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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90684
Folder ID Number: 90684-009

Folder Title:
Tuesday, June 2, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/02/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

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Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Tuesday, June 2, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML15978

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Date Closed: 10/7/2024

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee

Processed by:

Processed by:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Carol Mann
6 Cape Chestnut
The Woodlands, Texas 77381



THE PRESIDENT

6-2-92

Dear Carol -

Thanks so much for
The 19th Hole - great anecdotes
about a great game. I
was pleased to get the 'great
mention' - twice no less.

I love the game - used
to be fair (11); now
I'm horrible. It's the
short game - close in to
the green - that kills me.
Thanks so very much

G. Bush

cc: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)
Charles Free (with
Book -- the
President would
like book sent to
Camp David)

THE 19th HOLE



FAVORITE GOLF STORIES

from Art Buchwald, Gerald Ford.

Bob Hope, Jack Lemmon,
Nancy Lopez, Byron Nelson,
Jack Nicklaus, Arnold Palmer,
Alan Shepard, Dinah Shore & 60 others

Carol Mann

5/8/92

Mr. President —

Your keen interest in golf
helps to foster its growth.

Here are a few stories I am
honored to share with you.

All the very best,

Carol
Mann

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Petty Officer Second Class William P.
Akens, III, U.S. Navy
2708 Younstown Drive
Hagerstown, Maryland 21742



THE PRESIDENT

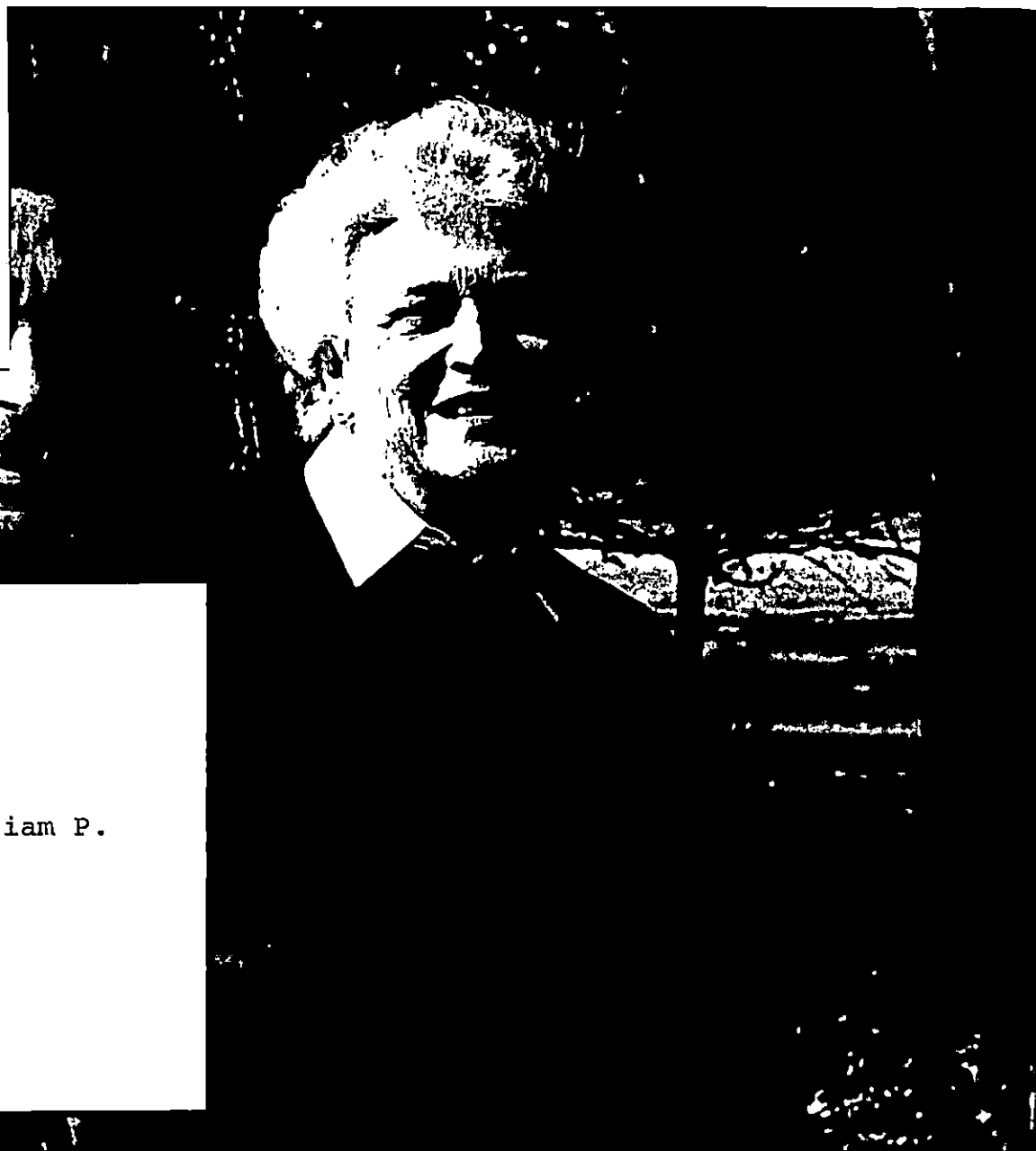
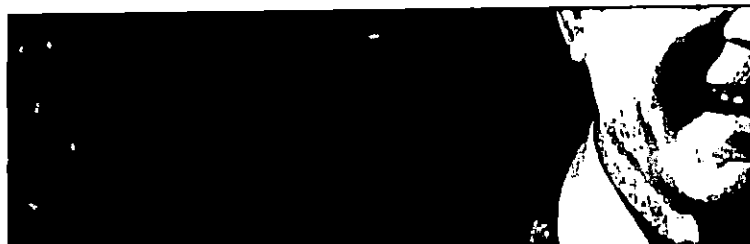
June 2, 1992

Dear Bill,

Though we can't be with
you on July 25th Barbara & I
send you and Christine Elizabeth
our warmest wishes for lives
full of love and happiness.
Good luck. God Bless - *By Bud*

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

The President



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Petty Officer Second Class William P.
Akins, III, U.S. Navy
2708 Younstown Drive
Hagerstown, Maryland 21742

To Bill & Christine —
May Your Lives Together Be Full of Love & Happiness,
Aq. Bush & Barbara Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Christine E. Caracciolo
214 Butternut Drive
Fredericksburg, Virginia 22401



THE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1992

Dear Christine -

Thanks for the wedding
invitation. We've known your
man Bill for some time, and
we think the world of him.

May God Bless your
marriage with lasting love - Cy Burt

Mr. Paul John Caracciolo, Sr.

requests the honour of your presence
at the marriage of his daughter

Christine Elizabeth

to

William Page Atkins, III

United States Navy

on Saturday, the twenty-fifth of July
nineteen hundred and ninety-two

at two-thirty in the afternoon

St. Mary's Church

1009 Stafford Avenue

Fredricksburg, Virginia 22408

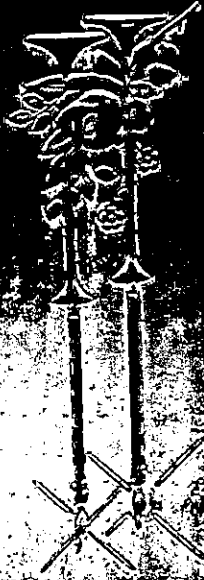
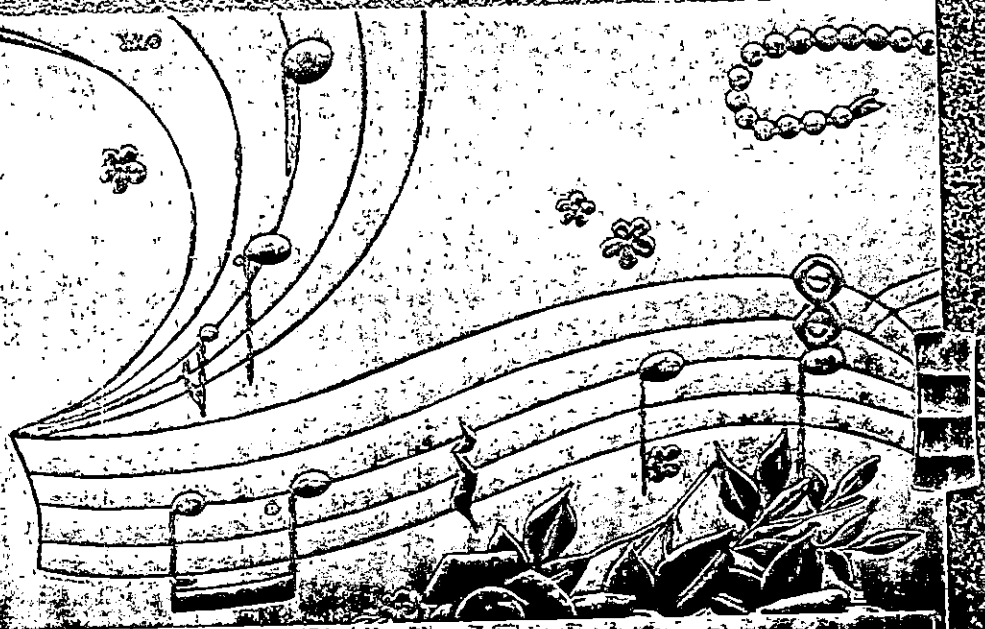
Reception

immediately following

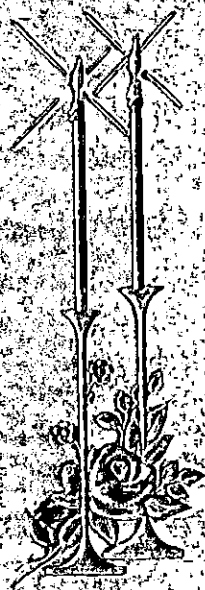
Knights of Columbus Hall

457 Cambridge Street

Stafford, Virginia 22409



Christine E. Caracciolo
214 Butternut Drive
Fredericksburg, Virginia 22401



Kindly respond on or before
July 4th, 1992

Mr & Mrs. Georg Buhl

will _____ will not ☒ attend

Number of persons _____

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Sally Pereira
832 Lakey Gap Road
Black Mountain, North Carolina 28711



THE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1992

Dear Sally,

Barbara & I send our warmest congratulations to T.W. & Mary Helen Wilson on their special Golden Day. We respect them and love them. I treasure your Dad's many kind

gestures to me.

To you and your entire family as you celebrate their 50th, we Barbara send our family love -
C. Bush

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)

The President



To T.W. and Mary Helen Wilson -

June 26, 1992

Congratulations on Your 50th Wedding Anniversary
We Admire You. We Salute You - ^{We, too} Carl + Barbara

"O God. . .Thou has given (us) the heritage
of those who fear thy name." (Ps. 61:5)

T. W. and Mary Helen Wilson
June 26, 1942-June 26, 1992

Pop

Dear Friends and Family,

Our parents, Dr. & Mrs. T. W. Wilson, will have
been married 50 years on June 26, 1992.

Some of you are lifelong friends. Some have become
their friends in recent years. Some are family.
Some of you are co-laborers with them on the Billy
Graham Team. Some are neighbors. You are from
many walks of life. But each of you is special
to them and has touched their lives in your own
way.

We would like to compile an album of your good
wishes, notes, cards, snapshots and memories to
be given to them as a surprise on their special
day.

Please send your greeting to them, if possible
before June 20 to : Sally Pereira
832 Lakey Gap Road
Black Mountain, NC 28711

Thank you for what you mean to Mother and Daddy.
We appreciate your help in creating this gift which
they will treasure and enjoy over and over.

Jim and Joey Wilson
Sally and Jerry Pereira

6/2/92

Mr. President:

Boyden's office called re your lunch with Schmidt and Whittle. Said to be very careful you don't endorse Whittle's organization -- it's for profit and it would cause problems and possibly some embarrassment.

2) Lamar Alexander called -- suggested you invite Anne McLaughlin to the luncheon. She is in town and can come if invited.

INVITE?

YES ☒

NO ☐

RZ

6/2/92

Mr. President:

guests for lunch tomorrow include

You
Lamar Alexander
Roger Porter
Gov. Kean
Benno Schmidt
Chris Whittle

Ann McLaughlin
Total of 7

(Sam Skinner first accepted - but regretted today)

Rose

Kean DOCUMENT= 3 OF 3 PAGE = 1 OF 3
NAME The Honorable Thomas H. Kean
SPOUSE Mrs. Debby
SAL OUT Tom and Deb
DESCR Former Governor of State of New Jersey.
CODES DB2 5 CC5 TXHSTN PLITCL GOVNR ACADMC
ISSUES EDUCN SPSHU VOLISM ECONMY
FFNAME "George" out.
HOME1 123 Shrewsbury
Livingston, NJ 07039
(201)
BUSINESS1 President
Drew University
Post Office Box 277
Madison, NJ 07940
(201)
PREVIOUS1 Governor of New Jersey
State House
Trenton, NJ 08625
PREVIOUS2 Drumthwacket
Princeton, NJ 08540

June 3

Noon

D- 6700
456 -

4BÜ

Kean DOCUMENT= 3 OF 3 PAGE = 2 OF 3
LUPDATE 920401
UPDATE BY CT03
PRIV COMM

- . 3/90 Led delegation to the World Conference on Education for All.
- . 10/89 Appointed Chairman of President's Advisory Committee on The Points of Light Initiative Foundation.
- . Friend of *James Burke* and *Ray Chambers.*

CONTACT

- . 4/1/89 Grand Opening of the WH Horseshoe pit.
- . 4/27/90 They at Volunteer Action Awards with GB.
- . 8/8/90 Attended swearing in of Judge Souter at WH.
- . Prior to 1992, he has attended a State Dinner.

CORSPNDNC

- . ChrisCard: 1990, 1991.
- . 2/14/91 GB thanks for letter on domestic and economic policy.
- . 4/29/91 GB sent Nat'l Education First Week Proclamation "Warmest Best Wishes."
- . 10/26/91 GB thanked for letter and made some comments about *Bill Bradley.*

4BÜ

Kean DOCUMENT= 3 OF 3 PAGE = 3 OF 3
. 3/12/92 GB thanked for support in op-ed piece.

I0601 * End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

6/1/92

*Have lunch
at Residence*

Mr. President:

Lunch with Benno Schmidt is scheduled for Wednesday,
June 3 at noon. Participants are:

Benno Schmidt
Chris Whittle
Lamar Alexander
The President

Mr. Teeter could not attend --- he had a speaking
engagement out of town.

Did you want to include Roger Porter?

YES ☒ NO ☐

Did you want to include Chief of Staff?

YES ☒ NO ☐

ANYONE ELSE?

We could not do it Thursday, because you and Mrs. Bush
were having lunch at the VP's residence.

RZ

Regina

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

Rose

☐

YOU WERE CALLED BY—

☐

YOU WERE VISITED BY—

Benno C. Schmidt
NY

OF (Organization)

☐

PLEASE PHONE ►

☐

FTS

☐

AUTOVON

Res: 212-860-0147

☐

WILL CALL AGAIN

☐

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☐

RETURNED YOUR CALL

☐

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

BB talked w/ him
last night and told
him to call you to set
up appt. (he's on call sheet)

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

1138

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE:

5-27

TIME:

8:36 PM
incoming / outgoing

WITH:

Benno Schmidt

SUBJECT:

his moving to
new challenge

I congratulate
him

FOLLOW UP:

wants to bring
Whittle

R2 will call you

I'd like to do a
supper at res
or a luncheon

Dear Brother

Truly your sister

W. J. J. J. J. J.

W. J. J.

5/28/92

Chris
Mr. Whitte
Mrs. Bush

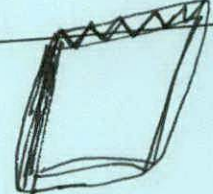
Went

908 948-3600
Loucks
call Chairman
of Board

Thursday

June 4

Er



708
Res.
295-
7222

Bernie L. Schmidt

is to him
10/1 - 11.6

is 507 v.

is of LOUCKS

alumni
gather
including

Vernon
credit to you that I am
doing it - high big trust
he great for
you/educator

5/28/92

M/M Lemos

Alexandre

Mr. President:

Bob Teeter

1)

I talked with Benno Schmidt -- we have set Thursday, June 4 at 6:30 for dinner. He will have with him Chris Whittle.

Dr. Schmidt said you mentioned to him that if there is anything you could do to help you would.

2)

He would like you to write Vernon Loucks something that he could read at the Alumni reunion this weekend. I explained to him that you were leaving shortly, and not sure you could have it ready.

He then said fine, it would be just as helpful if you could call Vernon Loucks (708) 948-3600 (Office)
(708) 295-7222 (res.)

DON e

and tell him you think this is a great thing -- is a credit to you that he is going on to this new venture with your blessing. Etc. Loucks could then relay his conversation to the folks at the reunion. The other person you should touch base with is Senator David Boren, the other senior trustee. Said your doing this would be a big, big lift.

He was touched and very grateful that you took the time to call him last night.

RECOMMENDATION: YOU MAKE THE CALL TO LOUCKS RATHER THAN PUT ANYTHING IN WRITING.

RZ

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 5-28 TIME: 3²²
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Vernon Louches

SUBJECT: Benno's leaving Yale
Louches was so surprised
as I was
Wentle concept is interesting

within our thoughts on Yale
Entire President

FOLLOW UP: Friday called with suggestion
+ hope through modern presidency

enthusiastic over what's
Benno's doing

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



pm

DATE: 5-28 TIME: 3
incoming / outgoing

WITH: David Bonin

SUBJECT: Bennis's Leary Tale

He was worried Corp.

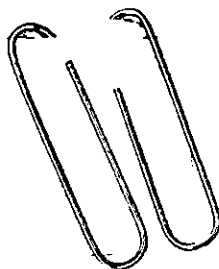
in stock - many

people unsettled by it

Lots of good will

Go with "Acting" Pres

FOLLOW UP: All for it / -



Daily

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1992

Dear Ensign Dewitt:

In keeping with tradition, I picked up your cover from the hat toss as a memento of my visit to the Naval Academy. It will be a part of a collection I have made from my trips over the past years to West Point, the Air Force Academy and the Coast Guard Academy.

I really enjoyed being with all of you that day. Thanks for the warm and enthusiastic welcome.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ensign Robert L. Dewitt, Jr., U.S. Navy
9155 East Rosemont Drive
Scottsdale, Arizona 85255

*May your days ahead be challenging
and rewarding - with smoother
seas and fair winds!*

Mr. President -
Please resign &
add your
P.S. SORRY
R~

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1992

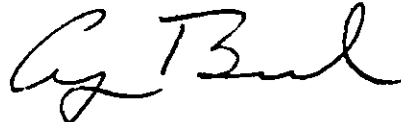
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I really enjoyed being with all of you that day. Thanks for the warm and enthusiastic welcome.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Ensign Robert L. Dewitt, Jr., U.S. Navy
9155 East Rosemont Drive
Scottsdale, Arizona 85255

*May your days ahead be
challenging and rewarding - with
smooth seas and fair winds*



THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS
TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 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
Anne Griffith	Room 98 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)

LOS ANGELES TIMES

INTERVIEW

'Listen, every marriage is different. But ... when you've been married 47 years, if you don't have an influence, then I really think you're in deep trouble.'

