live lives immune to intrusions into their intimate habits, tastes, moods, relationships. But such subjects are no longer out of bounds these days when

tiveness will win him as a clean-living amateur popular sympathy denied to old professionals. Yet he can't go on forever without offering a few specifics on policy.

Mr. Perot is forthright and voluble in his promises that he will provide Leadership! and Action! and Change! That he will somehow deal with the deficit, reform the tax system, improve our schools and solve the drug problem. Yet who in the world is against these admirable objectives? One has not noticed Messrs. Bush and Clinton opposing leadership, action and change or advocating deficits, drugs and other national maladies.

Generalized objectives will carry Mr. Perot only so far. At some point he will have to reveal how he means to attain these wondrous goals. For the moment he is like King Lear: "I will do such things — What they are yet, I know not; but they shall be the terrors of the earth." In time voters will demand to know his fine print — where Ross Perot plans to lead them, what the marvelous actions are that he will take and in what directions he will change things.

They may very well also want to know how his plans comport with the separation of powers and the Constitution. The more specific he becomes, the more he risks the Cabot Lodge put-down. And the more specific he becomes, the harder he makes it for voters to project their own hopes on what will no longer be a blank screen.

Third parties, moreover, are a good deal more popular in May than they are in

November. Henry Wallace and Strom Thurmond in 1948, George Wallace in 1968, John Anderson in 1980 all did a good deal less well on Election Day than they were expected to do a few months before. As the race narrows, people are less and less inclined to waste their ballots. Since the Civil War, only five third parties have won any electoral votes at all; only six have taken more than 5% of the popular vote; and none, except for Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party in 1912 and probably the Prohibition Party in 1884, has made any difference to the outcome of the election.

But Ross Perot enjoys one signal technical advantage over other recent third party candidates — that is, 100 million bucks. Under the misbegotten 1976 Supreme Court decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*, money talks: spending your own cash for your own political ambitions is held to be a form of free speech and therefore protected by the First Amendment. This gives billionaires a certain edge in our democracy, and Ross Perot has the personal resources to spend more than the Republican and Democratic parties put together. Even if he doubles his first \$100 million, he will still have \$2 billion or more left over.

Texas and California

This bottomless fountain of money spraying out across a parched land may sustain Mr. Perot beyond the life expectancy of ordinary third-party candidates and give him staying power into November. If he should end by carrying his own state of Texas and the notoriously wayward electorate of California, he might even deny any candidate a majority of electoral votes and thrust the choice into the House of Representatives. This last happened in 1824.

My bet, though, is that Mr. Perot's luster will dim under questioning he will not be able long to avoid, that he will lose his immunity, and that autumn will find him measured by the same standards as the other candidates; in short, that inflation will be followed by deflation. In the meantime, he enlivens a lethargic campaign, awakens a bored electorate, and with luck may help move the political debate away from supermarket-tabloid preoccupations toward issues that really affect the national destiny.

Mr. Schlesinger is Albert Schweitzer professor of the humanities at the City University of New York and a winner of Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

Senate, Ignoring Veto Threats, Passes Bill to Cut Bush's Military, Space Plans

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Senate, defying veto threats by the White House, adopted an \$8.3 billion savings package that demands deep cuts in President Bush's military and space priorities, including the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Approved 61-38, the measure would take \$1.3 billion from prior appropriations for SDI and \$1 billion from production funds for the B-2 bomber. The bill, which covers the year ending Sept. 30, would wipe out \$500 million for the Navy's fourth AOE fast-combat ship, and general Pentagon operations accounts would be cut \$500 million as part of a larger effort to shrink excess military inventories.

The cuts from the space program, though much smaller, deal a further blow to exploration of Mars, and they would kill an on-going project to design a high-speed aircraft capable of orbiting into space after launch from a conventional runway.

The decision on the costly national aerospace plane is sure to meet opposition in the House. The \$133.5 million cut threatens a novel consortium of U.S. aerospace companies overseen by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Units of Rockwell International Corp., General Dynamics Corp., United Technologies Corp., and McDonnell Douglas Corp. have been part of this effort. And though critics question the commercial applications of the aircraft, proponents argue that the project has been a model of the type of industrial cooperation needed to compete with Japan and Europe.

Among the defense cuts, the most controversial are those from SDI. The Senate would use those funds to complete a second and third Seawolf submarine, built by a General Dynamics unit in Connecticut. Rep. John Murtha (D., Pa.), chairman of the House subcommittee for defense appropriations, said later that he remains opposed to funding more than the second of

the costly nuclear submarines. And the administration is sure to demand restoration of some of the SDI cuts in negotiations after the House acts on its bill today.

Failure to reach agreement will make it harder for the president and Congress to achieve defense savings in the year beginning Oct. 1. But to an extraordinary degree, the entire process is laced with election-year politics, and both the administration and lawmakers seem torn between reducing the deficit and diverting funds to meet new demands at home and abroad.

Given the huge federal deficit, conservatives are riding a wave of support for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. Yet the administration also wants billions of dollars for aid to the former Soviet Union and a still-undefined increase in funding to address urban problems in the aftermath of the riots in Los Angeles.

Even as the Senate considered yesterday's savings package, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) proposed a \$5 billion emergency appropriation to assist cities and poor families. Yet this desire to rush to action is tempered by an increasing frustration with what many in Congress see as the administration's uncertain course on deficit and spending issues. Such conservatives as Sen. Jake Garn (R., Utah) have chastised the White House for what they see as its ill-conceived, political approach to the savings package this spring.

After meeting in the Capitol this week, Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, a friend of the president, reminded Mr. Bush that he had vetoed a tax bill this year that included the urban enterprise zones now sought by the White House. "This president didn't read the bill," said the Chicago Democrat, who promised to act on new urban initiatives but wanted to know where they would get the money. "Isn't that cute," he asked. "Right now, it's 'Forsake the balanced budget and do something.'"

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

Guns for Butter

Ardor to Trim Defense Hits Political Obstacle: The Fear of Job Losses

Connecticut Liberals Strive To Keep Money Flowing For Nuclear Submarines

Fate of the 'Peace Dividend'

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

GROTON, Conn. — For the thousands of workers who build submarines here at the Thames river-front yard of General Dynamics Corp.'s Electric Boat Division, peace is hell.

Arthur McLeod Jr., a carpenter supervisor with 19 years at Electric Boat, sees his livelihood "dissolving in three to five years" now that the Cold War is over. He figures he may have to move to find another job, and worries about how he'll afford college for his son. "I've been doing a certain job for almost 20 years," he says. "I'm not sure what else I could do."

Electric Boat announced 1,868 layoffs last month, nearly 10% of its work force, and more will follow if President Bush succeeds in canceling the Seawolf, a \$2 billion-per-copy nuclear-powered submarine that was designed to counter Soviet vessels. Not long ago, years of work seemed assured to fill the Navy's order for 29 of the subs. Now the choice is between building only the single vessel under construction, as President Bush proposes, or building two more, as workers hope Congress will insist on doing.

Pocketbook Issue

That makes Connecticut's mostly liberal members of Congress, like Sen. Chris Dodd and Groton's Rep. Sam Gejdenson, unlikely defenders of the Pentagon budget. And they're not alone. The Cold War is won, but Democrats from New England to California are coming to realize that a peace dividend for the nation could mean pink slips for their constituents.

For these lawmakers, voting at a time of economic distress, the emerging defense budget is more than ever a jobs bill. This, along with the collapse of the Communist giant that dictated military thinking for nearly a half century, has redefined the terms of debate. "This debate isn't a matter of hawks versus doves," says David Cohen, an arms-control lobbyist. "It's jobs, jobs."

That dynamic is on view this week as both the House and Senate act on separate budget-cutting packages. Most of the savings Mr. Bush proposed would have resulted from killing Seawolf, after the one sub is completed. But it's likely Congress will preserve funding for at least one more; the Senate has narrowly voted to proceed with both additional vessels, while the pending House plan would continue funding one of them.

Democratic Dilemma

More generally, the defense-jobs calculus is helping to wreck the strategy of top Democrats, led by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, who boasted when the year began that Congress would at least double Mr. Bush's proposed defense cuts of \$50 billion over five years and shift the savings to the domestic ledger.

In both the House and Senate, liberal and moderate Democrats with jobs in mind have joined Republicans and conservative Democrats to snub the leaders on defense-cutting votes. When the Pentagon announced its hit list of National Guard posts to save \$20.2 billion over five years, the protectors of local armories included such leading liberal Democrats as Rep. Barney Frank of Massachusetts.

Congress will target some specific military programs; the Senate, in maintaining Seawolf funding, voted instead to cut spending for the B-2 bomber and the anti-missile Strategic Defense Initiative. But it now seems likely that overall, lawmakers will cut little more than Mr. Bush from the fiscal 1993 Pentagon budget that takes effect Oct. 1, while promising bigger cuts in future years.

Whose Bases?

The administration senses that it has the upper hand. At a White House meeting earlier this year, Mr. Bush fired back quickly when a Democratic governor called his defense cuts too small. "What bases do you want to close?" he snapped. "What areas do you want to shut down? What weapon system do you want to knock off right now? Or do you want to lay off the people?"

More recently, the president and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney have painted Democrats as pork-barreling hypocrites, contrasting some lawmakers' calls for deep defense cuts with Congress's resistance to White House proposals for slashing the National Guard and killing the Seawolf. When Democratic presidential front-runner Bill Clinton backed the Seawolf before the Connecticut primary in March, Mr. Bush said he was "pandering to workers."

Defense spending has been coming down gradually since fiscal 1985, the peak of President Reagan's trillion-dollar buildup, and at a cost already of tens of thousands of jobs. The big knives came out, however, after the Soviet Union's fall. Yet just when Democrats no longer have to fear being tarred as soft on communism for cutting defense, they're handcuffed by the jobs factor. Warns Montana Rep. Pat Williams, a liberal Democrat: "America is now hooked on Pentagon spending."

In fact, several studies of late agree that the overall U.S. economy is not as reliant on military spending as in past years, so the transition to a post-Cold War footing

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Guns for Butter: Defense Projects Win Support for Jobs They Bring

Continued From First Page

shouldn't be too disruptive. But certain states and communities are becoming pockets of pain, especially in a time of economic weakness.

California and New England, home to some of Congress's most liberal Democrats, are top recipients of defense dollars. Up to 200,000 jobs are on the line in California, many related to Northrop Corp.'s \$1 billion B-2 Stealth bomber. Mr. Bush has cut his wish list from 75 B-2's to 20, but many Democrats want to stop with the 15 planes under way. One of those leading the fight to save the bat-shaped bomber is Democratic Rep. Julian Dixon of Los Angeles, who as chairman of the black caucus has in the past sponsored plans to reduce defense spending. Defining his approach now to defense cutting, Rep. Dixon says, "The bottom line is, what is it going to do to my community's economy?"

Other areas that could suffer include St. Louis, home of McDonnell Douglas Corp., and of House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt; Sen. Mitchell's Maine; Newport News, Va.; Seattle; Baltimore; Dallas; and Fort Worth. But it's Connecticut that best shows the Democrats' dilemma between defense cuts and jobs.

Connecticut ranks fourth among the 50 states both in defense dollars received per capita and in defense-related employment, which amounts to 6.5% of the state total. And no other state is more reliant on private defense industry. Besides Electric Boat there's United Technologies Corp., with its Pratt & Whitney aircraft engines, Sikorsky and Norden helicopter divisions and Hamilton-Standard aerospace division; Textron Inc.; and a slew of subcontractors.

All three of Connecticut's House Democrats—Rep. Gejdenson, Rosa DeLauro and Barbara Kennelly—opposed a House budget proposal that would cut more from defense than Mr. Bush favors in fiscal 1993. The defense figure was for \$273.4 billion in spending authority, just 2.7% less than Mr. Bush seeks. But the Senate adopted the White House position, after Democrat Sam Nunn of Georgia said even a cut of that size would cost two million jobs by 1996. Among Democratic defectors who sided with Sen. Nunn and the administration were Connecticut Sens. Dodd and Joseph Lieberman. The defense total will be the most contentious item when House and Senate negotiators meet, starting today, to reconcile their separate budget blueprints.

Sen. Dodd, who faces re-election this year, is known as a liberal advocate of programs like child-care aid and as a foe of Reagan administration intervention in Central America. He opposed the Gulf War authorization, but otherwise his record on defense has grown conservative along with the threat to his state's industry.

Trade-Offs

To illustrate: The Council for a Livable World endorsed Sen. Dodd for re-election in 1986, and his voting score the next year from the arms-control group was 100%. Since then it has steadily dipped to 85%, 75%, 50% and, last year, 44%—reflecting his support for the B-2 and Star Wars. Neither program is important to Connecticut. But defense critics like the Council for a Livable World's president, John Isaacs, asserts that Sen. Dodd essentially traded his votes for support for the Seawolf from powerful senators like Mr. Nunn, who heads the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Sen. Daniel Inouye, the Hawaii Democrat who chairs the Defense Appropriations subcommittee.

Sen. Dodd dismisses the criticism. "I think you look hypocritical if all you're doing around here is saying, 'I want you to protect my little base, but I'm sorry, I'm against everything else,'" he says. He

vote the same way if Connecticut had no defense industry: "You wouldn't believe it if I say it, and I'm not going to say it."

As for Rep. DeLauro, she held a press conference recently at the boarded-up Essex R&D Co. in New Haven, which once employed 200 people to supply aircraft makers with lathes, to dramatize the ripple effect of defense cuts on smaller employers and to unveil her proposals to aid hard-hit areas. A lobbyist against aid to Nicaraguan Contras before her 1990 election to Congress, Rep. DeLauro sees no disparity in her positions: "Any representative reflects the problems and concerns of the district they represent," she says. "Otherwise you don't belong in the job."

The Scene in Groton

Rep. Gejdenson likewise was a vocal foe of President Reagan's Central America policy and of the Gulf War authorization. But when it comes to cutting defense, he says, "We're talking about taking my district from recession to depression."

In Groton, the dull gray-shingled office of the Metal Trades Council, which represents about 8,600 Electric Boat workers, is broken by a hot-pink sign reading "Save Our Shipyard." Fliers announce a support group on "trauma of job loss." Inside, near photos of subs at sunset and of union officials posing with Sen. Dodd and Rep. Gejdenson, leaders of 10 union locals under the Metal Trades umbrella met one day last month to discuss the then-impending layoffs.

The urgent goal: to avoid more job losses, and potentially a complete shutdown of the yard. A second and third Seawolf, in the unionists' view, would keep the plant in business until 1998, by which time Electric Boat might begin the Navy's next generation of smaller, Centurion-class subs. More than the Seawolf itself, the labor leaders contend, the shipyard is essential to maintain the submarine sector of the U.S. defense-industrial base.

Next door, at the G&W Family Restaurant, Harry Smith of Painters' Local 1503 says both Sen. Dodd and Rep. Gejdenson "have done an excellent job." The labor officials do what they can to spread the word. "A lot of these folks in the yard are right up to snuff on the issues," says Ken Delacruz, president of the Metal Trades Council. And just to be sure any adverse vote by one of their Congressional representatives wouldn't escape workers' notice, he adds, "We'd let them know."

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Ukraine President Vows to Honor Treaty That Cuts Nuclear Arms

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk pledged to honor a treaty cutting strategic nuclear arms and eventually to rid his new nation of all nuclear weapons.

The statements by Mr. Kravchuk, delivered during a visit with President Bush at the White House, appeared to represent an important step forward for efforts to reduce and consolidate the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union. American officials were pleased by the statements, though they also noted that Ukraine has backpedaled from similar statements in the past.

Mr. Kravchuk contradicted one report of progress on the nuclear question. He said that all of Ukraine's shorter-range, tactical nuclear weapons haven't yet been moved into Russia, as announced by the military command of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the organization that loosely unites the former Soviet republics. Mr. Kravchuk said, though, that all the tactical nuclear weapons will be out by July 1.

The Bush administration is pushing Ukraine and the three other nuclear-armed former Soviet republics to agree to reduce the size of the Soviet nuclear arsenal and to send all remaining nuclear arms to Russia, where they would be under a single command.

The U.S. is eager to see those steps taken quickly, before political bickering and nationalistic sentiments in the non-Russian republics interfere with the process. As a result, American officials were relieved when Mr. Kravchuk noted at a White House press conference that Ukraine had declared it would "annihilate" its nuclear weapons. He then added: "We think that this policy is correct in its concept and we would not change that policy."

Mr. Kravchuk said he is prepared to sign a pledge to carry out Ukraine's portion of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which the U.S. negotiated with the former Soviet Union just before the Soviet state collapsed.

American officials said Mr. Kravchuk's public statements were reiterated in private meetings. But they also cautioned that they can't rule out a change of heart by Ukraine's leaders, who have sometimes wavered in the face of nationalistic pressures at home to remain well-armed against possible Russian aggression.

Still, the fact that Mr. Kravchuk publicly reiterated his pledges in the U.S., with which Ukraine is eager to have close ties,

may suggest he is serious about making good on them.

Ukraine, which has a population of 53 million and is roughly the size of France, is the second most populous of the former Soviet republics, behind Russia. In many ways, it has been the most prickly of the republics on the nuclear question. It has a history of animosity with Russia and its relations with Moscow are tense at the moment because of disputes over territory and control of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet, which has its headquarters in Ukrainian territory. Relations between Moscow and the other two nuclear-armed former republics, Belarus and Kazakhstan, haven't been as tense.

Secretary of State James Baker has been working intensively behind the scenes for weeks to work out protocols with each of the four nuclear-armed former republics spelling out precisely what steps they will take to carry out the treaty. President Bush said yesterday after an Oval Office discussion with Mr. Kravchuk that "the language has been worked out" with Ukraine. Mr. Kravchuk concurred, saying that the two sides agree on a statement that "clarifies all the aspects which are acceptable both by the U.S. and Ukraine." He added: "And as soon as the protocol is signed, the Ukraine would ratify the Start treaty and would fulfill all the commitments stipulated in that treaty."

State Department officials said Mr. Baker doesn't want to sign the protocol on Start with Ukraine until parallel agreements have been worked out with the other nuclear-armed republics.

Mr. Baker would like the four protocols signed simultaneously. Then he would quickly ask the U.S. Senate to follow up by ratifying U.S. participation in the Start treaty, something lawmakers have resisted doing until the question of how it will be implemented has been worked out.

On other issues, President Bush and President Kravchuk signed agreements that grant Ukraine Most Favored Nation trade status with the U.S., authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corp. to finance projects in Ukraine and launch a Peace Corps program there. To ease Ukrainian fears about losing its nuclear weapons, the two countries issued a joint declaration in which the U.S. pledged to open a "regular bilateral dialogue on questions of peace and security."

—Neela Banerjee in Moscow contributed to this article.



Leonid Kravchuk

The Reagan Revolution Sparked L.A.'s Rebellion

The perversion of justice in the Rodney King verdict was possible because a group of jurors dehumanized a black person and sided with the police officers who unjustifiably beat him. As such, this case raised to a very visible level the treatment many blacks experience in the criminal justice system daily. But the institutional racism in this verdict was undoubtedly stimulated by the same set of factors that produced the wider violent reaction in Los Angeles.

This human explosion occurred under the cloud of an ideology of denial and cynicism, exemplified by the editorial stance of this newspaper. The ideologues deny that the policies of the past 12

Counterpoint

By Ronald Walters

years played a part in the magnitude of the destruction and are cynical about the capacity of the government to make a difference.

It is a disservice to define the problem as one created by the 1960s' social programs or as susceptible largely to moral preaching or the facile adoption of individualistic white middle class values by the urban poor. No one knows, for example, whether such market mechanisms as vouchers in education and housing will work. But since they will be utilized by motivated people who have access to information, they are likely to promote "creaming" rather than provide widespread benefit.

We do know, however, that in the past two decades massive economic and human resources have been extracted from America's urban inner cities. The "Reagan Revolution," praised by the editor of this newspaper, entailed a veritable assault upon social programs.

Many critical programs were elimi-

nated. One such was CETA job training, which served many more of the hard-core unemployed than the current Job Partnership Training Act and was probably no more corrupt, we have discovered, than were many HUD programs under Reagan/Pierce. Other social programs were rolled into "block grants" to the states, with the total funding of the package cut. While the block-grant funding level has remained flat in nominal dollars since 1981, in 1990 dollars it has been cut by about 40%.

Add to this the substantial reduction of the federal share of funds to education and the 80% cut in subsidies to low-income housing over the past decade. And we must not forget the federal tax cuts, which favored the wealthy. The states were handed more and more of the financial burden of continuing the social agenda but had fewer and fewer resources.

The tax base also left the inner cities as black and white middle class citizens alike moved from areas with high local taxes in search of better schools and cheaper housing. They were swiftly followed by shopping malls, service businesses, and an expansion of local government services and recreation in suburbia, creating a new "suburban civilization."

The nectar of middle class population growth attracted Republican politicians who targeted the suburbs and ignored the inner cities as preserves of the Democrats. And since the White House has been Republican for more than the past decade, it also has played to the suburbs and seen the inner city as irrelevant. This has allowed Republicans to distort the legacy of the 1960s Great Society/War on Poverty programs and to paint government as the problem. In this, the GOP was supported by many Southern Democrats in Congress, hostile to civil rights, who helped to employ fiscal constraints on social programs and leniency on military spending.

Large corporations and many smaller

white businesses left the inner cities too. These businesses moved thousands of jobs to the suburbs and even outside the country and, thus, are complicit in the high black unemployment rates (consistently double those of whites), the loss of wages and the consequent impoverishment of the inner city areas. This disinvestment in heavily black areas, whether in the inner city or in the Black Belt South, is a scandal and an obvious example of economic racism. This is a problem that cannot be solved by moralism or individual values.

Finally, blacks have suffered the spiritual indignity of a rising tide of racism in almost every area of life, defined by a series of highly public incidents in the New York metropolitan area that featured the alleged Tawana Brawley rape, the Bernhard Goetz shooting of young blacks, the white mob attacks on blacks in Brooklyn and Queens, the murder of Phillip Panell in New Jersey by a policeman who went free, and a number of other incidents.

All through these incidents there was little public leadership. Ed Koch, when he was New York's mayor, took sides with whites and denigrated blacks, and the White House was silent. The most visible spiritual support against racism for blacks was provided by pride in the Jackson campaigns, marches led by Al Sharpton, the speeches of Louis Farrakhan, and the posturing of a black councilman in Milwaukee who threatened to start a black guerrilla war against whites if things did not change. White leadership abdicated its own responsibility to fight racism and, thus, into the breach stepped David Duke and others preaching subtle racial separation, signaling that public racism had become acceptable to a wide swath of America.

This is how Los Angeles and hundreds of major cities came to the dilemma they face today, and neither Congress nor the White House has responded to the desperate pleas of Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn, chair-

man of the Conference of Mayors; civil rights activists; and others to place urban problems on the legislative agenda. In addition, the presidential candidates, both Republican and Democrat, have failed to offer strong incentives to inner city voters to turn out in the primaries. They have not come up with any proposals that inner city voters feel would enhance their living environment or their quality of life.

So, those who earnestly seek solutions must break through the culture of denial of responsibility to answer how it is possible to say with a straight face that the resources for urban reconstruction do not exist at the same time billions of dollars are spent or proposed to support Russia and the former Soviet republics, Israel, the S&L bailout, tax breaks for the rich, unnecessary weapons systems and technological esoterica. It would appear to any logical person to be only a matter of priorities — and blacks are not on the list.

One hopes that the reconstruction of South Central Los Angeles will also be seen as a national opportunity to shape model solutions for the nation's urban areas, given the role inner city residents will play in the economic, social and political viability of this country. But this will never be achieved if the public continues to allow conservative theorists and policy makers to continue to blame the Great Society programs for the inaction of the past 12 years. In reality, the War on Poverty was not fought for very long and the Great Society has limped along, prevented from achieving the vision of its planners.

Mr. Walters, chairman of Howard University's political science department, is the author of "Black Presidential Politics in America" (SUNY Press, 1989). He was Jesse Jackson's deputy campaign manager in his bid for the presidency.

Bush Links Rioting to '60s Policy In L.A., President Tries to Boost Image, Address Urban Ills

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, May 6—President Bush said today that last week's riots in Los Angeles prove his argument that many federal government social programs of the 1960s did not work, but he added that it is a time to heal rather than assign blame.

Bush made the remarks in Washington before arriving here for a two-day visit that administration and Bush-Quayle campaign officials said they hoped would counter what many have seen as a stumbling, uncertain reaction by the White House to the rioting. Officials hope the trip will display a president as confident and commanding during a domestic crisis as he was during the Persian Gulf War.

Bush told a group of state and local officials who met him at the airport here that with the violence past, his long-term mission now is to "bring hope and opportunity to our inner cities." The goal, he said, must not be to re-create Los Angeles but to "build something better" by using new approaches that are measured not in federal dollars spent but in the number of Americans moved out of poverty.

Several hundred protesters, mostly Korean Americans, awaited Bush when he arrived at his downtown hotel a few blocks from the areas hit by rioting. They chanted, "Justice! Justice!" and held signs demanding the government help replace property they owned that was destroyed in the rioting last week.

Earlier in Washington, Bush told reporters, "I say I don't want to assign blame. I don't. And if I said a year ago that these programs

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Bush Seeks to Project Commanding Image in L.A.

BUSH, From A1

weren't working, perhaps I have been vindicated."

Bush said it is "an inappropriate time to try to divide. It is a very appropriate time to rethink whether we've done it just exactly right in the past, whether it's the Great Society or all the way up to our administration."

Last May, Bush said that many of the federal programs launched under President Lyndon B. Johnson's drive to create a "Great Society" did not work and created "racial animosity." On Monday, White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater reiterated that theme, but Bush and his aides have since retreated from it.

"What Marlin said got grossly misinterpreted," Bush told reporters in the Oval Office today.

Bush met in Washington with his domestic Cabinet advisers for the third straight morning, evoking memories of the meetings he held with foreign policy and military advisers during the days leading up to the Gulf war.

"He really is terrifically engaged in trying to understand these issues and these problems—as engaged as he was during the Gulf," one aide said, adding, "Of course, the learning curve is a little steeper."

The White House prepared for Bush's visit to Los Angeles with the acute attention to detail—and relentless debate over tone—charac-

teristic of presidential foreign travel but rarely at play on previous domestic trips. Bush's arrival statement was rare for a domestic trip, and he is expected to offer nearly a half-dozen sets of remarks, each aimed at a different audience and all prepared to be what Fitzwater called a "mosaic" of reaction.

Representing the range of political imperatives in operation, Bush is scheduled to meet with police officers and firefighters, who represent the Republican allegiance to law and order, and is to offer a call for racial harmony in a black church, a reflection of his "kinder, gentler" themes.

In addition, Bush aides are repackaging several programs that have received little presidential attention and little support in Congress. They also are adding some new efforts aimed at urban revitalization under the umbrella of revising existing government programs, such as welfare, to stress individual responsibility instead of "government handouts."

Bush said the riots offer "an opportunity not to assign blame, but to try to come out with ideas that can offer opportunity. . . . We have got to get it in better focus, and we need some action." But he said he did not want "the federal government simply to dump largesse" on urban problems.

A senior official, acknowledging that Bush had not "come across well" in his overall public performance on the crisis, said the two-day trip "has to show that he understands and

cares about what happened in Los Angeles and what is happening in other cities, that he is totally engaged in how he and the government can help with this problem and has more to offer than blame."

The trip has caused concern among Republicans as the White House's ability to function in even normal periods has come under sharp attack. "You have a president whose team has now, by definition, not figured out how to communicate to the country, because you're not at 33 percent in the polls as president, as the incumbent, if you're dominating" the national debate, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) told a business audience in Washington today.

A Times-Mirror poll released this week found the presidential race a virtual three-way deadlock among Bush; Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic front-runner, and maverick Texas billionaire Ross Perot.

Gingrich predicted that Bush, to regain the initiative, would "push very hard to pass very real changes in the welfare state and do some things in L.A. that are very, very different." Gingrich and other conservatives, including some in the White House and the Bush-Quayle campaign, are intent on pushing Bush to draw a sharp partisan difference between the Republican solution to urban ills and a Democratic solution they characterize as continuation of the "welfare state."

After the riots, Bush's plan to visit here Thursday and Friday was scrubbed, and on Monday a high-level White House team was sent to Los Angeles to plan the two-day visit. That sort of attention rarely has been given to previous Bush domestic trips.

Administration sources said that a senior team of officials in Washington, spent the week reviewing the work of the team in California, and, as one source put it, "changing it as quickly as it was done."

Bush's speechwriters, who struggled for hours over his Friday night address to the nation between those who wanted to emphasize law and order and those who wanted a gentler tone, have faced a similar struggle this week in preparing what one senior aide said would be three themes: racial harmony, economic rebuilding and a call for the nation to come together to help solve problems of the cities.

"There are an enormous number of perils here," said one political adviser in expressing worries about Bush's visit. "He has to be extraordinarily careful not to do or say anything in haste that will sour the thing. He has to show concern, but not concern for lawlessness. He has to not look too political, without getting beaten over the head by the Democrats. He has to remember that our voters live in the suburbs not the cities—but their lives are affected by what happens in the cities. . . ."

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Bush Aide Loses Lawsuit Over Uniforms for Iraq

Millions of Dollars in Commissions Lost

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A White House staffer involved in a messy court dispute over the 1984 sale of military uniforms to Iraq has been rebuffed in his efforts to collect millions of dollars in commissions on the deal.

The aide, retired Marine colonel Jack V. Brennan, filed suit in the name of his old company, Global Research International, claiming that it had been cheated by a Lebanese arms merchant who was instrumental in getting Baghdad to buy the uniforms.

But Superior Court Judge Colleen Kollar-Kotelly ruled Tuesday that Global had failed to prove that the arms dealer defrauded the company.

The target of the suit, Sarkis Soghanalian, was recently sentenced in Miami to 6½ years in federal prison for conspiring to violate the Arms Export Control Act in another deal with Baghdad. He contends he was railroaded by the Bush administration and is appealing.

The litigation here provides some striking insights on how U.S. and Western business interests pulled strings in Washington and Baghdad in the 1980s to do business with the government of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. The court records reflect a steady, and often successful, search for power brokers in both capitals.

Brennan, who worked for former president Richard M. Nixon as a military aide and later chief of staff from 1968 to 1980, could not be reached to comment. White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said he did not know how Brennan came to be working at the Bush White House, but confirmed that Brennan joined the staff last October as director of administrative operations, a job Fitzwater described as "purely administrative, not policymaking."

The 1984 Iraqi uniform deal, consisting of two contracts totaling \$181 million, involved an international cast that included Nixon, then-Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, former vice president Spiro Agnew, and former attorney general John N. Mitchell, who founded Global Research.

A Miami-based arms merchant, Soghanalian, according to court records, was an influential middleman who dealt regularly with Saddam's regime and could open doors for outside business interests, especially at the Ministry of Defense. "The generals would kind of kowtow to him," Brennan said in a deposition of a 1983 trip to Baghdad on one of Soghanalian's Pan Aviation planes.

According to Kollar-Kotelly, who conducted a brief trial last week, the uniform deal began when Pan East, a European-based company with offices in the United States, heard of the chances of landing a contract with Baghdad but realized it "needed a contact." The company called Agnew, who headed his own consulting firm, and he referred it to Global.

Global, where Brennan had worked since 1980 as vice president and later president, then contacted Soghanalian, "with whom Global had previous successful dealings," the judge said in a 17-page order.

In his deposition, Brennan said that he had been instrumental in winning Reagan administration approval of export licenses for a Soghanalian-brokered sale of helicopters to Iraq. When the uniform deal came up, he said it was Soghanalian's influence in Baghdad that nailed down the contracts.

Ceausescu came into the picture when Pan East's Arabic owners realized they could not be competitive if the uniforms were made in Tennessee as originally planned. As a result, Brennan testified, Mitchell got Nixon to write the Romanian president and endorse production of the uniforms there.

Global and Soghanalian were to share an \$8.1 million commission on the main \$168 million contract in dispute, but Brennan said he learned at a meeting in Paris in September 1984 that Iraq intended to withhold \$7 million because Soghanalian owed that much for an unrelated deal.

Soghanalian, the records show, at first denied the debt, then repeatedly assured Brennan he would settle it without affecting Global's \$3.1 million share of the commission. But Iraq never paid the commission and

instead deducted the \$7 million from the sum paid to Pan East. (Agnew's firm, Pathlite, received about \$797,000 before Iraq invaded Kuwait and stopped further payment.)

In ruling for Soghanalian, the court said he could not be held a fraud just because his efforts to settle the debt were ultimately unsuccessful. The judge said Soghanalian might well have been confident in his ability to resolve the problem and that, in any case, Global had failed to meet the burden of proving otherwise.

In addition to his work at Global Research, Brennan, who left the Marine Corps to work for Nixon after the president resigned, was once a partner with Brent Scowcroft, now White House national security adviser, and others in International Six Inc., a company reportedly set up to do business in the Middle East.

An administration official said Scowcroft had not "lifted a finger" to get Brennan a job and was not aware he was working at the White House until weeks after he started.

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

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USDA Proposes Irradiating Poultry

Controversial Technology Seen as Weapon Against Contamination

By Carole Sugarman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Agriculture Department yesterday proposed the use of irradiation, a technology that exposes food to gamma rays from radioactive sources, to kill salmonella and other bacteria in raw poultry.

Russell Cross, administrator of the department's Food Safety and Inspection Service, called the proposal a "good example" of a "prevention program to protect the public health."

The department estimates that close to 40 percent of all raw poultry is contaminated with salmonella, although other studies have shown that almost two-thirds of poultry is infected with the bacteria. Poultry would still have to be handled,

stored and cooked properly to maintain the benefits of irradiation.

Food irradiation, the focus of one of the nation's longest and most contentious food debates, has pitted a small but vocal group of antinuclear activists—who contend the technology is dangerous—against proponents who maintain the process is safe. Food irradiation was approved in the United States in 1963 to control insects in wheat and wheat flour, and in 1964 to prevent sprouting in potatoes. It has since been approved to extend ripening and control insects in fruits and vegetables, and to combat disease-causing organisms in pork. Nevertheless, American companies have irradiated foods only on a very limited scale.

In 1990, the process was ap-

proved by the Food and Drug Administration to treat raw poultry. Irradiation is considered a food additive, and the FDA approves all new food additives.

During irradiation, food is exposed to gamma rays from sources such as cobalt 60 or cesium 137. The process does not make food radioactive. Irradiated foods must carry labels stating "treated with radiation" or "treated by irradiation."

The poultry industry, fearing negative consumer reaction, expressed hesitation about the proposal.

"It's a huge risk" for processors, said Teresa Farney, vice president of consumer affairs for the National Turkey Federation. While the trade group supports the technology, "if it should create negative publicity and

spotlight one company, it could undermine years of hard work."

Bill Roenigk, director of economic research for the National Broiler Council, said the association has information indicating consumers are much more concerned about irradiation than they are about salmonella. To combat salmonella, "we think the prudent thing is to recommend thorough cooking," he said. The council recommends cooking poultry to an internal temperature of 180 degrees.

Michael Jacobson, executive director of the Center for Science in the Public Interest, an advocacy group, said: "I don't think that irradiation is the way to go to clean up chicken. The first thing to do is clean up processing plants."

But Harley Everett of Vindicator Inc., the Mulberry, Fla., irradiation plant that opened in January and has irradiated strawberries and tomatoes, said he expects poultry will be the company's largest product. Everett said all of the large poultry processors "told us absolutely we want to do it, but we want to be second."

COLIN POWELL SPEAKS OUT

Excerpts from Gen. Colin L. Powell's commencement address at Fisk University in Nashville on Monday:

...Last week's scenes from Los Angeles and a dozen other cities tell us vividly that we still have a long way to go before that dream becomes reality.

As I saw those pictures on my television set, my heart hurt. I know that your hearts hurt. I didn't want to believe what I was seeing.

Violence—by the police or by the mob—is not the answer. Our hearts hurt because of that violence. And our hearts hurt because, as we watched the tragic events in Los Angeles unfold, we were thinking: No, not again. We can't let this happen again. It shouldn't be, we've come too far for this.

But it did happen. And we see once again what a long way we still have to go.

Because the problem goes beyond Rodney King. The problem goes beyond Los Angeles. It goes beyond the trial of those four officers.

The problem goes to the despair that still exists in the black community over the inability of black Americans to share fully in the American dream. Too many African-Americans are still trapped in a cycle where poverty, violence, drugs, bad housing, inadequate education, lack of jobs and loss of faith combine to create a sad human condition. A human condition that cannot be al-



lowed to continue if this nation is to hold its rightful place in the world.

We have an American problem. It can only be solved by all Americans working together.... We can bounce back....

I want you to find strength in your diversity. Let the fact that you are black or yellow or white be a source of pride and inspiration to you. Draw strength from it. Let it be someone else's problem, but never yours. Never hide behind it or use it as an excuse for not doing your best.

We all have to live here together—Asian-Americans, African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, all of us.

Divided, fighting amongst ourselves, walking separate lines of di-

versity, we are as weak as newborn babies.

Together, intertwining our many differences and diversities into a mosaic of strength, we will prevail over the darkness of racism. I want you to love one another, I want you to respect one another, see the best in each other. Share each other's pain and joy.

I want you to fight racism. I want you to rail against it. We have to make sure that it bleeds to death in this country once and for all.

As you move forward, I want you to remember those who are still struggling. We must all reach back, we must all reach down, we must all work together to pull our people, to pull all Americans out of the violence, out of the dank and soul-damning world of drugs, out of the turmoil of our cities. As we climbed on the backs of others, so must we allow our backs to be used for others to go even higher than we have....

The other evening, Alma [Mrs. Powell] and I were privileged to be with Maya Angelou. She talked about her upbringing in Stamp, Ark. She told us something her grandmother had said to her many years ago. Her grandmother had said, "Girl, when you cross this threshold you're going to be raised."

So raise your children. Treasure them. Love them. They are our future. We cannot let the generation in front of us go to waste....

By Lois Romano



Thomas, ducking trouble at Seton Hall.

■ Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas canceled his plans to judge a moot court competition next Monday at Seton Hall University Law School when he learned that women law students planned a silent candlelight protest vigil. Thomas accepted the invitation before he was nominated to the high court, but, according to a source, backed out on the recommendation of a faculty member.

■ Willie Smith is heading out to Albuquerque this month to start his medical residency at the University of New Mexico after nearly a year's postponement because of his rape trial. Sources close to Smith say he decided not to change hospital assignments because that would draw unwanted attention to him.

■ Tom Foley's choice of Sam Gejdenson to run his reelection campaign for speaker was no accident. In choosing the well-regarded Connecticut Democrat, members think Foley may have also managed to co-opt George Miller, one of

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

his potential rivals and Gejdenson's Interior Committee chairman.

■ Before the National Press Club newsmakers luncheon on Friday, speaker Arnold Schwarzenegger hit the floor with two dozen kids for a round of push-ups.

■ Dan Quayle does know the difference between AIDS medication and pesticides. The New York Post reported yesterday that when Quayle was touring a New York City hospital recently, he asked if the AIDS patients were taking "DDT." "That is ridiculous!" blared Quayle spokesman Dave Beckwith when told of the item. "He said 'ddc,' " referring to the drug recently approved for AIDS treatment. Furthermore, steamed Beckwith, "the New York Post ought be ashamed of itself for running that kind of bull."



Beckwith, quashing Quayle bashing.



A scene from "Berlin Cabaret."

Freedom of What?

■ In promoting their new musical "Berlin Cabaret," a satiric production about how the Nazis controlled the media, it seems that Kennedy Center officials managed to, well, control the media.

When NPR reporter Tom Goldman went to preview the show for a report that aired yesterday, he was told in no uncertain terms that he could not tape two of the numbers: "Kiss the Fascists" and "It's All the Fault of the Jews."

"I said, 'This sounds frighteningly familiar. Aren't you doing what you're standing against in the play?'" the reporter said yesterday. But the irony was lost on them. And under the dutiful policing of a theater aide, he was forced to shut off his tape recorder at the required moments.

"We decided that taken out of context, the lyrics of these numbers could have been misinterpreted," Kennedy Center Program Director Sheldon Schwartz explained to The Post. He added that the show's creator, Juerg Burth, agreed with the decision.

"This is an unusual show," said Schwartz, who couldn't recall a similar dictate in his five years at the center. "I think it's important for people to see it from beginning to end."

WACKY NEWS WIRE OF THE WEEK

Associated Press

■ BEDFORD, Pa.—A magistrate resigned after admitting he promised leniency to a defendant if he could shampoo the man's hair.

District Justice Charles O. Guyer, 44, pleaded guilty to official oppression, or misusing his office, and was placed on two years' probation and ordered to forfeit the pension benefits accumulated in 22 years on the bench.

He apologized at his sentencing

Tuesday but gave no explanation for his behavior.

Prosecutors said Guyer offered a break to a 21-year-old man who had been charged with disorderly conduct and public drunkenness. The man submitted to one wash and rinse in August and was told by Guyer that he would get more leniency if he persuaded some friends to let the magistrate shampoo their hair.

The man returned with two undercover state troopers, who arrested Guyer after getting the shampoos.

Ukraine Agrees To Eliminate Nuclear Arms

START Deal Reached By Bush, Kravchuk

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk reached agreement yesterday on Ukraine's adherence to the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) and the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons on its soil before the end of the decade, the two leaders announced.

Appearing with Kravchuk in the White House East Room, Bush said more work must be done to complete parallel U.S. agreements on the START treaty with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the other three nuclear-armed states of the former Soviet Union. Bush said Secretary of State James A. Baker III may be traveling soon to resolve the remaining differences, which stand in the way of Senate ratification of the landmark treaty signed last year by the United States and the Soviet Union.

While declining to provide specific U.S. guarantees of Ukrainian security as Kravchuk desired, Bush signed three economic or assistance accords and arranged many visible displays of hospitality ranging from the full-dress signing ceremony and joint news conference to a 21-gun salute at the Pentagon and a 90-minute visit by the two presidents to Bush's Camp David retreat in the Catoctin mountains.

Administration officials said the text of a protocol to the START treaty worked out with Kravchuk would be submitted to the other nuclear-armed former Soviet states. The most difficult remaining problem, some officials said, is likely to be Kazakh President Nursultan

See KRAVCHUK, A38, Col. 1

A38 THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992 ...

Ukraine Agrees to Abide By Terms of START Pact

KRAVCHUK, From A1

Nazarbayev, who said in an interview Tuesday he is still seeking U.S. security guarantees in return for giving up nuclear weapons on his territory.

Kravchuk also submitted a letter to Bush spelling out further details of Ukraine's intention to be a nation free of nuclear weapons, officials said.

With Bush standing by, Kravchuk said that all tactical nuclear weapons on Ukrainian soil will be transferred to Russia for dismantling by July 1. However, he disputed a report in Moscow by Lt. Gen. Sergei Zelentsov, deputy chief of administration for the armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, that the final trainload of short-range weapons had crossed the border into Russia Tuesday night. Zelentsov also said that the remaining short-range nuclear weapons from other former Soviet republics have now been removed to Russian territory, where they await dismantlement along with the entire Russian short-range nuclear arsenal.

A written statement issued in the names of Bush and Kravchuk late yesterday committed Ukraine to renounce nuclear weapons and join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear-weapons state "at the earliest possible time." The statement also committed Ukraine to remove from its soil all strategic nuclear weapons in the next seven years.

About 1,600 strategic nuclear warheads are located in Ukraine, making it potentially the largest nuclear weapons power in the world after the United States and Russia, though all are believed to be under tight control of commonwealth or Russian military forces.

In his East Room appearance, Kravchuk said "there is a problem for security for Ukraine" because of its heavily armed neighbor, Russia, and said he would continue to ask "the international community" to provide guarantees of Ukrainian national security "in case there is a possible threat." He was bitterly critical of Russian Vice President Alexander Rutskoi for encouraging separatist sentiment during a visit last month to Crimea. The Crimean legislature voted Tuesday to declare independence from Ukraine, then hedged yesterday.

Administration officials said no U.S. guarantees of Ukrainian security were provided to Kravchuk, but that he was told the best security guarantees would be full Ukrainian integration into the global economy and western economic and political institutions.

In the East Room ceremony, Bush and Kravchuk signed a U.S.-Ukraine Trade Agreement, which will be the basis for most-favored-nation tariff treatment to products of the two countries, and an agreement permitting the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corp. (OPIC) to guarantee U.S. private investments in that country. They also signed an



BY JOEL RICHARDSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and President Bush at White House signing of economic accords to aid Ukraine.

agreement establishing a Peace Corps presence in Ukraine. The White House announced a variety of additional U.S. technical assistance programs for Ukraine.

"In our intensive and successful talks today," declared Bush, he and Kravchuk agreed that "the United States and Ukraine should be not just friends, but partners." He added that "the United States will stand beside a democratic Ukraine."

Kravchuk, for his part, praised the development of "friendly and equal relations" between the na-

tions. "Ukraine is a young state and it will have to go along a very difficult road," said the Ukrainian leader, pledging to take the route of adherence to "general human values."

Many of the special gestures provided by the administration to Kravchuk were intended to reassure Ukraine that the newly independent state of 53 million people, one of the most populous in Europe, will be treated as a nation in its own right and not through the prism of Russia, which dominated Ukraine

through the communist rule of the Soviet Union for more than 70 years.

Ukrainians had been particularly irritated at Bush's speech last Aug. 1 in their capital, Kiev, which backed the drive of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to keep the Soviet Union together. Kravchuk made no mention of the offending speech yesterday, White House officials said.

Correspondent Margaret Shapiro in Moscow contributed to this report.

National Guard's Often-Disputed Role Gives Rise to Misunderstanding

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

When California Gov. Pete Wilson (R) needed help quelling the Los Angeles riots, he turned to a hybrid state-federal organization whose roots are older than the nation, yet, for all its visibility, has remained one of the least understood parts of the military bureaucracy.

Wilson's decision to order 9,659 members of the California National Guard to active duty highlighted the problems inherent in a khaki-colored partnership that allows the nation's governors to exert extensive control over what is essentially a federally funded military organization.

As governor, Wilson could unilaterally order the Guard to duty, but before the California troops could hit the streets, the governor had to get Washington's approval to arm and transport them. Pentagon officials say the approval was immediately granted, as it typically is 300 times a year for operations as mundane as directing traffic at last weekend's Kentucky Derby or as dangerous as the Los Angeles riots.

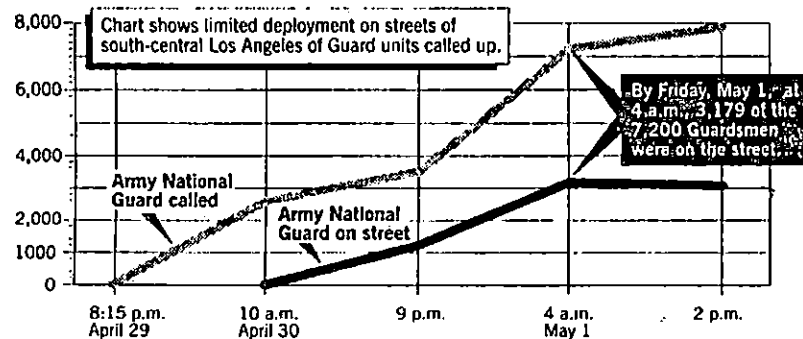
What resulted from Wilson's decision has been criticism: that the Guard, like the Los Angeles police, was slow to respond and tended to keep its force away from the riot areas until hours after the worst violence had occurred.

Pentagon officials, speaking on the condition they not be named, contend that 2,575 armed troops were available for three hours before Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl F. Gates, the local official with the authority to deploy the troops, agreed to move the first military personnel onto the streets. Even then, Gates chose to deploy only a fraction of the force available, the Pentagon officials say.

THE NATIONAL GUARD
The National Guard is a reserve military unit that dates from the colonial militias of 1636. Governors may order units to active duty for state emergencies, such as strikes, riots and natural disasters. The president may call up National Guard members for any emergency.

Cost	Equipment	Arrests
\$900,000 per day in Los Angeles.	Vehicles, aircraft, gas masks, first-aid kits and M-16 rifles.	Guardsmen are expected to pair up with police and help with questioning and searches.

NATIONAL FIGURES	CALIFORNIA FIGURES
Army National Guard 441,859	20,598
Air National Guard 118,285	5,635



SOURCES: KRT Graphics, Los Angeles Times, National Guard



Reginalde Ricks, 4, and friend Robert Titus, 3, examine gun of a National Guardsman on duty in south-central Los Angeles.

BY MICHAEL DREW—THE WASHINGTON POST

A Split Personality

To understand the Guard and its performance in Los Angeles, said Guard Bureau spokesman Dan Donohue, you have to realize that it has "two masters and three leaders." The two masters are the state and federal governments—each requiring separate oaths from all members of the Guard—and their leaders, federal, state and local officials. That has given the Guard a split personality: it must prepare for war, as its federal mission, and assist the states in preserving domestic peace.

To active-duty military personnel, accustomed to charts with straight lines and clearly defined rules of operation, that makes the Guard a hydra-headed, mind-boggling bureaucratic monster. And for officials amid a crisis, it can create practical problems.

Through the National Guard Bu-

reau, an Army agency with no command authority over the Guard, the federal government pays all but 5 percent of the force's \$8.2 billion-a-year budget. The Pentagon retains authority to decide which states get which Guard units and can insist that the units meet combat standards assigned to similar active Army and Air Force units, but it cannot name the Guard's leaders.

The result is a 560,144-member military force, which if pulled together would comprise the 11th largest Army and fifth largest Air Force in the world. In reality, however, the National Guard is a confederation of 54 separate military reserve commands, each commanded by a gubernatorial appointee—an adjutant general—who happens to wear the two-star uniform of a major general.

"In peacetime, when you come down to it, each state Guard is a separate entity," said retired Maj. Gen. Bruce Jacobs, assistant executive director of the National Guard Association of the United States, the Guard's politically powerful lobbying arm on Capitol Hill.

In Los Angeles and on the Pentagon's E-ring, that led to controversy over who is in charge: the governor who calls up the forces, the Pentagon which supplies them, the on-site local commander who deploys them, or even the president, who can supplement their manpower with other military forces.

The first contingent of Guard troops had hardly arrived in Southern California before the control issue surfaced. In Washington, Guard advocates say it was Gates, the local official in charge, who was slow to deploy the first 2,575 soldiers that the California Guard had assembled. That number of troops were ready for duty by 10 a.m. April 30, about 12 hours after Wilson's initial decision to summon 2,000 members of the Guard to the city.

When the first Guard units finally were deployed three hours later, Gates used only a third of the troops available, a decision that fur-

ther irritated some Guard leaders. That was in sharp contrast to the 1965 Watts riots when the Guard had 14,000 troops on the streets of Watts within 36 hours of their call-up.

Wilson's limited call-up—9,659 of the 26,233-member California Guard—has proved to be a sore point to Guard advocates. The deployment quickly was overshadowed by President Bush's decision to place the Guard under federal control and dispatch up to 4,500 active-duty military personnel to the city.

"I would have preferred that the National Guard handle it all the way through," said Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-Miss.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee and a leading Capitol Hill champion of the Guard.

Bush's decision to federalize the force was a practical one. It placed all the military forces directly under a unified federal command and shifted the cost of the Guard's deployment, estimated at about \$900,000 a day, from Sacramento to Washington.

Sharp Cuts Planned

To some Guard advocates in Washington, the president's decision to use active Army and Marine Corps units in the riot areas foreshadowed the difficult future that Guard forces face. With the collapse of the Soviet threat, the Bush administration is planning to sharply reduce military forces—both active and reserve—during the next five years.

At the same time, Guard supporters also suggest that the active military has begun looking more favorably on the "peacetime missions" that they scorned and left to the Guard. "There are only so many brass rings you can grab these days," said one Guard official who asked to go unnamed.

Congress has spent billions to give the Guard new, updated military gear, but the underlying tension between governors and the Pentagon has remained.

In late 1984, for example, then-

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California Gov. George Deukmejian, a Republican, successfully rejected the Reagan administration's efforts to train 450 members of a California Army National Guard tank unit in Honduras, insisting that the troops were needed for an earthquake drill in the state.

In 1990, after several Democratic governors also voiced objections to sending their units to Central America for training, the Supreme Court sided with the Pentagon. In a case involving the Minnesota Guard, the court unanimously held that the federal government—not the states—has authority over questions of "foreign policy and military affairs."

The decision undercut some of the governors, but it did not end tensions over the future of the Guard, a friction that has grown with the Bush administration's plans to downsize the Guard.

Michigan Adjutant General E. Gordon Stump argued in a recent paper submitted to the U.S. Commission on Intergovernmental Re-

lations that a drop in Guard units will make many states less able to cope with natural disasters, drug trafficking and other problems. (Because many states automatically give arrest powers to members of their state militias, the National Guard's involvement with the war on drugs has never created the controversy that it has with active-duty forces.)

Charting Guard's Future

The commission, composed of presidential and congressional appointees, is drafting a report on the Guard's future, a report that an advisory committee this week suggested needed to be revised in light of the Los Angeles situation and proposed cutbacks. Leo Penne, head of Nevada's Washington office, said he was stunned that the Pentagon would dismiss the needs of a state in assigning Guard units. "I thought it would be taken seriously, but it isn't," said Penne, who is working with a group of governors on the Guard's future.

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney has argued that the reserve components exist solely for war, an argument that flies in the face of the Guard's deeply held belief that it must serve numerous state missions as well as its wartime mission.

"The only reason [military forces] exist is to be prepared to fight and win wars," Cheney said at a March 26 news conference. "We're not a social welfare agency, we're not an employment agency that's operated on the basis of what make sense for some member of Congress's concern back home in the district. This is a military organization."

Part of the problem is that what the Army wants in its reserve component is not necessarily what the governors want. Carol Schuster, a General Accounting Office analyst, told the intergovernmental commission meeting. "The Army has a need for units that the states have no need for at all—such as POW [prisoner of war] units," she said.

What most governors want are military police and engineering units, the type of units that can be readily used to handle civil unrest or natural disasters.

Virginia Battalion Retained

Sen. John W. Warner (Va.), the ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, recently used his clout to preserve the 726-member 276th Engineer Battalion from being abolished in

Warner spokesman Phil Smith said the senator "went to bat for the unit because it has the heavy construction equipment that is relied on by the governor of Virginia in times of flood or natural disaster."

Montgomery, himself a retired Mississippi National Guard major general, has warned Cheney that Congress has declared "by law that the National Guard has to do the dual roles. Both are equal as far as I'm concerned."

Cheney's plan to trim the Guard would force one in three Guard armories to close, Montgomery said. "That's not going to be a problem at all," the congressman added, noting that Congress has power to fix the size of the nation's military. "We'll keep the Guard level up and we'll keep the dual mission."

North Carolina Will Elect Black Member of Congress

Helms Ally to Face Sen. Sanford in Fall

By Maralee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

For the first time since 1902, North Carolina voters will send a black representative to Congress.

A black Democrat was nominated Tuesday in the heavily Democratic 12th Congressional District and will face a black Republican in the general election.

In the state's other majority black district—both were redrawn to conform to the Voting Rights Act—a black Democrat is favored over a white Democrat in a runoff election.

In the 12th Congressional District race, Charlotte attorney Melvin Watt, a former state senator, defeated three other black Democrats to win the nomination with 47 percent of the vote. State Rep. Mickey Michaux was second with 29 percent.

Watt is heavily favored in the general election to represent the sprawling urban district that runs for 150 miles along Interstate 85. He will face either Barbara Gore Washington or Earl Jones, who will meet in a runoff for the GOP nomination. Both are black.

Four blacks were among seven people vying in the solidly Democratic 1st District to succeed Rep. Walter B. Jones (D), who is retiring. But it was Jones's son, who is white, who won the most votes.

Walter Jones Jr., a state representative, won 38 percent of the Democratic vote, short of the 40

percent needed to avoid a runoff with Warren County Commissioner Eva Clayton. Clayton, who is black, won 31 percent of the votes in this newly drawn rural district that stretches over parts of 28 counties over much of the state.

Jones went overnight from being the front-runner in the primary—where four black candidates split the black vote—to the underdog in the June 2 runoff.

Clayton, a longtime community activist, will draw national support from women's groups. The Women's Campaign Fund yesterday sent her a maximum \$5,000 contribution.

A white candidate, Ted Tyler, was unopposed for the GOP nomination.

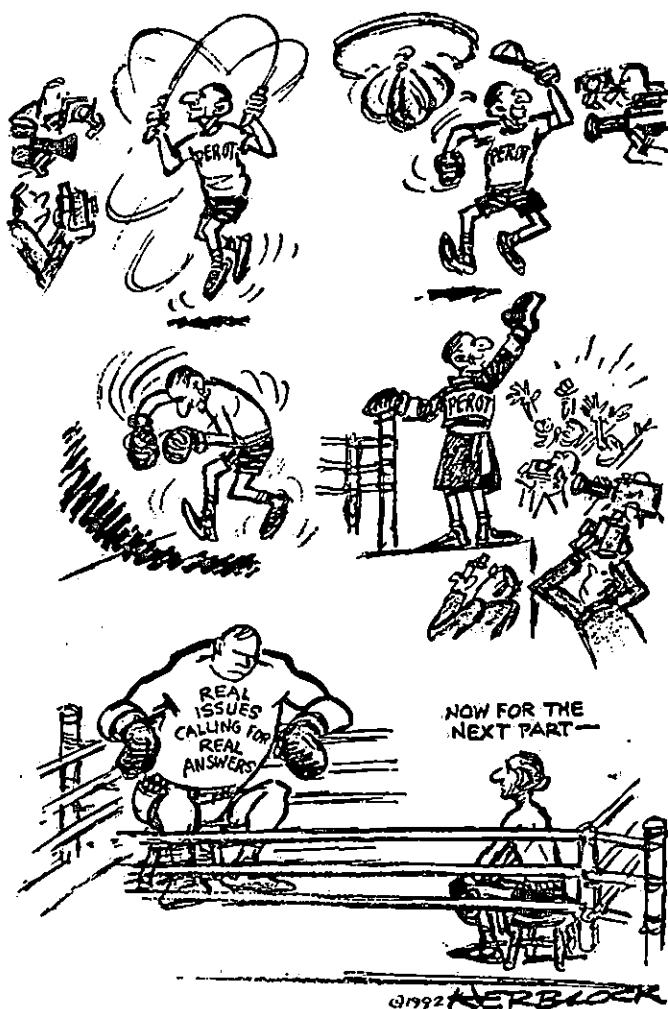
Lauch Faircloth, a Democrat-turned-Republican and a close ally of Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), was nominated to take on Sen. Terry Sanford (D).

Faircloth, who was once appointed chairman of the State Highway Commission by then-Gov. Sanford, said the biggest issue of the campaign will be that Sanford "is a liberal and I am a conservative. . . . It's a clear ideological difference."

In other congressional primary voting Tuesday, Indiana Republicans nominated Michael Bailey, an evangelical Christian, to face 14-term Democrat Lee H. Hamilton in the fall.

Bailey's campaign drew national attention when it aired television commercials that featured pictures of aborted fetuses.

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For the Record

From remarks yesterday on aid to the former Soviet Union by Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) before the foreign operations subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee and the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee:

One of the problems of this legislation [the Freedom Support Act, introduced April 1] ... is that the foreign aid bill failed last year in the House. ... The Pennsylvania senatorial election of last November traumatized the administration and the Congress. ... A majority of members ... did not want to vote foreign aid. ... They did not want to discuss foreign aid. ... As a matter of fact, the president did not want to talk about foreign policy. Now the problem is, the world went on in the process. ... The efforts of Sen. Nunn and myself and others ... came in desperation as we saw tactical nuclear weapons falling off the spectrum in the former Soviet Union and the conversion process going awry and in very great jeopardy for our country. A majority of the Senate saw that same problem, and so voted and spurred the House that had rejected foreign aid to, in fact, do its duty and appropriate money. ...

Even then the president and the secretary of state did not even acknowledge this effort for a month—so gun-shy was everyone still to even talk about the issue. [That is] why all these figures don't add up and why we don't know specifically [what the bill will cost]. It was not until about 10 days before the introduction of this legislation that the secretary of state made a decision ... to begin asking his staff to draw up a bill. It was barely a few days before the presidential announcement [that] the president himself tried to make a decision whether to proceed at all, not in terms of the details of this or the nuances, but whether even to make an initiative ... That is how fundamental our dilemma is.

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L.A. Police Paralysis During Riot Evident

After Initial Retreat, 'No Contingency Plan'

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, May 6—As families began burying riot victims, evidence mounted today that the police command structure was paralyzed by indecision during the critical first hours of what became the nation's deadliest urban disturbance since the Civil War era.

Police radio transmissions and interviews with officers who were at the scene where the riot started indicate that local police commanders feared for their officers' lives, felt woefully outnumbered, had no contingency plans and received inadequate backup and conflicting orders from higher-ups.

"I didn't want them killed; it's really that simple," Lt. Michael Moulin of the 77th Street Division, the officer in charge at the riot scene at Florence and Normandie avenues in south-central Los Angeles, said in published interviews today.

Moulin was explaining why he ordered 25 officers to retreat from

that intersection after they were pelted with bricks, bottles and chunks of concrete by an unruly mob April 29.

"Anarchy was occurring before our very eyes," he said. "I can't rescue people with dead officers."

According to radio transmissions, Moulin told his officers, "I want everyone out of here, Florence and Normandie. Everybody. Get out now."

While there was little second-guessing of the initial withdrawal, Police Chief Daryl F. Gates acknowledged today that a "breakdown" had occurred when Moulin and as many as 200 officers spent more than an hour at a command post a mile from the riot's flashpoint, unable to return to the streets because orders changed constantly.

At the time, thousands of "911" emergency calls were logged from citizens watching the violence in horror on live television shots broadcast from helicopters above Florence and Normandie.

"We did not do our job," Gates said.
See LOS ANGELES, A28, Col. 5

L.A. Police Retreated In the Face of 'Anarchy'

LOS ANGELES, From A1

today. "The breakdown was not at the police officer's level. They wanted to go out and do it . . . It's higher than that, and that has to be dealt with."

One officer at the command post, who asked not to be identified, described the scene there as "the LAPD's Vietnam." He told the Los Angeles Times that "there was no contingency plan. There was nothing but paralysis."

At one point, 40 special-weapons and tactical squad officers left the command post for the riot scene but pulled back within a block of it, realizing that they would be overwhelmed, the officer said.

Los Angeles County Sheriff Sherman Block said the initial response "didn't make any sense" and accused police of giving looters "an aura of legitimacy" by their inaction.

"Any second, I expected to see black-and-whites [squad cars] and ambulances," he told the County Board of Supervisors, describing his reaction as he watched television reports. "Had I believed they wouldn't have responded, we would have."

On a day when the first funerals were held for the 58 people known dead in the riot, Koreatown turned out in force to bury Edward Song Lee, 19, a Santa Monica City College student caught in a crossfire between police and rioting gang members on the riot's first night.

"His death will be the cornerstone for us to march together, black and white and Korean," said the Rev. Seng Man Lee, head of the National Council of Korean Churches. "May God bless all of us that we may not be discouraged by this and become agents of peace throughout the land."

Thousands of mourners assembled in a park to participate in a 90-minute ceremony. Family members said Lee had been incensed by looting of Korean stores and took to the streets to defend his community, disobeying his parents' order that he remain indoors.

Lee, the only known Korean fatality in the rioting, was eulogized as a martyr. "This young man . . . has set a certain foundation of new Korean-American history in this land," the Rev. Lee said.

Another funeral was set against a grim reminder not only of last week's riot but also of gang violence endemic in the nation's second largest city.

More than a dozen police cruisers and a vehicle full of National Guard troops descended on a church in south-central Los Angeles after a group of youths in a Cadillac made a menacing U-turn in front of mourners, apparently touching off police concern about gang violence.

As police sirens screamed outside, the Rev. Calvin Bowers, pastor of the Figueroa Church of Christ, continued the service for Louis Amiri Krimu Watson, 18, telling mourners that, "in the presence of our enemies, we must know that we are with the Lord."

Just before the scare in the street, the service had become highly emotional when one of Watson's friends, identifying himself to reporters only as "Glen" and "Base One," went to the pulpit and told 300 fellow mourners that "now you know who your

homeys are because they're all right here at the funeral."

Voice cracking and eyes welling with tears, the young black man vowed that "the niggers who did this [expletive] are going to pay," prompting a chorus of wails from the congregation. One young woman seated near the front of the sanctuary screamed, "Please let it stop. Please let it stop." Many young black men, dressed in baggy jeans and tennis shoes, began filing out in the middle of the service, only to have police descend on them when the Cadillac drove by.

"All of this isn't necessary," said Monty Williams, a classmate of Watson at Kennedy High School. "Where were they [the police] when they really could have done something? Where were they when all the violence started?"

Among many Angelenos asking those questions today were Mayor Tom Bradley, who toured a bullet-riddled jewelry store in Koreatown. The owner, Richard Park, said police did not respond to his calls for help when looters smashed display cases and took everything.

"They told the calls from this area that they didn't have adequate police reserves and the people would have to fend for themselves," said the grim-faced Bradley, a former police officer here. "This is unacceptable."

In the early stages of the riot, Gates was in nearby Brentwood at a political fund-raiser sponsored by opponents of a ballot measure that proposes changes in police administration. A transcript of his remarks at the time indicates that the pullback was part of his strategy.

"What we're doing is pulling our people back, leaving and putting them in squads and redeploying them that way," Gates said. "That takes a little bit of time . . . There are going to be situations where people are going to go without assistance. That's just the facts of life. There are not enough of us to be everywhere."

Moulin said he told senior officers that he would need 500 officers to control Florence and Normandie, and Moulin's immediate superior, division Capt. Paul Jefferson, said he felt that at least 350 were necessary. But there were not that many officers equipped with riot gear.

By the time nearly 200 officers were assembled at the command post, rioting was evident citywide, and police were needed to protect firefighters encountering snipers.

At least two separate inquiries into the police response are planned.

Tonight, an Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesman said nearly 500 illegal aliens apprehended during and after the rioting were turned over to INS by police in a departure from normal policy. More than 300 were identified as Mexican nationals and deported by bus while others awaited formal deportation hearings.

Court officials worked against a new deadline to arraign about 1,100 felony suspects not formally charged late today. Emergency legislation approved just before midnight Tuesday extended the arraignment period from 48 hours to seven days.

Staff writers Michele L. Norris and Avis Thomas-Lester and special correspondent Leef Smith contributed to this report.

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Jim Hoagland

'Instant Wisdom And Finger-Pointing'

Politicians serve two essential purposes for an electorate. They can be illuminators, lighting up the horizons toward which a nation needs to move. Or they are lightning rods, absorbing and rechanneling powerful currents an electorate wants to avoid as it stays immobile.

The tragic events of California and the political response by the White House, most of Congress and both major political parties show that we live in the time of lightning rods, in need of illuminators.

The dominant political response has been an attempt to frame the deep and complex issues raised by the miscarriage of justice in the Rodney King trial and the explosion of violence in Los Angeles into a simplistic campaign question: Who lost Los Angeles?

Was it George Bush and the Thousand Points of Light? Or Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society? Or Bill Clinton, either because he said too much or too little? Or black "leaders" who stirred up hopes they cannot satisfy?

The only way America can look worse to the world than it does in the wake of the Los Angeles upheaval is to continue to wallow in the instant wisdom and finger-pointing the upheaval spawned. The sniping and posturing are as unworthy as were Republican attacks on the Democrats for having "lost" China in the late 1940s.

Such attacks imply there was a relatively clear and easy policy to follow that would have prevented disaster. But just as China was not ours to lose, Los Angeles was not ours to fix with a few more (or a few less) government programs or an inspiring (or tough) speech or two. To suggest this is to evade the broad responsibility that American society as a whole bears for neglecting its cities and its disadvantaged for far too long.

The corrosive forces of racism, poverty, criminal behavior and human indifference run interwoven through the Rodney King verdict and the burning, looting and mayhem that followed. None of them can be separated out as the cause of this indivisible American tragedy. Neither can any of them be left off the list of the sources of instability in our society.

It is self-defeating to narrow the debate to political finger-pointing, to rerun the criticisms of Bush campaign ads about Willie Horton or to blame the dead, as White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater did in a cynical attempt to pin the rioting on Lyndon Johnson.

Such evasions simply encourage Americans to emulate President Bush's approach on Friday night—to pay lip service to the "underlying causes" of the turmoil and then quickly avoid examining them. Why examine problems, Bush's unfeeling performance seemed to say, when you are unable or unwilling to pay the costs of resolving them?

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The all-white jury's acquittal of the policemen who viciously assaulted Rodney King was both a willful act and a symbolic one. The jury showed how adept suburban white America has become at not believing what it is seeing. The jury had to deny the meaning of videotaped evidence seen by the whole world.

But the problem of Los Angeles is not racism alone. If it were, the search for a national culprit to blame would make sense, and George Bush, standing in the bully pulpit of the White House, would be the prime candidate.

The roots of racism run deep and draw from many wellsprings. But the distinguishing characteristic of the force of racism is its dependence on peer pressure and the power of example. Leadership can be decisive, as was shown in the civil rights revolution of the 1960s in the American South and as President F. W. de Klerk is demonstrating in South Africa today.

But when Watts and other inner-city ghettos exploded a quarter of a century ago, Americans quickly discovered that the problems of the inner city were much more intractable and expensive than the racial conflicts of the rural South had been.

The reaction was a growing demand from the middle class that the government stop "taxing and spending"—that is, taxing us (the whites) and spending on "them" (blacks). It is not that mainstream America was somehow unaware of the problems of the black underclass and the cities. There was a conscious, if usually unstated, decision to ignore them, much as the jury in the King case decided to ignore the evidence before it.