'If I thought someone was ill-serving the President, you may be sure I would tell him. I would. But I certainly wouldn't tell anyone else.'

'The American family isn't necessarily one man and one woman and 2½ children. It might well be one woman and a brother and others who help.'

Barbara Bush

The President's Biggest Asset in a Time of Political Trouble

BY GLENN F. BUNTING

WASHINGTON

It seems nearly everyone has a soft spot for Barbara Bush. Her down-home style and self-deprecating humor have made her so popular with Americans that when Republican candidates need help from the White House these days, they ask not what the President can do for them but whether the First Lady is available.

Barbara Pierce Bush, who turns 67 next week, dropped out of Smith College to marry the first man she ever kissed. Almost personifying her class and generation, she never pursued a career. Instead, she raised their five children and set up more than two-dozen homes over a span of four decades to accommodate her husband's pursuits in the oil business, in Congress and overseas before he assumed the presidency. Affectionately regarded as "the nation's grandmother," Mrs. Bush has 12 grandchildren of her own.

Now she is President Bush's biggest personal asset at a time when the First Family has run into political trouble. Son Neil Bush, as director of a now-defunct savings and loan, was found to have engaged in conflict of interest by participating in the approval of \$132-million loan to his own business partners. Other Bush family members appear to have exploited their relationship with the White House to win favors from the federal government or foreign interests for themselves and their business associates. Democratic Party leaders have let it be known they are collecting potentially embarrassing information involving business dealings of the Bush family.



BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

1 of 2

The President's approval ratings—at an all-time high following the Gulf War—appear in free fall in the wake of the Los Angeles riots. A recent Times poll found that Californians would put him last in a three-way race, with Texas billionaire Ross Perot 14 points ahead of the incumbent President. Recently, Hillary Clinton, wife of presumed Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, raised old allegations of womanizing by the President.

Through it all, Barbara Bush remains the one shining point of light. She devotes much of her time to such causes as literacy and caring for AIDS victims. In her spare time, she has become a best-selling author with "Millie's Book," a dog's-eye view of the White House. All profits go to the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy.

She is such a hot political commodity that Bush Administration strategists made her available—five days before the California primary—for an exclusive hourlong interview in the elegant family quarters of the White House. Wearing a simple, apple-green ensemble, with her trademark three-strand pearls, Mrs. Bush sat on a couch petting Millie, her beloved English springer spaniel. At one point, she put on a pair of reading glasses held together by a safety pin.

She displayed the genuine warmth and charm she is noted for and spoke freely on a wide range of subjects. "That's a philosophy of mine," she said. "You may say things people don't like, but you're saying what you feel."

Question: You've heard, no doubt, that you are the better half of the presidency, you're more popular?

Answer: Then they're crazy. They ought to love George Bush. He's the most wonderful man. . . . We're talking about apples and oranges, and that's what really counts. The orange is what counts. I'm the apple.

Q: Are you comfortable with the role of "national grandmother?"

A: I guess I have to accept it now. I'd like to think of myself as "national teen-ager," but I don't believe I'm going to get away with that. I might even go for "national mother."

Q: Is it realistic to envision a woman as President any time soon?

A: Yes, I think it's very realistic. Any time soon? Are you talking like the Chinese? Are you talking about 50 years? I think, well, within the next 10 years or so, I think, we'll have a woman in the White House. If she's well-qualified. And we've got a lot of very qualified women out there."

Q: Do you see Americans embracing a First Lady who asserts herself in the decisions that the President makes?

A: Some people share in their husband's work and some don't. That's going to depend upon the marriage or their wife's work. But you have to have influence.

Glenn F. Bunting is a Washington correspondent for The Times. He interviewed Barbara Bush in the White House.

When you've been married 47 years, if you don't have an influence, then I really think you're in deep trouble.

Q: Do you have an influence on the President's office?

A: I don't think so. . . . If I thought someone was ill-serving the President, you may be sure I would tell him. I would. But I certainly wouldn't tell anyone else.

Q: If we were to put Bess Truman, who kept out of politics as much as possible, on one side, and Eleanor Roosevelt on another side, where would you place yourself?

A: I always thought Bess Truman was terrific, incidentally. I got ridiculed for that once. But she was a great wife. So was Eleanor Roosevelt. . . . I think I'm half-Eleanor, half-Bess. I think I go out and do a lot of things. I do lot of traveling and a lot of programs. . . . I really stay out of government business if I possibly can.

Q: It seems that everyone today, whether on Main Street or Pennsylvania Avenue, is talking about Ross Perot. He is a Texan. You spent a number of years in Texas. Are you old friends?

A: I knew him.

Q: Tell us your recollection of him.

A: I don't talk about Ross Perot. I don't think people know much about him right now. But I've never talked about the people George has run against.

Q: Well, he's not running yet.

A: (Laughter) Oh, Ross is running. . . . Would I vote for him? N-O! . . . George

Bush or no George Bush. That's about the strongest I'm ever going to get, and as succinct.

Q: Can you say why you feel that way?

A: No, that's it. Enough.

Q: Parental responsibility and family values are becoming big issues in the presidential campaign.

A: You know, that's so interesting to me, because, first of all, they've been big issues for a long time. The President spoke about them in his State of the Union Address. . . . saying that the major problem that big- and small-city mayors have mostly, could be rooted to the breakdown of the American family. . . . So it's not new. Everybody's coming a little bit late to this party. But it is true.

Q: Do you see an opportunity now for us, as a nation, to do something about the state of the American family?

A: The state of the American family can only be, I guess, affected by two things. We have weakened the American family, whether we like it or not. If you try to work on welfare, they take the welfare and the Aid for Dependent Children and the public housing away from you. That isn't right. . . . So that's one thing we do.

The other thing is example. How can you know about family if you've never had one? That's very difficult. So that's pretty hard. So we've got to start setting examples. Whether we do it in our own personal lives, certainly our public figures should do it. And television and movies. They're not just facking up scores of good examples for us.

Q: What about "Murphy Brown?"

A: I've never seen "Murphy Brown." I'm ashamed to say. . . . First of all, it isn't real life. The children I'm talking to are the 14-, 15- and 16-year-olds. . . . It's a very different situation. They won't have nannies. They won't have all those expensive carriages. They won't have babies that have a man in their life; a father who's responsible. That leaves an enormous gap in a child's life, I believe. You need a role model—man and woman. . . . I don't like to see a trend where we sort of hate men. I don't like that.

Q: You have a daughter who's a single mother, right?

A: Yes. . . . But she has a former husband who takes enormous responsibility for those children, and is a good dad. She also has a mother and father and a

mother-in-law and father-in-law who take responsibility. And she has brothers.

The American family isn't necessarily one man and one woman and two-and-a-half children. It might well be one woman and a brother and other people who help. It's a different world out there, I know that. But she can't be compared. Her husband takes responsibility. He's a loving father.

Q: There is a widespread assumption that, contrary to the President's position on abortion, you are pro-choice.

A: I support George Bush because I know what he thinks in his heart. That has nothing to do with whether or not I support abortion. . . . When I run for public office, I'm going to let you know exactly what I think. I'll be right out there. But I'm not running for public office. Nor is Hillary Clinton. Bill Clinton and George Bush are running.

Q: We're seeing more women candidates this year than ever and we're seeing women break all kinds of fund-raising records. In California, two-thirds of Democrat Barbara Boxer's Senate campaign is financed by women—

A: They don't care about [Boxer's] bounced checks?

Q: She had a lot of bounced checks. I asked her about it. She said the only people who ask questions about bounced checks are reporters.

A: No, no. Just add one more. (Laughter) Just kidding.

Q: In his "Murphy Brown" speech, Vice President Dan Quayle said that "poverty of values" is to blame for the Los Angeles riots.

A: We do have a poverty of values. . . . If a little kid is racially ugly, he didn't learn that. He had to be taught that. You get that from home. We have too much discrimination. We have too much cheating, getting by. You learn that from home.

Listen, I'm not an expert or authority on the Los Angeles riots. I saw what everyone else saw. I saw a perfectly wonderful man, a black man, standing, with tears running down his face, saying, "What are my people doing? I need things too, but I'm not going to go out and steal." I wondered about his background. Here was a guy who had problems [and] needed, too. I wept with him because he really felt like it was all breaking down.

Q: There is a perception that President

Bush, because of his privileged upbringing, is insulated in the White House—

A: Not so.

Q: —that he can't get a real sense of what is going on in our inner cities and what it's like to be a young black man growing up.

A: That's just not true. I mean, I'm not sure I can say what it's like to be a young black man growing up. But we read and we see and we talk and we go. But in all honesty, George hasn't had great coverage on those things. . . .

The perception is well documented by the press, I will say. George, for instance, went down to the Grocers Convention in [Florida] . . . and they said, "We want to show you that American know-how is better than any foreign know-how. We've got to show you this machine." It's an absolute, state-of-the-art scanner. George had seen the scanner for years in stores, but this was one that had never been in a store. It did everything but pick up the food and shake it and tell you what was in it. It did the inventory, it did everything on this one machine. George said it was the most fantastic thing he'd ever seen. . . .

He was appalled to come home and find [in news stories] that here's George Bush out of touch, doesn't know how to use a scanner. The press knew [better]. They were there. He wasn't even in a grocery store. I don't think any Americans knew that. I think they thought he was in a grocery store and he wasn't. . . . It's so unfair. But I have great faith in the American public, and so does George. I believe they see through all that. . . . I hate whining. I don't want to be seen as a whiner.

Q: The Times ran a poll last week that showed Ross Perot ahead of the President in California. That stunned a lot of people.

A: Not us. It didn't stun us at all. I really don't think people know Ross Perot.

Q: It's been reported that you were hurt when Hillary Clinton recently referred to allegations of infidelity by the President?

A: . . . I wasn't hurt by it. I really didn't believe she said it, to begin with. I thought it was too ugly for words. . . .

It wasn't nice. That goes with the game. But it's not nice, and it certainly isn't true. . . . But George is the most looked-into man in the world, so I don't worry about that. . . .

It's funny. Nobody ever asks if I've fooled around! (Laughs).

2 of 2

Some Feverish Speculation In an Unconventional Year

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, May 29 — By its very existence, Ross Perot's unannounced independent Presidential campaign promises the unconventional.

Mr. Perot is a businessman, not a politician. Even in a day of wealthy candidates, he is richer than anyone else in sight. He has devised a kind of self-nominating process, rooted in appearances on television talk shows. And he has taken the lead in national opinion polls, something no other Presidential hopeful outside the two-party system has ever managed.

Earlier in the contest, even before Mr. Perot's sudden appearance on the political stage, a sitting President was embarrassed by a speechwriter turned pundit, and a shy, little-known former Senator made a credible run at the Democratic nomination.

Not a very good year so far for the conventional wisdom, and only the uncharted territory of a three-cornered campaign lies ahead, involving a peevish electorate, two weakened major-party standard-bearers and the dependably volatile Mr. Perot. Not since 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt mounted his Progressive "Bull Moose" crusade, have the possibilities been so rich.

After a month of Perot-mania, some political people are awed, some are fearful, some are angry and some are skeptical. All are paying attention, and nearly all are speculating feverishly about what may happen next.

Come, let us speculate. Begin with the when-will-he-step-in-a-hole proposition. Republican and Democratic professionals alike keep wondering how long Mr. Perot can keep going. Will there come a moment, they keep asking, when he will say something that scuttles his

chances as quickly as a comment about "brainwashing" in Vietnam scuttled those of another businessman, George Romney, in 1968?

Some think he will make a misstep, and it will finish him. Some think he will make a misstep, and it will change nothing. Some think he will avoid the potholes. A few think he has already tripped, with his remark in an interview with Barbara Walters Thursday night about excluding homosexuals from some high governmental posts; they see him sliding away from the generalities that marked his early campaign, down the slippery slope to specificity.

What about the third-force Vice-Presidential nomination? Like most putative Presidential nominees, Mr. Perot needs to find someone who helps him with at least one segment of the electorate without hurting him with others. He might choose a senator, for example, to calm those who question his ability to navigate Washington's treacherous waters, but that could cost him his cherished image as an outsider.

He also faces the problem of persuading the person whom he chooses to accept. Few Republicans or Democrats turn down an appeal from their party's nominee, even in an era of diminished party loyalty. Running with Mr. Perot would be a bit of a leap in the dark.

"A general would do fine," said a Republican senator who was glad to play the game as long as he was not quoted. "Americans like generals — George Washington, Ulysses Grant, Ike. But the list isn't long this time."

For political purposes, it has two names on it: Gen. Colin L. Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the retired commander in the Persian Gulf war. Neither has shown

much interest in the Perot candidacy, and General Powell is otherwise occupied just now.

"You need someone who knows his way around Washington, not a run-of-the-mill politician, a blunt talker like Perot, someone voters consider competent," said Willie Brown, the Speaker of the California Assembly.

That description might fit Senator Warren B. Rudman of New Hampshire, a kind of outsider's insider who is quitting Congress because of frustration with legislative gridlock, or another retiree, Lee Iacocca of Chrysler, or Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick, the former Representative to the United Nations, or even former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts.

But Mr. Brown's choice was C. Everett Koop, the former Surgeon General who has campaigned against smoking and for AIDS research.

Mr. Perot has more pressing matters on his mind, such as putting together his campaign staff. Until a few days ago, the assumption had been that he would choose newcomers to Presidential politics, but that is apparently all wrong. Feelers have been put out to the likes of Hamilton Jordan, chief of staff in the Carter White House, and Edward J. Rollins, onetime political guru to Ronald Reagan. Why would they want to talk to someone who pictures the politics of the last two decades as a disaster?

"This tells you how bad the regular campaigns are," said James Cannon, who has been around Republican Presidential efforts since Nelson Rockefeller's in the 1960's. "Bush hasn't given anyone a lot of reasons to re-elect him, and the Democrats are so screwed up that none of their good candidates even gets into this nominating sheep-dip, so what's to keep talented people from jumping ship?"

A White House operative, despairing about President Bush's troubles in getting his campaign rolling, said nervously that "the ultimate Perot surprise" would be to hire Roger Ailes, the political advertising strategist who helped to put both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush in the White House.

Of course, Mr. Ailes would never consider any such thing, said another Bush aide, but then he fell to pondering unhappily how much money Mr. Perot might be prepared to pay Mr. Ailes or another television specialist.

Will Bush Pull Out?

Perhaps the next big surprise will not come from Mr. Perot at all. Perhaps, as Representative Jim Leach of Iowa, a lonely Republican heretic, has been suggesting for months, Mr. Bush will decide he is in such bad trouble that he must dump Vice President Dan Quayle despite all his promises never, ever, to do so.

"I hear around town occasionally that George Bush is going to pull out himself, like Lyndon Johnson in 1968," said Lloyd Cutler, a lawyer in Washington who is active in Democratic politics and who has been talking to Mr. Perot a lot. Having run that up the flagpole, he hauled it back down. "I don't believe it," he said. "It's not in Bush's character to do something like that."

Some high-ranking Republicans are convinced, although they admit they lack hard evidence, that Barbara Bush tried to talk her husband out of running some time ago on medical or other grounds, but found it impossible.

Perhaps, as one or two Democratic long-shot players have suggested in the last few weeks, the party convention will decide that Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas is just too badly damaged to be nominated for President, however many delegates he may have accumulated, and find a way to award the prize to someone else.

About 15 percent of the votes at the convention will be cast by super-delegates, who are party leaders and elected officials. Super-delegates were invented to balance the role of primary voters in selecting Presidential nominees, and it was thought that in an emergency they might act the way the inhabitants of smoke-filled rooms once did, deciding at the eleventh hour what was "best for the party," as the old phrase had it.

No Leadership and No Will

Nelson Polsby, a professor of political science at the University of California at Berkeley, describes that as the most improbable of ideas.

"There is no leadership and no will there," Mr. Polsby said. "They will be completely overridden by the pledged delegates. Instead of a coalition-building process, where candidates

go around the country forming alliances and gathering promises of support on the first ballot or the fourth or fifth, we now have a shoot-out, where the goal is to win primaries no matter what the cost and the technique is to do dirty to your rivals."

Eddie Mahe, a veteran Republican campaign consultant, argues that it still might happen. If Mr. Clinton is

Looking ahead as a three-cornered campaign begins to unfold.

running third in the polls when the delegates assemble in New York City in July, he said, and "especially if he's down in the low 20's, a lot of them are going to have queasy stomachs."

But a move to bump Mr. Clinton would require the commitment of one or more senior figures, like Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader, to have the remotest chance of succeeding, and no one has made any moves yet.

New Ways to Communicate

Once the campaign proper begins, all kinds of new communications techniques may pop up. Already this year, radio and television talk shows have become the media of choice, as opposed to the set speeches or television news programs of the past. Mr. Perot promises to use electronic "town meetings," televised encounters by satellite where voters will be able to ask him questions directly, in the campaign and, if he wins, in the White House.

Gerald Rafshoon, who was Jimmy Carter's media expert, thinks the fall may bring a decline in what he calls "gimmicky, produced spots" like those that have proved successful in the last three Presidential elections.

"That's especially true of Perot," Mr. Rafshoon said. "Their campaign is him and the contrast he provides to everything else, his style of keep going forward, no matter what the obstacles. So you show him as he is, not prettied up, in a very straightforward style of television, almost documentary in its approach."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1992

Whittle's Lesson Plan for the Public Schools

Christopher Whittle plans to commercialize America's classrooms, and he's not apologetic about it, either.

"Absolutely," he sees schooling as a business like any other, the only qualification being government's commitment to making it "available to all." With the profit-seeking instructional concerns he aims to open beginning in 1996 — 200 at first, 1,000 thereafter — Mr. Whittle thinks he can show how to succeed where many public schools fail. He wants to do it within the bounds they face.

That means capping per-pupil charges at about \$5,500 annually, and taking all comers (sort of). The education establishment laughs derisively and, now that Yale's Benno Schmidt has been added to

Business World

By Tim W. Ferguson

the Whittle operation, nervously. The temple of basic learning, off-limits to unsanitized enterprise during more than a century as America's formative social institution, is about to be ventilated.

The inveterate entrepreneur with his seeming web of substantial allies in business and government is only one prong of the assault. All the while, a political movement for vouchers and parental choice advances. "We are more about choices than choice," Mr. Whittle's line goes. "Some critics of this are going to try to pull us into that debate. I am resistant to that."

"With that said, I think we're going to become very important to those who are leading the choice debate. They will probably use what we are doing as an important part of their arsenal."

Of course Mr. Whittle would be happy to take vouchers. Right now, the financial cushion is thin. His planned \$5,500 charge

isn't really comparable with the average public-school expenditure, he says, because the Whittle schools must allow maybe a 15% return for their investors, must carry building costs and pay taxes, and must generate about a 20% internal subsidy for scholarships so that no poor applicants are denied, voucher or no. In actual operating costs, "we're probably going to have to bring this in at around \$3,500" per pupil annually, closer to what parochial schools spend.

At that cost, Mr. Whittle is looking to be technologically current. (His opening order for personal computers, he estimates, will initially amount to 20% to 30% of the product market, suggesting an alliance with a maker is in order.) The Whittle schools may stay open nearly year-round and 12 hours a day with a staggered schedule to assist working parents.

That's part of Mr. Whittle's intent to customize for the sake of the customers (parents), which the public schools seem incapable of doing. In return, he wants after-hours support for his schools' efforts. "One of the things I've thought of from time to time is that though we'll have no entrance requirements for the kids, we might have for their parents," he says.

That's a difference with the public schools as they normally exist today. The bare fact that Whittle enrollees will have sought out the new schools, often at a personal cost, indicates a level of commitment. What about the prerogative to expel malcontents? "We haven't figured out our position on that yet," he says. "Obviously it's very difficult. The public schools basically don't, and our feeling is that we want to approach that position, but I'm not sure what we're going to do."

Public school standards themselves could be raised, courts and legislatures willing. Compulsory attendance laws and a body-count funding mechanism are what stick old PS 39 with the passive and the

delinquent, but those could be changed. After all, Mr. Whittle maintains that his program is the "private research and development arm of the public schools." Only if, 15 years out, "we in fact have created a fundamentally superior approach and there's absolutely no reaction in the public schools to it" will their existence be threatened.

A classic example of ossification on the government side is the notion that a school must have a traditional campus, with rows of classrooms, an auditorium and a big playground. That's expensive and inflexible as enrollment patterns change. In fact, "school" can be anywhere, including maybe the home.

The Whittles are wrestling with the issue. "This is a question that worries me a great deal," says Mr. Whittle. "It's part of the old model that feels almost inescapable. We all have this sense that

you must have a physical facility. I want us to question that. One of my fears is that we're not going to be radical enough in that regard." Though buildings of some sort now appear inevitable, they may not be ones used full time by the Whittle schools, he says. And yes, "the Resolution Trust Corp. has already contacted us" about its multitude of seized office space that could be leased.

In fact, site selections are the challenge that looms nearest, according to Mr. Whittle. In order to open in fall 1996, "we hit the first serious capital wall in 18 months, when land and real estate commitments have to be made." At that point, development costs move from the tens of millions



Christopher Whittle

"into a different category." In order to satisfy financiers, "we need to have a demonstration of parent buy-in at that point." If the schools expect matriculation by age four, as they might, that'll require some toddler applications.

Pressure groups won't like much of what they hear out of Whittle's Knoxville headquarters, but the founder says experience to date with Channel One, his advertiser-supported entry of televised news to public-school classrooms, encourages him to think powerful resistance to change can be overcome.

"I actually find the people in the trenches, the teachers and the principals that go to work every day, to be quite open," he says. "The lesson of Channel One is that the national groups condemned it, while local groups adopted it in great numbers. Forty percent of middle and high schools in the U.S. are on line."

For all the pizzazz that Mr. Whittle's latest effort promises, its success likely rides on whether, as he believes, most parents in the applicant pool do care enough to make the program work, especially if he's going to be Pollyannish about the schools not having to punish.

The clincher, however, is that Whittle's approach isn't the sum of the alternatives. Once the path is broken, others may see profits in proprietary schooling. Children learn in all settings, and those with a gift for reaching them at play — say, Walt Disney Co. — may choose to extend the franchise. Even McDonald's, the favorite eatery of kids the world over, now plans to teach about nutrition(!). Will reading and counting be next?

"We're not saying that our system is going to be the only one," Mr. Whittle says. "I actually envision that 20 years from now there are going to be several major national providers. Each will have a different design. The parents will have a wide choice."

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

The Washington Times

Teaching your kids at home

"Government schooling kills the family by monopolizing the best times of childhood and by teaching disrespect for home and parents."

■ Public education has become "a kind of income-distribution mechanization [and] a contract-letting agency."

■ "Only incidentally did a government school exist to educate."

Sobering observations from none other than someone in a position to know — a teacher with 26 years of experience in the New York City public school system. It might even be enough to make some people pull the kids out of public schools posthaste. The teacher, John Taylor Gatto, was honored as "Teacher of the Year" — but not before noting that the public education system as he knew it typically taught children indifference and emotional and intellectual dependency.

Mr. Gatto couldn't fix the system from within. Disillusioned, he left it — as have an increasing number of parents who have decided they can do far less damage to their children by educating them at home themselves. These days, about 350,000 children nationwide are being taught by their parents at home, more than 20 times as many as in the early 1980s. More than 1,600 children are being taught in Maryland homes and an estimated 4,000 in Virginia. Compare that to 1985 figures of 90 children in Maryland and about 1,000 in Virginia.

Not surprisingly the trend is making some people nervous. Organizations such as the National Education Association say they are worried about incompetent parent/teachers and the social retardation that could occur among home-taught children, who don't get to interact with their peers. NEA's remarkable answer is to require teacher certification for parents who want to teach their children at home.

But a look at what happens in jurisdictions with that requirement reveals that a little more than altruism is at work. Teacher certification for parents is required in the District. And exactly how many children are being taught at home here? Seventeen. Parents who might want to take pedagogical matters into their own hands, either on principle or just as a means of sending a wake-up call to the public school system, are mostly out of luck.

Certifying exams are no panacea. They do not eliminate a child's exposure to ineffective teachers nor the school systems that protect them. Some parents may not be capable teachers, but neither are many teachers who have passed certification exams. Tests may indicate that some people take exams well and some poorly, but they don't detect — the way personal observation and evaluations of student performance can — whether an individual can do the job he was supposedly trained to do.

Another presumption of critics of home schooling is that children will miss out on the important but subtle learning that occurs by association among peers. Many parents might look at that as a blessing. The major influence on children these days comes not from the home but from exposure to other people's bad manners (and worse) and from schools trying to supplant the social authority of parents. In the process, many children have been relegated to a spiritual and moral no man's land.

If parents are gaining the confidence to teach their children themselves, more power to them. Rather than focusing on enacting measures to ensure union teachers remain employed, critics ought to redirect their energies toward repairing the damage in the public school system that is compelling a growing number of parents to keep their children away. And the District law requiring certification for parents has got to go.



June 2, 1992

Daily File
CONGRESSIONAL
BBQ



daily 29 June - Fickler



June 2, 1992

rz/kATHY/nICK CALIO

REMEMBER I

please set up ..call him soon. dont care when it is.

gb June 2, 1992

AGREED TO SEE HIM BRIEFLY.

**
ugh!*

*Rose -
FYI. he's on
the std for
June 30 at 1150.
R.*

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/2/92

2 JUN 2 AID: 10

JUNE 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BRADY
FROM: NICHOLAS E. CALIO *NEC*
SUBJECT: LETTER FOR THE PRESIDENT'S READING FILE

Attached is a letter which the President recently received from a Member of Congress.

Rep. Larry Hopkins (R-KY)

"Thank you for your call - Today's vote is especially difficult for me and it doesn't help that over the years I have grown to regard this issue with great disdain. As you know, my deepest interest is in doing nothing that would weaken efforts to find a cure for the terrible disease from which my mother suffered. Notwithstanding deep personal reservations and considerations,...because I trust you...and because I do not want to see your Presidency or your reelection jeopardized by a veto override, I want you to know you can count on my help today when the NIH bill is considered. Look forward to seeing you soon."



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515-1706

5/28/92

LARRY J. HOPKINS
KENTUCKY

Dear Mr. President

Thank you for your call -
Today's vote is especially difficult
for me and it doesn't help that over
the years I have grown to regard
this issue with great disdain.

As you know, my deepest interest
is in doing nothing that would weaken
efforts to find a cure for the
terrible disease from which my
mother suffered.

Notwithstanding deep personal
reservations and considerations,
... because I trust you ... and because
I do not want to see your presidency
or your reelection jeopardized by a
veto override, I want you to know
you can count on my help today
when the NIH bill is considered.

Look forward to seeing you soon.

Warmest regards

Jerry

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Tuesday, June 2, 1992

Volume 28, Number 86

Today in Congress

Senate Floor: The Senate today returns to legislative business after its Memorial Day recess when members take up legislation (S 474) that would ban most types of state-sponsored sports gambling.

The bill would prohibit legalized betting on professional and amateur sports such as football and basketball. But wagering on horse and dog races, as well as lotteries, would not be affected.

Also, Nevada and Oregon, which already allow some form of sports gambling, would be allowed to retain their programs.

Also on tomorrow's agenda, after the Senate completes action on S 474, is legislation (S 1504) that would reauthorize the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for fiscal 1994-96.

The Senate halted action on the bill in early March after Republicans threatened to try to attach a GOP anti-crime package to the legislation.

The broadcasting corporation, chartered by Congress in 1967, disperses programming grants to public radio and television stations nationwide.

The measure would authorize \$310 million for fiscal 1994, \$375 million for 1995 and \$425 million for 1996.

Fiscal 1993 funding of \$319 million has already been appropriated. It includes a one-time payment of \$65 million for replacement of a satellite.

The corporation is "forward funded" to insulate it from political pressures.

House Floor: The House will take up two bills to promote the protection of sites of historic significance.

One bill (HR 4801) would reauthorize the Historic Preservation Fund through fiscal 1997. The fund is supplied by offshore oil and gas receipts, which it then uses to provide grants for national and state preservation projects.

Another measure (HR 3905) would authorize \$5 million annually through fiscal 1996 for the Advisory Council on His-

toric Preservation. The council advises federal agencies on the merits of historic preservation projects.

Energy Markup: The House Energy and Commerce Committee has a full slate of bills scheduled for consideration today.

Most of the bills are relatively non-controversial, but a measure (HR 3927) to beef up regulation of sales of Treasury bonds has drawn considerable criticism from the administration, which says it is overly burdensome to bond dealers.

The bill is aimed at preventing a repeat of last year's bid-rigging scandal involving larger-than-allowed purchases of Treasury bonds by Salomon Brothers Inc. The measure contains several provisions designed to deter trading fraud and increase Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) oversight of the Treasury bond market.

The bill would require large traders of federal government bonds to periodically report their holdings to the SEC. It would also require that bond dealers keep records of their transactions and open them to the SEC upon request.

Other bills on the markup agenda include:

- HR 4567, which would pave the way for wide-scale distribution of high-quality recordings through the use of digital audio tape. The bill would add a royalty fee to the price of digital tapes and recording equipment.

- HR 4016, which is aimed at speeding up the transfer of closed military bases for use by the nearby community. The bill would amend the federal "superfund" law by allowing portions of bases that are not contaminated by hazardous waste to be made available to non-federal entities, even though other parts may contain waste sites.

- HR 4706, which would reauthorize the Consumer Product Safety Commission for fiscal 1993-94.

Hill News

CHILD IMMUNIZATION programs miss many infants, panel told.

Despite a plentiful supply of common vaccinations, nearly half of the nation's preschool infants are not properly immunized, leaving them vulnerable to a host of common but dangerous diseases, doctors and citizens' groups told a Senate Finance panel yesterday.

"Preventable diseases are on the rise in nearly every state in the country," said Dr. Edward Cox, president of the Michigan chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics. Cox said the United States lags as much as 50 percent behind Europe in providing infant vaccinations.

Testifying before the Subcommittee on Health for Families and the Uninsured, Cox expressed support for legislation (S 2116) sponsored by subcommittee Chairman Donald W. Riegle Jr., D-Mich., to expand the availability of immunizations and cut vaccine costs for providers.

The measure would establish a nationwide computerized tracking system so doctors, social workers and child-care professionals could determine more easily whether an infant had received all the necessary shots, such as vaccines for measles, whooping cough and polio.

The legislation would also provide state-purchased vaccines to private physicians, who would administer the vaccines at a low charge.

Panel member Dave Durenberger, R-Minn., said he was particularly concerned with a recent outbreak of measles among refugees in his home state. He said the poor and uneducated are the most vulnerable to disease because many do not understand the need to be immunized. And those who do must overcome bureaucratic hurdles in dealing with public health agencies that middle- and upper-class citizens do not encounter, Durenberger said.

See NEWS on p. 3

In This Issue

NEWS FROM THE HILL..... 1

TODAY

Today in Congress..... 1
Committee Listings..... 4
News & Campaign Events..... 5

FUTURE

Senate Committees..... 7
House Committees..... 10
Conference Committees..... 15
Joint Committees..... 15
Other Events..... 16
Campaigns & Elections..... 17

STATUS CHARTS

FY93 Appropriations..... 19
House and Senate Floor..... 20

Status of Major Legislation

102nd Congress

(as of June 2, 1992)

Bill and Background	House	Senate	Final
Abortion Counseling. (HR 3090, S 323) Both bills would overturn the administration's ban on abortion counseling and referrals by federally funded clinics. The House bill also would reauthorize the federal family planning program under Title X of the Public Health Service Act. President Bush has vowed to veto the bill.	HR 3090 passed as S 323 4/30/92	S 323 passed 7/17/91	
Cable Television Reregulation. (HR 4850, S 12) The bills would strengthen regulation of cable operators' basic rates and services, allow broadcasters to charge cable operators for use of their signals and bar cable programmers from refusing to sell shows to competitors such as satellite operators and wireless cable.	Energy subcommittee approved HR 4850 4/8/92	S 12 passed 1/31/92	
Crime Bill. (S 1241, HR 3371) The omnibus crime package would broaden the federal death penalty to an estimated 50 crimes, restrict death row inmate appeals and allow prosecutors to use certain evidence obtained in violation of defendants' rights. Conferees accepted language from the Senate measure requiring a five-day waiting period for the purchase of a handgun.	HR 3371 passed 10/22/91	S 1241 passed 7/11/91	House adopted conference report on HR 3371, 11/27/91 Senate cloture failed 11/27/91, 3/19/92 5/14/92 Senate agreed to take up conference report
Fiscal 1993 Defense Authorization. The bill would authorize \$274 billion in defense spending, \$7 billion less than President Bush requested for fiscal 1993. The bill would authorize completion of 20 B-2 bombers, as Bush requested, but only if certain conditions are met. It would authorize \$4.3 billion of the \$5.4 billion that Bush sought for the Strategic Defense Initiative, stripping the program of space-based missile interceptors called Brilliant Pebbles.	Armed Services approved HR 5006 5/13/92		
Elementary and Secondary Education Grants. (HR 4323, S 2) The bills, designed to respond to President Bush's "America 2000" plan, would create a federal grant program for states to help fund education improvements in elementary and secondary schools. The House measure does not include a top Bush priority: a school choice plan providing subsidies to enable parents to choose whether to send their children to public or private school. The Senate bill would allow choice only among public schools.	Education and Labor approved HR 4323 5/20/92	S 2 passed 1/28/92	
Higher Education Reauthorization. (HR 3553, S 1150) The bills would reauthorize for five and seven years, respectively, the 1965 Higher Education Act, which governs all federal grants and loans to post-secondary students. Both measures seek to open the loan and grant programs to more students from middle class families.	HR 3553 passed as S 1150. 3/26/92	S 1150 passed 2/21/92	
National Energy Policy. (HR 776, S 2166) Both bills seek to promote increased domestic energy production, wider use of alternative fuels and adherence to national conservation goals. Both bills contain provisions to expedite the licensing of nuclear power plants and to expand coastal drilling bans.	HR 776 passed 5/27/92	S 2166 passed 2/19/92	
Rescissions. (HR 4990, S 2403) The bill would rescind already appropriated fiscal 1992 funds. It contains some, but not all, of the rescissions proposed by President Bush and contains additional rescissions proposed by the Appropriations committees. The final bill would rescind \$8.2 billion, including \$7.1 billion in defense funds.	HR 4990 passed 5/7/92	S 2403 passed 5/6/92	Conference report on HR 4990 adopted by House, cleared by Senate 5/12/92
Resource Conservation and Recovery Act Reauthorization. (HR 3865, S 976) Both bills would revise the solid waste law that governs the disposal of garbage and the storage of hazardous waste. The House bill stresses recycling, the regulation of interstate waste shipments and the disposal of ash from municipal solid waste incinerators. The Senate bill would allow states to block dumping of out-of-state garbage but would not force states to recycle bottles and cans.	Energy subcommittee approved HR 3865 3/26/92	Environment approved S 976 5/20/92	

Primaries on Tap in Nine States

Black and Hispanic candidates in New Jersey, North Carolina and Alabama could move one step closer to history-making electoral victories today when voters in nine states go to the polls for congressional primary elections.

In North Carolina and Alabama, wins today and in November for black candidates would mark the first time this century that either state has sent a black to Congress. And, in New Jersey, a candidate of Cuban descent is vying to become the first Hispanic member of Congress from that state. In all three states, the minority candidates are favored to win today.

Elsewhere in Alabama and North Carolina the sons of two long-time politicians will test their famous names.

And two incumbents with overdrafts at the House bank will learn what impact the scandal has had on their careers.

Eight states are holding primaries today, while North Carolina holds runoff elections in three districts in which no winner emerged from the May 5 primary. In four of the states — South Dakota, Montana, New Mexico and Iowa — there is little or no competition today.

Here are the highlights of some of today's most interesting contests. A run-down on the California primaries appeared in Monday's *Monitor*.

Alabama. Voters in the Democratic primary in the 2nd District will see a familiar name on the ballot. George Wallace Jr., the son of former Alabama Gov. George Wallace, is the leading candidate in a three-person field.

Wallace is expected to finish first in the primary, but former state Cabinet official Faye Baggiano and Larry Lee, who headed a commission that oversaw rural development projects, may hold Wallace's support to under 50 percent, which would force a June 30 runoff between the top two vote-getters.

On the GOP side, state Sen. Larry Dixon and businessman Terry Everett are seeking the nomination. The seat has been held by a Republican (retiring Rep. Bill Dickinson) since 1964 but the Wallace name could change that.

• In the newly created black-majority 7th District, voters will make history by sending a black to Congress for the first time since Reconstruction.

All nine candidates seeking the seat (6 Democrats, 3 Republicans) are black. State Sens. Earl F. Hilliard and Hank Sanders and Montgomery County Commissioner John Knight are considered the front-runners for the Democratic nomination, but the crowded field is likely to force a runoff.