It is hardly accidental that ghettos are exploding in flames during the presidency that has recorded the lowest economic growth in America since World War II, and at a historic moment of political irresponsibility in Washington as symbolized by the budget deficits and savings and loans scandals.

These are big, difficult problems that require fundamental changes in American attitudes, lifestyle and economic organization. Debating who lost Los Angeles instead of focusing on "underlying causes" allows the nation to evade hard choices for a little longer. But the Los Angeles strife shows that the lightning is striking ever closer to home.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

ART BUCHWALD

Blue Ribbon Blues

I just hope they don't appoint another citizens' committee to find out what happened in Los Angeles. Whatever report is issued by a "blue ribbon panel" on the rioting will simply be read by the politicians and then stuffed in a bottom drawer where it will yellow with age.

To save a lot of money, here are the conclusions that any well-meaning group of citizens will arrive at:

Poor people are more prone to loot stores than rich people.

After they smash windows, young people are more likely to run faster than older people.

Unemployed people have the least to lose by taking merchandise without paying for it.

Policemen who are videotaped beating up citizens are more likely to cause riots than those who do it out of camera range.

Most cops are good people, and most people are good people, but don't expect to see any of them on television.

If you carry off an electrical appliance without paying for it, the warranty will not be honored.

Clothing items cannot be returned by anyone who snatched them out of a store window.

The only beneficiaries of a riot are the glass companies and the gun dealers. Both groups can't fill their orders fast enough.

The two occasions on which a politician will visit a ghetto are after a riot and during an election year.

To calm the citizenry, politicians will always make themselves available for photo opportunities.

Some police chiefs are good

only for appearing on Ted Koppel late at night.

If you don't have a job you tend to resent people who do.

Burning down your own neighborhood is not a very smart idea, particularly if it might lower the real estate values in the area.

If Israel can build thousands of houses for Russian immigrants on the West Bank every time Secretary of State James Baker's plane lands there, the United States should be able to build homes just as fast for Americans in Los Angeles.

During a riot the people with the least education do the most damage mainly because they cannot read the signs that say **KEEP OUT, TRESPASSERS WILL BE PROSECUTED.**

When a riot is taking place most street gangs cannot be viewed as law-abiding citizens. However, for network reporters their leaders will conduct tours of the burning ghetto for an opportunity to appear on television.

A riot the size of the one in L.A. makes it possible for enough blame to be spread around. This way no one person will catch hell for the mess when it's over.

The cost to repair the damage could come out of the House of Representatives' bank, and people hurt by the riots should be permitted to write as many checks on the bank as are needed.

If this is not feasible, the entire cost of rebuilding L.A. could be financed by canceling one Stealth bomber—or five golfing trips of Vice President Dan Quayle.

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THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992



I Do Déjà Vu

Planning Weddings
The Second Time Around

By Nancy L. Ross

PICTURE IT: Sen. Ted Kennedy and his bride, Vicki Reggie, dressed in the 19th-century costumes of the legendary English lovers Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton, standing on the bow of a yacht as it sails up the Cape Cod coast, putting in at ports along the way so they can shake hands with citizens, until they finally make a triumphal entry into Boston Harbor.

OR: First Daughter Doro Bush LeBlond and her new husband, Democratic aide Bobby Koch, exchanging vows in the well of the House of Representatives before straw-hatted legislators waving state banners and seated according to political party, then adjourning to a bipartisan Texas barbecue, to which guests were invited by George and Barbara Bush's red, white and blue wedding announcements festooned with an elephant and a donkey.

These "dream" wedding proposals are compliments of some bridal consultants who were invited to unleash their fantasies on the upcoming nuptials of two Washington celebrities. The purpose was to generate fresh ideas for second weddings by using real life models.

While these sequences appear to have been nightmarishly contrived with one eye on the couples and the other on the elections, practical suggestions evolved that could be used by anyone preparing to hear "O Promise Me" one more time.

When it comes to I Do Déjà Vu—and more than 800,000 American couples do annually, according to the Census Bureau—couples are often left in a lurch etiquette-wise. Most books and bridal magazines contain a modicum of advice about "encore" engagements (the term used by professionals to avoid referring to his third wife or her eighth marriage). The bride and groom taking a second chance on marriage may be torn between what is considered proper—that is, if they can find the rules—and what they personally want.

It used to be so simple. After running off to Reno, where she could obtain an absolute divorce decree on liberal grounds in only six weeks, the no-longer-blushing bride would slip away with her intended to a marriage mill to do the deed quickly and quietly. The surroundings and witnesses were often makeshift; the bride never wore white; and the after-the-fact announcements were very discreet.

At least that's the way second weddings were depicted in movies of the 1930s and '40s and by the queen of etiquette, Emily Post.

More than half a century later in 1991 the subject merited an entire book, "Emily Post on Second Weddings," by her granddaughter-in-law and successor, Elizabeth L. Post. In a cultural about-face, Post writes, "Recently second weddings with all the fanfare of first weddings have become generally acceptable. Your decision depends more on what you are most comfortable doing than it is one of etiquette."

She enumerates *mirabile dictu* a list of choices for almost everything to do with second weddings. Notwithstanding, it wouldn't be a Post manual if it didn't have a few dos and don'ts.



Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Victoria Reggie (top).
Robert P. Koch and Dorothy Bush LeBlond (below).

Illustration by Jeffrey Dever

Weddings

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manism would seem ostentatious—and therefore politically unwise—in the current economy.

"Stay away from anything political," advised Marianne Michaels, who runs Dream Weddings in Yorba Linda, Calif. But she relented enough to suggest topping the cake with an elephant and a donkey.

Real-World Scenarios

For less high-profile couples, fantasy can still take flight even if your name—or your bank account—isn't that of a Kennedy or Bush.

Although many encore weddings take place in church, home or club, acceptable alternatives, according to the experts, include sites that are romantic (a country inn or the place where they met, such as scuba divers bubbling their vows under water), thematic (a Southern style mansion with the wedding party dressed as characters from "Come with the Wind") or historical. The marriage may even take place on a mountaintop or in a foreign country or both.

One of the most frequently asked questions is whether the bride should wear white. The conventional attire for a repeat bride is a pastel dress or suit with a hat, according to Miss Manners. But the attraction of a traditional wedding gown for the second time bride—especially if she missed out on the first time—is strong. Cadden recalls a 55-year-old grandmother who wore one, veil and all.

Elizabeth Post would permit a white wedding dress on brides under 40 but no train, busier veil or orange blossoms which smack of virginity redux. Sawson advises, "Wear a white wedding dress if you're still fairly young and childless. If you had a large wedding the first time, think twice about white." Her alternative suggestions include bright colors, secondhand clothes from the 1940s, Victorian dress or costumes.

For the famous couples, formal versus informal was a dead heat in the poll of wedding consultants. Besides 18th-century costumes, it was suggested that the Kennedy-Reggie nuptials could have a Great Gatsby theme. Gayle Labenow of You Are Cordially Invited in Babylon, N.Y., pictured Reggie in palazzo pants and straw hat with streamers at a Cape Cod clam bake. Kuskus envisaged the senator in navy blazer and white shorts, his bride in white lace for an afternoon party on the White House tennis court. Labenow fancied the bride in a short green dress with lace.

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daughter to the aide of the rival Democrats' House Majority Leader, Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri. Never mind that Vanderbilt's fantasy is a constitutional impossibility—the amalgamation of Congress and a nominating convention—she believes it could have "great benefit" in an election year.

"When something as wonderful as this [wedding] occurs, George Bush and the Congress could put their differences aside," he hypothesized. New York marriage consultant Myrna Kuskus separately conceived a similar scenario for LeBlond.

Vanderbilt was more restrained when it came to the senator: a private formal wedding at Kennedy's McLean estate. Guests tend to get less rowdy with champagne and curfews than they do with beer and jeans, he said. After the bad publicity Kennedy received in the past year as a "womanizer and partner in crime," he doesn't need that sort of headline.

On the contrary, declared Bethesda wedding consultant Rita Bloom Smith of Creative Parties Ltd. "They're too public. People would whisper, wondering whether they can handle it if they sneaked off quietly. Remember, the private wedding of Liz Taylor last October turned into a three-ring circus. They should do something warm and of the people."

Cape Cod has too many memories, she added. Instead, they should marry on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial in early morning. "It would put him in sync with the national leaders of the United States. Maybe it [the presidency] is something he will aspire to again," said Smith. The wedding breakfast would be held under a marquee on the Mall, with the leftovers distributed to the homeless.

As for the Bushes' daughter, seven consultants opted for a large public marriage, three for a small, private event. Four wanted to hold the wedding at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., the ultimate Washington address.

"The president will want to have an all-out bash at the White House where he can get the greatest marriage," said Tessa Warschaw, a New York psychotherapist and marriage counselor. As for Koch, "He's not just marrying the daughter; he's marrying the whole [Republican] party."

The arguments against the White House consultant Marsha Alexander ranged from Giddens' objection to holding a second marriage there to a feeling of Galas Unlimited in Tequesta, Fla., near Palm Beach, that a big wedding in the presidential

union in the marriage of the Republican president's

and Koch. He hitched onto the theme of bipartisanship

wedding planning magazine based in Falls Church, Va.

Bill Vanderbit, publisher of the Wedding Pages, a national syndicated column of the newlyweds sailing to meet his constituents developed from there.

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there are no rules."

those going back to square one with number two.

first wedding. Be flexible; sit yourselves. Above all, for on a second dance at happiness. Don't try to redo your

freelance writer Judith Sawson offers second thoughts in "Second Wedding Handbook," New York

Miss Manners recommends the second type. "Wedding" for those who never had one with all the

formal and more fun; and the "Got Created Last Time

Time We Know What's What Wedding," which is less

Wedding," in which everything is low key, the "This

three basic types of altar events: the "Snicker-Froot

behavior," author Judith Martin summarized in 1982

In "Miss Manners' Guide to Excruciatingly Correct

necessary to get your children to your second wedding.

■ Do trick your uncooperative ex-spouse if

■ Don't invite your son to a bawdy bachelor party.

■ Don't mix orange blossoms and crow's-foot.

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Weddings

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Sharing Decisions

Whose wedding is it anyway?

Usually the bride and her mother plan a first wedding, whereas the second is up to the couple and their respective children. The bride and groom usually pay for the second wedding. Their parents may make a gift to them for part of it, but if they do a repeat on footing the entire bill, then all bets are off. The hand that writes the check, etcetera.

In a case where it is a second marriage for just one of the spouses, deference should be given to the one who has not been married on the grounds that everybody should have a "real"

(traditional) wedding once in his or her life. "Koch will want a lovely wedding in the White House," said Labenow. She suggested that a Supreme Court justice—one appointed by a Democratic president—preside.

The second time around, Slawson suggests, the mother of the bride could be given the role of hostess at the reception. According to Miss Manners, "The idea of a father's giving away a grown woman is ridiculous." Yet Shelby Tuck-Horton, president of Exquisite Expressions and Events in Upper Marlboro, in recommending a second formal church wedding for LeBlond, said that George Bush should once again give his daughter in marriage. "He would get a lot of publicity taking time out to be a paterfamilias in an

election year," she reasoned.

Instead of the bride's father symbolically giving her away again, most consultants advise modifying the format to reflect reality. Post suggests having the bride's children answer "We do" to the ritual question "Who gives this woman?"

There should be fewer attendants for a second ceremony, but they should include the children of both families. A grown son can serve as his father's best man; younger children, as junior ushers or bridesmaids. To avoid favoritism in designating who gets what role, Slawson suggests that all family members join hands in a circle around the couple and clergy.

Post would bar any reference to the first marriage in the vows or toasts to avoid comparison with the predecessor. But Slawson said

touching on the past is permissible in a re-union, especially if one is widowed.

Gifts are not required at an encore wedding, and that goes double for those guests who gave the first time. Many consultants agreed that guests at the Kennedy-Reggie and Koch-LeBlond weddings should be invited to contribute to charities, while others proposed offering gifts keyed to their leisure activities.

For those who wish to give a present, a gift registry can be even more useful the second time around, Slawson observes. Unlike the young couple setting up house who need everything, the biggest problem of the older husband and wife-to-be may be how to blend his and her silver patterns. A registry may reveal that they covet a bread maker but would be nonplused by a

surplus cappuccino machine. LeBlond and her fiancé, on the other hand, appear to be starting over on housewares, according to Bloomingdale's, where they have registered.

For the record, mother-of-the-bride Barbara Bush told reporters that Koch and LeBlond plan to be married at Camp David—a locale, incidentally, that eluded our consultants altogether. Sources said they have picked June 27, but the First Lady's press secretary, Anna Perez, pleads no knowledge of the date.

Likewise, Kennedy's press secretary, Paul Donovan, insisted no plans have been announced and no date set, although several newspapers have speculated that the knot will be tied in July at a family affair on Nantucket.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

The Furling Of Churchill's 'Iron Curtain'

Gorbachev Unravels Fabric of Cold War

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

FULTON, Mo., May 6—Near the gymnasium where Winston Churchill declared Europe a continent divided by "an iron curtain," former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev today called for a global alliance against the common problems that threaten peace.

"In the major centers of world politics, the choice, it would seem, has today been made in favor of peace, cooperation, interaction and overall security," Gorbachev told a cheering crowd of 15,000.

"A major international effort will be needed to render irreversible the shift in favor of a democratic world—and democratic for the whole of humanity, not just half of it," he added.

This Missouri town is viewed by historians as the place where Churchill officially launched the Cold War in March 1946. Using the historic backdrop, Gorbachev declared the Cold War over and outlined ways in which the international community should move beyond it. He proposed expanding the role of the United Nations as a world peace-keeping force and suggested that Japan, Germany and India be included in the U.N. Security Council.

Gorbachev's address, like Churchill's, was delivered at Westminster College, a tiny liberal arts institution tucked in the foothills of central Missouri.

With a cool breeze blowing and banners greeting Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, posted everywhere, the campus and surrounding area seemed festive. "Cold War, nyet," read a series of blue and white placards students raised during the speech. "Gorby, da."

Missouri Gov. John Ashcroft (R) introduced Gorbachev, who stood before a graffiti-covered slab of the Berlin Wall, whose collapse climaxed the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. The audience peppered the speech with heavy applause about a dozen times and gave Gorbachev a standing ovation at the end.



Gorbachev and Edwina Sandya, Churchill's granddaughter, near section of Berlin Wall at Westminster College in Fulton, Mo., where Churchill gave famous 1946 speech proclaiming that an "iron curtain" had descended across Europe.

Gorbachev's hour-long speech was the center of his 13-day tour of American cities, his first to the United States since leaving office late last year.

There were several parallels between Churchill's appearance 46 years ago and Gorbachev's speech today. Churchill came to Fulton soon after losing a bid for reelection as prime minister of Britain. Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union in December after losing support among Soviet people. Both used their speeches to propose buttressing the powers of the United Nations.

But Gorbachev deliberately drew contrasts to Churchill.

While Churchill called on an alliance of the United States and Britain to combat the Soviet-led communist bloc, Gorbachev rejected the concept of concentrating power in the hands of two blocs.

"The bipolar system has exhausted its potential," Gorbachev said. "Most people feel the world will be multipolar."

While Churchill focused on the political rifts that emerged after World War II between the West and the Soviet bloc, Gorbachev pointed out new problems such as the ecological woes that threaten the globe.

Churchill had warned that the Soviet Union was mounting a military aggression against the West. Today, Gorbachev countered by saying that it was the West and not the Soviet Union that was responsible for the postwar arms race.

The West's prediction of probable postwar Soviet military aggression was "unrealistic and dangerous," Gorbachev said. Then-Soviet leader Josef Stalin "was afraid of war, did not want war, and never would have engaged in a major war," he added. "By including the nuclear component in world politics, the West, and primarily the U.S., unleashed a monstrous arms race."

But Gorbachev's main purpose was to bring an official end to the Cold War that Churchill declared. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," Churchill told the postwar Westminster crowd—including then-President Harry S. Truman—"an iron curtain has descended across the continent."

In pushing forward to a new civilization, Gorbachev said in contrast, "We should under no circumstances again make the intellectual and politically consequential error of interpreting victory in the Cold War narrowly as a victory for one's way of life."

"This was a victory over a scheme for the development of humanity, which was becoming slowly congealed and leading us to destruction," he said.

Gorbachev founded a political science institute in Moscow after leaving office. His trip, organized by the Gorbachev Foundation USA, is in part a goodwill mission and in part a fund-raising tour. The former Soviet leader hopes to raise \$3 million for his foundation, trip organizers said.

But today's speech and other events have taken on the tone of a political campaign. On Monday in Simi Valley, Calif., for example, former president Ronald Reagan hosted a \$5,000-a-plate luncheon for Gorbachev. On Tuesday in Los Angeles, Gorbachev met with Hollywood stars and business executives. Later in the day he talked to workers at a Veggie Burger plant in Decatur, Ill.

Gorbachev stressed the need for including other world powers in the U.N.'s governing body. "Nothing," he said, other than divisions into victors and vanquished "explains why such countries as Germany and Japan do not figure among the permanent members of the Security Council."

Bad Weather May Delay Shuttle Launch Tonight

New Spacecraft Endeavour Poised for Flight

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

CAPE CANAVERAL, May 6—Bad weather threatened to delay the planned Thursday evening launch of the new space shuttle Endeavour on what NASA hopes will be a dazzling first test flight.

The launch was scheduled for 7:06 p.m. EDT, and could occur as late as 7:55 p.m. But a storm front moving toward the launch complex here prompted Air Force weather forecasters today to give NASA only a 30 percent chance of favorable conditions at launch time. They said conditions at the shuttle's emergency landing sites in New Mexico, California and North Africa also were worsening.

The seven-day mission is one of the most ambitious and innovative ever attempted by shuttle astronauts. Under the command of the chief astronaut, the crew of six men and one woman is to carry out three days of spacewalks.

The first team is scheduled to step outside on the fourth day in orbit to capture and repair a 4.5-ton, \$270 million Intelsat communications satellite stranded in a too-low orbit.

Intelsat controllers will direct the satellite to its rendezvous with Endeavour from the international consortium's control room on upper Connecticut Avenue NW in Washington.

On the second and third days of spacewalks, the astronauts are to try out construction and rescue techniques for possible use in the upcoming mission to repair the Hubble Space Telescope and in building the controversial space station Freedom. If that project survives budget battles on Capitol Hill, it is to begin assembly in orbit in 1996.

"This mission is special, not just because this is a new orbiter, but in a broader sense it's a new national resource," said launch director Robert Sieck. Ground crews here have done extensive work on the new spaceplane since its builder, Rockwell International, delivered it almost a year ago.

The orbiter was built to replace the Challenger, which exploded in January 1986, killing its crew of seven and grounding the shuttle fleet for more than 2½ years.

Endeavour took six years and \$2 billion to build. It is likely to be the last space shuttle constructed, policymakers have indicated.

Sieck said he would decide on Thursday at a 9 a.m. meeting of shuttle officials and weather personnel whether to fuel the space-ship for a launch attempt. The fueling was scheduled to begin just after 10 a.m.

Once fueling is completed, Sieck said, the team has two or possibly three days to attempt a launch, depending on the amount of fatigue in ground crews here at Kennedy Space Center.

After that, they would be forced to drain the shuttle's giant external fuel tank, replace samples in a commercial science experiment and resume the countdown for another fueling and launch attempt.

The volatile Cape Canaveral weather is expected to improve into

Three days of spacewalks are planned.

the weekend, Air Force weather forecasters said. However, if Endeavour is still earthbound after Sunday, the launch of an unmanned Delta rocket scheduled for Monday would prevent another attempt at a shuttle launch until at least next Wednesday.

Shuttle managers missed good weather earlier in the week when they delayed the launch for three days. Liftoff had been scheduled for Monday. But NASA administrator Daniel Goldin ordered a review based on objections raised by former astronaut John Young, who had questioned the wisdom of launching a new shuttle in darkness, when tracking cameras might not be able to detect the cause of a malfunction or record the sequence of an accident.

The new date placed the launch time just ahead of sundown, but weather forecasters say the approaching thick clouds and showers could make that concern at least temporarily academic.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

A4 THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

Darman: Amendment Only Way to Control Deficit

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman, arguing that lawmakers no longer can be trusted to protect future generations from onerous debt, said yesterday that a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget is the only realistic way to bring the runaway deficit under control.

"The reality is that our representative democracy is not working satisfactorily . . . [and] the protection of future interests cannot be left to rely on politics of the moment," Darman told the House Budget Committee.

"This might be a depressing commentary on our democracy if it were not for this consoling thought: The public itself is now clearly fed up."

Darman, a late convert to the amendment mania sweeping the capital, outlined the administration's vi-

sion of how to implement the plan, by as early as 1997.

He stressed that efforts to balance the budget must be linked to congressional approval of limits on the growth of federal entitlement programs, other than Social Security, that account for almost two-thirds of the budget.

However, Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.) warned that the proposed amendment is no substitute for tough decision-making by the White House and Congress on tax and spending priorities.

And Congressional Budget Office Director Robert D. Reischauer testified that "it would be a cruel hoax" in an election year to suggest "that one more procedural promise in the form of a constitutional amendment is going to get the job done."

"If only it were so simple," Reischauer said in prepared testimony.

"The problem has never been that the nation could not agree on the goal—a greatly reduced deficit. Rather it has been that we could not summon up the will to achieve this objective because it requires sacrificing other desirable objectives—namely, keeping taxes low and maintaining government services."

Pressure is building in Congress for passage of a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget fueled in part by frustration over the government's inability to control the \$400 billion deficit.

The leading plans in both chambers—proposed by Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.)—would bar spending in excess of receipts unless three-

fifths majorities in each body approved a deficit. Spending now can be approved by simple majorities of both chambers as long as it conforms to previously approved budgets.

The House and Senate proposals also would require a majority of those elected to both bodies to enact a tax increase, rather than the current requirement of a majority of those who are present and voting.

A two-thirds vote of both chambers is required for approval of a constitutional amendment, which then must be ratified by three-fourths of the states. Ratification, which could take several years, is considered likely because legislatures in most states already face their own balanced-budget requirements.

Without endorsing a specific proposal or saying how it would be enforced, Darman said that Congress and the next administration would have to begin work two to three years in advance of the amendment taking effect to gradually reduce mandatory and discretionary spending to meet the balanced-budget requirements.

A new study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that approval of the amendment would limit the government's flexibility to respond to economic problems and would risk causing more frequent recessions.

The study notes that in years when growth turns sluggish, revenue grows more slowly while expenditures for programs like unemployment insurance and food stamps rise more rapidly, which adds to the deficit.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

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Ailing Rep. Whitten Ponders Course

Friends Are Urging Appropriations Committee Head, 82, to Retire

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.), described as frail after a lengthy illness, is agonizing over whether to try to hold on to his extraordinary power or bow to colleagues' entreaties to retire after a half-century in office.

Whitten, 82, a former prosecutor from northern Mississippi, has served in the House longer than anyone else, and he has done more than most to reshape the contours of rural America and pump untold billions into urban areas.

But a stroke in February, on the same day he was to be honored by President Bush at a Mississippi Society event at the Capitol, has slowed the once-robust Whitten at a time when Congress begins the

most grueling and complicated phase of the appropriations process.

Friends and colleagues of Whitten are trying to persuade him to announce that he will retire at the end of the year and to hand over day-to-day responsibilities to Rep. William H. Natcher (Ky.), the second-ranking Democrat on Appropriations, sources said.

Whitten has resisted, however, and indicated he would take part in floor debate today when the House considers a \$5.8 billion package of spending cuts prepared by his committee.

Whitten won his Democratic primary March 10, Super Tuesday, with 82 percent of the vote, and faces Republican Clyde Whitaker, a Tupelo realtor, in the general election. He told a reporter for Congress Daily newsletter yesterday that he has given no thought to retiring and that "anybody that urges it, I wonder what they're up to."

A member of the committee, who asked not to be identified, said yesterday, "When you've had a stroke, it's difficult to recognize you have a problem. His friends are simply trying to help him make a very difficult decision. No one wants him to leave, but to just focus on taking care of himself."

"He's still not back to 100 percent, that's for damn sure," said Rep. John P. Murtha (D-Pa.), a member of the Appropriations Committee. "If you hadn't seen him for a long time, you'd say he looks bad."

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley's (D-Wash.) office has been given no notice of Whitten's intentions as of late yesterday, according to a House Democratic leadership aide.

Whitten's illness and personal quandary coincide with an exodus of House members in the wake of the House Bank scandal and increased

See WHITTEN, A9, Col. 1

Whitten Facing Quandary Amid Colleagues' Exodus

WHITTEN, From A8

public criticism of the way Congress operates. Fifty-five House members have announced they will retire at the end of the year, including 13 members of the 59-member House Appropriations Committee.

His staff and friends on the Appropriations Committee have done much to shield Whitten from pressures during his recovery from the stroke and from prostate surgery. But beginning last week, when the Appropriations Committee met to sign off on the package of spending cuts sought by the president, some members and lobbyists said they noticed Whitten had trouble hearing and responding to others.

On Tuesday, Whitten missed an important Rules Committee meeting on the spending cut package, leaving it to Natcher and Murtha to present

the bill. Aides said he had a doctor's appointment, but insisted that he would be prepared to help manage the bill on the floor today.

"He's doing just fine," one aide said.

But his medical problems are of growing concern to some of his friends, who worry that if he stays too long he might be forced out of his post, as was Democrat Melvin Price (Ill.), who in 1984 was stripped of the chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee at age 79.

Last year, another influential member, Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), resigned shortly after giving up day-to-day control of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Udall left Congress because of Parkinson's disease.

Will Hickman, an Oxford lawyer and one of Whitten's closest friends and advisers, and Marion "Buddy" Bishop, another longtime adviser who supervises Whitten's district



REP. JAMIE L. WHITTEN
... longest occupant of House seat

office, met with Whitten Monday to provide counsel on his decision. "The chairman is very proud and very stubborn," an associate said.

Whitten, who first won election to Congress in 1941, a month before Pearl Harbor, holds the record for continuous service and has been chairman of the Appropriations Committee since 1979.

Rep. McDade Indictment Stems From Ties to Defense Firms

By Sharon LaFraniere
Washington Post Staff Writer

The federal indictment of Rep. Joseph M. McDade (Pa.), ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee, alleges he took more than \$100,000 in bribes and illegal gratuities in return for his efforts to steer federal contracts to five companies.

Some of the alleged bribes were disguised as campaign contributions. Others took the form of free plane trips, furniture, clothing, golf equipment, vacations and college tuition for his son, according to the indictment.

McDade, who has represented northeastern Pennsylvania in the House for nearly 30 years, denied any wrongdoing at a news conference Monday. He claimed federal prosecutors were attempting to cover up their lack of evidence by charging him with violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO),

which is designed to reach a pattern of criminal conduct.

The five-count indictment charges McDade, ranking Republican on the Appropriations subcommittee on defense, with racketeering, conspiracy and accepting illegal gifts. The indictment alleges:

- From United ChemCon Corp., a now-defunct defense contractor, McDade took \$10,250 in payments disguised as campaign contributions, flew round-trip to Florida on the company's Lear jet, accepted an all expense-paid trip to Jamaica and solicited free use of the company's resort condominium in Delaware.

- In return, McDade, used his position to intercede on the firm's behalf with the Navy, the Small Business Administration and the Postal Service, the indictment charges.

- From the Sperry Corp., a Long Island-based defense contractor now called Unisys-Paramax Corp., McDade took a free vacation, free plane trips, \$5,500 in "sham" campaign contributions and

his expenses at the 1984 NCAA basketball tournament in Seattle. In exchange, McDade agreed to support Sperry's attempts to sell the Navy radar fire control systems, the indictment charges.

- From a lobbyist for the Grumman Corp. and other defense contractors, McDade took \$7,500 for his son's college tuition, and transportation, lodging and tickets to the Seattle tournament. In exchange for gratuities, he tried to help Grumman obtain defense contracts, the indictment charges.

- From Westland Corp., a Texas-based oil company, McDade accepted free trips to New York City, California and Sun Valley, Idaho. McDade supported Westland's efforts to sell the federal government its underground facility, according to the indictment.

- From GSGS & B, a Pennsylvania architectural firm that McDade supported for business from the federal government and defense contractors, the congressman accepted four free trips to New York City and a leather couch, the indictment charges.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9 a.m.

Committees:

Appropriations—9 a.m. Closed. Defense subc. FY93 approps. for classified programs. S-407 Capitol.
Appropriations—9:30 a.m. VA, HUD & independent agencies subc. FY93 approps. for Dept. of Veterans' Affairs & Court of Veterans' Appeals. DVA Sec. Edward J. Derwinski. G-50 Dirksen Office Bldg.
Appropriations—10 a.m. Commerce, Justice, State & Judiciary subc. FY93 approps. for Supreme Court, Legal Services Corp. & Federal Trade Commission. S-146 Cap.
Appropriations—10 a.m. Labor, HHS, Education & related agencies subc. FY93 approps. for Labor Dept. Labor Sec. Lynn Martin. 192 DOB.
Appropriations—2 p.m. Energy & water development subc. FY92 approps. for energy research & conservation, & nuclear energy programs. 192 DOB.
Armed Services—9:30 a.m. Strategic Environmental Research & Development Program. 222 Russell Office Bldg.
Commerce, Science & Transportation—9:30 a.m. Nomination of Carl Vogt as member & chmn. of National Transportation Safety Board. 301 ROB.
Commerce, Science & Transportation—10 a.m. Consumer subc. Reauth. of U.S. Fire Administration programs. 232A ROB.
Energy & Natural Resources—9:30 a.m. Nomination of Linda Stuntz as deputy sec. of energy. 366 DOB.
Finance—9:30 a.m. Health care reform, focusing on ways to control rate of growth in health care costs. 215 DOB.
Foreign Relations—10 a.m. Mark up Basel Convention on Hazardous Wastes; consular conventions with Tunisia, Algeria & Mongolia; extradition treaties with Germany, Bahamas, Australia & Spain; mutual legal assistance in criminal matters treaties with Jamaica, Argentina, Uruguay & Spain; & nominations of Roman Popadiuk as amb. to Ukraine & Sigmund Rogich as amb. to Iceland. 419 DOB.
Foreign Relations—2 p.m. Africa subc. U.S. security issues in Africa. 419 DOB.
Judiciary—10 a.m. Pending legislation; nomination of Edward Carnes to 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals; district court nominations of Robert Payne for eastern district of Virginia, Richard Kyle for Minnesota, Lee Rosenthal for southern district of Texas & Joe Kendall for northern district of Texas; nomination of John Walters as deputy director of Office of National Drug Control Policy; & sex crimes & pornography. 226 DOB.
Labor & Human Resources—2:15 p.m. Health care reform for small business. 430 DOB.
Select Intelligence—2 p.m. Closed. Intelligence matters. 219 Hart Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—10 a.m. Conservation, credit & rural development subc. Implementation of conservation compliance provisions of Food Security Act of '85. 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Appropriations—10 a.m. Defense subc. FY93 approps. for Defense Dept. environmental programs. H-140 Cap.
Appropriations—10 a.m. Interior subc. FY93 approps. for Bureau of Land Management. B-308 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Armed Services—10 a.m. May close. Investigations subc. Mark up to

auth. FY93 approps. for Defense Dept. military functions & prescribe military personnel levels. 2216 RHOB.

Armed Services—10 a.m. May close. Seapower & strategic & critical materials subc. Mark up seapower-related procurement & stockpile portions of FY93 defense auth. 2212 RHOB.

Armed Services—2 p.m. May close. Readiness subc. Mark up operation & maintenance portion of FY93 defense auth. 2212 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—9:30 a.m. Housing & community development subc. & consumer affairs & conase subc. Issues concerning Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data. 2128 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Domestic monetary policy subc. Govt. Securities Auction Reform Act & Govt. Securities Reform Act. 2222 RHOB.

Education & Labor—9:30 a.m. National health care reform. 2175 RHOB.

Energy & Commerce—9:30 a.m. Telecommunications & finance subc. Mark up Govt. Securities Reform Act of '92 & permit members of national securities exchanges to effect transactions on accounts for which they exercise investment decision. 2322 RHOB.

Energy & Commerce—11 a.m. Oversight & investigations subc. Impact of textile fraud on interstate & foreign commerce. 2123 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—1 p.m. May close. Western Hemisphere affairs subc. & international narcotics control task force. Situation in Peru & future of war on drugs. 2255 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—2 p.m. Human rights & international organizations subc., international economic policy & trade subc., Asian & Pacific affairs subc. & international operations subc. U.S. policy toward Hong Kong. 2172 RHOB.

Government Operations—10 a.m. Human resources & intergovernmental relations subc. Health care fraud & abuse. 2247 RHOB.

Interior & Insular Affairs—10 a.m. National parks & public lands subc. Mark up to establish Old-Growth Forest Reserve. 1324 LHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Economic & commercial law subc. Threat of foreign economic espionage to U.S. corporations. 2141 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Civil & constitutional rights subc. Auth. for Justice Dept.'s Civil Rights Division, including division's role in investigating allegations of police brutality. 2237 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Administrative law & governmental relations subc. EPA's handling of hazardous waste management permit for an incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio. 2154 RHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—10 a.m. Merchant marine subc. Auth. FY93 approps. for Maritime Administration. 1334 LHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—1:30 p.m. Fisheries & wildlife conservation & the environment subc. Ecological waste-water treatments. 1334 LHOB.

Rules—10:30 a.m. Small Business Credit Crunch Relief Act. H-313 Cap.

Science, Space & Technology—10 a.m. Investigations & oversight subc. NASA contracting & financial management issues. 2318 RHOB.

Standards of Official Conduct—9:30 a.m. Closed. Pending business. HT-2M Cap.

Permanent Select Intelligence—10 a.m. Closed. Legislation subc. Mark up FY93 intelligence budget. H-405 Cap.

Joint Economic—10 a.m. Federal role in intersection of agricultural & environmental policy. 2359 RHOB.

Conferees—11 a.m. FY93 budget resolution. 210 Cannon House Office Bldg.

MARY McGRORY

Somebody Else's Moment

Ross Perot, the possible presidential candidate, is doing fine with the music. It's the words in his message to the nation that are giving him trouble. He says he could stand the gaff of a national campaign, citing tight spots he's been in before—"that was pressure, this is ping pong"—but anyone watching him sputter and alibi when challenged on his own figures has to wonder.

The capacity audiences who flock to his speeches, the sharply rising numbers in the polls, attest to the appeal of an amateur who speaks his mind without George Bush's caution or Bill Clinton's six-point answers. Who is going to hate a billionaire who funded a program for ghetto 3-year-olds out of his own pocket, who annually pays the shortfall in the Dallas Salvation Army funds, who wants to talk about the deficit that Bush never mentions?