The Democratic nominee will be heavily favored in November.

Ohio. Reps. Mary Rose Oakar, D, and Bob McEwen, R, will find out today whether their overdrafts at the House bank will force them to take early retirement.

Oakar, who made the ethics panel's list of House bank abusers and has denied reports of other ethical improprieties, faces the political fight of her life against Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Commissioner Timothy F. Hagan. Three other Democrats are seeking the nomination, including businessman Doug Bugie, who has bashed both Oakar and Hagan as professional politicians.

• When the old district of GOP Rep. Clarence E. Miller was carved up in redistricting, he chose to run against McEwen in the new 6th District.

Although McEwen has represented more of the new district than Miller, the 166 overdrafts McEwen had at the House bank could spell trouble. Miller, who had no overdrafts, says, "The score is 166 to nothing."

New Jersey. Rep. Frank Pallone Jr., D, has a tough battle today in the newly drawn 6th District. After barely winning re-election in 1990, Pallone faces a strong challenge from state Rep. Bob Smith. Pallone's old "shore" district was dismantled in redistricting, forcing him to run in unfamiliar areas.

The front-runners in the four-way GOP field are state Sen. Joseph M. Kyrillos and Grace C. Applegate, a former state assistant labor commissioner.

• In the 13th District, voters could send a Hispanic to Congress, which would be a first for New Jersey. State Sen. and Union City Mayor Robert Menendez is favored in the Democratic primary against lawyer Robert P. Haney Jr. Lawyer Fred J. Theemling Jr. is running unopposed for the GOP nomination.

North Carolina. Eva Clayton, a Warren County commissioner, and state Rep. Walter B. Jones Jr., the son of 26-year House veteran Walter B. Jones, D, will square off in a 1st District runoff for the Democratic nomination.

In the new black-majority district, Clayton is seeking to be the first black elected to Congress from North Carolina in 91 years. Jones is white.

• Another black candidate, former state Sen. Melvin Watt, has already won the Democratic nomination in the 12th District and is heavily favored in the fall. A GOP runoff in that district features state employee George Jones and lawyer Barbara Gore Washington. Whoever wins will be a heavy underdog against Watt.

NEWS from p. 1

GARBAGE IMPORTS ban struck down by Supreme Court.

In a move that puts additional pressure on Congress to deal with the politically thorny issue of interstate trash shipments, the Supreme Court yesterday struck down two state laws designed to block such trash imports.

By an 8-1 vote, the court declared unconstitutional an Alabama law that heavily taxes out-of-state hazardous waste shipped to the nation's largest hazardous waste dump.

And, on a 7-2 vote, the high court struck down a Michigan law that has barred private landfill operators from accepting solid waste that originates from outside the county in which the facilities are located.

In both decisions, the court said the laws illegally interfered with the free flow of interstate commerce.

The decisions are sure to keep Congress involved in the issue. "Congress must act this year — the clock is ticking — to stop the flow of out-of-state waste," said Sen. Daniel R. Coats, R-Ind., who vowed to attach an amendment that would allow states to bar out-of-state garbage to some "must-pass" bill such as an appropriations measure. "Otherwise we will be overwhelmed by out-of-state trash and be unable to deal with our own problems."

Another bill (S 976) — which has mixed prospects at best — that would overhaul the nation's main solid waste law is expected to come to the Senate floor soon. It contains language that would allow governors to ban garbage imports, under limited conditions.

HOUSE REMAP challenge rejected by Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court yesterday rejected a challenge of an Arkansas congressional redistricting plan.

By a 7-2 vote, the court upheld a lower court's ruling that the Arkansas plan did not violate minority rights.

Black groups had argued that the remap crafted by the state General Assembly and signed into law last year by Gov. Bill Clinton, D, was designed "to perpetuate a history of discrimination in the voting booth and in the political process in general in Arkansas."

The state's four congressional districts were not altered much from the 1982 plan. Blacks make up 27 percent of the new 4th District, the largest concentration of blacks in any of the newly drawn districts.

None of the candidates in the May 26 congressional primary elections were black.

A federal court had ruled last November that the redistricting plan did not violate the Voting Rights Act of 1965. ■

Committee Meetings Scheduled Today

Senate Committees

■ FY93 TREASURY APPROPRIATIONS

Senate Appropriations Committee

Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) will hold hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for the U.S. Secret Service.

2:30pm SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. June 2

Witness scheduled: John Magaw - director, U.S. Secret Service

Note: This hearing has not been rescheduled.

PERSONNEL ISSUES

Senate Armed Services Committee

The full committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on active and reserve personnel issues.

9am SH-216 Hart Bldg. June 2

Witnesses scheduled: Stephen Duncan - assistant secretary of Defense; Christopher Jehn - assistant secretary of Defense; William Clark - principal deputy assistant secretary of Defense; Barbara Pope - assistant secretary of the Navy; J. Gary Cooper - assistant secretary of the Air Force

CIVIL LITIGATION

Senate Banking Committee

The full committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will hold a hearing on the civil litigation activities of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Resolution Trust Corporation.

10am SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. June 2

Witness scheduled: Harold Valentine - General Accounting Office

COMPETITIVENESS

Senate Finance Committee

The full committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will continue a series of hearings on ways to improve the competitiveness of U.S. industry. This session will focus on business and labor perspectives on how to restore U.S. companies' competitiveness and make sure that global competition is fair and open.

10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 2

Witnesses scheduled: Charles Corry - USX Corp.; Ian Roth - ATT Bell Laboratories and the National Advisory Committee on Semiconductors; Lawrence Clarkson - Boeing Co.; Thoman Donahue - secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO

IMPLEMENTATION OF AIDS EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Senate Labor Committee

The full committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold an oversight hearing on the implementation of the federal government's AIDS education and prevention programs under the Ryan White AIDS Care Act.

10:30am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. June 2

Witnesses scheduled: Robert Harmon - administrator, Health Resources and Services Administration, Department of Health and Human Services; Frank Jordan - mayor, City of San Francisco, California; John Auerbach - vice chairman, National Alliance of State AIDS Directors; Sandy Thurmond - executive director,

AID Atlanta; Silvia Corral - medical director, Wasatch Homeless Health Care Project; Jesse Trice - Economic Opportunity Family Health Center Inc.; Jerry & Laila Winfield - Newark, New Jersey; Beauford Stowall - Fulton, Missouri; Elizabeth Taylor - founding national chairman, American Foundation for AIDS Research

BUSINESS LOANS

Senate Small Business Committee

The full committee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) will hold a hearing on a report by Price Waterhouse evaluating the 7-A guaranteed business loan program of the Small Business Administration.

10am 428A Russell Bldg. June 2

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Patricia Saiki - administrator, Small Business Administration (SBA); Mitchell Stanley - associate deputy administrator, finance, investment and procurement, SBA; John Whitmore - acting chief financial officer, SBA

PANEL: Glenn Galfond - senior manager, office of Government Services, Price Waterhouse; Mary Garvin - senior manager, office of Government Services, Price Waterhouse

House Committees

■ RURAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS

House Agriculture Committee

Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee (Chairman English, D-Okla.) will hold a hearing on legislation to provide for the telecommunications needs of rural communities.

10am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 2

Agenda:

HR 5237 - Improve the provisions of electric telephone service.

HR 5238 - Establish a grant program to improve the provision of health care services and educational services in rural areas by enabling providers to have better access to modern interactive telecommunications services

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Barnard, D-Ga.; Michael Liu - Rural Electrification Administration; Bob Bergland - National Rural Electric Cooperative Association; John O'Neal - National Rural Telecom Association; Henry Buchanan - U.S. Telephone Association; Shirley Bloomfield - National Telephone Cooperative Association; James Brick - West Virginia University; Dr. J. Ted Hartman - MEDNET Project, Texas Tech University Health Sciences Center; David Foster - Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Energy and Commerce Committee

The full committee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

10:30am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 2

Agenda:

HR 4706 - Reauthorize Consumer Products Safety Act

HR 5000 - Amend Petroleum Marketing Practice Act

HR 3047 - Amend the Securities Exchange Act of

1934 to permit members of national securities exchanges to effect certain transactions with respect to accounts for which such members exercise investment and discretion

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

HR 4567 - Implement a royalty payment system and a serial copy management system for digital audio recording and prohibit certain copyright infringement actions

HR 4016 - Amend the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 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

■ PUBLIC LANDS

House Interior Committee

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) will hold a hearing on pending legislation.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 2

Agenda:

HR 4030 - to establish the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park in the state of Vermont

HR 4085 - to amend the act of Aug. 7, 1961, establishing the Cape Cod National Seashore

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Studds, D-Mass., Sanders, I-Vt.; James Ridenour - National Park Service; Mary French Rockefeller and Laurance Rockefeller - Woodstock, Vt.; Charles Fisher - Cape Cod National Seashore Advisory Commission

■ INDEPENDENT COUNSEL &

U.S. AID TO IRAQI

House Judiciary Committee

The full committee (Chairman Brooks, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on the need for an independent counsel to investigate administration aid to Iraq in the months preceding the Persian Gulf War.

10am 2141 Rayburn Bldg. June 2

■ POSTAL SERVICE OVERSIGHT

House Post Office Committee

The full committee (Chairman Clay, D-Mo.) will hold an oversight hearing on the U.S. Postal Service.

1:30pm 311 Cannon Bldg. June 2

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Postal Service Board of Governors: Susan E. Alvarado, Michael S. Coughlin, LeGree S. Daniels, Tirso del Junco, John N. Griesemer, Bert H. Mackie, Crocker Nevin, Norma Pace, Robert Setrakian, J. Sam Winters

■ MILITARY PENSION FOR

FAA ADMINISTRATOR

House Public Works Committee

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Oberstar, D-Minn.) will hold a hearing on proposed legislation to allow Maj. Gen. Thomas Richards, who was appointed to be administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), to collect his military pension after serving in his present capacity.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 2

Witness scheduled: Maj. Gen. Thomas Richards

House continued...**RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE****House Rules Committee**

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

debate for pending legislation.

1pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. June 2

Agenda:

HR 5006 - Authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for military functions of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel levels for fiscal year 1993

News Events continued...

Contact: Nan Gibson or Roger Hickey, 202-775-8810

BALANCED BUDGET LECTURE

Sen. Bob Kasten, R-Wis., gives a lecture titled, "A Balanced Budget Amendment That Won't Tax America," at the Heritage Foundation.

Noon, Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave. NE June 2

Contact: Jeff Dickerson, 202-546-4400 ext. 513

COMMERCIAL REAL ESTATE OUTLOOK

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear McGraw-Hill Construction Information Services vice president and chief economist George Christe discuss the state of commercial real estate markets and the prospects for the future.

Noon to 1:30pm, Montpelier dining room, Library of Congress Madison Bldg., 101 Independence Ave. S.E. June 2

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$15 for non-members. For reserva-

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.

HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING

National Health Council will sponsor a breakfast briefing with White House deputy assistant to the president for policy development Gail Wilensky, who will discuss the administration health-care revision plans and other health-care issues currently pending in Congress.

8am to 10am, Sheraton Carlton Hotel, 16th & K Sts. N.W. June 2

Contact: 202-785-3910

RESEARCH WORKSHOP ON CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

Congressional Quarterly will hold a research workshop on congressional documents.

9am to 1pm, Congressional Quarterly, 1414 22nd St. N.W. June 2

Note: There is a \$225 charge for this event. For reservations call 202-887-8620

MEAT CONFERENCE

The American Meat Institute holds its annual government affairs conference. Second and final day.

9am, Willard Hotel, 14th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW (except where noted) June 2

Contact: Laura Harris, 703-841-2400, or the hotel, 202-628-9100

Highlights

9:15am to 11:30am: Capitol Hill briefing with Sens. Thomas Daschle, D-S.D., Pete Domenici, R-N.M., and Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, and Reps. Pat Roberts, R-Kan., and Steve Gunderson, R-Wis. Russell Building, Caucus Room
Noon: CNN correspondent Robert Novak is the luncheon speaker

STUDENT FINANCES CONFERENCE

The National Council for Higher Education

★ New listing

Loan Programs holds its annual meeting. This year's conference is titled, "Student Finance: Making it Work." Second of three days.
9am, Marriott Crystal Gateway Hotel, 1700 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Va. June 2

Contact: Dan Friedenzohn, 202-547-1571, or the hotel, 703-920-3230

Highlight

11:30am: Sen. Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., delivers remarks at an awards ceremony

SUPERFUND BRIEFING

Resources for the Future holds a briefing to release a report from its Center for Risk Management on "Assigning Liability for Superfund Cleanups: An Analysis of Policy Options." Report co-authors Katherine Probst, a CRM fellow, and Paul Portney, RFF vice president, discuss the pros and cons with the current Superfund cleanup liability scheme.

9:30am Resources and Conservation Center, 1400 16th St. NW, first floor June 2

Contact: Anne Jarrett, 202-328-5009

SOUTH AFRICA SYMPOSIUM

American University's Washington College of Law and South Africa's University of the North sponsor a symposium titled, "Constitutional Federalism: The United States Experience, Implications for South African Reform." Participants include a 25-member delegation from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. First of two days.

10am Cosmos Club, 2121 Massachusetts Ave. NW (except where noted) June 2

Contact: Tony Robinson, 202-885-5951

Highlights

9am to 10am: Remarks by former assistant secretary of state Richard Schifter and Rep. Constance Morella, R-Md.

11:45am to 1:15pm: Luncheon address by Stuart Eizenstat, former assistant to President Carter for domestic affairs.

8pm to 9:30pm: Dinner address by the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Omni Georgetown Hotel, 2121 P St. NW.

BALANCED BUDGET NEWS CONFERENCE

The Economic Policy Institute holds a news conference to release a statement signed by over 400 economists, including seven Nobel laureates, opposing a proposed balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. Speakers at the news conference include Henry Aaron, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution, and William Vickrey, president of the American Economics Association.

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. June 2

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■ Revised listing

News Events *continued*...

tions call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is noon the day before the luncheon is scheduled.

SPOTTED OWL BRIEFING

Industry and labor organizations hold a briefing on the impact of a recent court decision overturning the U.S. Forest Service's plan to preserve the Northern Spotted Owl. Western Council of Industrial Workers Executive Secretary Mike Draper, American Forest Resources Alliance Executive Director Mark Rey, and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America staff economist Denny Scott also will discuss various legislative proposals to protect the Spotted Owl.

12:30pm, National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, White Room **June 2**
Contact: Robin Shapiro, 202-452-9462

ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND REPORTS

8:30am: The Commerce Department releases the leading indicators report for April.

10am: The Commerce Department releases the single family home sales report for April.

4:30pm, approx.: The American Petroleum

Institute releases the weekly report on petroleum inventories.

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 2

In California

9am: Votes. University High School, 3065 Jackson St., San Francisco

8pm to 10pm: Election night gathering. Brown for President Headquarters, 2121 Cloverfield Blvd., Santa Monica

Bill Clinton

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

June 2

In Los Angeles, Calif.

7pm: Election night gathering. Biltmore Hotel, 506 S. Grand Ave. Los Angeles

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

June 2

In Washington, D.C., and New Hampshire

7pm: Rally to thank New Hampshire supporters. Courtyard Restaurant, South Willow Road and Route 28, Manchester, N.H.

Bush-Quayle

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

June 2

PRESIDENT BUSH

No campaign events scheduled

INDEPENDENTS

Ross Perot

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 2

No campaign events currently scheduled

Primaries & Caucuses

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

House Committee Ratios

The chart shows committee party ratios in the 101st and 102nd Congresses. Democrats are listed first; Republicans second. The

ratios do not reflect the membership of Independent Bernard Sanders on the Banking and Government Operations committees.

Committee	101st	102nd	Committee	101st	102nd	Committee	101st	102nd
Agriculture	27-18	27-18	Government Operations	24-15	25-15	Select Aging	39-26	41-27
Appropriations	35-22	37-22	House Administration	13-8	15-9	Select Children	18-12	22-14
Armed Services	32-21	33-21	Interior	23-14	26-16	Select Hunger	17-12	21-12
Banking	30-20	31-20	Judiciary	22-14	21-13	Select Intelligence	12-7	12-7
Budget	21-14	23-14	Merchant Marine	27-18	28-17	Select Narcotics Abuse	17-12	21-14
District of Columbia	7-4	7-4	Post Office	14-9	14-8	Small Business	28-17	27-17
Education and Labor	22-13	24-15	Public Works	30-20	34-21	Standards of Official		
Energy and Commerce	26-17	27-16	Rules	9-4	9-4	Conduct (Ethics)	6-6	7-7
Foreign Affairs	26-18	26-17	Science, Space	30-19	33-20	Veterans' Affairs	21-13	21-13
						Ways and Means	23-13	23-13

Senate Committees Future Listings

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

224-2035

USDA COMPUTER OPERATIONS

Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee (Chairman Leahy, D-Vt.) will hold a hearing on the Agriculture Department's computer operations.

10am SR-332 Russell Bldg June 3

LAMB MARKET

Agriculture Research and General Legislation Subcommittee (Chairman Daschle, D-S.D.) of Senate Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on the utility of expanding the amount of data produced by the Agriculture Department on the U.S. lamb market.

10am SR-332 Russell Bldg. June 9

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 SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. June 3, July 21

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:
June 3: Public witnesses on Medical issues
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.

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

Agenda:
10am: Secretary of Interior
2:30pm: 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. June 5

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. June 9

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

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 5: Education

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 Senate Approp-

★ New listing

riations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. June 8

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.

Time TBA SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. date TBA

Witness scheduled: Andrew Card - secretary of Transportation

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 21

Armed Services

224-3871

★ CIVIL DEFENSE

Senate Armed Services Committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on civil defense programs and the fiscal 1993 defense budget.

9:30am SR-222 Russell Bldg. June 3

DEFENSE BUILD-DOWN

Joint Hearing

Defense Industry and Technology Subcommittee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) and Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Levin, D-Mich.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will hold a joint hearing on the defense build-down.

2:30pm SD-106 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

Witnesses scheduled: Donald Atwood - deputy secretary of Defense; Joan McEntee - acting under secretary of Commerce; William Vincent - Advisory Panel on Streamlining and Codifying the Acquisition Laws

BOMBER PROGRAMS

Senate Armed Services Committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on the bomber roadmap and related bomber programs.

2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. June 11

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

224-7391

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: LIMITED PARTNERSHIP ROLLUPS

Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation and vote on a pending nomination.

9:30am SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. June 3

Agenda:

MARKUP:

S 1423 - to amend the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 with respect to limited partnership rollups.

NOMINATION:

David Ryder to be director of the U.S. Mint

Budget

224-0642

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Senate Budget Committee (Chairman Sasser, D-Tenn.) will hold a hearing on the proposed amendment to the Constitution calling for a balanced federal budget.