He's hasty, he's high-handed, he's a wand-waver who would explode on the pad of campaign hurly-burly, voters are warned. In this year of the impasse, the rough-rider—generous, impatient, impulsive, even given to international intriguing with the likes of Oliver L. North—looks like the Somebody Else of almost universal longing.

He is much better at projecting his person than his programs, which could mean that while he may do famously in May, he could fare less well in November. It's true that people vote more on character than on issues, but convention demands that a contender display a grasp on the statistics he is putting forth as reasons for his election.

Last week, Perot was in town—to take Bush's place as a speaker for a Salvation Army convention. In an airport interview that continued in his limousine, he discoursed about his life, his childhood with poor but princely parents, his wife, Margot—"I married way over my head, you can ask anyone who knows us"—his adventures in business and government, the isolation of fellow-Texan Bush and the president's inability to cope with the deficit.

Perot's wife's description of him, given almost 40 years ago after she, a Goucher College undergraduate, met him, an Annapolis midshipman, on a blind date, still holds: "He looks so clean."

Perot's shiny skin is drawn tight over the bones of his face. "She couldn't think of much to say," Perot explains. "After the buildup my friends had given

her, class president and all that, she thought she was going to meet John Wayne."

It is when he gets to the talk shows and the fine print that the cracks in his candidacy show up.

Take for instance his appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press" last Sunday. He sailed through queries about gun control—the Brady bill is too timid for him, "aspirin for cancer." He was sensible and pungent about enterprise zones and job training.

But moderator Tim Russert walked him through the specifics he has offered on the deficit; the budget crisis, he says, propelled him into considering being drafted for the presidency. Instantly, the boardroom tyrant of his detractors, the Texas tycoon who brooks no questions, sprang into action. He got hot under the collar. He got nasty. He blamed someone else—"basically, I got bad information from a man whose name is a household word."

He all but accused Russert of dirty pool in pinning him down on figures which, he, after all, had volunteered in the first place. He growled about "an interesting game. . . . It would have been nice if you had told me you wanted to talk about this and I'd have had all my facts with me, but you didn't."

If he's going to be this shirty about the fine print this early in the proceedings, it is hard to see him keeping cool during a presidential debate when a rival charges him with being all wet. He says campaign tension doesn't worry him. He knows the real thing: "when I was walking down the streets of Tehran, trying to get my people out."

This is Perot's moment. Presidential politics have paled in the light of the tragedy in Los Angeles. A little stranger who says he would have gone to the stricken city the minute he heard the Rodney G. King verdict and would have filed federal charges—hang the grand jury system—strikes a chord. He radiates conviction, concern, purpose.

After his speech to the Salvation Army, the crowd thronged to the head table for handshakes and autographs. Two midwestern women stood in line, too. "We're all for George Bush," one of them explained. "But we hope Mr. Perot will get into it. He adds so much spice."

Spice or staple in the campaign? He'll let us know by June. All that is certain is he won't be a bore.

ON CAPITOL HILL

Senate Votes to Cut B-2, SDI And Build Seawolf Submarines

The Senate shrugged off a veto threat from President Bush yesterday and approved a bill slashing the B-2 bomber and "Star Wars" antimissile programs but rescuing two Seawolf submarines Bush wants canceled.

Senators approved the legislation on a 61 to 38 vote. But with the cuts unlikely to be enacted into law, the action showed once again the gridlock between Bush and Congress over how to pare the Pentagon's \$290 billion budget with the Cold War ended.

The House plans to vote on its version of the legislation today. The House bill saves one Seawolf from Bush's budget ax but leaves the B-2 and the antimissile programs alone.

Overall, the Senate measure would cut \$8.3 billion from this year's budget, including \$7.2 billion from defense programs.

But the election-year bill is much broader, since it was spawned by Bush's call in March to shrink the deficit by cutting wasteful congressional spending.

On the domestic side, the Senate legislation ignores most of the cuts Bush proposed in dozens of projects destined for lawmakers' home districts. Instead, the Senate would halt dozens of projects sought by the executive branch. Also eliminated is \$39,000 that helps pay for a driver to get Ronald J. Roskens, chief of the Agency for International Development, and an aide to and from work.

Rehnquist Refuses to Bar Bank Probe

■ Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist yesterday refused to halt a special counsel's review of records from the now-closed House bank.

Rehnquist, without comment, denied an emergency request by Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) to block special counsel Malcolm Wilkey from examining the extensive records pending further court action.

In papers filed with the court, Gonzalez said placing the records in Wilkey's hands threatens the independence of Congress.

"It is not fanciful to assume . . . that members in their day-to-day dealings with the executive branch will be reluctant to bite the hand that inexplicably is

investigating them and that possesses their most intimate personal records," his request to Rehnquist said.

U.S. District Judge John Garrett Penn on Monday rejected a bid by Gonzalez and four other House members to quash the subpoena. Penn said the House members "do not have a legitimate expectation of privacy in the records."

Rep. James Becomes 55th to Retire

■ Rep. Craig T. James (R-Fla.) has announced he will not seek reelection, becoming the 55th House member to voluntarily retire this year. He attributed his decision to the partisan deadlock in Congress and the congressional scandals.

James, who wrote no bad checks at the House Bank, criticized the Democratic leadership, saying, "Congress is deadlocked in partisan bickering due to the mismanagement of the House by the majority party."

James was elected from a district stretching from the Daytona Beach area to Jacksonville in 1988, upsetting 10-term Democrat Bill Chappell.

Lawmaker Used Funds for Gambling Debt

■ Rep. Lawrence J. Smith (D-Fla.) used \$4,000 that belonged to his campaign committee to pay off a personal gambling debt in the Bahamas in 1990, according to his attorney.

Neal Sonnett, Smith's attorney, said the congressman took a \$10,000 check that he received from a former law partner and made an "unfortunate, spur of the moment decision to treat it as a loan." He said he hasn't found any documentation that Smith recorded the transaction as an IOU to his campaign.

The disclosure about Smith, who announced his retirement last week, was reported in the Miami Herald this week.

Smith converted the \$10,000 check to two cashier's checks. One, for \$4,000, was made out to Paradise Island Enterprises, which runs a hotel and casino in the islands, the attorney said. The other \$6,000 cashier's check was made out to Smith personally and later cashed and used for a mix of campaign and personal expenses, he added.

Smith returned the \$10,000 to the campaign fund last month, Sonnett said.

From staff reports and news services

Michael Kinsley

'Enterprise Zones': Just Another Boondoggle

"Now where did I put that urban policy? I know I've got one around here somewhere." George Bush isn't the only one in Washington desperately searching for something practical to suggest in response to the Los Angeles riots. Thus the sudden interest in "enterprise zones."

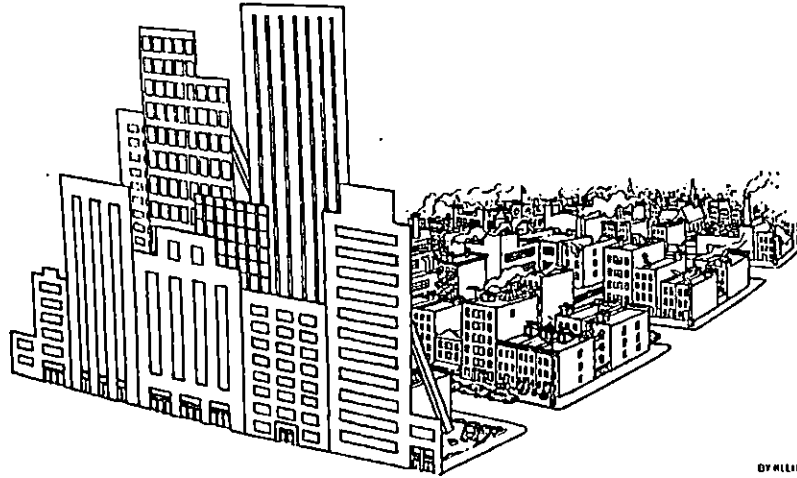
Jack Kemp, now secretary of Housing and Urban Development, has been pushing enterprise zones since he was a pup of a congressman. Kemp is rightly praised as the one member of the Bush administration who has shown he really cares about the tragedy of the underclass. But enterprise zones are a gimmick that has more to do with Republican theology about taxes and regulations than with practical help for the poor.

The idea is to designate 25 or 50 (or 75 or 100) districts across the country as "enterprise zones." These would be areas of especially high poverty and unemployment. Owners, investors and employees of businesses that set up in enterprise zones would get a banquet of tax credits and deductions and regulatory exemptions.

If you make the bribes rich enough, they undoubtedly will produce new businesses and jobs in the designated zones. But where will these businesses and jobs come from? There are three possibilities. Some will be businesses that wouldn't exist at all without these incentives. Some will be businesses that move from or would otherwise set up in prosperous, crime-free areas that can spare a few jobs in a worthy cause. And some will be businesses enticed or deflected from areas almost as poor and grim, but not quite grim enough to qualify as a "zone."

The businesses most easily tempted into enterprise zones by any given package of incentives will be those from areas almost as bad. Businesses from prosperous areas will be second and truly new businesses will be third.

What will Jack Kemp say to a white working-



BY NELLE

class area that loses a factory to an "enterprise zone"? This begins to look a bit like wholesale reverse discrimination. (And we know what George Bush thinks about that!) What will Kemp say to a dry cleaner in competition with another dry cleaner a couple blocks away who is exempt from all sorts of business taxes? What will he say to the ghetto resident who works for an already-established company and therefore pays more income tax than his next-door neighbor who works for a new one?

Inevitably, once a program such as this gets going, the list of beneficiaries will be expanded. The number of zones will increase, the rules defining a "new" business will be loosened, time limits on various benefits will be extended. That

prospect doesn't bother the Republican theologians, who see lower taxes and looser regulations as good in all circumstances. But each expansion will simultaneously increase the cost of the program in lost revenue and lower its effectiveness by reducing the relative advantage of being in a "zone."

The image "zone" enthusiasts like to promote is of the ghetto resident, relieved of his burden of taxes, suddenly discovering the inner entrepreneur. But that is not how enterprise zones work even in theory. After all, is it likely that someone with the brains and gumption to overcome the poverty, the crime, the squalor, the broken families, the drugs, the lousy education, the racism and go on to found his own business is currently

thinking, "Heck, I really can't be bothered, because if I succeed and sell my company some day I'll have to pay a 28 percent capital gains tax?"

The real point of most of the tax breaks is to entice outside investors to put their money into these troubled areas. Bribing rich people to help poor people, rather than helping poor people directly, is a popular approach because the cost of the tax breaks doesn't show up on the government books. But the middleman will have to take his cut. And this approach enlarges the deficit just like a traditional spending program. Of course, if you wish to believe, in 1992, that this time the tax cut really will bring in more revenue than it loses, well, I guess I can't stop you.

Last month the Congressional Budget Office produced a study of the low-income housing tax credit, a similar effort to help the poor by bribing the rich that the Bush administration is trying to get extended. The CBO concludes that it's very bad value for money: reducing unsubsidized housing by three units for every two units produced under subsidy; benefiting investors more than tenants; siphoning off vast sums to lawyers, accountants and bankers. Enterprise zones would work the same way.

As for regulatory exemptions, no one can object to cutting red tape. But regulations are either sensible or they are not. If they are not sensible, they should be abolished everywhere, not just in some "zone." If they are sensible, why should residents of a "zone" be denied their benefit? There is actually a serious argument that protections for health, safety and the environment are luxury goods that poor people should have less of. But I dare Jack Kemp to make it.

Enterprise zones, in short, are just another government boondoggle, albeit a boondoggle of a characteristically Republican kind.

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David Corn

Freedom of Information? Not From the CIA

Openness—that's a term that Robert Gates, director of Central Intelligence, has embraced. When his nomination came before a skeptical Senate Intelligence Committee last year, he promised to promote perestroika in Langley. After being confirmed, he convened a Task Force on Openness, which recommended how the CIA could be more forthcoming. (Only under outside pressure did the CIA make public the task force's report, which proposed, among other things, that the agency release material about its successes, admit when it is wrong and "preserve the mystique.") Gates has called for greater declassification of decades-old documents and more background briefings for the press. From a distance, his reforms may seem sincere. But they slip past a key matter.

For several years, I have been working on a book about the CIA. Like many researchers, I turned toward the Freedom of Information Act for assistance and found that when it comes to the CIA, it is almost worthless. The act allows scholars, reporters and just plain folks to petition various executive branch agencies for documents. There are numerous exceptions to what the government has to release, and amendments to the act in 1984 made it easier for the CIA to withhold some records. Still, the FOIA could be of some small and important value to those seeking to understand what the CIA

does, were it not for the way the agency handles FOIA requests—a process that belies the "new" CIA of Gates.

Agency responses to FOIA requests are routinely discouraging, marked by long delays and puzzling answers. Here's one example: I asked for material on the Hmong, an indigenous tribe in Indochina, which the CIA armed and directed in the 1960s and 1970s as part of the so-called "secret war" in Laos. This was one of the biggest agency paramilitary operations in history; its existence is not a secret. The CIA said that it had searched and found not one piece of paper relevant to the request. Operational material detailing the ins and outs of the agency's programs is automatically exempt. But I hoped to find intelligence reports that covered the tribe and its leaders. Surely if the agency supported the Hmong for so long it must have at some time looked at its ally. But there was, the agency said, absolutely nothing.

It is hard to argue with the CIA. Who knows what's in the files? But such responses are hard to accept at face value in light of other Langley decisions. In 1987, the private and nonprofit National Security Archive requested under FOIA an index of all the documents that the CIA had previously released.

After initial denials, the agency sent the archive

12 volumes of about 450 pages each that listed the documents in completely random order. Documents released as part of a single request were scattered throughout the books. This is certainly not how the FOIA office maintains its records, and one can reasonably surmise that it had to program its computer to devise such a random and mean-spirited dump. When I later requested the index information in electronic form—so it could be arranged coherently—the agency told me to get lost. The National Security Archive is still fighting the CIA to obtain the index in computer form.

The only way to use the index is to plow through the volumes. I went through one book and found several documents that looked intriguing. (Almost all the good stuff was released prior to 1981, the year Ronald Reagan assumed office.) I filed a request with the agency for these papers and received the material in three weeks—Olympic speed, by FOIA standards. I then went through the rest of the set and filed subsequent requests. When the CIA realized what I was doing, it seems, it put me in what some researchers believe is the forget-you category. After six months, only one of my other requests has been fulfilled—and that only occurred following the intervention of a lawyer.

The FOIA calls for agencies to respond to

requests within 10 days. But that standard has become a farce. Usually it means that the agency acknowledges the receipt of the request within 10 days. Then the request goes to the end of the line, and in some instances years will pass before you hear back. Such delays dilute the power of the FOIA. Few book authors or journalists have the luxury of waiting so long.

If there is any category of request to which the 10-day standard should be applied it is documents already released. The documents I have requested from the index are sitting in a file cabinet in the agency's FOIA office and could be easily retrieved. One request for already-released documents has been held up for more than a year. Not surprisingly, the subject of those records is Edwin Wilson, a rogue CIA employee now in jail.

The agency's FOIA office has acted in a fashion that to outsiders appears capricious and spiteful. Now is the time for Gates to show he is serious about openness. Let him release previously released documents. That's a paltry battle cry, but it shows the sad state of the FOIA in Langley.

David Corn is Washington editor of the Nation magazine and is working on a book on the CIA.

Lally Weymouth

What Is Russia Up to in the Baltics?

Latvia, the Baltic republic finally rid of the Soviets and enjoying its first taste of freedom in half a century, is experiencing problems with its large and powerful Russian neighbor. The most recent example of the bizarre and nuanced circumstances created by the meltdown of the Soviet Union was the news that—unknown to Latvian authorities—a submarine Libya had purchased from Moscow was undergoing work in a Russian-controlled factory located in a Russian-occupied zone of Latvia.

Are the Russians merely continuing some of the less attractive features of Moscow's old foreign policy? After all, U.N. sanctions were imposed on Libya April 15. The Russians, ostensibly—like the Latvians—voted to comply with these sanctions. Thus the submarine refitting effort would appear to represent an attempt both to evade sanctions and, perhaps, to let the blame fall on Riga.

Moreover, the Russians actually used the same Latvian port last year to train the crew of an Iraqi missile boat—despite the public front of U.S.-Soviet cooperation in the war against Saddam Hussein. And that isn't all: At the moment, according to a Latvian official, the Russians are outfitting yet another submarine in the very same Latvian

factory—this one is intended for shipment to Iran.

When the newly formed Latvian government protested to the U.N. Security Council regarding Russia's use of one of its key ports in order to continue its military relationship with Libya—an international pariah—the Russians immediately halted work on the submarine in question.

Moscow's response satisfied the United Nations; but from the Latvian standpoint, it was inadequate. Indeed, Riga felt that the episode served to pinpoint a continuing problem—the unwanted, yet unending, Russian military presence on Latvian soil.

Moscow, to be sure, has agreed in principle to withdraw its nearly 100,000 troops from the Baltic states—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. But the Russians have refused to set a deadline or timetable for the withdrawal. And Estonia even claims that Moscow has recently added troops to those it previously deployed there.

Ojars Kalnins, an official of the Latvian Embassy in Washington, notes that the Russian troops, beyond creating a measure of domestic instability, also damage Latvia's potential to improve itself economically by drawing Western investment. In particular, Kalnins points out, the Russian military

presence causes American businessmen to hesitate before investing in Latvia.

The episode involving the Libya-bound submarine raises fairly basic questions. Is Russian President Boris Yeltsin manifesting simple duplicity regarding his willingness to take part in the U.N.-imposed sanctions? Or is Yeltsin unable to control his own military? Is a rogue group of former Soviet military officers—men Yeltsin is unable to control—endeavoring to maintain a Russian military presence in the Baltics (perhaps even to embarrass Yeltsin)?

Sen. Larry Pressler (R-S.D.) deems the issue sufficiently important that he has asked Secretary of State James Baker to urge the United Nations to send observers directly to Russian-held military bases throughout the Baltic region. Pressler wonders whether the difficulties that Latvia is now confronting also plague other Baltic states.

Needless to say, Pressler and others are especially concerned that—in spite of sanctions—there may be other Libya-bound vessels under repair in Russian-occupied Baltic ports.

It should be noted that the governments of all three Baltic states have joined in urging U.N. inspec-

tors to take a close look at just what is going on inside the Russian-controlled bases on their own soil.

Latvia secured its independence last fall. But Washington, even though it established formal diplomatic ties with Riga, quickly turned its attention to other concerns, perhaps forgetting that the Latvians would not truly be free until Russian troops agreed to depart.

Pressler and Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) now plan to introduce an amendment to the president's bill to provide assistance to the independent states of the former Soviet Union. The Pressler-DeConcini measure would link financial assistance for Moscow with "significant" progress on Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic states.

The president's effort to provide support to the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union merits support. But so does the Pressler-DeConcini amendment. Assistance to Russia only makes sense if Moscow desists from all efforts to deprive the Baltic states of their full independence. Similarly, before any such assistance is provided, Washington needs to be certain that Moscow has abandoned any notion of transferring technology and weaponry to former Soviet clients like Libya.

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1992



Speaking of ex-candidates ...

But What's Left to Say . . .

So he wasn't the most compelling speaker ever to hit the presidential stump. Still, the Washington Speakers Bureau is confident that there are those who will nonetheless pay to hear Paul Tsongas talk about such topics as "industrial policy and the quality of American business."

How much will they pay? Bernie Swain of the speakers group isn't saying. But sources say Tsongas has been conservatively priced at \$10,000 per speech—as opposed to the reported \$40,000 to \$50,000 Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf commands. "The demand has not dropped," says Swain of the Persian Gulf War commander. "If he was talking on the gulf war, the demand would drop. But he decided in the beginning that he wanted to talk on management principles."

Which leaves us with the question of Mikhail Gorbachev, former president of the collapsed Soviet Union, whom the Speakers Bureau has been courting. "We have absolutely no idea where it stands," says Swain. "I don't think he's made up his mind."

We can only hope Gorbachev doesn't think he too should be lecturing about management.

Yesterday's Hot Topic at the Four Seasons



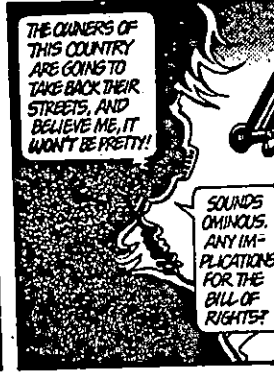
■ It was quite a scene: a couple of chefs, dozens of housekeepers, scores of staff, 250 name-tagged, pin-striped business execs and a woman in a bathrobe, all standing outside the Four Seasons Hotel in Georgetown yesterday morning. And then the fire trucks arrived. Apparently, some overheated towels in

one of the basement dryers began smoking. The alarm was pulled, and the pricey hotel, restaurant and health club were evacuated. "There were never any flames," said a Four Seasons spokeswoman, assuredly. "It was never uncontained."

And, yes, the businessmen finally got to eat their croissants—even if it was on the sidewalk.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



Jackson Calls for Day Of Protest Across U.S.

By Sandra Torrey
Washington Post Staff Writer

D.C. shadow senator Jesse L. Jackson urged Americans yesterday to make June 19 "a national day of protest and healing" and called on President Bush to propose a comprehensive plan to rebuild the country's cities and rescue its youth.

Jackson spoke after a hastily called meeting in Washington, where more than 200 national political and civil rights leaders met to map an agenda to deal with urban unrest. His comments about the meeting were long on criticisms of the administration but short on specific plans.

Jackson charged that the president is "disconnected ... too shielded from American reality" and has used the riots that followed the Rodney G. King verdict to polarize rather than heal the nation.

"At a time like this, we need a president with vision who can take us forward with healing and hope, not backwards, by fear, division and scapegoating," Jackson said.

Jackson took issue with state-

ments Monday by White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, who blamed liberal social programs launched in the 1960s for the conditions that produced last week's Los Angeles riots. "The Great Society did not fail," Jackson said.

Jackson was only lukewarm in his enthusiasm for Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, suggesting that his proposals to rebuild the cities may be too modest. "We need bold initiatives now that correspond with the size and nature of our problems," Jackson said.

Jackson called on the administration and Congress to set new priorities, to shift any military savings to rebuilding cities. He said no new money should go to the ailing savings and loan industry or to aid Eastern Europe or the former Soviet republics unless equal amounts are invested in the nation's cities.

The meeting, which Jackson convened at Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church on M Street NW, drew D.C. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.), Rep. John Conyers Jr.



BY FRANK JONESTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Pam Williamson, left, and Faith listen to the speech by Jesse L. Jackson.

(D-Mich.), and scores of leaders of the civil rights and women's movements.

Jackson announced the national day of protest and a voter registration drive for June 19, when he said Americans could protest by staying home from work, praying, fasting or helping to register voters.

June 19 is Emancipation Day, also known as Juneteenth, in Texas, commemorating the day in 1863

when slaves there received the news that they had been freed the previous January.

Jackson also called on Americans to join a Save Our Cities, Save Our Children march on Washington already planned by a coalition of mayors and activists for May 16. Organizers say it is intended to send a nonpartisan message to the administration and Congress about the urgent needs of cities.

Television's Political Impressions in Riots' Aftermath

Newscast Images Are Mostly Negative for Bush, While Clinton Appears More Compassionate

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The televised images for President Bush have been mostly negative: Bush sounding defensive at a Cabinet meeting. Bush trying to explain the Willie Horton commercial. Angry demonstrators outside the White House.

The televised images for Bill Clinton have been mostly positive: Clinton touring a riot-scarred section of Los Angeles, Clinton hugging a black woman. Clinton scoffing at White House attempts to blame the Los Angeles riots on the social programs of the 1960s.

The words that accompanied these pictures were more complicated, like the seemingly intractable problems of south-central Los Angeles. But as the ugly scenes of burning and looting gave way to political finger-pointing, Clinton appeared the more compassionate candidate.

As Bush left for Los Angeles last night, the tone of the coverage on the network newscasts was strikingly harsh. How the president's trip plays in the news media may well form a lasting impression of his attempts to defuse the political fallout of the riots.

The administration's criticism of Great Society programs has clearly boomeranged. "Mr. Bush spent the day backing away from a political firestorm," CBS's Bill Plante said. NBC's John Cochran said Bush had been "bashing Democrats, including a dead one, Lyndon Johnson," and "wound up looking dumb."

A worried-looking Bush was shown sidestepping questions—"It's not a question of assigning blame," he said—and both net-



TV news images show Bush with HUD Secretary Kemp, and Clinton with more reporters than residents in Los Angeles.



works aired a year-old clip of the president saying the '60s programs had "backfired."

For Clinton, the likely Democratic nominee, the week began with a less-than-successful television outing in Los Angeles Monday. He appeared overly cautious as he tried to tiptoe through the rubble without seeming to condone the violence.

The "CBS Evening News" blew off Clinton's visit without a story. The Arkansas governor, wearing an open-necked sports shirt, was

ABC's Judy Muller noted that "Clinton attracted more reporters than residents."

Media analyst Robert Lichter said that "there is an enormous difference in stature between a president and a pretender to the throne, and the most heartfelt gesture can be seen as political posturing. Here's poor Clinton trying to show empathy and the reaction is, who cares?"

At a Cabinet meeting Monday, it was surely no accident that Bush was flanked by Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, the Cabinet's only black, and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, its only urban advocate. But the president was widely depicted as having little to say on urban problems.

Several reports likened Bush to an earlier law-and-order president, Richard M. Nixon. CBS showed footage of the 1967 Newark riots, followed by Nixon being sworn in, followed by black looters smashing store windows last week. "At worst all this could cause a white backlash," CBS's Richard Threlkeld said.

NBC cut from Nixon to Willie Horton to Vice President Quayle saying that "new ideas" must replace the Great Society. "Quayle means old Bush ideas that Congress refuses to accept," Cochran reminded viewers.

Most reports noted that Clinton has been "preaching racial unity all along," as Threlkeld put it. But such comments were invariably followed by warnings that Clinton could alienate white suburbanites more concerned with domestic tranquility than social justice.

Clinton's best moment came in New York when he ridiculed the administration's attacks. The Democrat smiled, shook his head and declared it "just amazing" that the White House had to "go all the way back to the '60s to find somebody to blame."

Ross Perot has been included in several reports, essentially elevating him to the same status as Clinton. But Cochran chided Perot for saying he would have immediately ordered federal indictments in the Rodney G. King beating case, noting that a grand jury must be convened first.

THE AIR WARS

shown walking past the devastation for just four seconds in a broader story about the riots. "The politicians began parachuting into the war zone today for their photo opportunities," correspondent Bill Lagattuta said dismissively.

NBC's Cochran said Clinton "does not want to sound like an unselectable, bleeding-heart liberal." Clinton was permitted one sound bite: "I have a good law-and-order record and I condemn the violence along with the verdict."

Black Firms Look To Keep Climbing

Executives Urge New Approaches to Aid

By Sandra Sugawara
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two decades ago, President Nixon launched a series of programs aimed at promoting "black capitalism," declaring that "despite a long history of frustration and lost potential, minority Americans want business ownership—and they should."

Yesterday Black Enterprise magazine announced that in 1991, gross sales for the 200 largest black-owned companies in the United States totaled \$7.9 billion. That compares with \$473 million in gross sales for the 100 biggest black-owned businesses in 1973, the first year the list was compiled.

The list—once dominated by small operations serving the black community, but which has grown to include many larger, more diverse enterprises—indicates that progress has been made in black ownership of businesses. But other numbers tell a less promising story. Although blacks represent about 12 percent of the U.S. population, gross sales of all black-owned firms accounted for only 1 percent of the nation's gross receipts in 1987, according to the latest available Census Bureau study.

The outbreak of violence in Los Angeles and other cities last week again raised questions about the small number of black merchants and business executives who benefit from dollars that are spent in those communities, as well as the lack of funds going to rebuild urban areas and create new jobs.

Some of the nation's leading black business executives and economists said in interviews that new, creative ways are needed to assist

black-owned businesses, and that government-run programs may not be the answer.

"Government programs are not designed to create entrepreneurial wealth. They are largely income redistribution," said Robert L. Johnson, the Washington lawyer and former cable TV industry lobbyist who started Black Entertainment Television in 1979. "What we need is wealth creation," he said, so there is enough capital to create and grow businesses.

"The problem with a government program is that anybody who applies and qualifies can get money," regardless of their innate business

"Government programs are not designed to create entrepreneurial wealth."

— Robert L. Johnson

abilities, he said. "What you have at the end of the day is [that] you've sent out \$100,000 checks to 1,000 guys, and not one of them has enough to make a difference. Instead we should be concentrating the money, giving it to the guys with the best and the brightest ideas."

In hearings held around the country, the U.S. Commission on Minority Business Development found that the biggest problem facing minority businesses was the lack of ac-

See BLACK FIRMS, B14, Col. 3

Black Business Executives Seek New Ways Up the Ladder

BLACK FIRMS, From B12

cess to investment money. The traditional sources of financing for small companies—banks, venture capitalists and wealthy investors—generally are not available.

Although the problem is one faced by most small businesses, the commission concluded that obtaining money is even more difficult for minority entrepreneurs who "are not members and can't meet the individual investor he or she needs at 'the club' or who must deal with a banker who has never dealt with a minority individual in a social or business setting."

Edward D. Irons, dean of Clark Atlanta University's School of Business Administration in Atlanta, proposed that black churches and successful black businesses contribute to a national venture capital fund, run by professionals, that would invest in black companies.

He envisions the federal government providing the seed money to get the operation off the ground.

But Johnson said money must be raised outside the black community because it does not yet have a sufficient concentration of wealth. He would like to see President Bush call the executives of the major U.S. corporations and persuade them to contribute to a \$500 million fund that would be managed by a black venture capitalist.

Reflecting on his own experiences, in which the nation's two largest cable companies, Tele-Communications Inc. of Denver and Time Warner Inc. of New York, invested in his company, Johnson said the arrangement would provide black entrepreneurs with more than just money.

"They would have a godfather rela-

tionship," said Johnson. Because the corporate investors could make a hefty profit if some of the companies performed well, they would be likely to open doors to banks, vendors and others who otherwise might not return the phone calls of a little-known business executive, he said.

Earl G. Graves, publisher of Black Enterprise magazine and chief executive of Pepsi Cola of Washington, D.C., is less wary of federal programs.

He said the problem with such programs was that the Reagan and Bush administrations slashed spending on them. "We're going to have to go back to the Nixon-era kind of economic development that can make a difference in our communities," said Graves.

The Nixon administration launched a multipronged attack, including technical assistance, loans and loan guarantees, set-aside contracts for minority-owned companies and programs to encourage the creation of venture capital groups focused on minority companies. Many of the programs were criticized as underfunded and poorly run, but others did help companies grow.

A Nixon administration effort to push franchise companies to develop black franchises is credited with enabling more black business executives to own car dealerships, gas stations and other franchises. Black Enterprise now has a separate list of the top 100 auto dealers because of their burgeoning numbers.

In addition, the Washington area has a number of companies that got their start through federal programs that contracts specifically for minority-owned firms. But such programs have encountered strong court challenges.

Staff writer Albert B. Crenshaw contributed to this report.

MAKING THE CUT			
LOCAL COMPANIES ON THE BLACK ENTERPRISE TOP 100 LIST; 1991 SALES IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS			
COMPANY	RANK	LOCATION	SALES
MARYLAND			
Pulsar Data Systems	14	Lanham	\$53.0
Maxima	16	Lanham	49.8
Community Foods	18	Baltimore	47.5
Automated Sciences Group	37	Silver Spring	30.0
Parks Sausage	49	Baltimore	25.0
R.O.W. Sciences	Tied at 55	Rockville	22.0
Stephens Engineering	Tied at 61	Lanham	20.0
Sylvest Management Systems	74	Lanham	16.8
VIRGINIA			
Network Solutions	17	Herndon	\$48.8
Integrated Systems Analysts	34	Arlington	33.5
Metters Industries	43	McLean	26.8
Systems Management American	52	Norfolk	24.0
Navcom Systems	Tied at 61	Manassas	20.0
Dual & Associates	69	Arlington	18.7
Systems Engineering & Management Associates	80	Falls Church	15.0
Advance	91	Arlington	12.5
Tresp Associates	94	Alexandria	12.0
Mander	97	Springfield	11.0
WASHINGTON, D.C.			
Black Entertainment Television Holdings	15		\$50.8
Pepsi-Cola of Washington	19		44.1
Premium Distributors	45		26.0

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

NBC Entertainment has withdrawn next Monday's scheduled movie, "In the Line of Duty: Street War," in favor of "Kindergarten Cop," which will air at 8:30 that night...

In a statement yesterday, NBC said, "Given the recent current events in Los Angeles and other parts of the country, NBC and the Patchett Kaufman Entertainment producers feel it would be inappropriate to air 'In the Line of Duty: Street War,' which at any other time would have been broadcast. At this time, however, we need to be increasingly sensitive to particular programming themes and images"...

The canceled two-hour TV movie, starring Mario Van Peebles ("New Jack City"), Peter Boyle, Ray Sharkey and Morris Chestnut of "Boyz n the Hood," is the fifth in a fact-based periodic series about police killed in action. It was filmed in New York. TV Guide has called the canceled movie "the best so far." A network ad says: "They both grew up on the mean streets of a dangerous city. One became a cop. One became a pusher. One may have to kill the other"...

"Kindergarten Cop" stars Arnold Schwarzenegger and has already aired twice on the network. It will still be up against Murphy Brown's baby shower at 9...

("In the Line of Duty: Street War" is the subject of the cover story in Sunday's edition of The Washington Post's TV Week, which is printed in advance)...

In Other News

An ABC News generator broke down two minutes before air time at 11:30 Tuesday night in Florida as Peter Jennings was about to launch the live "ABC Forum: Men, Sex and Rape" from the Duncan Theater on the campus of the Palm Beach Community College...

Which is why viewers saw about seven minutes of a Jan. 2 "Nightline" rerun that the control room in New York had on standby, just in case a generator broke down in Florida. Engineers were able to switch to power supplied by the college and the forum got underway with little loss of time (and Jennings thanking the theater audience for its patience)...

The forum followed a one-hour primetime telecast of "Peter Jennings Reporting: Men, Sex and Rape" at 10 p.m....

The primetime special averaged a 14.2 national Nielsen rating, compared with a 12.6/21 for the last half-hour of "Coming to America" and a short "Rescue 911" on CBS and a 9.1/15 for "Dateline NBC" on, well, NBC...

Without exception, each ratings point represents 921,000 TV homes...

The Jennings forum that followed averaged a 4.9/20 between 11:30 (well, 11:37) and 1:30 a.m., according to 25-city Nielsen overnights. That compared with a 5.1/18 for NBC fare and a 2.9/11 for the CBS late-night schedule. Each overnight ratings point, it can't be emphasized too strongly, represents 431,028 TV homes...

In Washington, "Peter Jennings Reporting" managed an 11.5/19 at 10 on WJLA, compared with 14.0/23 for the CBS programs in that hour on WUSA and a 7.0/12 for "Dateline NBC" on WRC...

The forum at 11:30 did a 4.6/9 for the two hours (well, one hour and 53 minutes) compared with a 4.7/16 for an hour of Arsenio Hall on WUSA, a 5.9/20 for Johnny Carson on WRC and a 5.1/17 for an hour of "M*A*S*H" on WTTG. Each local ratings point represents... Oh let's keep 'em guessing this morning...

Moving Right Along

ABC Entertainment announced yesterday that to replace "Columbo" in the 8 to 10 p.m. Thursday timeslot starting May 21, "The Young Riders" will return with five original episodes at 8...

And "MacGyver" will step in at 9, starting with one last original episode on the 21st called "The Mountain of Youth." The rest of the short-run return will be repeat episodes...

In "Youth," Angus joins his old friend Jack Dalton in search of the legendary Shangri-La, where the inhabitants, unlike TV series, live 150 years or longer. In case you've forgotten, Richard Dean Anderson stars as MacGyver and Dana Elcar as Peter Thornton...

NBC Entertainment announced yesterday it has renewed "A Different World" for a sixth season...

Tom Hanks will host Saturday's "Saturday Night Live" starring The Boss! Yay! Hanks replaces Joe Pesci...

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) will be interviewed live this morning at 10:30 on Black Entertainment Television's "Our Voices" program. The topic: race relations in the United States. Bev Smith will conduct the interview...

And tonight at 11, BET will air a live two-hour special from Los Angeles called "Black Men Speak: The Aftermath," hosted by BET anchor Ed Gordon...

Riot Aftermath (very minor footnote): Because of production delays at the studios caused by the shutdown in Los Angeles last week, NBC has postponed the announcement date for its fall schedule from May 17 to either May 18 or May 19...

ABC will announce its schedule on Tuesday, FOX on May 26. CBS still hasn't set a firm date but it will be a couple of days before the network makes its presentation to advertisers on May 27...

CBS, which for three years has promoted its fall schedule in a deal with K mart, announced a new partner yesterday for the upcoming season—RJR Nabisco's cookies and crackers division...

CBS is calling it "the biggest fall television consumer promotion ever." The September "America's Favorites" promotion will include a viewer contest with a \$1 million grand prize. The total retail value of prizes will be about \$40 million...

Nabisco expects up to 70,000 retailers will participate and intends to use the promotion to launch several brands this fall...

Captain Airwaves says he can wait. After all, RJR Nabisco already makes Teddy Grahams, which are a Captain Airwaves favorite. A couple of Teddy Grahams, a glass of warm milk, some CBS fare visible there between the toes on old Channel 9—now that's Airwaves's idea of livin' large...

Phil Donahue and Susan Lucci of ABC's "All My Children" will cohost the primetime broadcast of the Daytime Emmy Awards on NBC June 23...

We'll learn today whether poor Susan, who's gone zero for 12 Emmy-wise, or Phil, an eight-time Emmy winner, are on this year's nominations list. "Good Morning America" will air part of the nomination announcements live in the 8:30 half-hour...

Is this a great country or what? Not one but two interactive game show channels are being planned, according to announcements made this week at the National Cable Television Association convention in Dallas...

The Game Channel, a 24-hour basic cable network featuring original and syndicated "classic" game shows, will be launched by January by International Family Entertainment Inc., the parent of the Family Channel...

The Game Channel will use 1-900 interactive telephone technology to attract viewers as contestants, with a large percentage of the phone revenues going to cable operators...

And Sony Pictures Entertainment will begin an interactive network called the Game Show Channel next year in partnership with the United Video Satellite Group...

Roy Bliss, president of United Video, told the Wall Street Journal that the partners hope to launch the advertiser-supported service with 10 million cable subscribers sometime next year...

United Video delivers superstations WGN, WPIX, KTLA and KTVT to about 60 million cable subscribers. Sony Pictures is the filmed-entertainment unit of giant Sony Corp., which owns such game shows as "Jeopardy!" and "Wheel of Fortune"...

The Game Channel and the Game Show Channel join the Cowboy Channel, the Crime Channel, Sci-Fi Channel, Talk TV Network and the Cartoon Network as cable networks-in-waiting looking to land a slot on local cable systems, where 75 networks are already competing...

Still feeling Ratingzzz Deprived? Well, here are some more Tuesday national figgers. ABC won (no surprise there) with a strong 17.1/27 for the evening. "Full House" did a 15.9/26, "Home Improvement" 19.3/30, "Roseanne," 20.8/31 and "Coach" 17.9/27...

On NBC, 12.8/20 for the night, "Perry Mason: The Case of the Reckless Romeo" averaged a 14.7/23 between 8 and 10...

CBS averaged an 11.4/18 as the oft-seen "Coming to America" averaged an 11.5/18 between 8 and 10:30 and a short "Rescue 911" a short 10.7/19 at 10:30...

And oh yes. In Washington, the Perry Mason on WRC averaged an 11.3/18. And each local ratingzzz point represents 18,199 TV homes...

Band-Aids won't do; treat riot's roots of despair

President Bush's late start on the urban front can be offset by tough, courageous action.

Finally, a week after riot, rage and racism ripped Los Angeles, President Bush arrived Wednesday to take charge.

Not only is Bush late to the battlefield, the commander in chief is years late to the war.

The president's new attack plan promises law and order, short-term aid and rebuilding.

Those are Band-Aids. They ignore the root from which the riot grew: despair. Too many people are locked out of the American Dream, and solutions from either political party are lacking.

The answers — more jobs, better schools, rebuilt families — must come from many places. But they'll never begin without presidential leadership.

Today, by one new estimate, 45% of black children live in poverty, compared with 16% of whites. In 1970, the jobless rate for black workers was 86% greater than the white rate. By 1990, that number had grown to 176%.

Families are crumbling. About 15% of

white births occur outside of marriage, compared with 64% of black births.

Yet, in the aftermath of the riots, Bush's first response was to blame LBJ's Great Society programs for the riot.

Wrong. Medicare worked. Head Start worked so well that Bush wants more funding for it.

The finger-pointing from all sides must end.

Federal aid, and taxes or program cuts to provide it, are part of the answer.

Between 1980 and 1990, federal funds as a percentage of city budgets dropped 64%. Job funds dropped from \$6 billion to \$4 billion. General revenue sharing was terminated. Problems grew.

But aid alone is not enough.

President Bush could help most simply by leading. He could use the same talents he demonstrated in the gulf war to organize a coordinated attack on poverty by community activists; church and business leaders; and local, state and federal governments.

All the answers may not be clear. But the effort to find them must start now.

► Cover story, 1A

Today's debate is on COLD WAR WEAPONS and building new nuclear submarines in a post-Cold War world.

Don't build Seawolf subs

OUR VIEW Congress should spend \$2 billion or more on a torpedo plans to a weapon we no longer need.

Congress is winding up to squander another \$2 billion today — possibly more — for a Seawolf nuclear submarine that has no use.

The Pentagon doesn't want more Seawolfs. Nor does President Bush. The Soviet Union — the enemy Seawolf was designed to strike — no longer exists.

But the only debate in Congress is whether to fund one more Seawolf or two, beyond the one now being built.

This is little short of fiscal lunacy, given our twin needs to curb the deficit and meet urgent demands at home.

The House votes today. It should abort all future Seawolfs — then rejoice at the ease with which it saved money.

Congress members cite several reasons for doing the opposite, such as the need to retain sub-building skills. Their main concern, though, is to save jobs — 19,000 at the Seawolf shipyard alone, thousands more at the suppliers.

Lawmakers from affected areas fear such jobs will shrivel and blow away for good if they close the funding spigot. Others will go along in exchange for votes on other pork-barrel projects, especially defense contracts.

That's how tax dollars are wasted.

The cost of building another sub would equal \$65,000 for every construction job saved. Seawolf workers could — and should — be retrained for other work at a fraction of the cost.

Seawolf just isn't needed. It's a little more advanced than the current Los Angeles-class sub — but not much. Shipbuilding skills will be retained through other Navy programs.

Retooling an economy driven for decades by Cold-War defense spending will not, cannot, be painless. But it's essential if the USA is to compete with nations putting their resources into areas such as education and research.

Congress must find the political will to provide for this vital long-term need — even when the Seawolf is at the door.

► Seawolf vote, 4A

USA needs Seawolf subs

OPPOSING VIEW The end of the Cold War is not the end of all wars; don't cripple our submarine program.

The Seawolf submarine is the best way to maintain our nation's defense safety net and to sustain the ability to produce the most technologically advanced submarines in the world.

For the USA to remain a leader in underwater technology, it must preserve the skilled submarine workforce which has mastered the specialized knowledge and experience that made the USA pre-eminent in submarine technology.

Taxpayers have already invested at most \$2 billion in ships President Bush wants to scrap. Unemployment and other social-service costs, as well as those as-



By Rep. Sam Geldeston, D-Conn.

sociated with closing down the Seawolf production line, will nearly match the amount of money needed to build two additional ships — thereby wiping out assumed savings.

Without two additional Seawolfs, rebuilding our nation's submarine industrial base will cost untold billions to retool, retrain and revitalize this highly specialized industry.

Navy Adm. Bruce D. DeMars persuasively argues that the only way to maintain and preserve the submarine industrial base is to keep designing and building submarines.

DeMars' words reflect that the end of the Cold War is not the end of all wars — and it does not justify crippling our submarine program.

Go in with an open mind — watch, take advice and then make decisions. Go out with car- riers and observe — do hands-on work. Then he'd be in a better position to make some decisions. I would like to see some consistency in delivering the mail at specific times.



Ruby Jennings, 32, UPS supervisor, Kansas City, Kan.



Keith Decker, 31, Publisher, Tulsa, Okla.



Madeline Ong-Sakana, 53, homemaker, Phoenix, Ariz.



Michael Ardis, 29, College instructor, Sumter, S.C.



Marilyn Byers, 60, County commissioner, Ashland County, Ohio.

Question: What advice do you have for the new postmaster general?

Martin Runyon, former Ford Motor Co. executive and head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, will become postmaster general on July 6. Runyon said Tuesday he isn't familiar enough with the Postal Service to have any quick plans for change. USA TODAY asked readers if they had any ideas for changes in the Postal Service.

Take a look at the private sector. Competition among companies gives impetus to better service, better pricing and better methods of doing business. The Postal Service is very inefficient. Joe Citizen has no way of communicating his dislikes of the service.

I just hope the new postmaster general won't let prices go up again. It makes you use the telephone too much. My children hardly ever write. I fear that when I grow old, I won't have their letters to read. Other than that, I am pretty satisfied the way things are.

I don't have any problems with the services the post office provides. I think it is very efficient. The only advice I would give is for it to try to keep costs down and its rates at a minimum. We've seen dramatic increases that have out- paced inflation.

We need to keep the rates the same and not consider increases. If we get increases, then the public would expect increased service. Postal employees apparently are quite well paid and have good benefits. Rates are becoming a great burden on our budgets.

Dueling cuts entangle budget

Senate OKs plan; House's turn next

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

The Senate voted Wednesday to cut \$8.3 billion from the federal budget, and the House may follow suit today with its own \$5.8 billion package.

But the results of lawmakers' politically inspired belt-tightening are likely to be more symbolic than substantive.

What's transpiring in the marble chambers of Capitol Hill is the latest battle in a partisan war between Congress and the White House over their greatest failing: the \$400 billion budget deficit.

President Bush started the fight with a televised speech in March, picking on examples of congressional pork-barrel spending such as a \$94,000 study of Michigan's asparagus yield decline. In all, Bush sought to rescind \$7.9 billion.

Congress returned fire by scrutinizing administration projects, including an identical \$94,000 to study why people fear their dentists.

Bush is certain to veto the eventual House-Senate compromise when it reaches his desk, since the real fight includes weightier matters than pork. The Senate salvages the Seawolf submarines Bush sought to kill and savages instead his prized B-2 bomber and Strategic Defense Initiative missile system.

But that's only the first round in this war of would-be economic responsibility.

Says Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Byrd, D-W.Va., who engineered Wednesday's 61-38 vote: "We can count on a long, hot summer."

A separate battle may be fought on the House floor today, when a procedural motion is turned by Republicans into a test vote on the latest proposed cure for deficit spending: a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

Arguments for and against such an amendment were laid out Wednesday by each side's chief budget analyst.

White House budget director Richard Darman said an

Blueberries, butterfly sex, B-2 bombers

In the battle over pork-barrel spending between the White House and Congress, President Bush wants to cut:

► Two Seawolf submarines being built in Connecticut, home of Democratic senators.

► Two post-traumatic stress disorder treatment centers to be built in Pennsylvania and Hawaii, home of Rep. John Murtha, D-Pa., and Sen. Daniel Inouye, D-Hawaii, chairmen of the defense appropriations subcommittees.

► A \$185,000 study of low-bush blueberries in Maine, home of Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell.

Congress wants to cut:

► \$1.3 billion for the "star wars" missile defense system and \$1 billion for the B-2 Stealth bomber, plums of the Pentagon.

► \$14 million from three space agency projects considered priorities of Vice President Quayle, plus \$400,000 in renovations to his government mansion.

► National Science Foundation research grants to study the mating behavior of swordfish, sexual mimicry of swallowtail butterflies, and the importance of lawyers to the middle class.

"We will move all of the missiles by July 1.... We do not have serious differences."

— Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk



By H. Kolbushovski, Agence France-Presse

IN AGREEMENT: President Bush with Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk Wednesday in Washington. Bush said Kravchuk's pledge on weapons was 'wonderful' news.

Ukraine to give up nukes

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk Wednesday pledged to surrender his short-range nuclear weapons to Russia by July and to adhere to a Soviet-U.S. nuclear arms reduction treaty.

Kravchuk, meeting with President Bush in Washington, said "I think we will" sign the START treaty to dismantle many long-range nuclear weapons, an agreement the United States had negotiated with the Soviet Union when it controlled Ukraine's nuclear arsenal.

President Bush smiled and termed "wonderful" Kravchuk's pledge on the short-range, or tactical, nuclear arms. Bush added, "We welcome President Kravchuk's assurance that Ukraine will remove all nuclear weapons from its territory and join the

Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear weapons state."

There was some confusion Wednesday over whether all of Ukraine's 4,000 tactical weapons had been shipped to Russia, which is supposed to control nuclear weapons for the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

CIS officials announced Wednesday in Moscow that a train had just delivered the last several dozen tactical nuclear weapons to Russia. But later in Washington, Kravchuk could only confirm they'll be removed by July.

Another issue is Ukraine's strategic, or long-range, weapons. It has an estimated 1,750 nuclear warheads on intercontinental missiles.

Before following through on their pledge to be a nuclear-weapons-free state, Ukrainian officials want international safeguards to protect

from any future Russian territorial designs. "The real obstacle is a domestic, political one," said William Potter, Monterey Institute Soviet nuclear expert.

Some Ukrainian parliament members have proposed that Ukraine keep 48 long-range missiles.

Bush offered Kravchuk at least some verbal reassurance. "Ukraine's future security is important for the United States and for stability in Europe," the president said. Kravchuk did not go without U.S. rewards for his cooperation, including:

► Most-favored-nation trade status.

► Private investment help and 60 U.S. Peace Corps volunteers aiding Ukraine this year.

► Everything from U.S. political consulting help to agricultural aid and IRS tax-collecting advice.

Conn. town could sink without subs

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

Until the Soviet Union went down the drain, sleek, new Seawolf nuclear submarines built in Connecticut were going to be the ace that trumped the Kremlin's larger, faster-growing fleet of nuclear attack subs.

Now the program is just as crucial for jobs in Groton, Conn. "We've been doing a lot of praying," says Catherine Kolnaski, Groton mayor.

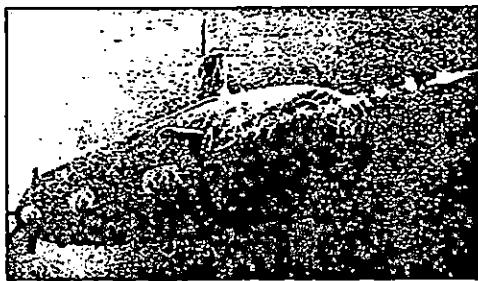
The Seawolf, at \$2 billion a copy, would carry missiles and torpedoes and hunt down nuclear-armed enemy subs.

With a population of 10,000, Groton would be badly hurt by the loss of about 17,000 jobs at the Electric Boat Co. plant, where the first Seawolf is being built. Even with the Seawolf contract, the town's economy is sagging. Housing vacancies are up, as are welfare rolls.

But to keep Seawolf funds intact, the program's boosters also maintain that the sub remains a vital part of U.S. military and industrial strategy, even in the absence of a deadly, monolithic enemy.

Stopping the Seawolf "would surely put the final nail in the

Sizing up the \$2 billion Seawolf



TARGETED: Seawolf nuclear-powered submarines are designed to be faster, quieter and able to carry more weapons than Los Angeles-class subs they're intended to succeed.

Length: 326.1 feet (longer than a football field)
Submerged speed: 40 mph
Diving depth: 2,000 feet (more than twice the length of the Eiffel Tower)

Crew: 133

Weapons: Total of 50 torpedoes and missiles

Mission: Destroy enemy ships, mainly submarines

Main contractors: General Dynamics Electric Boat Division and Westinghouse.

Source: Jane's Fighting Ships; U.S. Navy; Congressional Research Service

coffin of U.S. sub construction capability." Adm. Bruce Demers, the Navy's director of nuclear propulsion, testified recently. Some non-military experts disagree.

Floyd Kennedy, maritime columnist for Defense News, suggests keeping the Groton plant busy building more Los Angeles-class subs, the design preceding the Seawolf, until the Centurion class comes on

line late this decade.

"You could produce three Los Angeles-class boats every two years at a cost of less than one Seawolf a year," says Kennedy, and keep both the Groton and Newport News, Va., submarine yards, as well as smaller "vendor" companies, in business.

While the Seawolf is a big share of the \$50 billion the Bush administration wants cut

from the military in five years, Steven Kosiak of the non-partisan Defense Budget Project says "the future of submarine building is bleak." The debate, he says, "is over jobs and holding on to the industrial base. But the issue isn't whether we cut the budget, it's where we cut it. There will be jobs affected no matter what."

► Today's debate, 10A

amendment, requiring two-thirds passage by the House and Senate and ratification by 38 states, would put the force of the Constitution behind deficit-cutting efforts.

"What we've demonstrated so far is that with the best of intentions all the way around, when the crunch comes, we don't get the job done," Darman said.

Congressional Budget Office director Robert Reischauer said such an amendment could be easily evaded or, if honored, could undermine the economy.

"It could be little more than another empty promise, one that further erodes public confidence in our political institutions," Reischauer said.

The ongoing battle of current-year budget cuts could have an immediate, if minimal, effect on the record deficit by eliminating up to 2% of the red ink.

But even granting Bush a line-item veto to cut spending without congressional approval, Byrd said, "would make hardly a dent in the deficit."

And that dent would require the political compromise that evaded lawmakers earlier this year on tax cuts, a compromise considered unlikely in a presidential election year.

Democrats claim Bush's intent in recommending \$7.9 billion in budget cuts was to call attention to pork-barrel spending. Republicans, in turn, say Democrats purposefully inserted cuts unacceptable to the president to guarantee a veto.

"The real goal is to save no money at all," says Sen. Slade Gorton, R-Wash.

"If this is all a political game like the tax bill," says House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta, D-Calif., "then ultimately nothing is going to happen."

USA
4/17/87

Gorbachev a hit at historic site

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

FULTON, Mo. — Westminster College painted the grass green for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit Wednesday.

Eager to make a good impression, this college town that in 1946 hosted former British prime minister Winston Churchill greeted the former Soviet leader with a banner: "Cold War, Nyet, Gorby, Da."

In a note of political incorrectness, students showcased an American flag next to a Soviet flag — complete with hammer and sickle — a flag that no longer flies over the Kremlin.

Like a town parade, the event drew vendors, hawking everything from waffles to Gorbymania T-shirts.

And it attracted political types, everyone from John Birch Society members, who protested the visit, to Ross Perot volunteers, who tried to capitalize on it.

"On any petition, mass events are better than door-to-door," explained Linda Rootes of nearby Columbia, Mo., doing a brisk signature business at the Perot tables at campus' edge.

For all the festivity, Fulton is accustomed to making history.

"This has always been a historical

town," said Blanche Binggeli, who was 24 years old when she saw Churchill drive by with President Harry Truman.

Churchill visited 46 years ago — one year after British voters threw him out of office — and said that the Soviets were dropping an "iron curtain" across Europe.

Ex-president Ronald Reagan also stopped by — after he'd left the White House — to dedicate a sculpture called *Breakthrough* featuring concrete sections of the Berlin Wall with silhouettes of two human figures cut into it. The artist: Edwina Sandys, a Churchill granddaughter.

And Wednesday, Fulton heard Gorbachev. The message: Don't gloat claiming victory in the Cold War.

Reagan, with Gorbachev at his side, said Monday at the Reagan Library in California that "the Cold War is over. Freedom won, as we always knew it would."

But Gorbachev, two days later, warned against making the "intellectual and consequently political error of interpreting victory in the Cold War narrowly as a victory for oneself, one's own way of life, one's own values and merits." Instead, said Gorbachev, "This was altogether a victory for common sense, reason, democracy and common human values."

The theme won praise from the audi-



Pool photo by Cliff Schlappa, via AP
AT WESTMINSTER: Mikhail Gorbachev rebuffs a photographer who got past security to snap a photo. The man, who had television credentials, was removed by security.

ence, which interrupted more than a dozen times to applaud.

Gorbachev, following in Churchill's footsteps, tried to use the speech to convey "strategic" thinking about world events.

The key conflict of the world today, he said, is between "rich and poor countries, between North and South." The speed of modern technology, he argued, has actually made the situation worse.

"The headlong development of world

communications and the systematic transmission of information," he said, has produced in the less-developed nations "a more intense feeling of social deprivation and even of hopelessness and despair."

But the main thing was that he was here, standing to Churchill's right, in front of a sculpture made from the Berlin Wall, looking at grass that really was greener.

► Who won the Cold War, 1A

Wilson warns violence could happen anywhere

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — California Gov. Pete Wilson warned Wednesday the racial violence that devastated this city could happen anywhere. "I wouldn't limit it just to inner cities,"

The Republican blasted "cynical efforts" to politically exploit riots and backed President Bush's calls for personal responsibility. The riots, he told USA TODAY, should be a "warning" focusing energy on solving urban problems. But he opposed solutions

"The nation can't afford. The real answer isn't to throw money at problems as we did in the Great Society." One area needing attention: "the breakdown of families... the kind of thing that was the focus of the movie *Boyz n the Hood*." Wearing jeans and a t-shirt, Wilson said he's been operating on three or four hours sleep. He said he'd "resist the temptation" to name people exploiting the riots. Wilson said he'll have a "full-scale critique" of state and local response, but now would be "premature."

Not all news is 'Rotten'

By Julia Lawlor
USA TODAY

Quick! Before machine tool orders go sky-high and consumers rush to buy all those major appliances, check out *Rotten Times*, a new monthly newsletter for the unemployed.

If you think *Rotten Times* has rotten timing, think again. Sure, economists are citing all kinds of numbers to show there's a recovery. But *Rotten Times* editor/publisher Hal Gieseeling says, "You can't eat statistics."

Two million jobs have been lost in this recession, and if yours was one. All you know is you're 42, you have kids in school and a mortgage to pay," he says. *Rotten Times* attempts to

make the nation's 9 million unemployed look on the bright side.

"It's about hope, success, and economic survival in the '90s," says Gieseeling, an ad exec turned writer.

Since its first issue in March, *Rotten Times* — with a circulation of 200 — has featured job search tips, warnings about phony job ads and stories of successful new businesses.

One bit of *Rotten* advice: Offer 15% of your first month's salary for a lead that turns into a job.

A yearly subscription can be had for \$12.95 by writing *Rotten Times*, P.O. Box 144, Williamsburg, Va. 23187.

After three issues, any reader who concludes *Rotten* is the pits gets a refund.

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

N.C. assured of a black in House

North Carolina is assured of having a black representative in Congress for the first time in 90 years, but runoffs will be needed June 2 to decide nominees in the state's two new black majority congressional districts. Final totals from Tuesday's primary show Democrat Walter Jones Jr. — trying to succeed his father, longtime Rep. Walter Jones, who's retiring — led a seven-person field in the 1st District but faces a runoff with Eva Clayton. Jones is white, Clayton is black. The winner will face Ted Tyler, a white Republican. Barbara Gore Washington and George Jones will meet in a GOP runoff in the 12th District, with the winner meeting Democrat Mel Watt. All three candidates are black.

FINAL PLEA: Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton took time to hear clemency pleas for Steven Douglas Hill, 25, set to die by injection tonight for slaying a police investigator. Three executions have been carried out under Clinton. He has never granted clemency. (Jerry Brown interview, 11A)

Risky business in NYC



By Alex Brindley, AP

RIDING HIGH: New York Mayor David Dinkins rides a donkey at a preview of the Democratic National Convention at Madison Square Garden. In the parody, Dinkins sang, "You need a place, where the mayor will agree to risk his ass."

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: Kearney, Neb.; Portland, Corvallis, and Eugene, Ore. Bill Clinton: Little Rock. No public appearances scheduled.

Republicans George Bush: Tours riot areas in Los Angeles. Pat Buchanan: Ventura, Calif.

GREAT SOCIETY REVISITED

Battles continue in poverty war

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

The Bush White House may blame "the failed social policies" of the Lyndon Johnson administration for last week's riots in Los Angeles.

But although the War on Poverty was declared in 1964 under Democrat Johnson, many programs created at that time — including Medicaid and Head Start — continued, and often expanded, through succeeding administrations, Democrat and Republican.

Republican Presidents Nixon, Ford and Reagan made varying attempts to cut back or eliminate programs they saw as wasteful, inefficient or ineffective. Reagan had some early successes at it.

But the rhetoric was louder than the action. Washington still provides more than \$240 billion a year — about 17% of the federal budget — under 75 programs ranging from Head Start for poor pre-school youngsters to Medicaid for poor families.

Also included are funds for food stamps, job training, drug treatment, housing, school lunches, education, child immunization and nutrition. There are loans for students and small businesses, and direct subsistence payments to poor families under Aid for Dependent Children.

But the Los Angeles upheavals have produced a growing debate on how best to address the persisting problems of the poor dramatically highlighted after the Rodney King verdict.



NIXON: Tried to cut some programs

Some argue that with all the spending, it's apparently still not enough. They call for a "domestic Marshall Plan" to root out causes of hopelessness and despair.

Others, however, say despite the billions the government has spent, it's done little good.

Bush, in a speech to newspaper publishers Wednesday, cautioned against more pleas for massive amounts of new federal spending.

"The fact is, in the past decade, spending is up, a number of programs are up," he said, "and yet, let's face it, that has not solved many of the fundamental problems that plague our cities."

Instead, the president pushed less-costly remedies. "It is time for honest talk," he said. "We need an honest, open national discussion about family, about values, about public policy and about race."

Bush's 1993 budget calls for increases in various poverty funds, including Head Start, housing and health care.

Democrat Bill Clinton has said he wants to use money from cuts in defense spending to rebuild housing, streets and other projects, providing economic stimulus in cities and jobs for the poor.

But he too knows that calls for creating more massive federal programs in an election year may not be wise.

"There is a role for government," he said Tuesday in a speech to the publishers, "but it has to be carried out through grass-roots community organizations."

► Bush in L.A., 1A; editorial, 10A



JOHNSON: Created social programs

IN WASHINGTON

FOREIGN AID: Senators bluntly warned the Bush administration Wednesday that its aid package for the former Soviet republics is in danger because it can be seen as a foreign aid blank check. During a joint Agriculture Committee/Appropriations foreign aid panel hearing, Sen. Robert Kasten, R-Wis., pointed out vague language in the bill calling for "such sums as may be necessary" for various aid programs. Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., said President Bush's package lacks "theme, theory or consistency." The aid bill includes new grain credits and agricultural and economic technical assistance.

BANK RECORDS: Rep. Henry Gonzalez, D-Texas, was rejected when he made an emergency request to Chief Justice William Rehnquist to temporarily halt special counsel Malcolm Wilkey's review of records from the now-closed House bank pending further court action. He said giving the records to Wilkey threatens Congress' independence. House officials have complied with a Justice Department subpoena and turned over the records to Wilkey.

REP. JAMES QUILTS: Rep. Craig James, R-Fla., said he would not run for re-election this November because he did not want his reputation tarnished by congressional scandals. He raises the number of House members not returning to Congress to 61. Forty-two are retiring, 13 are running for senator or governor and six lost in party primaries.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

ISRAEL SHUNS TALKS: Israel will stay away from Middle East peace talks on refugees and economic development to be held in Canada and Belgium next week because Palestinians from outside the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip are to attend. **GERMAN STRIKE:** Germany's crippling public workers strike was extended into an 11th day today after unions and employers failed to reach a pay deal to end the disruption to Europe's economic powerhouse.

KOREAN EXCHANGE: North Korea and South Korea agreed to allow reunions between 100 members of families divided by four decades of Cold War confrontation. **CRIMEAN FLIP-FLOP:** Crimea's parliament reversed the previous day's declaration of independence by

changing its constitution to say the peninsula still formed part of Ukraine, at least for now.

LEBANON STRIFE: The Syrian-backed government resigned after thousands of rioters enraged by economic collapse blocked roads, smashed

Report: Bush to go to Brazil

President Bush may soon announce that he'll attend the United Nations environmental conference in Brazil next month. *The New York Times* reported today.

Bush has voiced skepticism about the conference, fretting that it could become a soapbox for poor nations to demand billions in technology and handouts.

Meanwhile, U.N. negotiators today are poised to unveil a treaty to slow global warming. European delegates have succumbed to U.S. persuasion to drop targets for reducing carbon dioxide emissions. Instead, it requires nations to report levels of their "greenhouse" gas emissions and work toward a "goal" of stabilizing heat-trapping gases at 1990 levels. — Linda Kanamine

banks and looted shops. **AND IN ENGLAND:** Britain, acknowledging what movie fans and thriller readers long ago learned, said it has a foreign espionage service called MI6. Author Ian Fleming's fictional James Bond was MI6's best-known agent.

L.A. visit: 'Begin the healing'

Moscow media take little notice

By Carole Landry
Special for USA TODAY

MOSCOW — Images of former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev sporting a white cowboy hat while at Ronald Reagan's ranch are a fresh reminder to Russians about their former leader. He was always better-liked abroad.

"When I saw him with Reagan walking around with those silly hats, I just felt like there was probably nothing better left for him to do," said Mikhail Stratitskin, a 45-year-old computer engineer. "He has lost all authority."

The media have ignored Gorbachev's two-week U.S. tour, except for a few scenes from the Reagan ranch broadcast Monday on TV.

One popular Moscow newspaper, *Kuranty* (the *Gazette*), reported that White House officials had asked Gorbachev to postpone his trip, fearing it might dull the luster of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit in June.

"But Gorbachev refused to call off his money trip," *Kuranty* wrote, indicating the 61-year-old former communist leader would collect more than \$300,000 from speaking engagements.

During his previous trip to Japan, the father of *perestroika* reportedly raked in more than \$400,000 for his non-profit foundation.

"I think most Russians are indifferent to Gorbachev," said Moscow News foreign editor Dmitri Yakushkin. "Why should we be concerned about his trip to the U.S.?"

Gorbachev: Cold War a 'fateful error'

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

FULTON, Mo. — Former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, with part of the Berlin Wall behind him and Middle America in front, Wednesday blamed the United States and the West for "unleashing a monstrous arms race."

But he said the mistaken belief held by the Soviets that the Nazis' defeat was the same as the victory of socialism also was responsible for the lost opportunity for peace.

Instead came the Cold War, "a fateful error" based on the West's overestimate of Soviet might and its failure to see Soviets were "exhausted and destroyed" by World War II, and "did not want war, never would have engaged in a major war."

At the Westminster College — where in 1946 British leader Winston Churchill warned that the Soviets were drawing an Iron Curtain across Europe — Gorbachev formally declared the Cold War over.

But in front of a piece of the Berlin Wall used in a sculpture by Churchill's granddaughter Edwina Sandys, he warned the West against gloating.

"The world paid dearly for the errors committed at this turning point in world history," he said. He urged the world not to misread this similar "watershed" in history, calling for a restructured United Nations with Germany, Japan and India on the Security Council.

Its priorities: environment, arms control and poverty in a "democratic" world.

Gorbachev received an honorary doctorate, presented by student Yanina Chernenko, from St. Petersburg, Russia.

► Day on campus, 2A

For kids, lefty 'is a risk factor'

Left-handed kids are more likely to end up in a hospital emergency room with an accidental injury than right-handed children, new research shows.

And 25% of 'lefties' parents see them as clumsy or accident-prone vs. 15% of righties'.

Dr. Charles Graham, University of Arkansas, Little Rock, studied 761 kids treated at emergency rooms — 267 for common childhood accidents.

"We found left-handedness is a risk factor," he says.

Wednesday, the Ambulatory Pediatric Association was told:

► Accident patients were 1.7 times more likely to be lefty than other kids treated.

► Male lefties were twice as likely to have accidents.

Previous studies have found lefties die younger, probably due to accidental deaths.

Graham, who is left-handed, can't explain the phenomenon.

— Tim Friend

Koreans at hotel call for justice

By Judy Keen
and Robert Davis
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — President Bush today gets a closeup look at how riots devastated a city, but he won't be doling out cash or new urban programs.

"We're not going there to put a new blueprint for solving the problem on the city of Los Angeles," White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Wednesday. "We're going there to listen."

"We've got to begin the healing process and we also have to find answers that will guarantee tranquility in these cities," Bush said. He repeated that one of his top goals is to "find ways to strengthen the family."

Upon his arrival in Los Angeles at 8:41 p.m. PDT Wednesday, Bush said the people of south-central L.A. "are now free to come out from behind those closed doors."

At the Bonaventure Hotel, where Bush will stay, 300 Korean protesters were chanting "We want justice."

Bush is to begin touring the riot area at 7 a.m. today, surrounded by tight security. He rejected a safer but more detached helicopter tour.

Also today:

► Bush tours Koreatown and meets its residents, then he talks with Hispanic leaders.

► Friday, Bush will meet law enforcement and firefighters, then go to the L.A. Coliseum to thank the National Guard and federal troops.

Bush considered, then decided against, delivering a major urban policy speech here. Instead, he will speak informally at four or five events.

Back in Washington, a flurry of calls for action on Capitol Hill was led by House Speaker Tom Foley's hope to quickly adopt a package of urban aid.

Democratic leaders introduced an emergency budget bill to provide about \$800 million in emergency loans from outside the 1992 budget.

Bush has resisted emergency spending, making \$600 million in loans and grants available from current accounts.

Before leaving Washington, Bush said the answer is not to "dump largesse" on the poor.

In L.A. Wednesday:

► About 3,000 attended the funeral of Edward Song Lee, an 18-year-old Korean-American killed in a crossfire.