10am SD-608 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

Witnesses scheduled: Walter Dellinger - Duke University Law School; Laurence Tribe - Harvard Law School; John Armor - American Legislative Exchange Council

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

BROADCAST BAND REALLOCATION

Communications Subcommittee (Acting Chairman Hollings, D-S.C.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on the proposal by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to reallocate the 2 gigahertz communications band.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 3

Witnesses scheduled (partial): Alfred Sikes - Federal Communications Commission; Thomas Surgrue - National Telecommunications and Information Administration

NEW ENGLAND GROUND FISH

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Acting Chairman Kerry, D-Mass.) and the National Ocean Policy Study will hold a hearing on New England Groundfish restoration.

10am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. June 3

Witnesses scheduled: representative - National Marine Fisheries Service; Ted Ames - Maine Gillnetters Association; Joseph Brancione - New England Fishery Management Council; John Bullard - New Bedford Seafood Co-op; Edward Lima - Cape Ann Vessel Association; Peter Shelley - Conservation Law Foundation

AIRLINE COMPETITION

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on competition in the airline industry and on legislation (S 2312) dealing with competition and provision of essential air service at high-density airports.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 10

TELECOMMUNICATIONS & EDUCATION

Communications Subcommittee (Chairman

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

Inouye, D-Hawaii) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on telecommunications and education.
9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 17

MARITIME REFORM

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Breaux, D-La.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on maritime reform.
2pm SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 17

AUTOMOBILE LABELING

Consumer Subcommittee (Chairman Bryan, D-Nev.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2232) to make available to consumers certain information regarding automobiles.
9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 18

NTIA REAUTHORIZATION

Communications Subcommittee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on the reauthorization of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration.
9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. June 23

MOBILE COMMUNICATIONS

Communications Subcommittee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on mobile communications issues.
9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. July 1

GRAND CANYON OVERFLIGHTS

Field Hearing

Aviation Subcommittee (Acting Chairman McCain, R-Ariz.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a field hearing on Grand Canyon overflights.
9am Flagstaff, Ariz. July 7

Energy & Natural Resources

224-4971

OLYMPIC NATIONAL PARK

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 2527) to restore Olympic National Park and the Elwha River ecosystem and fisheries in the state of Washington.
9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will mark up pending legislation.
9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 10

★ New listing

STATE REGULATION OF NATURAL GAS

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on state regulation of natural gas production.
10am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 11

SOVIET NUCLEAR POWER SAFETY ISSUES

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a hearing on the safety of Soviet-designed nuclear power plants and on the technical and financial assistance offered by Western nations to help improve the safety of the plants.
9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 16

Finance

224-4515

COMPETITIVENESS

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will continue a series of hearings on ways to improve the competitiveness of U.S. industry. This session will focus on business and labor perspectives on how to restore U.S. companies' competitiveness and make sure that global competition is fair and open.
10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 2 & addl dates TBA

Witnesses scheduled:
June 2: See "Committee Meetings Scheduled Today" section for witnesses

EFFECTIVENESS OF ENTERPRISE ZONES

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on the effectiveness of enterprise zones as a spur to investment in economically distressed areas.
9:30am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 3

EXECUTIVE COMPENSATION

Taxation Subcommittee (Chairman Boren, D-Okla.) of Senate Finance Committee will hold a hearing on executive compensation, focusing on possible changes in the tax code to put a ceiling on the amount of executive pay companies may take as tax deductions.
10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

★ IMPACT OF DEFICIT ON ECONOMY

Deficits, Debt Management and International Debt Subcommittee (Chairman Bradley, D-N.J.) of Senate Finance Committee will hold a hearing on a General Accounting Office report on "Budget Policy: Prompt Action Necessary to Avert Long-Term Damage to the Economy."
10am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 5

Witnesses scheduled: Charles Bowsher - comptroller general, General Accounting Office
PANEL: Economists and economic experts

HEALTH-CARE COSTS

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will continue a series of

hearings on comprehensive health-care revision.

9:30am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 9, 17 & 18

Agenda:

June 9: Proposals for expanding employment-based health insurance coverage
June 17: Proposals for instituting universal coverage through public health insurance programs
June 18: Proposals for tax-incentive based health-care reform

Foreign Relations

224-4651

FOREIGN RELATIONS NOMINATIONS

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will hold a confirmation hearing on pending nominations.

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 3

Agenda: Adrian Basora to be Ambassador to Czech and Slovak Federal Republic; Richard Goodwin Capen Jr. to be Ambassador to Spain; William Henry Gerald FitzGerald to be Ambassador to Ireland; Peter Barry Teeley to be Ambassador to Canada; Donald Herman Alexander to be Ambassador to the Netherlands

FULL COMMITTEE BUSINESS

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will meet to consider pending treaties, protocols and nominations.

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

Agenda:

Treaties:

T Doc 102-22 - Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty
T Doc 99-1 - Partial revision of the radio regulations of the International Telecommunication Union
T Doc 100-7 - Regional agreement for the Medium Frequency Broadcasting Service in Region 2
T Doc 102-10 - Regional agreement for the use of the band 1605-1705 kHz in Region 2
T Doc 102-13 - International Telecommunications Regulations
T Doc 102-27 - Partial revision to radio regulations relating to space radiocommunications services
T Doc 102-28 - Partial revision to radio regulations relating to broadcasting-satellite service in Region 2
T Doc 102-29 - Partial revision of radio regulations for mobile services

Nominations: Adrian Basora to be Ambassador to Czech and Slovak Federal Republic; Richard Goodwin Capen Jr. to be Ambassador to Spain; William Henry Gerald FitzGerald to be Ambassador to Ireland; Peter Barry Teeley to be Ambassador to Canada; Donald Herman Alexander to be Ambassador to the Netherlands; Reginald Bartholomew to be Permanent Representative on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Marc Baas to be Ambassador to Ethiopia; Hume Alexander Horan to be Ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire; Laurelee Peters to be Ambassador to the Republic of Sierra Leone; Donald Petterson to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Sudan

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

DOD CONTRACTING PROCEDURES

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

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

the Department of Defense (DOD).
9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

SUNGLASSES & SUNSCREENS

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 sunglasses and sunscreens.

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

UN PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold an oversight hearing on the United Nations' (UN) peacekeeping forces.

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

GSA REAUTHORIZATION

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

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

Agenda:

S 1958 - Authorize functions and activities under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 — including the General Services Administration (GSA)

S 2619 - Amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 to enact provisions governing the negotiation and award of contracts under the multiple award schedule program of the General Services Administration

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. June 17

BOXING CORRUPTION

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

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

HEALTH-CARE FRAUD

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

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

DEBT COLLECTION BY AGENCIES

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

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

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 28.

★ New listing

Intelligence

224-1700

INTELLIGENCE MATTERS

Senate Select Intelligence Committee (Chairman Boren, D-Okla.) will hold a hearing on intelligence matters.

2pm SH-219 Hart Bldg. closed June 3

Judiciary

224-5225

JUDICIARY NOMINATIONS

Senate Judiciary Committee (Acting Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a confirmation hearing on pending nominations.

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

Agenda: Susan Black to be judge, 11th Circuit; Irene Keeley to be judge, Northern District of West Virginia; Loretta Preska to be judge, Southern District of New York; Sonia Sotomayor to be judge, Southern District of New York

SUING SATELLITE CARRIERS FOR UNLAWFUL DISCRIMINATION

Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2013) to enable satellite distributors, who provide television programs for home dish viewers, to sue satellite carriers for unlawful price discrimination.

9:30am SR-328A Russell Bldg. June 4

PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 13.

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

ASSURING MINIMUM CHILD SUPPORT PAYMENTS

Children, Family, Drugs and Alcoholism Subcommittee (Chairman Dodd, D-Conn.) of Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2343) to provide for demonstration projects in 6 states to establish or improve a system of assured minimum child support payments.

9:30am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. June 4

Rules & Administration

224-6352

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Rules and Administration Commit-

tee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. June 17

Agenda:

S Con Res 57 - to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress

S Res 273 - to amend the standing rules of the Senate to provide guidance to Members of the Senate, and their employees in discharging the representative function of Member with respect to communications from petitioners

S — an original bill to authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1993 through 1997

S J Res 221 - providing for the appointment of Hanna Holborn Gray as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S J Res 259 - providing for the appointment of Barber B. Conable Jr. as citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S J Res 275 - providing for the appointment of Wesley Samuel Williams, Jr. as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution

S 523 - to authorize the establishment of the National African-American Memorial Museum within the Smithsonian Institution.

S 1598 - to authorize the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to acquire land for watershed protection at the Smithsonian Environmental Research Center. S Con Res 112 - to authorize printing of Thomas Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Praces, as prepared by the Office of the Secretary of the Senate

S — an original resolution authorizing the Senate to participate in State and local government transit programs pursuant to section 629 of the Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Appropriations Act, 1991.

ADMINISTRATIVE ITEMS:

Regulations for payment for telecommunications equipment and services furnished by the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate as provided by Public Law 100-123; policy for use of balconies, Russell Senate Office Building
Use of entrances to Senate Office Buildings
Regulations governing use of the Senator's dining room

Regulations for the Senate Health Care Program by the Office of the Attending Physician

Regulations for the Senate health and fitness facility by the Office of the Architect of the Capitol

Regulations governing Senators' official personnel and office expense accounts regarding payee signatures on vouchers

Regulations governing the office accounts of Senators, committees, and administrative offices regarding certifications of the Senate recording studio and photographic expenses

Regulations governing use of bicycle racks, Hart Office Building garage

Proposal for designation of permanent office suites for the State of California

Regulations on public transportation subsidy by the U.S. Senate.

Veterans' Affairs

224-9126

IMPROVING VETERANS HEALTH

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on pending legislation to improve veterans health.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. June 3

Agenda:

S 2740 - Revise and improve the provision and evaluation of preventive health services by the Department of Veterans Affairs

S 2575 - Revise certain pay authorities that apply to nurses and other health care professionals

S 1424 - Require the secretary of Veterans Affairs to

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

conduct a mobile health care clinic program for furnishing health care to veterans located in rural areas of the United States

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled on June 4.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee

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

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. June 18

WOMEN VETERANS HEALTH CARE

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on health care for women veterans.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. July 2

House Committees Future Listings**Aging****NEW ROLES FOR GRANDPARENTS Field Hearing**

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on new roles and responsibilities for grandparents.

9:30am Suffolk County Community College, Brentwood, N.Y. June 8

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Frank Choma - Deer Park, N.Y.; Lucille Peppers - Bayport, N.Y.; Judith Glickman - Holbrook, N.Y.; Mildred Horn - president, Grandparents Reaching Out, Inc.

PANEL 2: Joan Doran - director, Family Services League of Suffolk County; Linda S. Morrison - board member, Suffolk County Women's Bar Association; Susan Carpenter - meditation specialist, Community Meditation Services, Coram, N.Y.; Danyelle Rudin - program officer, Brookdale Grandparent Caregiver Information Project

HEALTH CARE AND RETIREMENT SECURITY Field Hearing

Retirement, Income and Employment Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on health care, retirement security, and the crisis of cost and coverage.

10am Utica College, Library Concourse, Utica, N.Y. June 8

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Theresa Laper - director, Oneida County Office for the Aging; Richard Edwards - commissioner, Oneida County Department of Social Services; William Moon - commissioner, Delaware County Social Services, Delhi, N.Y.

PANEL 2: Keith A. Fenstemacher - administrator, Faxton-Children's Hospital, Utica, N.Y.; William Streck - administrator, Mary Imogene Bassett Hospital, Cooperstown, N.Y.; Robert McLaughlin - president, Blue Cross-Blue Shield of Utica-Watertown Inc.; Lucy Haggett - president, Oneida, Herkimer & Madison County Home Administration Association, Clinton, N.Y.; George Lim - orthopedic surgeon, Rome, N.Y.; Reynold Golden - director, Family Practice Residency Program, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Utica, N.Y.

PANEL 3: Victor Olivadoti - president, Central New York Labor Council, Utica, N.Y.; Joseph Tierno - representative, New York State AFL-CIO

Agriculture

225-2171

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: RURAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee (Chairman English, D-Okla.) of the House Agriculture Committee will mark up pending legislation.

10am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 3

Agenda:

HR 5237 - Improve the provision of electric and telephone service in rural areas

HR 5238 - Establish a grant program to improve the provision of health care services and educational services in rural areas by enabling providers to have better access to modern interactive telecommunications services

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: HUNGER PROGRAMS

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will mark up legislation (HR 3711) to authorize grants to be made to state programs designed to provide resources to persons who are nutritionally at risk in the form of fresh nutritious unprepared foods.

11am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 4

MONTANA WILDERNESS

Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Volkmer, D-Mo.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1696) to designate certain National Forest lands in the state of Montana as wilderness.

11am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 9

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FIFRA

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will mark up legislation (HR 3742) to improve the safety of pesticides.

Time TBA 1300 Longworth Bldg. tentative week of June 15

ENTERPRISE FOR THE AMERICAS EXPANSION

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4059) to authorize additional functions within the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.

9:30am 1300 Longworth Bldg. June 17

House continued...**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."

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Appropriations

225-2771

FY93 D.C. APPROPS

District of Columbia Subcommittee (Chairman Dixon, D-Calif.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for the District of Columbia.

1:30pm H-301 Capitol Bldg. June 3

10am H-301 Capitol Bldg. June 4

Agenda & witnesses:

June 3: Governmental Direction and Support

June 4: Governmental Direction and Support; Financing and Other Uses; Economic Development and Regulation

FY93 INTERIOR APPROPS

Interior Subcommittee (Chairman Yates, D-Ill.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on fiscal year 1993 appropriations for programs under their jurisdiction. 10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. June 9

Agenda and Witnesses scheduled:

10am: Manuel Lujan Jr. - secretary of Interior

1:30pm: Congressional witnesses

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

FEDERAL BANKING AGENCIES & MINORITY CONTRACTORS

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on problems facing minority and women contractors doing business with the federal agencies that regulate banking.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

Witnesses scheduled: William Taylor - chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; Albert Casey - chief executive officer, Resolution Trust Corporation; Leland Brendsel - chairman, Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation; James Johnson - chairman, Federal National Mortgage Association; Stephen R. Steinbrink - acting comptroller of the currency; Jonathan Fiechter - deputy director, Washington Operations, Office of Thrift Supervision; Peter H. Monroe - president, Thrift Depositor Protection Oversight Board; Daniel Evans, Jr. - chairman, Federal Housing Finance Board

FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK

Housing and Community Development Subcommittee (Chairman Gonzalez, D-Texas) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a series of hearings on the Federal Home Loan Bank System and the

■ Revised listing

House continued...

projected impact of legislation (HR 4973) to modernize the system to meet the needs of a changing housing finance industry.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. June 9, 10, 11

Budget

225-7290

■ BALANCED BUDGET ENFORCEMENT

House Budget Committee (Chairman Pannetta, D-Calif.) will continue hearings on balanced budget issues, focusing on enforcement.

2pm 210 Cannon Bldg. June 3

Witness scheduled: Robert Reischauer - director, Congressional Budget Office

★ AID TO URBAN AREAS

Urgent Fiscal Issues Task Force (Chairman Guarini, D-N.J.) of House Budget Committee will hold a hearing on targeted fiscal assistance for distressed cities and towns.

Time TBA 210 Cannon Bldg. June 18

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL: Daniel Frawley - mayor, Wilmington, Del.; Sandra Freedman - mayor, Tampa, Fla.; John McHugh - mayor, Toledo, Ohio; Vincent Schoemhl - mayor, St. Louis, Mo.

PANEL: Ronald Walters - chairman, Political Science Department, Howard University; Mary Nenno - visiting fellow, The Urban Institute

District of Columbia

225-4457

HEARING AND MARKUP: HEALTH CARE RESOLUTION

Fiscal Affairs and Health Subcommittee (Chairman Stark, D-Calif.) of House District of Columbia Committee will hold a hearing and markup of a resolution (HJ Res 480) disapproving the action of the D.C. Council in approving the Health Care Benefits Expansion Act of 1992.

9am 1310-A Longworth Bldg. June 4

Witnesses scheduled: Rep. Holloway, R-La.; Sharon Pratt Kelly - mayor, District of Columbia; John Wilson - chairman, D.C. Council

D.C. JUDICIAL REVISION

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

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 17.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:

D.C. SUPREME COURT

House District of Columbia Committee

★ New listing

(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

RAISING MINIMUM WAGE IN AMERICAN SAMOA

Labor Standards Subcommittee (Chairman Murphy, D-Pa.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4011) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to bring the minimum wage in American Samoa up to the wage in effect in the United States.

2pm 2261 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:30am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

Agenda:

HR 4443 - Amend the U.S. Institute of Peace Act to establish the Spark M. Matsunaga Scholars Program

HR 1126 - Extend the coverage of certain federal labor laws to foreign flagships

HR 1602 - Amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such act does not preempt actions under state law against persons who engage in unfair insurance claims practices

HR 2782 - Amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such act does not preempt certain state laws

SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION PROGRAMS

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee (Chairman Perkins, D-Ky.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold an oversight hearing on state school-to-work transition programs.

Time & Room TBA June 11

ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

Human Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Martinez, D-Calif.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the reorganization of the Administration on Aging.

Time & Room TBA June 11

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 28.

SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee (Chairman Perkins, D-Ky.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on state school-to-work transition.

Time & room TBA date TBA

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 that has low wages or unhealthy working conditions.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 15.

Energy & Commerce

225-2927

■ MEDICAL DEVICES

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on the Food and Drug Administration's approval process for medical devices.

10am 2322 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

■ RADON

Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee (Chairman Swift, D-Wash.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 3258) to improve the accuracy of radon testing products and services, to increase testing for radon in schools and to create a commission to provide increased public awareness of radon.

9:30am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

■ INVESTMENT ADVISORS

Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee (Chairman Markey, D-Mass.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on proposals to improve Securities and Exchange Commission oversight of investment advisors, or financial planners.

9:30am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

MAMMOGRAPHY

Health and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Waxman, D-Calif.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 3462) to establish the authority for the regulation of mammography services and radiological equipment.

9:45am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 5

FAILURE OF FIRST EXECUTIVE CORP. INSURANCE COMPANY

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on insurance company insolvencies, focusing on the First Executive Corp.

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 17

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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.

TELEPHONE TOLL FRAUD

Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee (Chairman Markey, D-Mass.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on telephone toll fraud.

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Foreign Affairs

225-5021

★ U.S. ASSISTANCE TO CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE

Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee (Chairman Hamilton, D-Ind.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on U.S. assistance to Eastern and Central Europe.

10am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee (Chairman Yatron, D-Pa.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will mark up pending resolutions.

9:30am 2200 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

Agenda:

- H Res 461 - Concerning the harassment of foreign journalists by the Chinese government
- H Res 422 - Concerning the crisis in Somalia
- H Con Res 232 - Concerning the Helsinki Final Act

DROUGHT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Africa Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the drought in southern Africa.

1pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 9

U.S. POLICY TOWARD KENYA & MALAWI

Africa Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on U.S. policy toward Kenya and Malawi.

1pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. June 16

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBA

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Fancell, D-Fla.) will mark up draft legislation that would strengthen sanctions against Cuba.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This mark up was originally scheduled for May 28.

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FY92 & 93 FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Fancell, D-Fla.) will mark up legislation

★ New listing

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

PEACE IN AFGHANISTAN

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

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 8.

■ EC '92 & THE SINGLE MARKET

International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the ramifications of the formation of a single market in the European Community (EC) at the end of 1992.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 1.

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

NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT Joint Hearing

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

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 28.

Government Operations

225-5051

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Government Operations Committee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

Noon 2154 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

Agenda:

- HR 5259 - Authorize payments of units of general local government for fiscal years 1992 and 1993
- HR 5260 - Extend the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Program, to revise the trigger provisions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program

visions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program

HJ Res 454 - Require the federal government to disclose materials relating to the investigation into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy

Note: A mark up a draft version of HR 5259 by the committee was originally scheduled for May 28.

IRS COMPLIANCE 2000 PROGRAM

Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Barnard, D-Ga.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on the effectiveness of the Internal Revenue Service's (IRS) Compliance 2000 program.

9:30am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

Witnesses scheduled: Shirley Peterson - commissioner, IRS; Fred Goldberg - assistant secretary of the Treasury

PANEL: IRS problem resolution officers

PANEL: representatives of national associations representing individual and business taxpayers

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:

PAYMENTS TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Weiss, D-N.Y.) of House Government Operations Committee will mark up legislation (HR 5259) to authorize payments of units of general local government for fiscal years 1992 and 1993.

11am 2203 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

Legislation and National Security Subcommittee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) of House Government Operations Committee will mark up pending legislation.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

Agenda:

HR 5260 - Extend the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Program, to revise the trigger provisions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program

HJ Res 454 - Require the federal government to disclose materials relating to the investigation into the assassination of President John F. Kennedy

CREATIVE WAYS OF USING FEDERAL INFORMATION

Government Information, Justice and Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Wise, D-W.Va.) of House Government Operations Committee will continue hearings on creative ways of disseminating and using federal information.

10am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

DANGERS OF JAW IMPLANTS

Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Weiss, D-N.Y.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on whether the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the National Institutes of Health (NIH) are examining the dangers of jaw implants.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

Witnesses scheduled: Julia Wallace - managing editor, USA Today; Walter Lapinsky - Regional Contracting Assistance Center; Mick Walker - Regional Contracting Assistance Center; Alan Westin - Reference Point Foundation; Linda Golodner - president, National Consumers League

■ Revised listing

House continued...**House Administration**

225-2061

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
AFRICAN-AMERICAN MUSEUM**

Libraries and Memorials Subcommittee (Chairman Clay, D-Mo.) of House Committee on House Administration will mark up legislation (HR 1246) to establish the National African-American Museum within the Smithsonian Institution.

9:30am 121 Cannon Bldg. June 3

OFFICE SYSTEMS BUSINESS

Office Systems Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) of House Committee on House Administration will meet to consider pending business.

11am H-328 Capitol Bldg. June 4

Hunger

226-5470

**■ ALLEVIATION OF
WORLD POVERTY**

House Select Hunger Committee (Chairman Hall, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on progress made in 1992 by the World Bank in alleviating poverty.

9:30am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

Witnesses scheduled: Per Pinstrup-Andersen - director, Cornell Food and Nutrition Policy Program, Cornell University; Nancy Alexander - director of issues, Bread for the World; Douglas Hellinger - director, Development Group for Alternative Policies; Rouinqa Jahan - visiting scholar, Southern Asian Institute, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University

**STATE & LOCAL VIEWS
ON WELFARE REVISION**

Domestic Task Force (Chairman Espy, D-Miss.) of House Select Hunger Committee will hold a hearing on "State and Local Perspectives on Welfare Reform: Rhetoric, Reality, and Opportunities."

10am B-352 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

Witnesses scheduled: Donald Fraser - mayor, Minneapolis, Minn., and first vice president, National League of Cities; Sabra Burdick - former director, Bureau of Income Maintenance, Maine; Larry Jackson - commissioner, Virginia Department of Social Services and chairman, American Public Welfare Association National Council of State Human Service Administrators; Iris Lav - director, State and Local Programs, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; Rims Barber - director, Mississippi Human Services Agenda; Julia Weaver - health advocate, Mississippi Health Advocacy Program

**Interior &
Insular Affairs**

225-2761

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will markup

★ New listing

pending legislation.

9:45am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 3, 10, 17 & 24

Agenda:

June 3:

HR 3168 - to amend the Mineral Leasing Act to provide for leases of certain lands for oil and gas purposes

HR 693 - to provide for public interest improvements in the management of federal coal resources

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

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
PACIFIC YEW**

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

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. June 4

**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 that has low wages or unhealthy working conditions.

Time TBA San Diego, Calif. Date TBA

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.

Time TBA 340 Cannon Bldg. Date TBA

Judiciary

225-3951

**★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
VOTING RIGHTS**

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

10am 2141 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

Agenda:

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

HR 5236 - Voting Rights Extension Act of 1992

**Merchant Marine
& Fisheries**

225-4047

**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
MARAD/COAST GUARD**

House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. June 4

Agenda:

HR 4484 - to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for the Maritime Administration

HR 5055 - to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for the Coast Guard

ABANDONED BARGES

Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee (Chairman Tausin, D-La.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a hearing on abandoned barge legislation. The subcommittee has drafted a bill that would make it illegal to abandon a barge; the measure would also give the Coast Guard the authority to remove such barges from U.S. waterways.

2pm 1334 Longworth Bldg. June 10

**OFF-SHORE GAMBLING
ON BOATS**

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 5257) to require that so-called "cruise-to-nowhere," or short gambling voyages that operate on the open seas be allowed only on American-flagged vessels.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. June 11

★ CARGO LIABILITY

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a hearing on cargo liability for ocean vessels.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. June 24

**Narcotics Abuse
& Control**

226-3040

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

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 oversight hearings on the U.S. Postal Service.

1:30pm 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 2**

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 4, 9**

10am & 2pm 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 11**

■ 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.

1pm 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 10**

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:45am 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 10**

Agenda: TBA

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

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

1pm 311 Cannon Bldg. **June 23, 24**

Agenda and witnesses scheduled:

June 23, 24: Household and family structure, children and income patterns

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 and room TBA July 1

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT

Economic Development Subcommittee (Chairman Kolter, D-Pa.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4157) to amend the Public Works and Economic Development

Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

Rules

225-9486

RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE

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

1pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. **June 2**

4pm H-313 Capitol Bldg. **June 3**

Agenda:

June 2:

HR 5006 - Authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for military functions of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel levels for fiscal year 1993

June 3:

HR 4727/HR 5260 - Extending unemployment compensation benefits

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

■ NATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS

Technology and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Valentine, D-N.C.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold hearings on HR 5231, the National Competitiveness Act of 1992. The bill would enhance manufacturing technology development and transfer and would authorize appropriations for the Technology Administration of the Department of Commerce.

9:30am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. **June 3**

10am 2325 Rayburn Bldg. **June 4**

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

Science Subcommittee (Chairman Boucher, D-Va.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will mark up pending legislation.

2pm 2325 Rayburn Bldg. **June 4**

Agenda:

HR 3673 - Authorizing a research program through the National Science Foundation on the treatment of contaminated water through membrane processes

HR— Expand authority for the NSF in regulating acceptable use of the NSF computer network (NSFNet)

ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS OF TRANSPORTATION ENERGY

Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Scheuer, D-N.Y.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on a General Accounting Office report on policy options to address the environmental costs of energy use in the transportation sector. The hearing will preview the report and assess the trade-offs in using economic incentives, regulation and other approaches to accelerate the use of vehicle technologies with reduced emission and improved fuel economy.

Time & room TBA Date TBA

Witnesses scheduled: Victor Rezendes - General Accounting Office, other witnesses TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

Small Business

225-5821

EQUITY CAPITAL

House Small Business Committee (Chairman LaFalce, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 5191) to encourage private concerns to provide equity capital to small business concerns.

9:30am & 2pm 2359 Rayburn Bldg. **June 3**

Witnesses scheduled:

9:30am: David Croll - chairman, National Association of Small Business Investment Companies; Donald Lawhorne - chairman, National Association of Investment Companies; Stanley Pratt - president, Abbott Capital Management; Peter Seigle - president, Bigler Investment Management Co.; Robert Wadsworth - general partner, Hancock Venture Partners; Leonard Batterson - general partner, Batterson, Johnson & Wang Venture Partners; M. Archie Leslie - general partner, CID Venture Partners

2pm: Patricia Saiki - administrator, Small Business Administration

Veterans' Affairs

225-3527

LAWS AFFECTING FORMER POWS

Compensation, Pension and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Applegate, D-Ohio) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the implementation of laws affecting former POWs.

9:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. **June 4**

Ways & Means

225-3625

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: TRADE EXPANSION

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee will mark up legislation (HR 5100) to strengthen the international trade position of the United States

3pm 1100 Longworth Bldg. **June 3**

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. **June 9**

★ SUPERFUND

Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman Pickle, D-Texas) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on the financing, operation and future status of the Hazardous Substances Superfund, which is used to clean up toxic waste sites.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. **June 11**

★ FOREIGN INCOME TAX

House Ways and Means Committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will hold hearings on the Foreign Income Tax Rationalization and Simplification Act of 1992 (HR 5270).

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. **July 21 & 22**

■ Revised listing

Conference Committees Future Listings

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 5132) making dire emergency supplemental appropriations for disaster assistance to meet urgent needs because of calamities such as those which occurred in Los Angeles and Chicago, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1992

Time & room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Byrd, Inouye, Hollings, Johnston, Burdick, Leahy, Sasser, DeConcini, Bumpers, Lautenberg, Harkin, Mikulski, Reid, Adams, Fowler, Kerrey, Hatfield, Stevens, Garn, Cochran, Kasten, D'Amato, Rudman, Specter, Domenici, Nickles, Gramm, Bond, Gorton

VETERANS HEALTH CARE

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 2344) to improve the provision of health care and other services to veterans by the department of Veterans Affairs.

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees: Montgomery, Edwards, Rowland, Stump, Hammerschmidt

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: Ford, Williams, Perkins, Andrews, Olver, Goodling, Gunderson, Henry

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: Kennedy, Harkin, Adams, Hatch, Kassebaum

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 347) to

amend the Defense Production Act of 1950 to revitalize the defense industrial base of the United States

Time & room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

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

From the House Armed Services Committee: Aspin, Mavroules, Sisisky, 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.

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: Fancell, 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

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

■ Revised listing

Joint Committees Future Listings

Joint Economic

MAY EMPLOYMENT

Joint Economic Committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will hold a hearing to receive the employment and unemployment statistics for the month of May.

9:30am SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. June 5

TELECOMMUNICATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE

Technology and National Security Sub-

★ New listing

committee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) of Joint Economic Committee will hold a series of hearings on the national telecommunications and information infrastructure and the policies that will shape its future. This session will focus on the information network of the future.

Time & room TBA June 12

Witnesses scheduled: Mitch Kapor - founder, Lotus Development (and president, Electronic Frontier Foundation); Jerry Berman - director, Washington office, Electronic Frontier Foundation; Robert Lucke - executive director, Communication Services Research, AT&T Bell Labs; Michael Dertouzos - chairman, MIT Commission on Industrial Productivity

Conference continued...

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 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 addl dates TBA

Note: Conference began November 6

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

House conferees:

From the Committee on Agriculture, for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate 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, Slattery, Lent, Moorhead, Rinaldo, Ritter

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.

WORKING WITH CONGRESSIONAL STAFF

Congressional Quarterly will hold a workshop strategies for working with congressional staff.

9am to 1pm, Congressional Quarterly, 1414 22nd St. N.W. June 3

Note: There is a \$225 charge for this event. For reservations call 202-887-8620

MASS TRANSIT FUNDING

American Public Transit Association will sponsor a rally and news conference to urge support for full funding of transportation programs.

11:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 3

Contact: Chip Bishop at 202-898-4114

★ COMPETITIVENESS

Congressional Economic Leadership Foundation will sponsor a briefing for members of the U.S. Manufacturing Task Force of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus.

Noon, B-340 Rayburn Bldg. June 4

Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007

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.

AUTO REGULATORY & TRADE TRENDS

Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison will sponsor a conference on "The Automotive Industry in Transition: Regulatory Trends and Trade Developments."

Washington Hilton Hotel, 1919 Connecticut Ave. N.W. June 8 & 9

Contact: 202-223-7369

Highlights:

June 8:

8:45am: Investment Trends in the North American Automotive Market and the Impact of a North American Free Trade Agreement

10:30am: Rules of Origin Under the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement

2pm: The Potential Impact of Antidumping, Section 301 and other Trade Remedies and Legislative Initiatives on the Auto and Auto Parts Industries.

Note: There is a \$290 charge for this event. For

reservations send a check, made payable to Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, to: Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison 1615 L St. N.W.

Sutie 1300

Washington, D.C. 20036-5694

CONGRESS AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Congressional Quarterly will hold a intermediate seminar on Congress and the legislative process, providing more advance information for individuals who must work with Congress.

9am to 4pm, Congressional Quarterly, 1414 22nd St. N.W. June 8

Note: There is a \$295 charge for this event. For reservations call 202-887-8620

UNDERSTANDING CONGRESSIONAL BUDGETING

Congressional Quarterly will hold a seminar on understanding the congressional budget process.

9am to 1pm, Congressional Quarterly, 1414 22nd St. N.W. June 9

Note: There is a \$225 charge for this event. For reservations call 202-887-8620

HEALTH-CARE REVISION

American Health Care Association will hold a congressional conference. The session will focus on the impact of local advocacy on national political in an election year.

9am, Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill June 9 & 10

Contact: Greg Koenig at 202-898-2836

Highlights:

June 9:

9:30am: Robert Mosbacher - general chairman, 1992 Bush/Quayle Campaign and former secretary of Commerce

10am: Gail Wilensky - deputy assistant to the president for domestic policy

11am: Panels on grassroots lobbying

June 10:

9:15am: Sen. Breaux, D-La.

10am: Sen. Robb, D-Va.

11:15am: Rep. Dingell, D-Mich.

Note: There is a \$300 charge for this event, for reservations and information call the number listed above.

RECESSIONS & SMALL BUSINESS

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear William Dunkelberg, chief economist of the National Federation of Independent Businesses discuss recessions and small business, focusing on the evidence of a "credit crunch" and the hesitancy of small businesses to invest or expand under present circumstances.

discuss
Noon to 1:30pm, GW University Club, 3rd floor, Marvin Center, 800 21st St., N.W. June 9

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$14 for members and \$20 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is June 5.

Other continued...**SARBANES ON ECONOMIC POLICY**

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Joint Economic Committee Chairman Sen. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., discuss U.S. economic policy in 1992.

Noon to 1:30pm, Montpelier dining room, Library of Congress Madison Bldg., 101 Independence Ave. S.E. **June 11**

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$15 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is June 10

BYRON SPEECH

Women in Defense will sponsor a meeting to hear Rep. Beverly B. Byron, D-Md., discuss the political mood to the country and its impact on the defense environment.

5:30pm to 7:30pm, Army Navy Country Club, Arlington, Va. **June 11**

Contact: Patty Pickett at 703-734-5959

ENERGY POLICY

Energy Task Force of Women in Government Relations will sponsor a briefing on the status of energy policy legislation (HR 776/S 2166).

8:30am to 10am, American Trucking Associations, 430 First St. S.E., Third floor **June 12**

Contact: Anna Thronson at 202-625-3843

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$20 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to WGR, to:

WGR

1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.

Suite 510

Washington, D.C. 20005

Deadline is June 10

CONSUMER CONFIDENCE

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Richard Curtin, director of consumer surveys for the University of Michigan survey Research Center, discuss "Consumer Confidence: Current Outlook and Forecast Accuracy."

Noon to 1:30pm, Montpelier dining room, Library of Congress Madison Bldg., 101 Independence Ave. S.E. **June 16**

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$15 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is noon the day before the luncheon is scheduled.

RCRA OUTLOOK

National Energy Resources Organization (NERO) will sponsor a discussion with Sen. John Chafee, R-R.I., on "Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) Reauthorization: Will it Happen This Year?"

11:45am (reception); 12:15pm (lunch) SR-325 Russell Bldg. **June 17**

Contact: Dana Both at 202-466-6539

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$23 for members and \$25 for nonmembers (\$20 for media having lunch). For reservations send a check, made payable to NERO, to:

NERO

c/o Franklin, Blee & Burling

919 Eighteenth St. N.W.

★ New listing

Suite 450

Washington, D.C. 20006

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

The Atlantic Council will sponsor the final event in a series of discussions on the reshaping of the foreign policy and international presence of the United States. The session will focus on "Facing America's Foreign Policy Future."

4pm National Press Club, 524 14th St., N.W. **June 22**

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

ENERGY ISSUES

Telecommunications, Health, Environment, Energy and Banking Task Forces of Women in Government Relations will sponsor an informal meeting with staff members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

5:30pm to 7pm, Dutko & Associates courtyard, 412 First St. S.E. **June 22**

Contact: Nancy McCabe at 202-789-1993

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$25 for members and \$40 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to WGR, to:

Janet Allen

Women in Government Relations

1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.

Suite 510

Washington, D.C. 20005

TRADE ISSUES & THE '92 CAMPAIGN

Association of Women in International

Trade will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills discuss "International Trade Issues in the '92 Campaign and Beyond."

Noon to 1:30pm, 1st Amendment room, National Press Club, 529 14th St. N.W. **June 24**

Contact: Trish Babyak at 202-783-2000

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$27.50 for members and \$37.50 for non-members. For reservations and information call the number listed above.

LOBBYING TECHNIQUES

Congressional Quarterly will hold a seminar on "Lobbying for the '90s: Strategic Planning for a Changing Environment."

9am to 4:30pm, Holiday Inn Crowne Plaza Metro Center, 775 12th St. N.W. **June 30**

Note: There is a \$345 charge for this event. For reservations call 202-887-8620

STEEL TRADE POLICY

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Joseph Papovich, deputy U.S. trade representative for industry, discuss "U.S. Steel Trade Policy and Prospects for a Multilateral Steel Agreement."

Noon to 1:30pm, GW University Club, 3rd floor, Marvin Center, 800 21st St., N.W. **June 30**

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$14 for members and \$20 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is June 29.