► Police dropped the death count to 54, but coroner's officials said 58 had died in riots.

► Thousands of armed federal troops and National

Guardsmen remained on the streets.

COVER STORY

Urban policy is back on the agenda

Gates' command in question, 3A
The Great Society, 4A
Editorial, 10A

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — When President Bush tours this riot-scarred city today, the nation — riveted first by a sickening 81-second video, then by horrific images of exploding hatred — will turn to him for answers.

Some will see a gritty leader committed to controlling the decline and violence in their neighborhoods. Others will see the architect of that decay and despair.

And as Bush prays for unity, consoles victims and denounces lawlessness, the nation will witness the shift of the presidential campaign, at least for a time, from the economy to a discussion of the incendiary issues of racial mistrust, class warfare, poverty and fear.

Democrat Bill Clinton made his own pilgrimage to the Los Angeles ruins earlier this week, finding first-hand that urban policy suddenly matters again.

Please see COVER STORY next page ▶

COVER STORY

Hopelessness biggest fear

Continued from 1A

"It puts it on the agenda — no question about it," says analyst William Schneider. "And like the deficits, it's an issue neither one particularly wants to talk about. They don't have any answers."

Beneath the rhetoric and finger-pointing lies a fundamental political debate over the causes of those contagions and the best ways to remedy them.

The Rodney King verdict exposed and inflamed frustrations and resentments that have pulsed unchecked beneath society's surface for decades. When the first fire was lit here, it stoked the complacency of every voter and every candidate.

"The future of the inner city in America is at stake," says California state Sen. Art Torres, D-Los Angeles. "Unless we can come up with leadership decisions that affect the quality of life, things will only get worse."

Bush's record on urban policies conforms to the conservative canon: disdain for programs that transfer money to the poor and encouragement of self-reliance.

His critics — including liberal adherents of the Great Society programs the White House stretched back across the decades to blame for the riots — say Bush's ideology of indifference has nurtured the grievances that spilled over last week.

"I don't think Bush is a bad person and, quite frankly, in his own way, he even cares," says Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, a former Democratic presidential candidate who Wednesday began hearings on the nation's social woes. "But somewhere deep down, what's missing is a sense of fairness."

Jesse Jackson was blunter, calling Bush's trip "a reaction, not a plan. We need a comprehensive plan to save our cities."

Bush, backed by many conservative thinkers, says his solution relies on pride instead of addictive handouts. He has unabashedly continued President Reagan's dismantling of social programs — but cities and states were unable to test the experiment as the economy reeled into recession.

That's one reason New York City Mayor David Dinkins and many other mayors will march on Washington May 16 to demand \$35 billion in emergency urban aid.

A closer look at the Reagan-Bush record shows federal domestic spending has dropped \$395 billion since 1981 (in inflation-adjusted dollars), while defense spending jumped \$624 billion. And critics are quick to point out only 25 pages cover urban policy in Bush's 433-page 1992 budget.

Among Bush's initiatives: allowing poor tenants to buy homes; tax breaks for inner-city investment; and tax vouchers for private schools.

Bush also endorses job training programs and more money for Head Start preschool education — a Great Society program the White House often cites as proof of its compassion.

But Bush has proposed eliminating \$547.7 million for new public housing from the 1993 budget, arguing building new units would be more costly than using existing housing.

Clinton, too, has embraced the notion of "personal responsibility" among the poor, scorning some throw-money-at-it solutions to urban ills in favor of efforts to reweave the family and social fabric of communities.

It's no coincidence Bush and Clinton expressed the same series of reactions — in different order — after last week's conflagration: anger at the King verdict, pleas for calm and, most emphatically, condemnation of violence.

The simple but unspoken common denominator: the opportunity for political gain.

Analyst Schneider believes Bush helped himself Friday with his tough speech — but that White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater undid any advantage by later trying to blame the riots on 25-year-old Democratic policies.

"Any gain made by the president out of the speech was wiped out by the sheer political stupidity of Fitzwater's statements," Schneider says.

But political analyst Charles Cook says it's too soon to tell who gets hurt or helped by all this. "You can make arguments that the law-and-order theme is going to resurrect itself, or that minority turnout is going to drop, which I think is likely. Either of those things can help the president."

"On the other hand," Cook says, "if the riot sort of underscores the problems in our social infrastructure and our domestic needs, then it could work to Clinton's benefit."

Bush's trip to California, planned long before the riots, will be a key test in a state he must fight to win this fall. California racial and class frictions, galvanized by fear, are a potent political force. Republican George Deukmejian was elected governor in 1982 partly because he opposed restricting handgun purchases. In 1986, three state Supreme Court justices were defeated for overturning death penalty verdicts.

Maurice Dalton, an independent voter who works at an air conditioning repair firm in south central Los Angeles, typifies many voters whose priorities were mangled in the rioting. "The economy and getting more jobs going was my big worry before," he says, "so I was upset with Bush and looking at Clinton for some new ideas. Now, I don't know. Bush seems willing to crack down when it's necessary, and maybe we need some more of that."

So the two-day visit that begins today, though his campaign aides deny it, is a high-stakes exercise in political juggling.

As he did in the wake of the rioting, Bush must appease many constituencies, so he will show concern to victims, inject himself as a healer of the city's racial tensions and assume his Rambo persona to congratulate police and National Guard.

But Bush's biggest challenge — because it is so intangible, says state Sen. Torres — is to demonstrate the aura of leadership and hope people here crave.

"The only time politicians respond is in a crisis situation," says Torres. "But the answers of the past are no longer applicable here... and hopelessness is what I fear most."

Contributing: Adam Nagourney

Jerry Brown: Fighting gridlock in Washington

Democratic presidential candidate says Los Angeles riots underscore the fact the needs of those without power are being neglected.

Q: Why do you continue in this race when there's no chance of overtaking Bill Clinton?

A: My campaign has been based on the fundamental premise that there's gridlock in Washington. The basic needs of the country are being neglected, particularly those affecting groups without real power. The distortion of the political system has occurred because of the concentration of power and wealth in the top 1% of Americans. I decided to attack this at the highest level by running for president.

Q: Is that imbalance reflected in the Los Angeles riots?

A: It just underscores what has been obvious in all the cities I've gone to: in Michigan, in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, particularly, and in other areas. You literally have millions of Americans living in substandard conditions in the richest country in the world. It's totally unacceptable. It's leading this country to the kind of authoritarian response that will continuously erode civil liberties and divide the society.

Q: What's the answer?

A: I divide this issue very simply: We're either going to intervene in the economy to create a full-employment economy with a living family wage for all Americans, or we're going to intervene after the fact with more police and more military to try to control the angry consequences of the despair, the alienation and the hatred that follow in the wake of such inequality and injustice. What we're looking at is a systematic, pervasive injustice to American citizens, particularly

concentrated in the cities, but also found in rural areas.

Q: Do you agree with President Bush that "Great Society" programs are to blame?

A: I disagree totally. Some of them well might have had their flaws, but the reality is that after the Vietnam War was initiated, spending on domestic priorities was reduced and has been continuously reduced. Until we can awaken sufficient groups of people in political power to change that, I believe that things are going to continue to get worse.

Q: How do you awaken them?

A: I'm continuing this campaign to give Democrats a chance to express their view, to mobilize support particularly focusing on the mayors' seven-point program that they are coming here on May 16 to march and to lobby for from the Congress. With Congress today, and the president, there is this resistance to investing in any new domestic initiatives. I don't think that's right. There's going to be an S&L bailout of \$25 billion; there's a \$20 billion foreign aid bill. Right here in our cities we need an equivalent investment now.

Q: With our huge deficit, how will you pay the bill?

A: Right now on the mayors' program, the money should be appropriated because you need economic stimulus, and that's important. Beyond that, my flat-tax proposal will generate savings and investment. I believe in cutting the military budget in half and doing whatever you can do to restrain lower priority spending programs.

Q: Apart from economic



growth, do you have any plan for raising revenue through tax increases?

A: If they're needed at some point, obviously you're going to have to do that. But a flat tax makes it understandable. It takes out loopholes. It reduces disincentives. The problem we have now is that we have a theory of graduated income tax, but because that deters investment and interferes with a lot of things that people like, you then have to carve it up into lots of little loopholes — investment tax credit, deductions for business in various ways, loss carry forward, capital-gains reduction, innumerable items which people are asking for. So then you defeat the whole purpose because the tax code then distorts economic activity. What is required is the simplest tax possible.

Q: How will the riots change politics in November?

A: When I made my announcement speech, I said, "We must save our cities and the generations of innocent children who are being destroyed by drugs and crime and hopelessness. That will never happen until we're willing to risk political defeat over this moral issue." Not many people are willing to risk de-



By H. Darr Belsor, USA TODAY

feat in this business. We don't know how many millions of people there are of the so-called underclass. And they are viewed by many people as expendable. It's easier to put them on welfare or in jail or to otherwise control them. That is the philosophy right now. No one will say it that way, but that's the truth.

Q: So what should be done?

A: You do have to maintain wages by the kind of social-economic program or planning or you're not going to have a society. I'm not going to say it's easy. We have to create the jobs whether it's WPA, Civilian Conservation Corps or retrofitting every building in America to make them energy efficient, building the infrastructure like they need obviously in Chicago and every other city. We've got to make the commitment to put people to work, and we can show how we can do it.

Q: Is this riot going to change things, though?

A: Will this riot make it happen? Probably not. Congress has a budget cap. You've got a lot of people around this table who say: "Well, we can't afford to spend it. We don't have it because the deficit is too big." Our belief is the human deficit is threatening America as a free society. If we don't take action, there will be more crime, more riots, more dope, more fear, more victims, more demands for intervention. Intervention in ways that take away the freedom of this country as we've known it. This is what my whole campaign and my effort for the next 10 years are devoted to answering: How do you mobilize? How do you show that building the inner city is going to protect the suburbs and that together we can become a powerful country of solidarity and justice?

On other issues

Here is what Jerry Brown had to say on:

Campaign contributions

We're talking about day after day, spending time with the people who can give you \$1,000 or more so that your psychology and your interests and your world view are very much influenced by the world view of the 1%. Yes, you don't think about the people earning the minimum wage. You do not have the same emotional understanding of how their life is. I'm not going to confess my sins here, but I can tell you it tilts your perspective and your sensitivity that in a way, over time, moves the government away from the average person in society. I think that's precisely what's happening and why the Democrats can't even push what they'd want. The people who would support them are totally out of the system because they see nothing in the Democratic agenda that will affect their lives in any real sense.

Health care

Health care is just like these other issues. There is no will to deal with the health-care crisis except in trivial ways. Pay or play is dead on arrival. It has too many different tiers, too many problems and it requires taxes. There is the corporate-managed approach that I believe doctors are going to fight just as hard as a national health-care system. The other system is the Canadian single-payer plan, which the insurance companies are going to fight because they're eliminated from most proposals. I believe a national health-care system is the only way to go. It's the only way to control prices through a single payer that could then have the leverage to hold down fees, hospital costs and provider costs.

Slipping down in the polls

We know what happens at the end of one of these campaigns. The media look away. I understand that, but I don't think people believe that anything real or significant will derive from either a Clinton or a Bush presidency. It's too continuous with where we've been.

Supporting Clinton

That's something I'm reflecting on.

Jerry Brown bio

Background: California secretary of state, 1970-73; governor of California, 1974-82; State Democratic Party chairman, 1990.

Education: University of California, Berkeley, bachelor's degree, 1961. Yale University, law degree, 1964.

Family: Father, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, California governor, 1959-67; sister Kathleen Brown, California state treasurer, 1990.

USA-TODAY 5/7

JOE URSCHEL

Boomers no longer fuel boom

Increases in economic indicators suggest a modest recovery is under way. But psychological indicators point the other way — and even economists will bet on the psychological factors when pressed.

Consumer spending fuels the economy, so you can't have a boom without baby boomers. But their will to shop is spent.

When boomers were in their 20s and 30s, life was good and they stoked the economy by having children, buying houses, cars, furniture, and taking exotic vacations even if they had to go into debt.

But with the economy expanding and a smaller generation ahead of them, they also got promotions and double-digit raises as they moved quickly up the ladder.

Now boomers are looking at the rungs above them, and they are clogged with other boomers. Often, the CEO is less than 10 years older. Meanwhile, companies are downsizing.

Welcome to promotional gridlock in the land where success means keeping your job, and the lucky few get raises that beat inflation. No wonder a recent Northwestern National Life Insurance study concluded, "Stress is running like a fire" through the workplace.

"People are more scared than a year ago," says Peter Siris, an analyst with UBS Securities. "Companies have dealt with this recession by laying off employees, cutting back and selling off properties. But you can't sell off your kids, or half your house."

You can stop shopping. Boomers aren't all impoverished, but they are looking at life differently. The upper end of the boom generation is 40 to 46 years old. They are about as many years from retirement as they are from the point they entered the workforce. At that milestone, people make fundamental adjustments.

This is the age group growing fastest, while the number under 35 — the big spenders — is shrinking.

Older boomers are facing the need to save for retirement, the need to save for children's educations, the need to save for a rainy day. They are at the point where, statistically, they are likely to suffer a significant illness. They are thinking seriously about things like catastrophic illness, health coverage, life insurance.

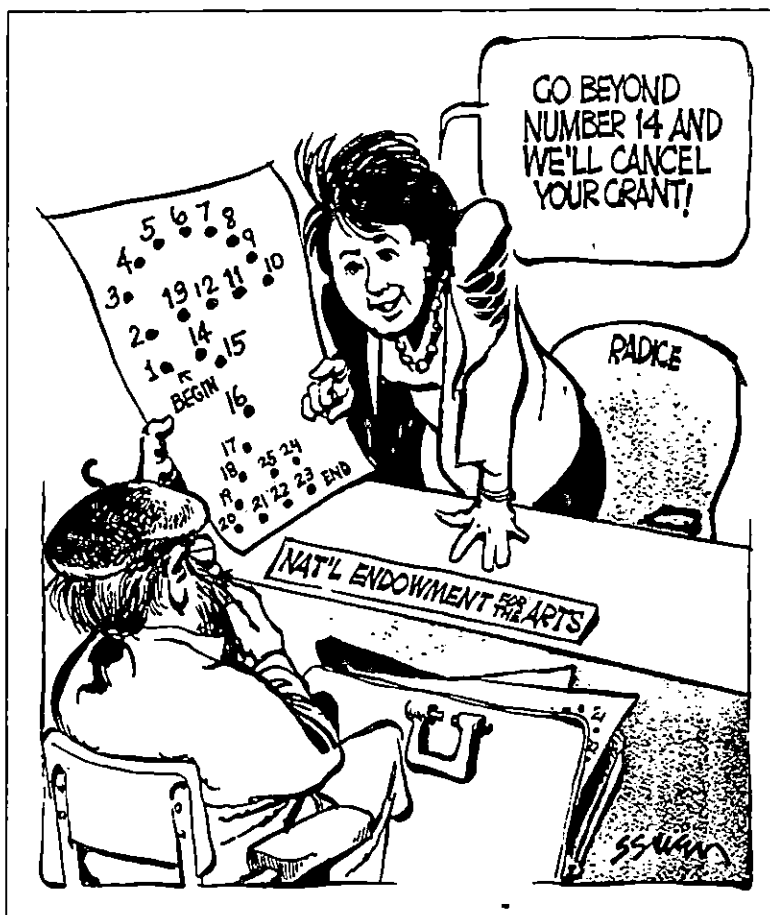
So they'll do different things with their money. Somehow, a \$500 investment in a stock fund looks a lot more attractive than a new, marked-down Armani suit. Which is why economists and the politicians are deluding themselves if they think we are going to spend our way out of this recession.

It's more likely we'll save our way out. And that will take a lot longer, because the consumer no longer will be searching for a sale but, rather, searching for income.

And that's harder to find.



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

LETTERS

States should test drivers over 75 every two years, USA TODAY said Tuesday in an editorial. Readers said:

More senior bashing

Your editorial, "Safety and older drivers," is just another example of "senior bashing." You stated that "as a group (older drivers) are not as accident prone as the youngest drivers." Then why penalize just older drivers?

Would you also penalize middle-aged drivers because they are the largest group of drunken drivers?

Let's be fair and also keep our highways safe. Let's retest frequently any aged driver who has serious accidents, frequent violations or a drunken-driving record. Don't penalize any one age group because of one or two problem drivers.

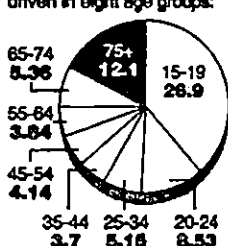
Warren Koch
Melville, N.Y.

Eyesight a factor

I'm an optometrist. I test people over 75 for their driv-

Crash risks

Crashes per million miles driven in eight age groups:



Source: Transportation Research Board

USA TODAY

er's licenses. I see them all the time expect to be licensed when they cannot see. They cannot pass the basic vision test yet expect to drive.

I agree very strongly with license-renewal tests at least every two years. There should be testing, I believe, every year because a lot of their eye conditions are progressive and

these people cannot see.

Pamela Moore
Las Vegas, Nev.

Test once a year

I'm 65 and I definitely agree that older drivers, perhaps at 75 or 80, should be tested every year. I know some older drivers who are irresponsible. They can't see well, they can't hear well, yet they're driving.

We are going to have more accidents like you mentioned.

Iowa Barc
Rome, N.Y.

Need lifestyle change

Being 71 and living 14 miles outside of Omaha, I'm concerned about elderly driving. I think I'm a good driver and I'll be driving for another five years, but I think we need "rites of passage" to make this transition more available to all the older drivers so they will see they have to have a complete change in lifestyle.

Arch Steele
Blair, Neb.

Tackle real problems

Now's the time for tough gun laws, USA TODAY said Tuesday in an editorial. A reader said:

Have we resigned ourselves to the fact that Americans permanently need guns to protect ourselves from each other?

I would rather live in an America where I didn't need to protect myself with a gun because nobody wanted to attack me, than in one where I needed a gun because fellow citizens wanted to attack me. The gun-control debate is distracting us from dealing with social problems that pit our citizens against one another, ready to kill (with or without guns).

Let's get serious about dealing with the roots of anarchy and crime so that private citizens won't need guns anymore.

Kamran Memon, editor
Islamic Society of N.A.
Plainfield, Ind.

Feature honest people

Tuesday's cover story, "Teens: Looting 'wasn't right,'" shocked me. USA TODAY was irresponsible in printing a photo of two smiling teen-agers who admitted looting.

One stole money from an automatic teller machine and deposited it in his own account. Another "got a couple of things, hair supplies like grease and a brush." The one teen-ager's father, a small-business owner, waited two days for his family to loot before telling them that was enough. What brass. What kinds of role models are these?

Why not feature a photo of the honest people spoken of in the article, like the mother who tried to stop kids from looting and made

her daughter stay home, or the teen-agers who criticized the immoral and repugnant behavior of the looters and who pitched in to help clean up?

Why in the world did you grant celebrity status to these students and treat their acts as if there were no consequences to their victims?

Whose money did the young man steal from the automatic teller machine? Why should he be allowed to keep it and not be prosecuted, especially when he freely admitted it?

All these hoodlums do is reinforce negative stereotypes that will be difficult for the good people not pictured to overcome.

Shame on you.
Robert L. Deeban
Eagle, Mich.

Senate, Ignoring Veto Threats, Passes Bill to Cut Bush's Military, Space Plans

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The Senate, defying veto threats by the White House, adopted an \$6.3 billion savings package that demands deep cuts in President Bush's military and space priorities, including the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Approved 61-38, the measure would take \$1.3 billion from prior appropriations for SDI and \$1 billion from production funds for the B-2 bomber. The bill, which covers the year ending Sept. 30, would wipe out \$500 million for the Navy's fourth AOE fast-combat ship, and general Pentagon operations accounts would be cut \$500 million as part of a larger effort to shrink excess military inventories.

The cuts from the space program, though much smaller, deal a further blow to exploration of Mars, and they would kill an on-going project to design a high-speed aircraft capable of orbiting into space after launch from a conventional runway.

The decision on the costly national aerospace plane is sure to meet opposition in the House. The \$133.5 million cut threatens a novel consortium of U.S. aerospace companies overseen by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Units of Rockwell International Corp., General Dynamics Corp., United Technologies Corp., and McDonnell Douglas Corp. have been part of this effort. And though critics question the commercial applications of the aircraft, proponents argue that the project has been a model of the type of industrial cooperation needed to compete with Japan and Europe.

Among the defense cuts, the most controversial are those from SDI. The Senate would use those funds to complete a second and third Seawolf submarine, built by a General Dynamics unit in Connecticut. Rep. John Murtha (D., Pa.), chairman of the House subcommittee for defense appropriations, said later that he remains opposed to funding more than the second of

the costly nuclear submarines. And the administration is sure to demand restoration of some of the SDI cuts in negotiations after the House acts on its bill today.

Failure to reach agreement will make it harder for the president and Congress to achieve defense savings in the year beginning Oct. 1. But to an extraordinary degree, the entire process is laced with election-year politics, and both the administration and lawmakers seem torn between reducing the deficit and diverting funds to meet new demands at home and abroad.

Given the huge federal deficit, conservatives are riding a wave of support for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget. Yet the administration also wants billions of dollars for aid to the former Soviet Union and a still-undefined increase in funding to address urban problems in the aftermath of the riots in Los Angeles.

Even as the Senate considered yesterday's savings package, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) proposed a \$5 billion emergency appropriation to assist cities and poor families. Yet this desire to rush to action is tempered by an increasing frustration with what many in Congress see as the administration's uncertain course on deficit and spending issues. Such conservatives as Sen. Jake Garn (R., Utah) have chastised the White House for what they see as its ill-conceived, political approach to the savings package this spring.

After meeting in the Capitol this week, Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, a friend of the president, reminded Mr. Bush that he had vetoed a tax bill this year that included the urban enterprise zones now sought by the White House. "This president didn't read the bill," said the Chicago Democrat, who promised to act on new urban initiatives but wanted to know where they would get the money. "Isn't that cute," he asked. "Right now, it's 'Forsake the balanced budget and do something.'"

Bush Reaffirms View That Federal Aid Isn't the Solution to Cities' Problems

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — President Bush flew to riot-torn Los Angeles for what he called "honest talk" about the nation's urban problems, but he reiterated his view that large-scale federal aid is not the answer.

Before leaving the White House, Mr. Bush sought to play down the political

SBA Plans Aid

Small Business Administration aid to Los Angeles may go beyond disaster loans. See story on page B2.

recriminations that began earlier this week when his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, blamed Great Society programs for causing inner-city problems. "I don't want to assign blame," Mr. Bush said. "This isn't the time to go out and try to divide the country... We've got to begin the healing process."

At the same time, Mr. Bush didn't back away from the substance of Mr. Fitzwater's statement, which the president himself has expressed before. On the contrary, Mr. Bush said the urban crisis highlighted by the riots "vindicated" his critique of existing social welfare programs.

"We've got to get past this view, and it's tough in an election year, when you hear all the promises of these grand designs which means just more federal spending," Mr. Bush told the American Newspaper Publishers Association in a teleconference. "I don't think the highly centralized federal answers work."

Instead, the president reiterated his support for what he called a "diffused, decentralized" approach emphasizing individual opportunity in such areas as education, health, housing and welfare policy. "It is far more important to give people a piece of the action than it is to have the federal government simply dump largesse on them," Mr. Bush said.

Before leaving for Los Angeles, the president met for the third day in a row with cabinet members to discuss the administration's response to the riots. Mr.

Fitzwater said the president's visit, which is scheduled to end tomorrow, will be primarily "a listening session" in which Mr. Bush will hear from elected officials and community leaders.

The administration already has made available some \$600 million in emergency aid, including grants of as much as \$11,500 for people urgently in need of housing, food, clothing and medicine. Business owners can receive loans of as much as \$500,000 for riot losses not covered by insurance, while homeowners and renters can receive loans of as much as \$100,000 for uninsured losses. As for the long term, Mr. Bush is expected to step up support for urban policies the administration has offered but hasn't aggressively pushed in the past.

"We're not going there to put [out] a new blueprint for solving the problem in the city of Los Angeles," Mr. Fitzwater said.

Northeast Utilities

Thirteen Workers Suspended For Inspection Discrepancies

Northeast Utilities, Berlin, Conn., suspended 13 workers after an investigation showed they missed or improperly recorded inspections at the Millstone nuclear power plants in Waterford, Conn.

The investigation, which began in early April and concluded last week, was reported to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which has been sharply critical of the company's nuclear operations.

Northeast also suspended two other workers under contract after discrepancies were found in a review of inspection records. The workers were in health physics, responsible for monitoring health hazards to workers from exposure to radiation.

The suspensions varied depending on the number of incidents under question and the reasons the operators gave for missing or improperly recording the inspections. Most have completed their suspensions and returned to work, a spokesman said.

House Panel Votes to Extend Jobless-Aid Plan

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — A House subcommittee approved another extension of emergency jobless benefits, through year end, along with a change in the payroll tax that employers pay to finance unemployment aid.

The measure, which would extend the program for the third time since last fall, would allow jobless workers who have exhausted their basic 26 weeks of state aid to qualify for an additional 20 or 26 weeks of added federal compensation. The duration of extra aid would depend on the unemployment rate in a worker's state.

The bill, sponsored by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D., Ill.) and Rep. Thomas Downey (D., N.Y.), who heads the subcommittee that approved it yesterday, would also make permanent changes in the unemployment-compensation system to make it easier for longtime jobless people to draw emergency federal aid in the future. The measure could go to the full committee as early as next week, aides said.

The Bush administration, which last fall supported the emergency-aid program only after a long battle with Democrats, backs an extension without the permanent changes. Some conservative Democrats likewise are wary of broader changes, and would prefer a simple, quick extension. At the same time, Democratic leaders in the House and Senate are considering folding the jobless-aid measure into a broader package of domestic initiatives.

Such talk has increased in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, which drew the politicians' attention to urban problems.

The cost of the latest jobless-aid proposal, \$6.6 billion over six years, would be met by extending two laws limiting the tax deductions and personal exemptions that upper-income taxpayers can claim. The bill also would alter employers' payroll tax liability to finance jobless benefits, but in a way that doesn't raise any more revenue than the current system.

Currently, employers pay a 0.8% tax on the first \$7,000 of each employee's annual wages. The bill would lower the tax rate, but raise the amount of wages subject to the tax, thereby spreading the tax burden more among employers of higher-wage workers. The tax rate would drop to 0.3% in 1994 through 1996, and to 0.25% in 1997 and thereafter. The wages subject to tax would be \$27,000 in 1994, supporters estimate, and the amount would rise in subsequent years, according to national wage trends.

The subcommittee approved the measure by voice vote, after defeating a series of GOP amendments aimed at scaling back the Democrats' proposal. The panel's top Republican, Florida Rep. Clay Shaw, warned Democrats, "You're looking at an absolute, certain veto."

Among the rejected GOP proposals was one from Iowa Rep. Fred Grandy that was said to represent the administration's position. It would have provided extended federal aid of 13 or 20 weeks, depending on a state's jobless rate, through Oct. 3, and then fewer weeks' benefits through next Feb. 13. The aid would be partly financed by cutting back tax benefits now allowed for purchasers of failed thrift institutions.

Without an extension, the current emergency aid program expires July 4. Those receiving aid on that date would draw the remaining benefits to which they're entitled.

Darman Backs Amendment Requiring Balanced Budget

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — White House Budget Director Richard Darman said he backs a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget because of "the frequent failure of the political system to do what responsible analysis would seem to suggest is right."

Mr. Darman told the House Budget Committee yesterday that he became a convert to the cause after concluding that the political system — namely, Congress and the president — has evaded all previous attempts to force it to cut the budget deficit.

A constitutional amendment would provide "the extra discipline" required to protect the interests of Americans who will be forced to pay the debts incurred today, Mr. Darman argued.

President Bush favors such an amendment, and support in Congress is building. The amendment won a symbolic test vote yesterday in the House, which voted to instruct conferees on the fiscal 1993 budget resolution to join their Senate counterparts in endorsing the concept.

House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta (D., Calif.) protested that the constitutional amendment wouldn't give the president or Congress "the guts to cut spending or raise revenues" and could create thorny enforcement and legal problems. He suggested that Mr. Bush initiate another round of deficit-reduction negotiations with Congress. Mr. Darman replied that such talks would probably fail in an election year.

Mr. Bush's latest budget shows annual deficits of nearly \$200 billion through 1997.

On the Issue of Race, Bush Appears to Display A Curious Mix of Sensitivity and Obliviousness

By MICHAEL McQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
WASHINGTON — Thursday morning, hours after South Central Los Angeles erupted in riots, President Bush convened an Oval Office meeting with Attorney General William Barr, Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner, and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan, the only black member of his cabinet.

Someone suggested that Dr. Sullivan arrange a meeting of black leaders with the president. But before he could answer, Mr. Bush—aware that the secretary, a scholarly physician, might not want to be used as his point man on black issues—jumped in, saying: "Don't put Lou in that box." He relented only when Dr. Sullivan assured him he was eager for the assignment.



George Bush

The display of personal sensitivity wasn't unusual for Mr. Bush. But neither were his remarks a year earlier when, two days after white Los Angeles policemen were captured on videotape brutally beating a prone black motorist, he lavishly praised their chief, Daryl Gates, as "an all-American hero," seemingly oblivious to the fury the beating had caused or how it reflected on Mr. Gates' leadership.

Public and Private Faces

The incidents show the two sides of George Bush on the subject of race. Privately, his personal empathy in dealings with individuals he knows can surprise both blacks and whites. At other times, his apparent ignorance of the common sensibilities of blacks and other minorities can be so complete that people of all races assume him at best a captive of his privileged background or at worst a crass manipulator of racial stereotypes.

"You could talk about this in terms of the public and the private man," says Stephen Hess, a Brookings Institution analyst who served in the Eisenhower and Nixon administrations. "The private man has been quite exemplary, a very decent human being, who has repeatedly done things that were special for his time." But at the same time, Mr. Hess says, "The record as a public man is quite a checkered one... nothing that matches our understanding of him as a private man."

With Mr. Bush in Los Angeles today to grapple with the issues presented by the rioting, his attitudes and vision about race are being tested as never before. During his two-day visit, he is expected to meet with black, Hispanic and Asian-American representatives and to discuss ways to improve conditions in Los Angeles and other cities.

More broadly, the visit will be a part of a larger test of the president's ability to address newly charged racial issues in a way that balances his responsibilities as the leader of all the nation's people with the realities of being a political leader with a conservative base.

There is already evidence the public finds him wanting on that score. Polls in the wake of the rioting suggest voters see probable Democratic challenger Bill Clinton as better able to improve race relations and address the root causes of racial disturbances.

Nothing irritates George Bush more than the suggestion that he is racist or unfair. That is in part because of his and his family's long history of support for such causes as the United Negro College Fund. He and his defenders also point to his appointments of blacks to such positions as Supreme Court justice, chairman of the

Joint Chiefs of Staff, HHS secretary, chief White House congressional lobbyist, and directors of Social Security and the federal personnel office.

Clash Over Civil-Rights Bill

His resentment flashed at a news conference last summer as he and Democrats in Congress fought over a civil-rights bill. His voice rising, Mr. Bush denied allegations that his comments on the bill—suggesting that Democrats favor hiring quotas—were exacerbating racial tensions in the country. He cited his nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court as evidence of his good intentions toward minorities.

Still, he added, the allegation "does concern me because... this kind of drop, drop, drop of water on a rock could make a difference." His message to black Americans, he said, was: "Hey listen, we've got a good record on civil rights and we're going to continue on it and you ought to be rejoicing that we have a very able judge to be elevated to the Supreme Court."

Many black people who know Mr. Bush personally believe in his sincerity on the subject of race. In Houston, for example, the Ferrell family, owners of the prominent local catering company Bennie Ferrell Catering Inc., is so devoted to Mr. Bush that two of the daughters have become registered Republicans.

The relationship began decades ago when Mr. Ferrell was a bartender for a white caterer who organized parties for the Bushes. One night, recalls the late Mr. Ferrell's wife, Norma, a guest of Mr. Bush's began making racist jokes. Mr. Bush ordered the man to leave and apologized personally to the staff. "That just wasn't done," says Mrs. Ferrell. "This was the 1950s, when it was fashionable to tell these jokes."

Mr. Bush has signaled his concern about civil rights in other unlikely places. In a visit to a Glyco, Ga., law enforcement center in June of 1989, a young border-patrol student asked what advice he would offer. His answer was that "despite the suspicion, circumstantial evidence, an individual should be respected, given his rights. I know that's sometimes difficult."

But it is perhaps because of his intense regard for individual dignity that his detachment from group sensibilities is so striking. In his autobiography, Mr. Bush wrote of wanting to use his position as a Republican county chairman in Texas in 1963 to attract black voters to the GOP. Yet a year later, in a bid for a Senate seat, he was actively campaigning against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, calling it a "radical" intrusion on states' rights.

That sort of split was on display again during the fight over the civil-rights bill, a bill designed to counter a series of Supreme Court decisions weakening certain job-discrimination laws. Mr. Bush went from opposing the need for a bill to negotiating one with Congress to vetoing it—despite rare personal appeals by two of his highest-ranking black appointees, Dr. Sullivan and Office of Personnel Management Director Constance Newman.

Strained Relations

Though he ended up signing another version of the bill just over a year later, the conflict strained relations with some of his longest-standing associates in the black community, including Vernon Jordan, a Democrat, and William Coleman, a Republican, both prominent Washington lawyers and former civil-rights activists.

The president's wavering on these issues leads many people to assume he has no vision of race relations, only political impulses. "What he ought to do is stop, at least for once, that whatever-it-takes-to-win mentality, and actually look at the cities," says Linda Williams, a University of Maryland political scientist.

Almost four years after it was used in

the 1988 campaign, the Willie Horton issue continues to rankle. Images of the black convict, who raped a white woman and also assaulted her husband while on furlough from a Massachusetts prison, were used in independent TV ads supporting Mr. Bush's election as well as in literature of the Bush campaign itself—even though most of the convicts furloughed under the Massachusetts program were white. Although many of Mr. Bush's closest black advisers, including Dr. Sullivan, have been quoted as saying they were uncomfortable with the use of the Horton case, Mr. Bush has never repudiated it. At a news conference last year, the president said that "the point on Willie Horton was not Willie Horton himself; the point was, do you believe in a furlough program that releases people from jail so they can go out and rape, pillage and plunder again?"

Still, William McInturff, a Republican pollster who worked as a consultant to Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign, suggests: "At the end of his life he may well say, 'God I wish we didn't do that,' because it has colored everything about his discussions of these issues since."

As the president seeks to move forward in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, William Bennett, formerly the director of Mr. Bush's anti-drug program, says the president should begin to conduct a serious dialogue on race and urban problems. Mr. Bush, he says, now has an opportunity to advance programs, such as urban enterprise zones, that he has proposed but done little to push.

"If something like this happens, the issues are out on the table, whether you want them there or not," Mr. Bennett says.

Democrats Plot Strategy For Child-Welfare Plan

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — House Democrats are trying to add a major child welfare program to a popular bill that would extend long-term unemployment benefits, hoping to show that they can get something done legislatively in a generally dismal session.

The move, led by Representative Thomas Downey of Long Island, would also mark the beginning of efforts by House Democrats to relate their legislative activity to the campaign of Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the likely Democratic Presidential nominee.

The unemployment benefits bill is widely seen as one of the few legislative certainties of this session, since most members would have great difficulty voting against it. Even the Bush Administration is reluctant to oppose it, even though it opposes a provision of the bill that would permanently change the law to provide extended benefits in a recession.

Extends Benefits 26 Weeks

The unemployment legislation would extend until July 1993 emergency benefits for people who have run out of their basic 26 weeks of state unemployment compensation, enabling them to get an additional 26 weeks if they were out of work for a year.

In addition, the measure would greatly liberalize the rules under which workers in various states become eligible for extended jobless benefits. Under existing law, workers in only six states and Puerto Rico would now be getting benefits if Congress had not passed two emergency extensions. Under the proposed new law, workers in at least 40 would now qualify.

The basic thrust of the children's legislation would be to provide money to states for services intended to keep families from breaking up. Federal law now helps states pay the cost of placing children in foster care but does little to intervene in the kinds of problems that force children into foster homes.

When Mr. Clinton visited Capitol Hill last week, Mr. Downey asked him about the issue, and others present reported that his answer, which was generally supportive of the legislation, impressed many of those present for its depth and interest.

Links to Clinton Campaign

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the majority leader, promised Monday night in a speech in Cambridge, Mass., to a Harvard University

audience that Congressional Democrats would be pressing health-care and jobs bills and other measures in coordination with Governor Clinton. He said that would insure that "the public would have a concrete demonstration by one party and its nominee, in advance of the election, of what kind of a future they will be choosing."

Mr. Gephardt said today in an interview that he had discussed that idea with Governor Clinton after his speech and that the candidate had endorsed it in general terms. Mr. Gephardt said the child welfare measure would be an important signal of Democratic commitment to the needy.

There is considerable Republican support for the child welfare bill in both houses, but because it has been identified as a prime Democratic objective by Sen. George J. Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader, it has only one formal Republican co-sponsor.

Moreover, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, chairman of the Finance Committee, is concerned that once anything is added to the unemployment bill, it will be hard to stop senators from adding more and more. Under House rules, that is easy to stop, but Mr. Bentsen said today that "competing interest groups" could overload the bill in the Senate, where the rules allow unlimited amendments.

Representative Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said he too was concerned about adding things to the

Giving children a \$3.5 billion ride on-a jobless benefits bill.

unemployment bill that might hurt its chances. But he said he did not oppose Mr. Downey's approach.

Would Cost \$3.5 Billion

The legislation proposed by Mr. Downey and approved last September by the Human Resources subcommittee, which he heads, would cost \$3.5 billion over five years, as against \$2.1 billion for a similar measure in Senate. The House child welfare bill has been awaiting action in the Ways and Means Committee, where Mr. Downey's subcommittee sent the unemployment measure today.

Mr. Downey said he would seek to combine them in the full committee next week. "It would be good to take care of two problems at once, trying to help the unemployed and trying to keep families together," he said.

Addresses Abused Children

Focusing on the children's legislation, he said: "We need to do something to address the 6,800 kids who are neglected and abused every day. We need to give the states the financial tools they need."

His measure would shift the emphasis of federal concern by greatly expanding currently modest federal aid to states for programs designed to keep families together. Under present law, the federal government provides unlimited aid, as an entitlement, to foster care programs.

Mr. Downey has argued that this approach is not only costly but backward. He believes that increased spending on preventive programs like counseling and drug-abuse treatment and on facilitating adoptions would lessen the need to put children into foster care.

He said the unemployment bill "appears to be the one vehicle" that has enough momentum to carry the children's legislation through the House.

Neither measure is directly related to the Los Angeles riots. But there may well be efforts to attach tax breaks for poverty areas to the legislation next week in the Ways and Means Committee. Congress voted for tax breaks in "enterprise zones" and extensions of breaks for low-income housing and employment of the poor earlier this year, but they were part of the tax bill that President Bush vetoed because it would have imposed higher taxes on the wealthy.

As Los Angeles Smoke Lifts, Bush Can See Kemp Clearly

By JASON DEPARLE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — Suddenly, everyone wants to talk to the Housing Secretary, Jack F. Kemp. Members of Congress do. Television networks do. And what is most important, President Bush does, summoning him to three Cabinet meetings in three days and saving him a seat on today's plane ride to Los Angeles.

"It's nice to be needed," Mr. Kemp said in an interview today. Most likely it is an uncommon feeling.

Reset by the charge after the Los Angeles riots that the Bush Administration has let the problems of urban America fester, the White House has now reached out to Mr. Kemp, declared renewed interest in his proposals for a conservatives' war on poverty, and stepped up attacks on Congressional Democrats for not enacting them. Today, as he left for California, President Bush said the nation could "do better" than the Great Society programs. [Page A22.]

The Things Not Said

What the White House has left unstated is that Mr. Kemp's moment in the sun comes after three years of a kind of internal exile.

Suspect for his enthusiasm for anti-poverty plans, the head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development has been shut out of the President's inner circle, ridiculed by the budget director and sent to fight lonely battles on Capitol Hill without White House reinforcements.

While the White House says Mr. Kemp's place in the Administration shows that it has had an urban policy all along, Mr. Kemp's admirers on both sides of the aisle say it shows the opposite.

"It's terrible that Jack has been relegated to a back seat up to now," said Representative Vin Weber of Minnesota, one of Mr. Kemp's Republican allies in Congress.

Asked if the Administration has accomplished anything in anti-poverty policy, Mr. Weber said, "Not really."

The Critic Within

That sentiment was shared by Stuart Butler, vice president for domestic policy at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington research organization. "Kemp is now being brought out and put on the talk shows, but when Kemp wanted to fight for his programs on the Hill, the White House was nowhere to be seen," Mr. Butler said.

Indeed, those looking for a vocal critic of Administration inaction need look no further than Mr. Kemp himself.

His confidential correspondence with White House advisers over the past two years, provided to a reporter without permission last year by someone outside his office, reads like the pleadings of an outside advocate.

In a letter dated May 1990 to the Domestic Policy Council, which

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Kemp Ideas Move to the Front Burner

Continued From Page A1

was reviewing options for an anti-poverty effort, Mr. Kemp warned that the problems of urban America had reached "a moment of critical mass." He said it was "past time for the Administration to aggressively highlight a new comprehensive anti-poverty agenda."

White House aides then drafted a potential strategy for the President that made Mr. Kemp wince. "That's not a vision," he wrote back in July 1990, accusing them of "bureaucratizing the effort and sending it to oblivion."

He was particularly vexed at their plans to conduct technical studies of the way anti-poverty programs are financed and managed.

The White House was already criticized for "studying the problem to death and throwing up its hands," Mr. Kemp wrote. "Meanwhile, what's going on in our neighborhoods and on our streets?"

Part of what has set Mr. Kemp off from his Administration rivals is his view that the Republican Party can benefit politically from an anti-poverty effort, especially by attracting more minorities to the party. Few people in the Administration have spoken as crudely as Patrick J. Buchanan, the Republican Presidential challenger, who said Mr. Kemp has "gone native." But many others have doubted in private that there is any political profit in his plans.

Pluses, Minuses and Poverty

In their 1990 planning document, White House aides addressed the political calculus of an anti-poverty effort backed fully by the President.

On the plus side, they said it "takes the moral high ground." On the down side, they warned, the effort could give poverty "greater visibility," and bring new pressure to "increase spending and demonstrate concrete success."

Mr. Kemp wrote back in a complaining tone that "poverty already has a high public visibility."

While a year ago Mr. Kemp was coming as close as he could to criticizing a President, arguing that "all of us need to do more," he is now being careful not to pick fights.



Associated Press

The White House is showing renewed interest in the proposals for a conservatives' war on poverty by the Housing Secretary, Jack F. Kemp.

Darman, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, had slowed his efforts, Mr. Kemp replied in a virtual whisper: "Are you crazy? You're trying to get me into an internecline warfare on the night I'm going out with the President to help implement these ideas."

A 'Cynical' Question?

In interviews three times this week, Mr. Kemp was asked to specify what Mr. Bush has accomplished on behalf of urban America. First he said, "I don't want to even answer that," calling the question "cynical."

Next he made a joke, arguing "with tongue planted firmly in cheek," that Mr. Bush had had the good sense to make him the Housing Secretary.

Asked a third time, he lashed out at Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, Mr. Bush's likely Democratic challenger.

Mr. Kemp's ideas themselves are part of what he likes to call "empowerment," a strategy to circumvent Gov-

ket forces to accomplish social ends.

He is most vocal about three policies in particular: those that will give tenants in public housing the chance to buy their units; those that will let parents choose the schools their children attend, public or private; and those that would give tax breaks to business that locate within inner-city "enterprise zones."

Congress has given Mr. Kemp less money than he wants for the first program, and nothing for the others — a situation the White House has been quick to highlight, in arguing that Democrats cling to failed, outdated policies.

While the White House set off a furor this week in criticizing the social policies of the 1960's, few seem to realize that Mr. Kemp's plans in some ways are quite similar.

War on Poverty Recalled

Mr. Kemp's housing proposals include heavy doses of social services like job training and anti-drug counseling. More pointedly, Mr. Kemp's enthusiasms for community organizing bears a striking, if unconscious, resemblance to the War on Poverty.

It is more than mere coincidence that anti-poverty planners in both the 1960's and 1990's used the same term: "empowerment."

While Mr. Kemp has captured the limelight, it remains unclear whether he has gained a permanent upper hand in policymaking.

Mr. Kemp said this week's Cabinet debate was taking familiar turns between those who want to move fast on his proposals and those who counseled caution when the President brought the discussion to "a screeching halt" by backing his agenda to the fullest. Mr. Kemp said that to divulge more might pre-empt the President's speech in Los Angeles.

But speaking to a group of foreign journalists Tuesday, Mr. Kemp himself said the "jury is out" on the long-term prospects of his plans, which are outlined in this year's budget.

He described himself as a strong supporter of President Bush, "very much a believer in him and his leadership." But he added, "If he were to turn his back on his own budget, I guess I'd have no reason to stay."

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The New York Times

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1992

Gorbachev's Talk: Building on the Past

FULTON, Mo., May 6 (Reuters) — Following are excerpts from Mikhail S. Gorbachev's speech today at Westminster College, as translated by Cable News Network:

More than 46 years ago, Winston Churchill spoke in Fulton, and in my country this speech was singled out as the formal declaration of the cold war. This was, indeed, the first time the words Iron Curtain were pronounced, and the whole Western world was challenged to close ranks against the threat of tyranny in the form of the Soviet Union and Communist expansion.

Everything else in this speech, including Churchill's analysis of the post-war situation in the world, his thoughts about the possibility of preventing a third world war, the prospects for progress and methods of

established the United Nations, was faced with the unique opportunity to change the course of world development, fundamentally altering the role in it of force and of war.

The U.S.S.R. and the U.S. missed that chance, the chance to establish their relationship on a new basis of principle, and thereby to initiate a world order different from that which existed before the war. I think it is clear that I'm not suggesting that they should have established a sort of condominium over the rest of the world. The opportunity was on a different plane altogether.

What Might Have Been

If the United States and the Soviet Union had been capable of comprehending their responsibility and sensibly correlating their national interests and strivings with the rights and interests of other states and peoples, the planet today would be a much more suitable and favorable place for human life.

It would be a supreme tragedy if the world, having overcome the 1946 model, were to find itself once again in a 1914 model. A major international effort will be needed to render irreversible the shift in favor of a democratic world, one which is democratic for the whole of humanity, not just for half of it.

I'm in full agreement with Secretary of State Baker's formulation. The existing dangers are largely a function of the watershed character of the times we live in. It is quite clear that the enhanced integration and interdependence of the world at the same time creates new tensions, both domestically and internationally, unleashing processes which earlier were hidden from view.

A Warning About Nationalism

The very fact that the two world blocs are no longer in confrontation and that the collapse of totalitarian regimes has released centrifugal forces which had been temporarily frozen — territorial and intergovernmental contradictions and claims — has encouraged an exaggerated nationalism, and this has already led to much bloodshed.

The ending of the global confrontation of the nuclear superpowers and of the ideological opposition between the two world systems has rendered even more visible today's major contradictions between the rich and the poor countries, between the North and the South.

What is needed are principles and mechanisms for converting possibility into reality. ... I will limit myself to designating the lines of activity and the competence of such mechanisms.

Nuclear and chemical weapons: Rigid controls must be instituted to

prevent their dissemination, including measures of compulsion in cases of violation. ... The export of conventional weapons: Governmental exports of such weapons should be ended by the year 2000 and in regions of armed conflict it should be curtailed at once.

Human rights: The European process has officially recognized the universality of this common value, that is, the acceptability of international interference wherever human rights are violated. ... However, I believe that the new world order will not be fully realized unless the United Nations and its Security Council create structures, taking into consideration existing United Nations and regional structures which are authorized to impose sanctions and make use of other measures of compulsion, especially when rights of minority groups are being particularly violated.

Thus we live today in a watershed era. One epoch has ended and a second is commencing. No one yet knows how concrete it will be — no one. Having long been orthodox Marxists, we were sure that we knew. But life once again has refuted those who claim to be know-it-alls and messiahs.

"The ending of the global confrontation of the nuclear superpowers and of the ideological opposition between the two world systems has rendered even more visible today's major contradictions between the rich and the poor countries, between the North and the South."

At Site of 'Iron Curtain' Speech, Gorbachev Buries the Cold War

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

FULTON, Mo., May 6 — History came full circle today as Mikhail S. Gorbachev added a postscript of global reconciliation to the "Iron Curtain" speech by Winston Churchill here 46 years ago, but pointedly contended that the United States was the "initiator" of the nuclear arms race.

Speaking at Westminster College, the scene of Churchill's warning in 1946 about Soviet imperialism, the former Soviet leader conceded the Kremlin's "major error" in equating the defeat of fascism in World War II with the inevitable triumph of Communism.

But he argued that the United States and other Western nations erred grievously in failing to realize that Stalin and the Soviet people were too exhausted from the war ever to indulge in fresh military aggression against the West.

"By including the 'nuclear component' in world politics, and on this basis unleashing a monstrous arms race — and here the initiator was the United States, the West — 'defense sufficiency was exceeded,' as the lawyers say," Mr. Gorbachev declared. "This was a fateful error." [Excerpts, page A14.] Speaking as the last President of the

now defunct Soviet Union and the Kremlin leader who led the world back from nuclear confrontation, Mr. Gorbachev spent much of his speech looking ahead to a better world strengthened through his prescriptions for a stronger United Nations.

But he also presented a blunt critique of some cherished American underpinnings of the cold war and warned against "the intellectual, and consequently political error, of interpreting victory in the cold war narrowly as a victory for oneself."

Rather than a lopsided victory, Mr. Gorbachev described the end of the cold war as "a shattering of the vicious circle into which we had driven ourselves."

"This was altogether a victory for common sense, reason, democracy,

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A Warning on Russian Aid

Members of Congress told the Administration that proposed aid to Russia and other former Soviet republics was in jeopardy. Page A14.

reconstructing the post-war world, remained unknown to the Soviet people.

Today, in paying tribute to this eminent statesman, we can evaluate more quietly and objectively both the merits of his speech and the limitations of the analysis. ...

Paradoxical Parallels

Since that time, the world in which we live has undergone tremendous changes. Even so, however, however paradoxical it may sound, there is a certain similarity between the situation then and today. Then, the pre-war structure of international relations had virtually collapsed, and new pattern of forces had emerged, along with a new set of interests and claims. Different trends in world development could be discerned, but their prospects were not clearly outlined. New possibilities for progress had appeared. Answers had to be found to the challenges posed by new subjects of international law. ...

Churchill's greatness is seen in the fact that he was the first among prominent political figures to understand this. Indeed, the world community, which had at this time already

At Site of 'Iron Curtain' Speech, Gorbachev Buries the Cold War

Continued From Page A1

and common human values," he said.

Examining the roots of the cold war, Mr. Gorbachev cited a critical Soviet error in Stalin's inability to grasp post-war politics. But he contended that "the West, and the United States in particular, also committed an error."

"Its conclusion about the probability of open Soviet military aggression was unrealistic and dangerous," he said, differing with the basis of the West's collective defensive strategy of the postwar decades.

"This could never have happened, not only because Stalin, as in 1939-41, was afraid of war, did not want war, and never would have engaged in a major war," he contended. "But primarily because the country was exhausted and destroyed."

Visiting, like Churchill, as a politician finally rebuffed at home but still outspoken in retirement, Mr. Gorbachev spoke to an outdoor gathering and offered a range of proposals for strengthening the United Nations, including the enlargement of the Security Council and the application of stronger sanctions and military force against wayward members.

But the audience, watching him on a sunny day in a simple American heart-

land setting, was clearly more interested in his pronouncements of the end of the cold war. In this, Mr. Gorbachev was reflective and recanted a bit on his own. "Having long been orthodox Marxists, we were sure we knew," he said. "But life once again refuted those who claimed to be know-it-alls and messiahs."

A 'Watershed' Moment

Mr. Gorbachev's speech was titled "The River of Time and the Imperative of Action," an allusion to his sense that a "watershed" moment had arrived, comparable in its way to the 1946 moment and its need for concerted action. He was applauded repeatedly, particularly in hailing the world's retreat from the abyss, urging global efforts to protect the ecology and warning against triumphalist claims of cold war victory.

The Missouri countryside glistened, with a cluster of cold war nuclear missile silos all but forgotten hundreds of miles to the west. Mr. Gorbachev obviously enjoyed the day, offering Churchill's V for victory hand signal to pleading photographers and giving thanks for a lunch of baked ham and potato salad to the administrators of the 140-year-old liberal arts college of 750 undergraduates.

As in earlier speeches, Mr. Gorbachev

warned against the excesses of nationalism reawakened at the end of the cold war, as well as against a "monocentric" view of post-cold-war politics in which one dominant nation, the United States, might prevail over a "multipolar" political world.

He was cheered as he arrived in the sunshine at the speaking platform set before a sculpture by Edwina Sandys, Churchill's granddaughter, celebrating the fall of the Berlin wall. He came as a pensioned politician looking for a foothold in the West on a fund-raising tour for his new Gorbachev Foundation. He spoke gratis and beamed and touched his chest to demonstrate his gratitude as a crowd estimated at 10,000 applauded the college's awarding of an honorary doctor of laws to him.

Stronger U.N. Urged

The mood in Fulton was serene, considerably less ominous than the one conjured by Churchill.

"A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory," Churchill had declared here on March 5, 1946. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."

Mr. Gorbachev stood in the Missouri sunshine to proclaim an end to Churchill's alarm, but also to press for a far more strengthened United Nations

to deal with the complicated post-Soviet world. In particular, he called for creation of a "special body" to use economic and military means to prevent regional conflicts and for a greatly enlarged Security Council, with such nations as India, Japan, Poland, Mexico, Germany, Brazil, Canada, Indonesia and Egypt as members, even without veto power.

Churchill had declared here, "No body knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist International organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies."

Today, Mr. Gorbachev stood at the same lectern as Churchill to symbolize the Soviet Union's peaceful demise and look no less uncertainly into the future, hoping this time that nations "made wise by bitter experience" might cast aside "egoistic considerations in order to arrive at the exalted goal which is man's destiny on earth."

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BUSH LIKELY TO GO TO ECOLOGY TALKS

Dispute in the Administration Is Reported to Be Settled

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2 — Ending one of the more fractious debates within his Administration in recent months, President Bush is expected to announce soon that he will fly to Brazil for a United Nations environmental conference that his conservative advisers call a trap and his economic experts see as a fiscal debacle.

The prospect of that announcement is likely to cheer a worldwide alliance of environmental advocates and political figures involved in environmental issues, who have long feared that Mr. Bush might single-handedly wreck the meeting simply by staying home. Environmentalists have resorted to advertising on national television to press Mr. Bush to attend, and the issue loomed as an important factor in the presidential campaign.

World's Biggest Polluter

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

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

Continued on Page A17, Column 1

Bush Likely to Attend Environmental Parley

Continued From Page A1

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

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

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

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

Administration has tried to push at home.

"My sense is that he will attend," said one Administration official at the center of the debate. "The President has nothing to be ashamed of — we've got a good environmental record — and named, said in interviews this week that Mr. Bush almost certainly will attend the meeting, although his stay may be brief.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It also features a rising young offi-

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

A Question of Leadership

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

Bush Is Told of Threat to Soviet Aid Bill

By BARBARA CROSSETTE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2 — Members of Congress delivered a blunt warning to the Administration today that President Bush's proposed legislation authorizing American participation in a \$24 billion international assistance program for the former Soviet republics was in jeopardy in the House and Senate.

"This legislation is in trouble," Robert L. Kasten, Republican of Wisconsin, told Richard L. Armitage, who is directing American assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States, when he appeared before a joint hearing of two Senate committees.

Mr. Kasten described the Freedom Support Act as "misleading, paper clips and smoke," full of vague definitions that defied Congressional attempts to assess the costs.

Other members of Congress say that the act, scheduled to be debated in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee beginning on May 13, will have to be significantly revised if it is to pass. In all, six Congressional committees have assumed some jurisdiction over the fate of the legislation.

Fate of Ukraine's Missiles

The Congressional warning came on the day that President Bush welcomed Leonid M. Kravchuk, President of Ukraine, to the White House to sign agreements on trade and technical assistance. Mr. Kravchuk also signed a pact that will send 60 Peace Corps volunteers to Ukraine.

Mr. Kravchuk used the occasion to assure President Bush that his country would abide by promises to remove tactical nuclear arms from his country, beginning with short-range weapons, which he said would be transferred to Russia by July 1.

In Moscow today, officials of the Commonwealth of Independent States said that the last of the former Soviet Union's short-range weapons based in Ukraine had already left the territory. Asked about the discrepancy, Mr. Kravchuk insisted that the moving of weapons was still going on.

The Administration agreements with Ukraine signed today are apparently dependent on passage of the omnibus Freedom Support Act, which Mr. Bush made public on April 1. The act covers Washington's part in a variety of financial reform and credit programs planned for Russia and other former republics in cooperation with other leading industrial nations and the International Monetary Fund.

Congress Denied a Role

President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d have appealed to Congress to enact the legislation quickly. Administration officials would like to have the aid package in place before Mr. Bush meets President

problem faced by the United States was how to unite in an election year "to bury forever the cold war." He said that in any endeavor like that, some "creative tension" might be useful.

"But when creative tension crosses a certain line, it becomes dysfunctional," he said.

'Very Dangerous' Statements

After meeting President Bush today, Mr. Kravchuk, a former Communist who took on a nationalist mantle when the Soviet Union collapsed, told reporters that he was concerned that forces in Russia have territorial claims on his country. He said he wanted international security guarantees "in case there is a possible threat."

He accused "outside forces" of meddling and financing separatism in Crimea.

"Let us take the example of the Vice President of Russia, Mr. Rutskoy, who stepped on Crimean soil and made a first statement that Crimea is Russian," Mr. Kravchuk said through an interpreter. "He hugged the barrel of a huge gun and said, 'Can we have Crimea with that type of weapon? He's not a man on the street, but a Vice President of Russia. Such statements are very dangerous.'"

President Bush, bailing Mr. Kravchuk's working trip to Washington as "the first official visit by a freely elected President of Independent Ukraine," said he was pleased to receive the assurances that Ukraine would remove all nuclear weapons from its territory and would sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Mr. Bush said the United States would follow through on its pledge to help Ukraine account for and control nuclear materials on its territory.

Although Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, which with Russia housed the former Soviet nuclear arms stockpiles, have pledged that they will reach agreements with the United States on the disposal of their weapons, the Administration has been concerned about signs of belting, most recently in Kazakhstan.

Breakaway Crimea Reverses

SIMFEROPOL, Ukraine, May 2 (Reuters) — The Crimean parliament appeared today to reverse its conditional declaration of independence by changing the republic's constitution to make the peninsula formed part of Ukraine. On Tuesday the parliament declared the Crimea a sovereign state with independence to be confirmed by referendum.

The head of a group pressing for independence said the vote today was a concession to the Mr. Kravchuk, who warned last month that a declaration of independence could lead to ethnic strife over the predominantly Russian area.

Congress worries about money and being left out.

Boris N. Yeltsin in mid-June. Mr. Armitage, pressed on the costs the legislation could incur at a time when there was pressure to improve the domestic economy, repeatedly told the Senators from the Appropriations Subcommittee on foreign operations and the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry that he was not asking for new funds. Senators drew attention to unspecified costs alluded to in the act like "sums as may be necessary" for administrative costs, as the documents puts it at one point.

Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, told Mr. Armitage that while there was general agreement on the basic goals of the Freedom Support Act, there was "considerable confusion about the money."

Mr. Leahy said the bill did not give Congress much of a role in appropriating or shifting funds and did not allow

the issues of human rights, nuclear nonproliferation, terrorism or narcotics trafficking to be introduced by legislators in considering aid programs for one or more of the former republics.

Japan's Aid Role

As the bill stood now, he said, "Congress has been written out of the act" — a complaint also voiced by other Senators who say that legislators were not consulted in the drafting of what they considered to be a momentous piece of legislation.

Senator Richard G. Lugar, Republican of Indiana, suggested that the Freedom Support Act had been drafted in haste by an Administration undersecretary until the last moment whether to proceed with the aid package as announced on April 1. Now the White House wants the endorsement of Congress at a time when there is likely to be difficulty getting bipartisan support, Mr. Lugar said.

Mr. Armitage was also challenged over whether other nations were playing a large enough role in aiding the Commonwealth of Independent States, in particular Japan, which several Senators accused of being reluctant to invest in democracy in the region. He replied that Tokyo appeared to be using the promise of more assistance as part of a carrot-and-stick approach to drawing the Russians into a settlement of the dispute over islands claimed by both nations.

Mr. Armitage acknowledged that the

Police Ignored Basic Riot-Control Policy

BY JANE FRITSCH
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 6 — Emerging evidence from the first crucial hours after the acquittals of four police officers in the beating of Rodney G. King provides a strong indication that top police officials did little to plan for the possibility of violence and did not follow standard procedures to contain rioting once it began.

An examination of television news tapes and police radio transmissions, as well as interviews with city officials, shows that the police never put into effect their standard riot-control strategy — to pull officers back momentarily at the start of serious violence, then move back in quickly with a huge show of force.

Police response, particularly in the early hours after the verdict was announced on April 29, is the subject of an investigation by the city's Police Commission, a five-member panel that oversees the Police Department. Investigators will be examining these issues:

• The police depended on their standard plans for handling riots and other emergency situations and did not tailor any preparations for violence that might result from the verdict.

• The police retreated as the violence began, failed to cordon off the area around one of the first trouble spots, and did not return to that area or arrive at other violent hot spots around the city for hours.

• Police 911 dispatchers attempted to send squad cars to the scenes of the first violent outbreaks, but were repeatedly ignored or overruled.

Notice on the Verdict

The judge presiding over the trial of the officers charged with beating Mr. King gave the defendants and their lawyers two-hours notice before the jury announced its verdict. The only particular instructions officers in the 77th Precinct received that day came that morning, when they were reminded to carry riot helmets and batons that day, as a verdict seemed likely.

Some officers from that precinct who were among the first on the scene at an intersection that became very violent said in interviews today that the evening was confusing and frustrating. After the afternoon turned violent, "We had to put together contingency plans on the spur of the moment," said Officer Kevin Robinson.

Police Chief Daryl F. Gates has been asked to provide the Police Commission with a detailed, minute-by-minute account of his department's action's in the hours and days after the verdict. Several top city officials said in interviews that Chief Gates had assured them in the weeks before the verdict that his department had done adequate preparation for possible violence.

Assurance From Chief

"We were assured by Chief Gates that he had adequate resources," said Ann Reiss Lane, a member of the Police Commission. "He said not to worry. 'We can handle it.'"

"I assumed that the plan wasn't just to get together and decide what to do next," she said. "In retrospect, I don't believe there was a plan."

Commander Robert Gil, the police department spokesman, said today that the department has standard plans for handling riots and other emergency situations, but that no special plan was drawn up in anticipation

Using the verdict and the ensuing violence to teach family values and relieve children's fears. The Home Section, Parent & Child, page C12.

of the King verdict. He said department officials are attempting to determine why the standard plan did not work.

Mrs. Lane said Chief Gates had been summoned to a private meeting on Thursday at which she and another member of the commission will attempt to get some questions answered. The commission has had difficulty getting information from the police department, she said.

"We've been doing our own chronology, largely from press reports," she said.

The commission is planning to hire an independent investigator from outside the city to evaluate the department's response to the riot. A source said the commission was attempting to hire William Webster, the former head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and former Director of Central Intelligence, or Hubert Williams, the president of the Police Foundation, a Washington-based research organization.

Mr. Webster was out of the country today and could not be reached for comment, his secretary said. Mr. Williams did not return telephone calls.

The chaotic state of the police response to growing violence in the hours

More questions about what action was taken — and when.

after the verdict is reflected in eyewitness accounts and police radio transmissions recorded by television news crews and amateur video cameramen at the scene of the early rioting.

About 5 P.M., two hours after the verdict was announced, the police responded to a report that a crowd was gathering near Normandie and Florence Avenues in South-Central Los Angeles. Police radioed for help and more than a dozen additional squad cars responded. Officers grappled with a man they were trying to arrest as some in the crowd tried to pull the man away from police.

Twelve to 15 officers then formed a line, shoulder to shoulder, in an attempt to separate the arresting officers from the crowd. As the suspect was placed in a squad car, people in the crowd shouted threats at the police.

An officer behind the police line tapped each officer on the shoulder and whispered a few words to each. Suddenly, the line broke and the officers drove away, as the crowd shouted taunts and expletives.

Under the standard police plan, the officers would regroup in a staging area and with reinforcements return to the area and establish control. But it was hours before groups of officers returned to the intersection. The delay will be one of the focuses of the inquiries.

With the police gone, the crowd turned on a New York Times photographer, who had been behind the police

line. Some in the crowd shouted expletives at the photographer and attempted to prevent him from getting to his car. The photographer was punched in the abdomen and hit in the face with a two-by-four. His camera equipment and most of his film was stolen.

An unidentified man in the crowd helped the photographer back to his car and the photographer was able to escape. A few blocks away, he met up with police, who escorted him to the 77th Street police station.

As violence grew at the intersection, police waited at station houses and staging areas.

Officers at the 77th division said there was no discussion of any contingency planning before the verdict, but that they had been reminded that morning that there might be a verdict that day and that they should carry their riot helmets and batons with them.

Officer Robinson was among a contingent of about 30 officers who arrived at the corner of Florence and Normandie not long after the verdict was announced. A crowd of 100 people had gathered, he said, and some of them were throwing rocks and bottles. Officer Robinson said the police identified the troublemakers in the crowd and began to arrest them.

But he said the crowd became even angrier, and that some people began tugging on the people being arrested to keep them from being loaded into squad cars and driven away by the police.

A rock hit Officer Robinson on the knee, he said, and he heard someone in the crowd say that it would soon be "Uzi time," an apparent reference to the weapon. At that point, the police decided to leave the area.

"For officer safety, it was a good idea that they pulled us out right then," said Officer Robinson, who is black. "The ratio of 100 to 30 was unusual and the threats of Uzis were real, a big concern to everyone."

Upon returning to the division headquarters, the officers were ordered to the command headquarters at 54th Street and Van Ness Avenue, where hundreds of officers had been ordered to gather and regroup.

"Everybody was anxious," said another officer, Steve Beans. "They wanted to get out and do something."

Officers Beans and Robinson said the next two hours were painful for them as they heard reports coming over the radio of the rioting and the fires, while they waited for their orders at the command center.

"A lot of people don't understand police procedure," Officer Robinson said. "We weren't running from the problem, we were retreating and regrouping, so it wouldn't become more serious — a shooting problem."

Asked about the scene at the command headquarters, Officer Robinson said: "I don't think it was well organized."

Officer Bean, who is white, said there may have been too many people at the command headquarters trying to make decisions at the same time. He said two hours was a reasonable amount of time to organize and deploy the 1,000 officers who had assembled there from around the city. But he said the police were obviously not sufficiently well prepared.

"You have to prepare for the worst, no matter what," he said. "That didn't happen."

BUSH SAYS LARGESSE WON'T HELP CITIES

Urges End to Name-Calling — Says 'Great Society' Era Can Be Surpassed

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

WASHINGTON, May 6 — President Bush, whose Administration on Monday blamed failed Democratic social welfare policies of the 1960's for the Los Angeles riots, said today as he left for California that this was no time for name-calling.

But he also contended that the nation could "do better" than Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs in combating urban ills, and he said that "it is far more important to give people a piece of the action than simply to have the Federal Government dump largesse on them."

Government spending "has not solved many of the fundamental problems that plague our cities," the President declared this afternoon. "We need an honest, open national discussion about family, about values, about public policy and about race."

In North Carolina, where he won one of three primary victories on Tuesday, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the almost certain Democratic Presidential nominee, said he approved of Mr. Bush's trip to Los Angeles because people in the riot area "need a President." But later, campaigning in Beckley, W. Va., Mr. Clinton returned the President's fire.

'A Do-Nothing Approach'

"We can do better than the Great Society, but now we're doing nothing, so we're doing worse than the Great Society," he said. "We need things that will let people at the local level shape their future in everything from houses to jobs to safe streets. But we can't do better with a do-nothing approach."

Other Democrats defended the anti-poverty campaigns of a quarter-century ago with greater vehemence.

Joseph A. Califano Jr., a key domestic policy adviser in the Johnson White House, said poverty had declined under the Democrats, then risen again under the Republicans.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York said the contention by Attorney General William P. Barr that the breakdown of family structure had been caused by the Great Society was "one of the most depraved statements I have ever heard from an American official." The statement, he said on the Senate floor, "is an untruth, a lie."

Troops to Leave Soon

Mr. Bush said about half the 1,000 Federal law-enforcement specialists who were sent to Los Angeles last week had been withdrawn, and predicted that troops still on duty there "won't be much longer." He indicated that he would make further decisions after talks tonight with local officials at Los Angeles International Airport.

He has also planned a tour of the burnt-out portions of South-Central Los Angeles and a meeting with Gov. Pete Wilson of California before returning to Washington on Friday evening.

Neither the President nor Mr. Clinton has looked terribly sure-footed in their early reactions to the acquittal of four white Los Angeles police officers charged with beating a black motorist, Rodney G. King, and the widespread arson and looting that followed. Each has seemed to be groping for solid footing in uncertain political terrain.