Campaign Future Listings

--from Reuters

The *Monitor* has received notice of the following congressional and presidential campaign events scheduled to take place in Washington. Organizations that wish to have events listed in the section should send pertinent information to: The Congressional Monitor, Other Events Editor, 1414 22nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Notices must include a telephone number. Notices may be transmitted by facsimile to 202-728-1862, attn: Robert Healy. Fundraisers will not be listed. Deadline is noon two days before the date of issue (i.e. Monday noon for Wednesday issue). The editors reserve the right to edit or reject any submission. For further information call 202-887-8686.

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

June 2

In Santa Monica, Calif.

In California

9am: Votes. University High School, 3065 Jackson St., San Francisco

8pm to 10pm: Election night gathering. Brown for

President Headquarters, 2121 Cloverfield Blvd., Santa Monica

June 4-11

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to attend the Earth Summit

Bill Clinton

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

June 2

In Los Angeles, Calif.

7pm: Election night gathering. Biltmore Hotel, 506 S. Grand Ave. Los Angeles

June 3

In Los Angeles, Calif., and San Antonio, Texas

June 4

In San Antonio, Texas, and Little Rock, Ark.

June 5-7

In Little Rock, Ark.

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

June 2

In Washington, D.C., and New Hampshire

7pm: Rally to thank New Hampshire supporters. Courtyard Restaurant, South Willow Road and Route 28, Manchester, N.H.

■ Revised listing

Campaign Events *continued...*

Bush-Quayle

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

June 2

PRESIDENT BUSH

No campaign events scheduled

INDEPENDENTS

Ross Perot

Contact: 214-716-6500

June 2

No campaign events currently scheduled

June 3

7am: Interviewed on NBC's Today show.

Primaries & Caucuses

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

Members' Occupations 102nd Congress

The following chart shows the occupations of members of the 102nd Congress, through the end of the first session. Because some members have more than one occupation, totals are higher than total membership.

Occupation	House			Senate			Congress
	D	R	Total	D	R	Total	Total
Actor/entertainer	1	1	2	0	0	0	2
Aeronautics	0	1	1	1	0	1	2
Agriculture	11	9	20	3	5	8	28
Business or banking	77	79	156	15	15	30	186
Clergy	1	0	1	0	1	1	2
Education	39	19	59*	7	4	11	70*
Engineering	4	3	7	0	0	0	7
Journalism	14	11	26*	8	2	10	35*
Labor officials	4	0	4	0	0	0	3
Law	125	57	182	36	26	62	244
Law enforcement	4	1	5	0	0	0	5
Medicine	3	2	5	0	0	0	5
Military	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
Professional sports	2	1	3	1	0	1	4
Public service/politics	43	20	63	4	0	4	67

* Includes Independent Bernard Sanders, Vt.

SOURCE: Compiled from information given to Congressional Quarterly by members of Congress.

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

June 1

FULL COMMITTEE

House: 225-2771; Senate: 224-3471

AGRICULTURE

House: 225-2638; Senate: 224-7240

House subcmte hearings completed: April 29

Senate subcmte hearings completed: April 7

COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, & THE JUDICIARY

House: 225-3351; Senate: 224-7277

House subcmte hearings completed: April 7

DEFENSE

House: 225-2847; Senate: 224-7255

House subcmte hearings completed: May 7

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 3

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7236

House subcmte hearings scheduled: June 3, 4

ENERGY & WATER DEVELOPMENT

House: 225-3421; Senate: 224-7260

House subcmte hearings completed: March 31

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

House: 225-2041; Senate: 224-7209

House subcmte hearings completed: May 1

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

LABOR/HHS/EDUC

House: 225-3508; Senate: 224-7283

House subcmte hearings completed: May 19

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 5

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7338

House subcmte hearings completed: January 29

Senate subcmte hearings completed: February 7

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

House: 225-3047; Senate: 224-7255

House subcmte hearings completed: March 25

TRANSPORTATION

House: 225-2141; Senate: 224-7245

House subcmte hearings completed: April 30

TREASURY/POSTAL SERVICE

House: 225-5834; Senate: 224-6280

House subcmte hearings completed: April 9

VA, HUD & INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

House: 225-3241; Senate: 224-7211

House subcmte hearings completed: April 30

House Floor Action

Week of June 1

Monday, June 1:

Convenes at Noon
No legislative business scheduled

Tuesday, June 2:

Convenes at Noon
Under suspension of the rules (votes on suspensions, if ordered, will be postponed until Wednesday):

- HR 4801 Amend the National Historic Preservation Act to extend the authorization for the Historic Preservation Fund begin consideration
- HR 3905 Amend the Historic Preservation Act to authorize appropriations for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation begin consideration
- HConRes 156 Concerning the emancipation of the Baha'i community of Iran begin consideration
- HConRes 297 Condemning the bombing of the Embassy of Israel in Buenos Aires begin consideration
- HConRes 299 Expressing the sense of the Congress regard-

ing the Kurds in northern Iraq begin consideration

- HConRes 305 Commending the people of Albania for their successful democratic election, urging the acceleration of market reforms in Albania, urging the president to expedite the negotiation of a commercial agreement with Albania, and urging an increase of aid to Albania begin consideration

- HRes 473 Regarding Burma begin consideration

Wednesday, June 3 & Balance of the Week

Convenes at Noon on Wednesday and Thursday, convenes at 10am on Friday

- HR 5006 Authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for military functions of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel levels for fiscal year 1993 begin consideration
- HR 5260 Extend the emergency unemployment compensation program, to revise the trigger provisions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program begin consideration

Senate Floor Action

Week of June 1

Monday, June 1:

Pro forma session

Tuesday, June 2:

- S 1504 Authorize appropriations for public broadcasting continue consideration
- S 474 A bill to protect gambling under state law begin consideration

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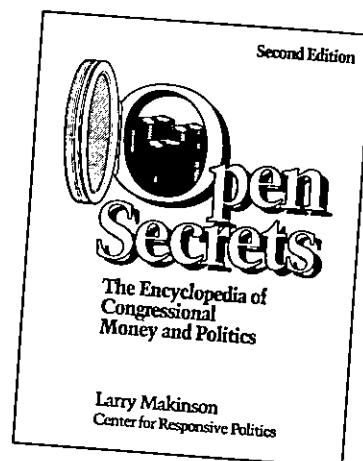
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Correspondent, CNN



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CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



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CONGRESS IN PRINT



Tuesday, June 2, 1992

Volume 16, Number 21

SENATE COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

AGING COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides: The Ethics of Health Care Rationing
Full Committee. June 19, 1991. Serial No. 102-4.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12485-3
Price: \$4.25
- Reducing the Use of Chemical Restraints in Nursing Homes
Full Committee. July 22, 1991. Serial No. 102-6.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12491-8
Price: \$5.50
- Linking Medical Education and Training to Rural America: Obstacles and Opportunities
Full Committee. July 29, 1991. Serial No. 102-8.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12490-0
Price: \$5.00

AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION & FORESTRY COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Disaster Assistance Legislation — S 1251, S 1441 and S 1422
Full Committee. July 23, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12497-7
Price: \$6.00

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Oversight Hearing on the Proposed Merger Between Bank of America and Security Pacific Bank
Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary Subcommittee.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12496-9
Price: \$6.00

BANKING, HOUSING & URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Efforts to Combat Criminal Financial Institution Fraud
Consumer and Regulatory Affairs Subcommittee. February 6, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12482-9
Price: \$4.00

BUDGET COMMITTEE

PRINTS

- Views and Estimates With Respect to the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 1993
Full Committee.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12469-1
Price: \$10.00

COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Global Change Research: The Role of Clouds in Climate Change
Full Committee. October 7, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12477-2
Price: \$3.00
- New Developments in Computer Technology: Virtual Reality
Science, Space and Technology Subcommittee. May 8, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12475-6
Price: \$2.25
- Monitoring the Arctic and Antarctic Environments
Science, Space and Technology Subcommittee. May 13, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12479-9
Price: \$3.75

ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Old Faithful Protection Act of 1991
Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee and Mineral Resources Development and Production Subcommittee. February 25, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12487-0
Price: \$4.50

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- SRpt 102-284 to S 1439, A bill to authorize and direct the secretary of Interior to convey certain lands in Livingston Parish, La
- SRpt 102-285 to HR 1642, Palo Alto Battlefield National Historic Site Act of 1991

FINANCE COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Trade and the Environment
International Trade Subcommittee. October 25, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12478-1
Price: \$3.50
- Tax Credits for Resolution Trust Corporation Property Sales
Taxation Subcommittee. October 22, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12480-2
Price: \$3.75

INDIAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991
Full Committee. October 19, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12484-5
Price: \$4.00
- Indian Federal Recognition Administrative Procedures Act of 1991
Full Committee. October 22, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12502-7
Price: \$9.50

PRINTS

- Budget Views and Estimates for Fiscal Year 1993
Full Committee. March 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12468-3
Price: \$2.50

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Note: Senate Judiciary Committee hearings and prints are available free of charge from the committee, while supplies last. Documents may be requested by mail. Orders should be sent to: Senate Judiciary Committee, Document Clerk, SD-224 Dirksen Bldg, Washington, D.C. 20510. Documents may also be picked up in person in SD-224 Dirksen Building.

Senate continued...**HEARINGS****•Special Problems in Bankruptcy**

Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee. July 24, 1991. Serial No. J-102-34.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12483-7

Price: \$4.00

LABOR & HUMAN RESOURCES COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Save American Jobs Act**

Labor Subcommittee. April 7, 1992.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12470-5

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REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

•SRpt 102-286 to S 2062, Equal Remedies Act of 1991.**SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE****HEARINGS****•Hearing on Product Liability Laws and Their Impact on Small Business Innovation**

Full Committee. November 7, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12476-4

Price: \$2.50

HOUSE COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS**AGING COMMITTEE****HEARINGS****•The Nation's Health Care Crisis: The Long-Term Gap**

Health and Long-Term Care Subcommittee. October 28, 1991. Comm. Pub. No. 102-857.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12472-1

Price: \$1.75

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Military Exchange Operations and Morale, Welfare and Recreation Programs**

Morale, Welfare and Recreation Panel. November 6 & 7, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12501-9

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BANKING, FINANCE & URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Economic Distress in Our Cities: Baltimore, Maryland**

Full Committee. January 24, 1992. Serial No. 102-90.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12495-1

Price: \$6.00

•HR 4241; Resolution Trust Corporation Funding Act of 1992

Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance Subcommittee. February 26, 1992. Serial No. 102-102.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12492-6

Price: \$5.50

•Overcharging on Mortgages: Escrow Account Limits

Housing and Community Development Subcommittee. March 20, 1991. Serial No. 102-14.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12481-1

Price: \$3.75

BUDGET COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Federal Budget Impact on State and Local Governments**

Full Committee. February 11, 1992. Serial No. 102-35.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12486-1

Price: \$4.25

•Members' Views on Fiscal Year 1993 Budget

Full Committee. February 19, 1992. Serial No. 102-39.

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EDUCATION & LABOR COMMITTEE**REPORTS**

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

•HRpt 102-540 (Part I) to HR 3711, WIC Supplemental Benefits Act of 1991**ENERGY & COMMERCE COMMITTEE**

The following documents are available at no charge from the committee for in person pick-up at Room B334 Rayburn Bldg, South Capitol St. & Independence Ave., S.W. Mail

orders are accepted from OUT OF TOWN ADDRESSES ONLY. Requests should be sent to: House Energy & Commerce Cmte, B334 Rayburn Bldg, Washington, D.C. 20515. Mail requests must include a self-addressed mailing label. After committee supplies are exhausted the documents may be purchased from the GPO at the prices indicated

HEARINGS**•Health Care Fraud and Waste (Part 1)**

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee. October 10 & 17, 1991. Serial No. 102-107.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12499-3

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•Securities Investors Legal Rights

Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee. November 21, 1991. Serial No. 102-101.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Report of the President's Task Force on U.S. Government International Broadcasting**

International Operations Subcommittee. February 4, 1992.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12473-0

Price: \$1.75

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Adequacy of Laws and Regulations Governing Rail Transportation of Hazardous Chemicals**

Government Activities and Transportation Subcommittee. July 31, 1991.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12489-6

Price: \$5.00

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

•HRpt 102-537 Report entitled: "They Went Thataway: The Strange Case of Marc Rich and Pincus Green"**•HRpt 102-538 Report entitled: "Coins, Contracting, and Chicanery: Treasury and Justice Departments Fail to Coordinate"**

House continued...**MERCHANT MARINE & FISHERIES COMMITTEE****HEARINGS****•GAO Study of the National Defense Reserve Fleet**

Merchant Marine Subcommittee and Regulation, Business Opportunities and Energy Subcommittee of House Small Business Committee. July 11, 1991. Merchant Marines and Fisheries Committee Serial No. 102-63. Small Business Committee Serial No. 102-41.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12488-8

Price: \$4.50

POST OFFICE & CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Field Hearing to Review the Need for Postal Facilities in Palm Bay, Fla.**

Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee. October 28, 1991. Serial No. 102-31.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12474-8

Price: \$2.00

RULES COMMITTEE**REPORTS**

Note: Reports are available from the Document Rooms

•Rule granted: HRpt 102-534 to H Res 466, Resolution waiving all points of order against the conference report on HR 2507, to amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the programs of the National Institutes of Health and for other purposes, and against the consideration of such conference report

•HRpt 102-535 to H Res 467, Resolution waiving all points of order against the conference report on S 1306, to amend title V of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend certain programs, and against consideration of such conference report

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Science and Technology Cooperation With the Russian Federation — Videoconference With Moscow**

Full Committee. March 25, 1992.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12471-3

Price: \$1.50

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

•HRpt 102-539 to HR 3614, National Land Remote-Sensing Policy Act of 1991

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SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•Impact of Independent Contractor Reclassification on Small Business**

Exports, Tax Policy and Special Problems Subcommittee. July 30, 1991. Serial No. 102-36.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12500-1

Price: \$8.00

WAYS & MEANS COMMITTEE**HEARINGS****•American Jobs and Manufacturing Preservation Act of 1991**

Full Committee. October 3, 1991. Serial No. 102-75.

GPO Stock No. 552-070-12493-4

Price: \$5.50

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

•HRpt 102-536 (Part I) to HR 4727, Unem-

ployment Compensation Amendments of 1992

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House continued...**Accounting and Financial Management**

- **Financial Reporting: Accounting for the Postal Service's Postretirement Health Care Costs**

AFMD-92-32, May 20, 1992.

General Government

- **Agriculture's Export Credit Programs: Delays in Accessing Records Relating to Iraq**, by Allan I. Mendelowitz, director of International Trade and Finance Issues, before the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs

T-GGD-92-47, May 29, 1992.

Human Resources

- **Occupational Safety and Health: Options to Improve Hazard-Abatement Procedures in the Workplace**

HRD-92-105, May 12, 1992.

Information, Management and Technology

- **Automated Patent System: Information on PTO's Program to Automate Patent Information and Processes**, by JayEtta Hecker, director of resources, community, and economic development information systems issues, before the subcommittee on intellectual property and judicial administration, House Committee on the Judiciary

T-IMTEC-92-20, May 28, 1992.

National Security and International Affairs

- **Operation Desert Shield/Storm: Update on Costs and Funding Requirements**
NSIAD-92-194, May 8, 1992.
- **Defense Inventory: DOD Actions Need to ensure Benefits for Supply Depot Consolidation Efforts**

NSIAD-92-136, May 29, 1992.

Resources, Community and Economic Development

- **University Research: Controlling Inappropriate Access to Federally Funded Research Results**

RCED-92-104, May 4, 1992.

- **Maritime Administration: Stronger Management Controls Needed Over Vessels in Title XI Custody**

RCED-92-147, May 22, 1992.

- **Nuclear Waste: DOE's Repository Site Investigations, a Long and Difficult Task**

RCED-92-73, May 27, 1992.

- **FAA Budget: Key Issues Need to Be Addressed**, by Kenneth M. Mead, Director of Transportation Issues, before the Subcommittee on Transportation and Related Agencies, Senate Committee on Appropriations

T-RCED-92-67, May 21, 1992.

- **Hazardous Waste: Impediments Delay Timely Closing and Cleanup of Facilities**

RCED-92-84, April 10, 1992.

- **Hazardous Waste: Impediments Have Delayed the Closing and Cleanup of Land**

Disposal Facilities, by Richard Hembra, director of environmental protection issues, before the subcommittee on environment, energy, and natural resources, House Committee on Government Operations

T-RCED-92-64, May 28, 1992.

PUBLIC LAWS

- **HJ Res 371 = PL 102-290 106 Stat. 177**, Joint resolution designating May 31, 1992, through June 6, 1992, as a "Week for the National Observance of the 50th Anniversary of World War II"

Signed by the president May 20, 1992

- **S 2378 = PL 102-291 106 Stat. 178**, A bill to amend title 38, U.S. Code, to extend certain authorities relating to the administration of veterans laws

Signed by the president May 20, 1992

- **S 1182 = PL 102-292 106 Stat. 181**, Fishlake National Forest Enlargement Act

Signed by the president May 26, 1992

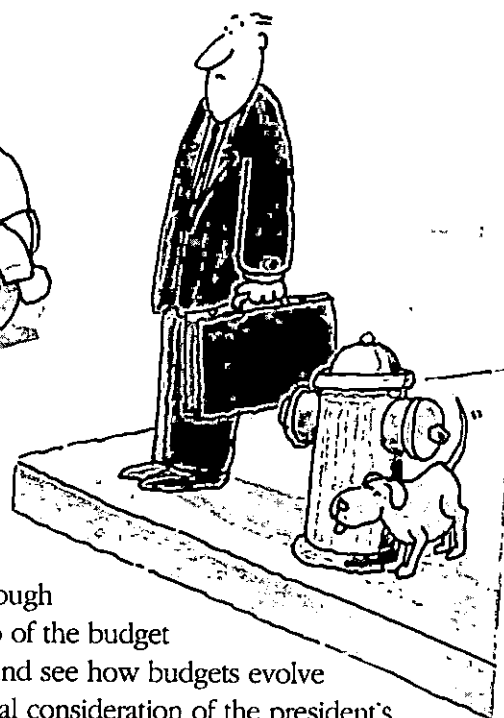
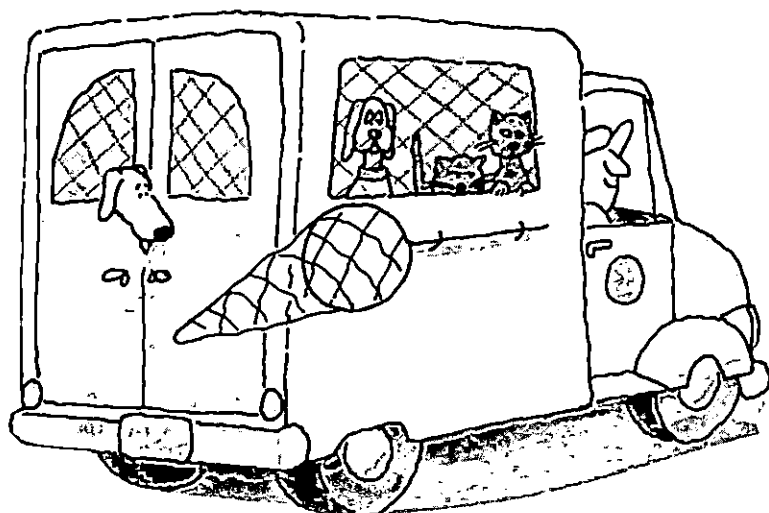
- **S 452 = PL 102-293 106 Stat. 183**, A bill to authorize a transfer of administrative jurisdiction over certain land to the Secretary of the Interior, and for other purposes

Signed by the president May 27, 1992

- **S 749 = PL 102-294 106 Stat. 185**, A bill to rename and expand the boundaries of the Mound City Group National Monument in Ohio

Signed by the president May 27, 1992

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1992

Dear Herb,

I just received your invitation to The Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army Conference. It sounds like a great event and I would love to "energize" some folks but, unfortunately, my schedule for those days has already been committed.