Marlin Fitzwater, the President's press secretary, began open political combat on the issues of racial tensions and urban breakdown on Monday when he said the riots were the result of Democratic policies. Senior Republican strategists, including officials of the President's campaign committee, laughed at him; one Republican Senator said that "next Marlin will blame the savings-and-loan crisis on Woodrow Wilson."

On Tuesday, Mr. Fitzwater pulled back from his remarks, but they suggested, and Mr. Bush in effect confirmed today, that the Republicans think they have found the formula they need to escape blame for the riots.

New Ideas to Be Sought

At an impromptu news conference this morning the President repeatedly denied that he was assigning blame for the nation's persistent racial polarization. At the same time, he conceded that he "cannot certify to the American people that we have tried the new ideas that might make urban America better, might give better opportunity for everybody." He has reportedly asked his domestic policy adviser, Roger Porter, to canvass Federal agencies for new proposals.

The President has never said which programs he considered to be failures, but he has emphasized in his own Administration at least one of the Johnson-era programs, Head Start, which seeks to compensate for poverty by using special educational techniques with young children.

In remarks to the American Newspaper Publishers Association convention in New York, to which he spoke by a satellite television hookup, Mr. Bush said: "I think we should certainly reconsider the status quo in terms of Federal aid to cities. 'I think we would all agree that it hasn't worked in the last 10 years, hasn't worked in the last 30. We've got to do what we can.'"

Mr. Bush spoke of "the desire that all Americans share, to see that what happened in Los Angeles never happens again." He added, "We all want to solve the problems. This is no time to play the blame game; it is time for honest talk."

At another point he said, "Let's start turn over a new leaf and let's see what



Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, who is to return to Little Rock today to consider the clemency request for Steven Douglas Hill, 25, the youngest inmate on

Arkansas's death row. Mr. Clinton greeted a supporter yesterday while campaigning in Beckley, W. Va. At left was Senator John D. Rockefeller 4th.

Death Penalty

Clinton Weighs Clemency For Killer Scheduled to Die

By RONALD SMOTHERS
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, MAY 6 — Lawyers for the youngest inmate on Arkansas's death row, Steven Douglas Hill, today pressed a Federal court appeal as well as a clemency request to Gov. Bill Clinton in an effort to stop Mr. Hill's scheduled execution on Thursday.

For the Arkansas Governor, who supports the death penalty, it is the second request for clemency by a condemned man that he has had to consider in the middle of his campaign for the Democratic nomination for President. Mr. Clinton planned to spend Thursday in Little Rock to consider the request.

On Tuesday, a three-judge panel of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth District in St. Louis denied Mr. Hill's appeal of a lower-court ruling that had turned down his motion for a stay of execution. The defendant's lawyers had asked the court to consider what they said was new evidence in the case as well as their contention that Mr. Hill's age — he was 18 years old at the time of the murder — had not been adequately considered in his sentencing.

Accomplice's Confession

In addition to seeking clemency from the Governor, the lawyers today asked the full Eighth Circuit court to hear the appeal.

Mr. Hill was convicted of shooting an Arkansas state police investigator in 1984 during a crime spree after he and another man escaped from a state prison. While Mr. Hill, who is now 25 years old, has never recanted his confession to the crime, his accomplice, Michael A. Cox, has been saying for the last

seven years that it was he, not Mr. Hill, who fired the shots that killed the policeman, Robert Klein. This is the new evidence that Mr. Hill's lawyers point to in their request.

Mr. Cox originally made the confession in a letter in 1985, after both men had been tried. In asserting that he did the shooting, Mr. Cox has said that he and Mr. Hill had agreed that the younger man should take the blame because they thought that a jury would be less likely to give the death penalty to an 18-year-old.

Since the state passed its current death penalty law 16 years ago, only three people have been put to death.

In January Mr. Clinton denied a clemency request on behalf of Rickey Ray Rector, 40, convicted of shooting a policeman to death in Conway, Ark., in 1981. Mr. Rector then failed in an attempt to take his own life, suffering severe brain damage. Mr. Rector, who was black, was executed by lethal injection on Jan. 24.

Before that Mr. Clinton denied the clemency request of John Swindler, who was white and who was executed in 1990 for the killing of a policeman in 1976.

Lawyers for Mr. Hill, who is white, said that they were sure that the Governor would feel pressure from some quarters not to grant clemency to a white inmate when he had not done so for Mr. Rector.

"I've known the Governor for some time and realistically we know that politics will bring pressure on him," said Mark Cambiano, Mr. Hill's lawyer. "But he is a fair person and we



Steven Douglas Hill, scheduled to be executed today, was convicted of shooting an Arkansas state police investigator in 1984.

know he usually votes his conscience."

The Governor is scheduled to spend the day in Little Rock Thursday, in part to consider the clemency request. His staff members were conducting a number of interviews in connection with the clemency request.

No Clemency Recommended

A third prisoner executed while Mr. Clinton has been Governor made no request for clemency. In each case in which the condemned men have sought clemency the Arkansas Board of Pardon and Community Rehabilitation, which holds hearings on the requests, recommended to the Governor that clemency be denied.

Last week the board, after three days of hearings, opposed clemency for Mr. Hill, finding that the confession by Mr. Cox was not credible. A Federal district judge, reaching a similar conclusion about the confession, had upheld Mr. Hill's conviction, and this was essentially the finding the appeals court panel upheld Tuesday.

Mr. Hill and Mr. Cox, who was 22 at the time, escaped from a Wrightsville Prison work detail in October 1984 and invaded the home of a family in Woodson, Ark., tied up the members and held them captive before stealing guns and a pickup truck and fleeing. They raided another nearby home and when police arrived and surrounded them, Officer Klein was killed by a blast from a shotgun.

Mr. Hill confessed to killing the officer shortly after his arrest. Mr. Cox was sentenced to a total of 86 years in prison on kidnapping and assault charges.

"It doesn't do anyone any good to have stories written about opposition research or negative campaigning." TORIE CLARK

Behind the Scenes

Republican Sleuths on Clinton's Trail

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — In a Presidential year that political veterans predict may be the nastiest in modern times, a corps of would-be private eyes is squirreled away at the Bush campaign headquarters, pursuing tips, poring over documents and cataloging secrets yet to be revealed.

For those who thought all the derogatory tales about Gov. Bill Clinton had already been dredged up, these sober-minded young Republicans who make their home on the 10th floor of a drab office building four blocks from the White House are digging deeper for more.

Officially, their job is dreadfully called "opposition research" — or "oppo" for short. But their mission is hardly genteel: trolling for juicy tidbits, any hint of scandal that could sink the Arkansas Governor's prospects. To be sure, they are also preparing unflattering dossiers on Ross Perot, the Texas businessman who may run as an independent.

And of course, on the other side of town at the Democratic Party headquarters and in Little Rock, Ark., at the Clinton command center, left-leaning Columboes are hunting for mud to fling at George Bush. But both sides agree that it is the Republicans who have mastered the most critical rule of political combat: know thine enemy.

So the tenor of the 1992 general election, not to say the outcome, may lie largely in the hands — and in the computer databanks — of the Republican muckrakers. After all, these are the folks who unearthed Willie Horton in 1988.

Doonesbury and Disguise

David Tell runs the Bush campaign's research operation. With his mild-mannered jocularity and penchant for button-down shirts, he hardly resembles the fictional Tad Wanamaker of a recent Doonesbury series, who was portrayed as the intense, single-minded chief of the "elite unit of research nerds whose mission is to ferret out negative information on Bill Clinton."

Digging for dirt is a sensitive business, and Mr. Tell and his colleagues were loath to talk about their mission, budget or size of their staff (though it is said to number in the dozens). A tour of the offices? Out of the question.

Refusing to allow Mr. Tell to be photographed, Torie Clark, the Bush campaign spokeswoman, said, "It doesn't do anyone any good to have stories written about opposition research or negative campaigning."

In what he jokes to friends is a disguise that he will shave off after the election, Mr. Tell, who was a Democrat until he switched sides in the mid-1980's, is the Bush campaign's only senior staff member who sports a beard. He did allow this much about his appearance: "I don't have blood dripping off my fangs, that's for sure." (But he chose not to deny that he had fangs.)

Mr. Tell, a speechwriter for Mr. Bush in the 1988 campaign who was a top aide to William J. Bennett when he was Secretary of Education and then the Federal drug policy director, said his work was "much less glamorous than a lot of people think and not at all sinister." But in keeping with the mystique surrounding his office, the 32-year-old added, "I'm not prepared to discuss that work at all."

No More Patsies

Eager to project an image of full-disclosure, Dan Carol, the 34-year-old chief sleuth at the Democratic National Committee, shaved his beard last week. He also agreed to be photographed.

"I have nothing to hide," Mr. Carol declared.

Mr. Carol said the Democrats, still devastated by Michael S. Dukakis's defeat four years ago, were willing to get down and dirty this time. "Our attitude here is if they want to get into the politics of diversion and character assassination," he said, "we're not going to be patsies."



Joe R. Lopez/The New York Times

"Our attitude here is if they want to get into the politics of diversion and character assassination, we're not going to be patsies," said Dan Carol, the chief researcher at the Democratic National Committee. The Bush campaign did not permit its research chief to be photographed.

Still, there is dirt and there is dirt. President Bush, fearful that his campaign would be associated with tawdry allegations about Mr. Clinton, ordered his staff to "stay out of the sleaze business."

"The term 'opposition research' always brings into mind people with trench coats looking for seedy kinds of things," said B. J. Cooper, communications director for the Republican National Committee, which has a staff that supplements the Bush campaign's research. "We don't do any of that."

What operatives deride as "info-trash" — information about sex and drugs — is "totally off the table," Mr. Cooper said.

Checking the Record

While they spent much of last year building fat files on everyone from Gov. Mario M. Cuomo to Senator Tom Harkin to Patrick J. Buchanan, the

Bush's aides have mastered a rule of political combat: Know thy enemy.

Bush operatives are now concentrating on Mr. Clinton. They are looking at everything from his record on the environment to the people he appointed to state offices to little noticed speeches he gave before he was Governor.

For example, Republican researchers said that during the New York primary Edmund G. Brown Jr. missed a perfect opportunity to hit back after Mr. Clinton attacked his flat tax proposal. The Republican diggers found that Mr. Clinton had toyed with a similar idea in 1988.

This year the Republican National Committee is boasting about its new secret weapon: optical disk technology. The party has installed an expensive, sophisticated computer that can digest and retrieve virtually any document as quickly and easily as a camera snaps a photograph.

Is It Dyed?

The computer is crammed with data, from Mr. Clinton's school yearbooks to every article about him in Arkansas newspapers to tens of thousands of pages of Arkansas state documents. There is also a videotape file that includes tapes of virtually every televi-

sion appearance Mr. Clinton has made.

The researchers are not above monitoring often trivial questions that may never make it into the campaign: Did Mr. Clinton dye his hair? Or is it just a different haircut? What is his mother really like? What revelations are in the high school yearbook of Mr. Clinton's half-brother?

Those who find themselves under the Republican microscope argue that their opponents know no bounds when it comes to scandal. Mr. Clinton has accused the "Republican attack machine" of leaking tales about his personal life and complains further about "the politics of personal destruction." And Mr. Perot charges the Republicans with subjecting him to "day after day after day of the supercilious dirty tricks."

But Republican officials said it would be politically foolish for the party to dispatch aides to lurk around for nasty rumors about Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perot.

"It would be deadly," one official said. "It would hurt us more than it would hurt them. So we don't knock on hotel room doors."

They say they don't rifle through garbage cans either. In fact, for most of the time, the job of Republican spy-master is probably about as dull as processing tax returns. It is rare that researchers shriek "Eureka!" and find a smoking gun.

But James P. Pinkerton, a counselor to the Bush campaign who headed research for Bush in 1988, said he came close when he spotted in a debate transcript during the primaries the mention of Mr. Dukakis's furlough of Willie Horton.

"The furlough issue was that rare thing in politics, medicine or vampirism," he said, "a genuine silver bullet that went right to the heart of the target."

Rules of the Game

In stalking their prey, the Republican researchers follow unwritten rules: Don't get caught putting out inaccurate information. Don't be, as one official put it, "a raving partisan maniac willing to say anything about an opponent." Stay clear of sex and drugs. Do not lie about your identity, but don't go out of your way to identify yourself as a Republican spy. Don't put out information that could backfire and be used against Mr. Bush.

So should Bill Clinton live in fear of the muck the Republicans may have turned up? No one is talking.

"It's in the eye of the beholder," one Republican official said.

The Delegate Tally

Current breakdown of Presidential preference of delegates to the national political conventions as compiled by The New York Times.

DEMOCRATS		REPUBLICANS	
BROWN	349	BUCHANAN	68
CLINTON	1,665	BUSH	1,211
TSONGAS	528	UNCOMMITTED	8
UNCOMMITTED	627		
Total delegates	4,288	Total delegates	2,209
Needed to nominate	2,145	Needed to nominate	1,105

Preferences are based on state laws, party rules and projections from early results in caucus states. The Democratic tally includes preference of superdelegates who are members of Congress, Democratic National Committee members, governors and former elected officials.

Clinton Delegate Tally Reaches 77%

Gov. Bill Clinton moved closer to wrapping up the Democratic Presidential nomination with decisive victories on Tuesday in primaries in Indiana, North Carolina and Washington, D.C.

By picking up 141 delegates in the three contests, Mr. Clinton's total climbed to 1,665, or 77 percent of the number needed for nomination. Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who trailed Mr. Clinton badly in all three races, picked up 20 delegates. He finished a distant second in Indiana and fourth in North Carolina and Washington, behind former Sen. Paul E. Tsongas, who suspended his campaign

more than six weeks ago, and "uncommitted."

The results were more evidence that Mr. Brown's candidacy was continuing a slide toward being marginal. Mr. Tsongas picked up a delegate in Indiana. In North Carolina, 16 delegates remained uncommitted.

President Bush, who clinched the nomination over the weekend, continued to run strongly against Patrick J. Buchanan, the commentator, winning about 80 percent of the vote in Washington and Indiana and more than 70 percent in North Carolina, where Mr. Buchanan had campaigned heavily.

Primaries

Blacks Win in North Carolina's New Districts

By The Associated Press

North Carolina will hold a June 2 runoff to pick candidates in two new black-majority districts, but voters already guaranteed that the state will have its first black representative in Congress in 90 years.

Voters in one of the two new districts, created to comply with the Federal Voting Rights Act, nominated a black Democrat on Tuesday and sent two black Republicans into the runoff. The other runoff pits two Democrats, one white, one black.

The Congressional races were among the highlights of primary night voting in North Carolina and Indiana. Voters also chose candidates for governor in both states, and for the United States Senate in North Carolina.

Anti-Abortion Candidate

In Indiana, Republicans nominated an anti-abortion Congressional candidate who used images of aborted fetuses in his campaign commercials.

The Republican candidate, Michael Bailey, won the 9th District nomination in an upset over a former state auditor, Charles Loos. Mr. Bailey will challenge Representative Lee H. Hamilton, a Democrat who has served 14 House terms, in the fall.

Also in Indiana, Attorney General Linley E. Pearson won the Republican gubernatorial nomination and will challenge Gov. Evan Bayh, a Democrat, in the fall.

The North Carolina governor's race got off to a fast start after Republican voters nominated Lieut. Gov. Jim Gardner and Democrats picked former Gov. James Hunt as their gubernatorial candidates.

Mr. Gardner immediately began attacking Mr. Hunt's record and hinted that this might be a rough campaign. Asked if he planned a negative campaign like Senator Jesse Helms' campaign against Mr. Hunt in 1984, Mr. Gardner said he had been reviewing television commercials from that race. "I don't really think they were dirty campaigning," he said.

Mr. Hunt has said he intends to run a

positive campaign but will defend his record if attacked.

North Carolina Republicans also picked a former Democrat, Lauch Faircloth, in the Senate campaign, sending him into a fall showdown with his old friend, Senator Terry Sanford, a Democrat.

The newly refigured 1st and 12th Districts were created by the state's General Assembly to comply with the Voting Rights Act. Both have a slim majority of black voters.

Barbara Gore Washington led a field of five in the Republican 12th District race but had only 33 percent of the vote. She faces a runoff with George Jones, who had 21 percent. Both are black.

The winner faces Mel Watt, winner of the 12th District Democratic nomination, who also is black.

In the 1st District, Walter B. Jones Jr., who is white, had 38 percent of the vote, followed by Eva Clayton, who is black, with 31 percent. Mr. Jones is attempting to succeed his father, longtime Representative Walter B. Jones Sr. The runoff winner will face Ted Tyler, a white Republican, in November.

Perot Ahead of Bush and Clinton in 2 Polls

By The Associated Press

Texas billionaire Ross Perot ran slightly ahead of President Bush and well ahead of Bill Clinton in new statewide polls published Wednesday in California and Colorado.

The polls gave yet another boost to the independent Presidential campaign that Mr. Perot says he will mount if supporters get him on ballots across the country.

If the general election were held today, Mr. Perot would win 35 percent of Colorado votes, as against Mr. Bush's 30 percent and Mr. Clinton's 16 percent, according to a poll of 503 registered voters taken for The Denver Post and KCNC-TV on April 24-May 3. If Mr. Perot were not on the ballot, Mr. Bush

would beat Mr. Clinton 47 percent to 31 percent.

In a three-way matchup in California, Mr. Perot would take 38 percent, Mr. Bush 32 percent and Mr. Clinton 20 percent. The poll of 808 registered voters was taken by Mason-Dixon Political-Media Research between April 30 and May 4. It was published in The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.

The results have a margin of sampling error of four percentage points.

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Washington at Work

Grim Reaper for Military Budgets

By ERIC SCHMITT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — Sean O'Keefe says his job is sometimes as interesting as "watching paint dry." Perhaps, but there is a huge crowd watching Mr. O'Keefe's every move.

As the Defense Department's comptroller and chief financial officer, Mr. O'Keefe calls himself "the accountant, keeping the beans lined up and the books straight."

"Not exactly sexy stuff," he said in a recent interview in his Pentagon office.

But his modesty belies a political influence that has ballooned with the decline in military spending. Marshaling a staff of 140 accountants and analysts, Mr. O'Keefe's job is to assess military strategy and needs against budget limitations and make the dollars match. The Pentagon's proposed \$281 billion budget for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1 represents about 18 percent of all Federal spending.

As a sort of grim reaper to the armed services, the former Navy accountant has been criticized by generals and admirals whose pet programs he has canceled as a green-eyed shade guy with a sharp pencil and scant vision of future military needs.

Schooled in Louisiana Politics

But the 38-year-old Mr. O'Keefe, a former staff director to a Senate defense subcommittee, possesses a political prowess picked up in a family schooled for three generations in the snake pit of Louisiana politics. And senior Pentagon officials say that has made him one of Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's top tacticians.

He played a big role, for instance, in Mr. Cheney's decisions to cancel the Navy's A-12 attack plane, halt the M1-A1 tank and stop the F-15 fighter.

"There's no question that in a time of dramatic decline like this, the least popular guy around has been the bean counter, but that comes with the territory," Mr. O'Keefe said.

"Human reaction tells you to



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Sean O'Keefe, as the Defense Department's comptroller and chief financial officer, oversees a staff of 140 accountants and analysts.

blame it on this nitwit," Mr. O'Keefe said pointing to himself, "as opposed to rationalizing why this program isn't as essential as it used to be."

Colleagues say Mr. O'Keefe's number-crunching skills tell only half the

story of his influence. As former staff director of the Senate Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on De-

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The Grim Reaper for the Military's Budget Plans

Continued From First Business Page

tense, which oversees military spending, Mr. O'Keefe knows the ins and outs of the Congressional budget process, as well as its personalities.

"It's a disadvantage to us having him there because he knows what we're going to do," said Senator Ted Stevens, Republican of Alaska, who as the former chairman of the subcommittee was Mr. O'Keefe's mentor and remains a close friend.

The open debate on Capitol Hill is whether Mr. O'Keefe has made his biggest mark by revamping the Pentagon's antiquated accounting system or by serving as a loyal henchman in Mr. Cheney's political tug-of-war with the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Lawmakers and their aides say Mr. O'Keefe is clever — and sometimes too clever for his own good, irritating former colleagues with what Congressional aides say is unnecessary gamesmanship.

"He's extremely powerful but he's not always fair," said Rudy de Leon, staff director of the House Armed Services Committee. "He approaches

Is the Pentagon's comptroller just a bit too clever?

the defense budget process like a shrewd poker player approaches the gambling table."

Battle Over the Osprey

Lawmakers point to the V-22 Osprey, an aircraft that lands and takes off like a helicopter but flies like an airplane. Mr. Cheney has tried since 1989 to cancel the \$26 billion program, saying it is worthy but too expensive. Every year since then, Congress has restored money in the budget, arguing that the Osprey fits the military's need for a versatile, reliable transport aircraft in military crises.

The battle has been building to a boiling point since Mr. Cheney notified House Speaker Thomas S. Foley last month that the Osprey needed to be redesigned and would exceed the budget and miss the deadline Congress set for the program. House Democrats grumble that Mr. Cheney assigned Mr. O'Keefe to find a budgetary loophole to block the Osprey, and they are mulling legal action against the Defense Department.

Mr. O'Keefe has also been one of Mr. Cheney's chief spear carriers in the clash with Congress over the military's budget next year. Mr. O'Keefe has criticized a House plan, devised by Representative Les Aspin, the Wisconsin Democrat who heads the Armed Services Committee, to cut an

additional \$5 billion next year from the Administration's proposal without hurting troop readiness. The plan, he said, "just doesn't hold water."

Congress has also bristled at a \$7 billion list of military programs lawmakers financed in previous budgets, that the Pentagon now says are unnecessary and should be rescinded. Many of the proposed trims, which the comptroller's office drafted, include Congressional sacred cows like new transport planes for reservists. The House Appropriations Committee and the full Senate have approved their own rescission lists, which would spare Seawolf submarines that the Administration wants to cancel.

'Strategic Mistake'

Mr. O'Keefe says the Administration's rescissions will spare deeper cuts in future budgets. Some admiring former colleagues say, however, that antagonizing Congress was a political misstep. "It was a strategic mistake on his part," said Dwight Dyer, whom Mr. O'Keefe succeeded as staff director of the appropriations subcommittee.

But Mr. O'Keefe works for a boss who relishes jousting with Congress and loves nothing better than to tweak his former colleagues. Of his relationship with Mr. Cheney, Mr. O'Keefe said: "There's always a healthy give and take. He's interested in hearing different opinions and usually solicits a lot of different views when he makes decisions."

Paul D. Wolfowitz, the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, said of Mr. O'Keefe: "Cheney leans on him very heavily, including on matters of legislative strategy."

Mr. O'Keefe dismisses the notion that he is a policy maker, saying he merely carries out orders. He cites as his major accomplishments consolidating the Pentagon's payroll practices and streamlining the arcane bookkeeping procedures.

Applause From Losers

When pressed, however, he acknowledges that his position grants him carte blanche "to look at a wide variety of issues that's not constrained by any specific portfolio or jurisdiction."

And his ability to charm has not gone unnoticed. Derek Vander Schaaf, the Pentagon's deputy inspector general, recalled attending a ceremony last year to open a new Pentagon accounting office that consolidated similar functions at each of the services, eliminating hundreds of jobs. In the audience applauding, Mr. Vander Schaaf said, were many of the people who were losing their jobs.

"He was smooth enough to bring all those people to their own funeral," Mr. Vander Schaaf said.

Some critics say Mr. O'Keefe has spent too much time on new initiatives and neglected internal housekeeping. The Inspector General's office, the Pentagon's auditor, criticized the comptroller in two audits

A 'bean counter' takes on generals and Congress.

last year: one for failing to conduct prompt reviews of potential accounting abuses in the military services and another for not keeping accurate records on surplus money set aside for military programs.

The comptroller's office, in written responses, disagreed with some of the auditor's findings.

Youngest Comptroller

With his prematurely graying hair and slightly stooped, shambling walk, Mr. O'Keefe would hardly seem at first glance to rank as the Pentagon's youngest comptroller.

A Civil War history buff and son of a Navy submarine engineer, Mr. O'Keefe cut his budgetary teeth beginning in 1978 analyzing troop pay for the White House's Office of Management and Budget and Trident submarine budgets for the Navy. Switching to the Senate appropriations panel in 1981, Mr. O'Keefe, a Republican, was named staff director five years later when he was 30.

"It was a defining moment for him," said Paul Pastorek, a lawyer in New Orleans who is one of Mr. O'Keefe's closest friends. "He had a feeling, an anxiety, 'If I go for staff director at this age, am I going to really be able to do it? Will people give me the respect I think I deserve?'"

After a successful stint as staff director until the Democrats regained control of the Senate in 1987, Mr. O'Keefe was named comptroller by Mr. Cheney on St. Patrick's Day 1989.

Mr. O'Keefe's political lineage flows from the Irish-Catholic wards of New Orleans, where his grandfather was once mayor and a grandfather a city judge. "We had very, very long family dinners on Sunday where Sean developed a fine sense of getting his point across without leaving any visceral animosity," said Patrick O'Keefe, Mr. O'Keefe's older brother.

While president of the student government at Loyola University in New Orleans, Mr. O'Keefe helped set up a student loan fund and supervised a \$50,000 annual budget for campus activities.

Mr. O'Keefe clocks 14-hour days, seven days a week, when he is preparing the military budget in the fall, but colleagues say he is hardly a nordy apparatchik. He and his wife, Laura, live with their three children in northern Virginia. Mr. O'Keefe has loosened up the stuffy comptroller's office by having family picnics for his staff and throwing end-of-the-budget-year parties.

Aides who drop by his office after 5 o'clock say they're likely to find Mr. O'Keefe, the loosened, sitting in a comfortable chair with his leg slung over the arm, offering to discuss over a beer the day's business or a couple of his hobbies, bass fishing and alligator hunting in the Louisiana bayous.

Mr. O'Keefe was recently said to be next in line to be Secretary of the Navy, but he says he is more likely to

Sean Charles O'Keefe

Born Jan. 27, 1958, in Monterey, Calif.

Home: New Orleans.

Education: Wheeler High School (North Stonington, Conn.); B.A., Loyola University (New Orleans); M.B.A., Syracuse University.

Career Highlights: 1978-80, Presidential management intern; 1980-81, budget analyst, Naval Sea Systems Command; 1981-89, professional staff member, staff director, minority counsel, Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense; 1989-present, Defense Department comptroller; 1991-present, Defense Department chief financial officer.

Hobbies: Fishing, racquetball.

go into education whenever he leaves government.

"My fondest ambition is to end up all this stuff at some nifty backwater college, teaching public administration or political science," Mr. O'Keefe said. "That would be kind of neat."

Support Grows for Balanced-Budget Amendment

Continued From Page A1

Universality, that "in all likelihood" both houses of Congress would pass the amendment by the required two-thirds majority.

Two balanced-budget amendments, one preferred by Democrats and the other by Republicans, are scheduled to reach the Senate floor in early June. The House is supposed to consider the issue soon afterward, and there could be months of difficult negotiations should the chambers pass different versions.

Democrats are poised to try to block the Republican-inspired version, which would make it nearly impossible for future Congresses to raise taxes. They argue that tax increases should go along with spending cuts in reducing deficits.

The Democratic leaders say they wish they did not have to deal with such an amendment at all, because they consider it bad government and bad economic policy. But they concede they cannot force their will because rank-and-file lawmakers are under so much election-year pressure to something about the economy.

Even if the amendment does not pass, it can hang like a sword over the legislators' heads throughout an election year and make it difficult for them to talk in any constructive way about the economy and the growing budget deficit. State legislators, too, would be forced to address the issue.

Economists are not of one mind about an amendment. Some say it could help the economy, if it forces lawmakers to spend more judiciously, a move that they say could spur growth and investment by keeps interest rates low.

But other analysts worry that the amendment could hurt the economy by reducing the Government's flexibility to deal with unexpected problems like natural disasters or deep recessions. Some economists are also concerned

Trying to stop Government borrowing by outlawing it.

that slashing spending or cutting taxes suddenly to cut the deficit could precipitate a new recession.

If a balanced-budget amendment passes Congress by the two-thirds margin required by the Constitution, it would then need approval by three-quarters of the state legislatures, a process that proponents say will take about three years. Most supporters say that the states will approve, but the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and other liberal groups have promised to fight the amendment. It is also possible that further resistance could emerge once state legislators realize the amendment's potential impact on Federal spending in their jurisdictions.

Senator Bob Kasten, a Wisconsin Republican who is a sponsor of one of the two versions of an amendment that have been introduced in the Senate, said some state legislators might initially fear that the effect of a balanced-budget requirement would be to reduce Federal aid to their local governments, but that state lawmakers' perception of their political interests would eventually prevail.

"There's an anti-Washington spending feeling out there," Mr. Kasten said. "So I think legislators will jump on this as a political vote."

'Substitute for Political Will'

Critics of a balanced-budget requirement charge that its supporters are merely posturing as budget cutters for this election year while they leave the tough budget choices for a future generation of lawmakers.

"What people are looking for is a

substitute for political will," said Representative Barney Frank, Democrat of Massachusetts.

But Senator Paul Simon, Democrat of Illinois, and Representative Charles W. Stenholm, Democrat of Texas, sponsors of the version of the amendment that has the broadest support, insist that it gives Congress ample flexibility to govern, because in times of declared war the requirement for a balanced budget could be waived by majority vote in both houses.

The Senate version would not require a declaration of war but would permit the lawmakers to waive the balanced-budget requirement by simple majority vote in fiscal years during which "the United States is engaged in military conflict which causes an imminent and serious military threat to national security."

The sponsors also point out that in times of economic slowdown lawmakers could vote to lift the requirement if increased Federal spending was needed. In such cases, a 60 percent majority would be needed.

For each fiscal year, the amendment would require the President to submit a balanced budget to Congress and would prohibit spending in excess of revenues unless 60 percent majorities in both houses voted to approve a deficit. The amendment would go into effect in 1995, or the second year after the states ratified the measure.

Argentine Example Cited

Long a goal of conservative politicians, a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget won 66 votes in the Senate in 1988, one short of the two-thirds needed. In 1990, the House fell seven votes short.

Prospects are better now, Republicans and Democrats say, because, absent the political will to make tough choices, the system is insufficient to keep the deficit on a downward path. They agree that the current deficit would have been higher without the

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings measure of the 1980's or the constraints of White House-Congressional budget agreement of the early years of the Bush Administration. But they note that when the caps on spending set by the agreement expire next year, the deficit is projected to begin growing again.

With a few exceptions, the lawmakers who over the years have been most serious about trying to reduce the deficit either oppose the amendment or support it reluctantly. They believe that the main effect of approving a constitutional amendment would be to allow politicians to avoid the hard choices for the next several years, until the amendment took effect.

In an interview, Mr. Stenholm said Congress needed a constitutional provision mandating a balanced budget to stiffen its resolve.

"We're going to have to make these cuts either in an orderly way" or in the chaotic and the destabilizing fashion Argentina was forced to cut spending in recent years, Mr. Stenholm said. "We're not exempt."

The amendment proposed by Mr. Kasten would not only prohibit spending in excess of receipts unless Congress voted 3 to 2 to permit it. It would also prohibit tax increases unless they were approved by a three-fifths majority of the House and the Senate. Mr. Kasten and other conservatives say the provision is needed so that liberals do not exploit the balanced-budget amendment as a cover to raise taxes.

Democratic Congressional leaders have decided to concentrate on stopping the tax proposal, which some Republicans hope to attach as an amendment to the Simon amendment. The Democrats see it as a future threat to programs like Social Security that they want to protect.

Representative Leon E. Panetta, a California Democrat who is chairman of the House Budget Committee, said the Republican measure "would build in a constitutional block to the very decisions that need to be made" by



Agence France-Press

A constitutional amendment to balance the budget is seen as likely this year. "This is an amendment the President has long sought," Richard G. Darman, budget director, told Congress. Representative Richard A. Gephardt, House majority leader, predicted passage in both houses.

practically preventing Congress from increasing taxes to balance the budget.

Some Democratic Strategies

Passage of the anti-tax provision looks possible in the Senate, but is less likely in the House.

Passage of the anti-tax provision looks possible in the Senate, but is less likely in the House. It is possible that Democratic opposition could then stiffen enough to endanger the entire amendment, although most Democrats now say the politics of the issue runs counter to that possibility.

Should the Republican amendment pass one house but not the other, eventual enactment could be complicated if Democratic leaders appoint conferees to the Senate-House Conference committee that are hostile to the amendment.

Democratic leaders in Congress are considering various strategies. In meetings last week, Mr. Panetta and

Mr. Gephardt considered proposing legislation as a companion to the balanced-budget amendment that would impose severe cuts in military spending and in subsidies to corporations and ranchers, as well as cost-containment provisions to control the growth of Medicare and Medicaid, the Federal health care programs for the elderly and the poor.

They also considered altering the amendment to include one or more enforcement provisions like formulas to cap spending. Congressional officials said Democratic strategy meetings would probably continue in the Senate and the House until the amendment reaches the floor in both chambers sometime next month.

Democratic strategists said they want members to face up to the sacrifices they are asking future lawmakers to make, and, as one aide put it, "expose the hypocrisy a little bit."

PRESSURE BUILDING
FOR AN AMENDMENT
TO BALANCE BUDGET
MOVE TO CONTROL DEFICIT

Widespread Voter Disaffection
Over Handling of Economy
Spurs Drive in Congress

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 6 — Momentum is building in Congress for a constitutional amendment that would require a balanced Federal budget and that could take effect as early as 1995.

Even those who say the idea is nothing more than a cynical effort concede that passage is almost inevitable this year, as lawmakers who have failed to control spending rush to give the appearance of fiscal responsibility in an election year.

The balanced-budget movement, fueled by an unlikely coalition of conservatives and liberals who say changing the Constitution is the only way to control the runaway deficit, was the dream of the Reagan Administration and has President Bush's strong support.

Attacking a 'Bias'

"This is an amendment the President has long sought," Richard G. Darman, President Bush's budget director, told Congress today.

"Years ago, I would never have imagined that we would need, or that I would end up supporting, a balanced budget constitutional amendment," Mr. Darman said in his testimony before the House budget committee. "But our political system has demonstrated a consistent, a systemic bias toward short-term political convenience."

But Robert D. Reischauer, Congress's chief economist, cautioned that an amendment could not do the job alone.

"In this election year, it would be a cruel hoax to suggest to the American public that one more procedural promise in the form of a constitutional amendment is going to get the job done," Mr. Reischauer told the committee. "The deficit cannot be brought down without making painful decisions."

Passage Seen as Likely

Lawmakers on both sides of the issue say support for an amendment has been propelled by widespread voter disaffection over Washington's handling of the economy and the deficit. They are concerned that they will fall victim to their constituents' anti-incumbent mood.

Voters are also hearing analysts warn about foreigners gaining undue influence over the American economy when they buy the bonds used to finance the growing national debt. And increasingly the lawmakers say they perceive the Federal deficit, which is nearing \$400 billion, as a long-term problem for the country's economic growth.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader, said Monday in a speech at Harvard

Continued on Page B12, Column 3