Thanks for the invite, though, and I appreciate so much your thinking of me.

Loved the old postcard. It's difficult to imagine being able to mail anything for a penny.

Best wishes to you, Diane and all the conference attendees.

Sincerely,



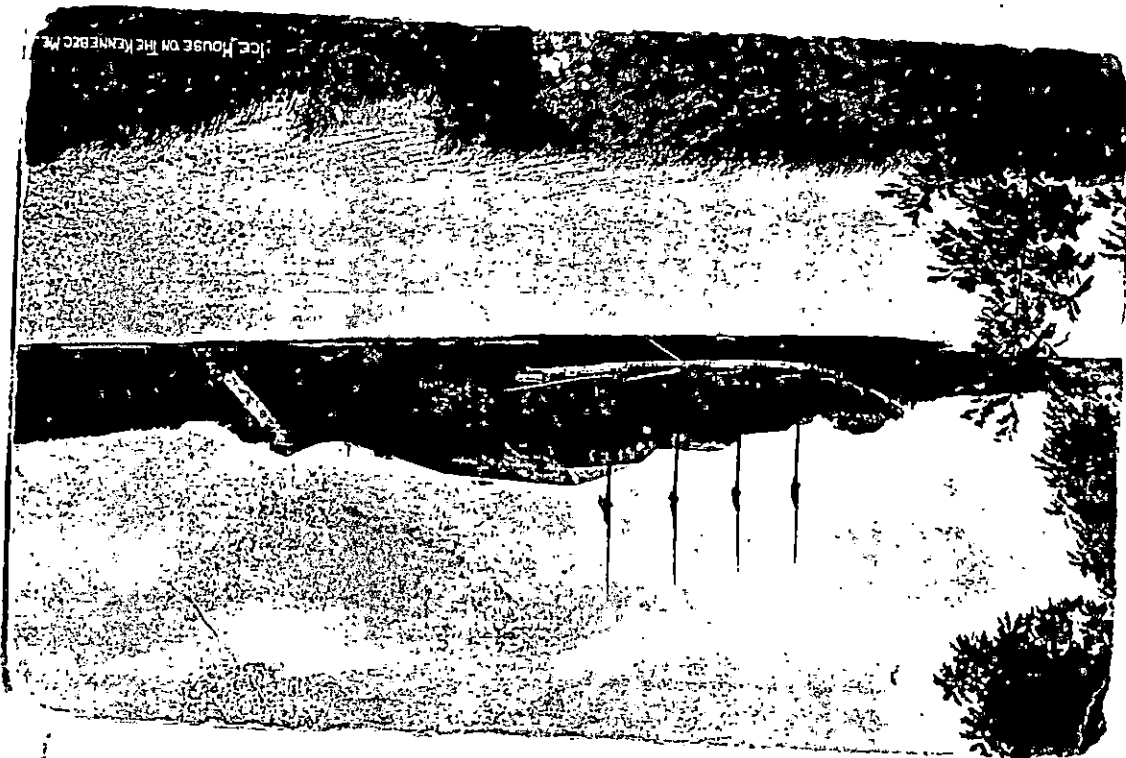
Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Hoffman Apparel International Corporation
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

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

From the desk of
George Bush

R 2

Have someone
draft a nice
regret!
Dear Herb



Ice House on the Kennebec Me.

No. 1334. Pub. by Boston Post-Card Co., 12 Pearl St.

PLACE
STAMP HERE
—
DOMESTIC
ONE CENT
FOREIGN
TWO CENTS

Mr President,
I have this card
The "port" but at
West a River in
Maine. only 1¢
to mail!
But - here

HERBERT S. HOFFMAN

160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts, 02114
May 28, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

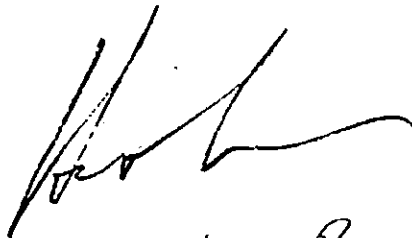
The Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army Conference will be held in Washington June 28 - July 1. Army Civilian Aides are individuals from all the states, territories and Army areas and are for the most part important influencers and decision makers in their communities.

I believe it would be worthwhile for you to consider some sort of participation in the conference by addressing the attendees or at a reception requiring a limited amount of your time.

I am perhaps presumptuous in extending this "invitation" inasmuch as that honor belongs to Secretary Stone. However knowing Mike as we do I doubt he would be offended in the least in my sending this message to you.

As always, I remain

Respectfully,



The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr President,
may be good
opportunity to
"energize" these
folks from every
STATE of the Union.
Best Herb.



OFFICE OF THE
CHIEF OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON, DC 20310-1505

1 May 1992



Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army
Hoffman Apparel International Corporation
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

The Thirty-seventh National Conference of Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army will be held at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel at Pentagon City in Arlington, Virginia, from 28 June through 1 July.

I have enclosed a tentative conference agenda. While some agenda items may change, the starting and ending dates and times of the conference will not, so you can make your travel arrangements now.

As in the past, the Department of the Army will fund transportation, lodging and meal costs during the conference for "active" Civilian Aides. Civilian Aides Emeriti and their spouses or guests, as well as spouses or guests of active Civilian Aides, attend at their own expense. Official conference meals are funded, and the hotel offers special rates for all attendees.

A conference questionnaire also is enclosed. Please make your travel arrangements, fill out the sheet and return to me by 25 May. You may fax the form to (703) 693-7380 if you wish.

The Ritz-Carlton Hotel can accommodate any changes in reservations through 2 June. After that date, they will make every effort to fill your changing needs but will make no guarantees. Please contact me at once if your plans change.

If you plan to travel to Washington by airplane, I recommend you arrive at National Airport. Wherever your point of arrival, a car and escort officer will meet you and escort you to the hotel. If you plan to arrive by car, please indicate your estimated time of arrival. If you arrive at the hotel by private automobile and there is no escort waiting for you in the

Tentative Agenda Thirty-seventh Conference of Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army

Sunday, 28 June

1300 - 2200 Check-in: Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Pentagon City
1800 - 2000 Reception

Monday, 29 June

0800 - 0900 Opening Remarks: Secretary of the Army
0900 - 0945 Official Photos (w/SecArmy) and Break
0945 - 1030 OCLL Issues: MGs Harrison, Elam, Gorden, Schroeder and Meade -- Base Force
1030 - 1130 ODCSINT: BG Hughes, CG, USAIA -- World Situation Brief (Unclassified)
1130 - 1145 Break
1145 - 1330 Luncheon: Speaker -- Chairman, JCS
1330 - 1445 Brief Presentations:
 DCSPER: Status of Personnel Issues in Light of Drawdown
 ASA (M&RA): ACAP, Alternative Certification
 DCSOPS: Force Structure, Training and Environment, AC/RC
 ASA (ILE): Environment/Base Closure
 ASA (FM): Budget Overview
1445 - 1515 Break
1515 - 1700 Panel Continues with Q's and A's
1830 - 2130 Dinner: Fort Myer Officers' Club
 World War II Theme (with related entertainment)
 Brief Remarks : SecArmy

Tuesday, 30 June

0800 - 0900 Speaker: Chief of Staff
0915 - 1730 Staff Ride: Antietam National Battlefield -- CASA's, Spouses, Secretariat,
 Staff Principals or Designees
 Evening free for CONUSA dinners

OVER

Wednesday, 1 July

0800 - 0845	CONUSA Executive Sessions
0845 - 0915	Break
0915 - 0945	BG McClain: Administrative Conference Wrap Up
0945 - 1000	Break
1000 - 1145	Executive Session with SecArmy and CONUSA Commanders
1145 - 1330	Luncheon: Speaker -- Secretary of Defense
1330	Conference Ends

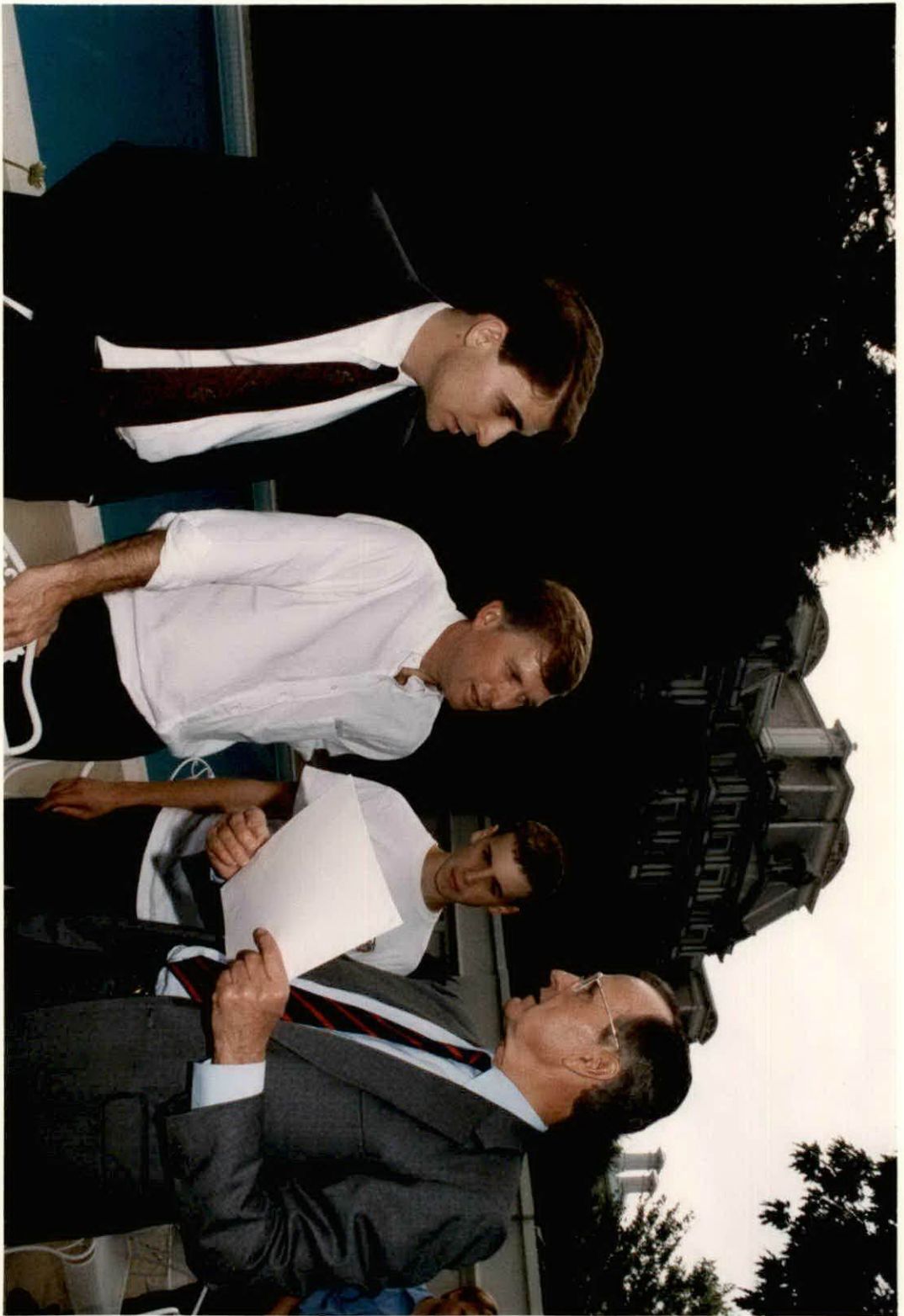
Tentative Spouse/Guest Agenda

Wednesday, 1 July

0800 - 0930	White House Tour
0930 - 1045	Tour: New First Ladies' Exhibit, The Museum of American History
1130 - 1330	Luncheon: Speaker -- Secretary of Defense
1330	Conference Ends



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE MULTIMEDIA AC JUN 92 130252-08A DV







Galtin Brothers



Bipartisan
Congressional Meeting
with Mayor Bradley
& Gov Wilson



*Congressional
Friends*





GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

support

Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Mosbacher, Jr.
6421 Vanderbilt
Houston, Texas 77005

✓

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
June 2, 1992

Dear Rob and Catherine:

Thanks for a great evening in Dallas. The dinner was a big success and I appreciate all the work you both put into it.

We're headed for some rough times, but with support and friendship from people like you, I'm confident that we'll succeed.

Barbara joins in sending our warmest regards.

Sincerely,

GB

*Well done, so
very well done!*

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(2 cc)

JAN



THE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1992

Dear Jay,

What a pleasure it is for Barbara and me to add our best wishes to those of your family and friends gathered to celebrate your 70th birthday.

We hope that your day is filled with joy and that the year ahead is a blessed one.

Many happy returns!

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jay I. Kislak
C/o Mr. Alec P. Courtelis
Suite 1400
701 Brickell Avenue
Miami, Florida 33131-2822

JAN

DATE:

June 2 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

BUSH OFFERS PLAN TO SAVE FORESTS

Urges Talks in Rio to Balance
Environment and Growth

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

GREENBELT, Md., June 1 — Seeking to counter foreign and domestic criticism of his environmental record, President Bush presented a new program today to conserve the world's dwindling forests, a crucial issue at this month's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

Standing at a NASA research center before a huge blue photograph of the earth taken from space, Mr. Bush said the White House would increase its aid to other nations' forestry programs by \$150 million, to \$270 million, starting in the fiscal year that begins in October.

He also challenged other nations to double spending on forest conservation to \$2.7 billion annually, to halt the worldwide loss of trees.

Today's actions, details of which had been circulated over the weekend, were described by Mr. Bush as part of a commitment to improve the quality of the environment without affecting economic growth.

But they were also clearly aimed at critics who have charged the White House with trying to weaken domestic environmental laws and sabotaging the goals of the Earth Summit by withholding support for forceful language in proposed treaties.

As delegates to the summit meeting began to gather in Rio de Janeiro today, the Brazilian press painted the Bush Administration as an environmental villain. [Page A10.]

And as recently as Sunday, Mr. Bush

Continued on Page A10, Column 3

see next page

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



In a speech at a NASA research center in Greenbelt, Md., President Bush presented new programs today to conserve the world's dwindling forests and combat global warming. He spoke earlier with William K. Reilly, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Bush Offers Plans to Conserve Forests and to Share Data on Climate

Continued From Page A1

was calling such critics "extremists" and saying he would not rely on "unsound science" to make basic decisions about global warming and other environmental issues.

"I came to this office committed to extend America's record of environmental leadership and I've worked to do so in a way that is compatible with economic growth," Mr. Bush said today. "because this balance is absolutely essential, and because these are twin goals, not mutually exclusive objectives."

Mr. Bush's words reflected a continuing struggle at the top of his Administration over environmental politics. On one side are his most conservative advisers, who view most environ-

mental rules as a drag on the economy and want to appeal to business and industry executives. On the other side are some senior political advisers who are wary of alienating a large environmentalist constituency in the middle of Mr. Bush's re-election campaign.

A Need for Data

In his speech today, Mr. Bush also announced three other measures to combat the warming of the earth's atmosphere:

He pledged to establish a Technology Cooperation Corps of United States business experts to survey the environmental needs of developing nations and to find ways to introduce new pollution-control technologies.

He offered to help pay for studies of developing nations to determine what changes in industrial and energy poli-

cies and government programs would make it easier to cut emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.

He promised to distribute thousands of computer discs at Rio with scientific data from United States studies of global warming. Data from NASA's satellite studies of the Earth's climate will be offered soon to scientists and governments worldwide to support new research into changes in climate, he said.

Urged Less Strict Controls

Last month, Mr. Bush successfully wielded a threat to boycott the Earth Summit to win concessions from most of the world's nations on a global warming treaty, eliminating language that would have required the United States to cap its emissions of carbon dioxide by 2000 at 1990 levels. The treaty now calls for "action plans" to reduce emissions of the gases that are thought to promote global warming, but does not mandate reductions.

The Administration's plan leaves open the prospect of capping all the greenhouse gases at 1990 levels, but suggests that United States emissions of carbon dioxide, by far the most threatening of the gases, will rise by about 6 percent.

Only last week, the Administration announced that it would not sign the other major treaty at the Rio meeting, which calls for new measures to slow the extinction of plants and animals. The State Department said the Administration objected to language decreeing how the preservation efforts would be paid for and to other, more technical measures that were said to injure industry in the United States and impinge on patent rights.

Administration officials today depicted the new forest-conservation pro-

gram as an alternative to the strictures of both treaties. New forests, they said, would reduce global levels of carbon dioxide faster than mandated pollution controls. And they argued that the program would save more threatened species because forests already are home to half the world's plants and animals.

"This is not a substitute for biodiversity," one senior official told reporters referring to the wildlife-preservation treaty that Mr. Bush has shunned. "This is a better way to deal with biodiversity, if I can put it that way."

The reaction from many environmental leaders and political critics was harsh. The Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society called Mr. Bush's announcements hypocrisy, and several groups noted that the United States had opposed an international agreement on forest preservation that was to have been offered at Rio. A non-binding statement of principles will be presented in its stead.

Some also noted that the Administration had recently moved to allow clear-cutting of old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest and to allow limited logging in Oregon forests that are home to the endangered northern spotted owl. Both actions have come under strong attack from environmentalists.

Losing 1.5 Acres Each Second

Still, the President won some guarded praise for focusing on the loss of forests, one of the most serious and stubborn problems.

The Earth loses an average of 1.5 acres of forest each second to lumbering and land-clearing operations, or a space roughly equal to the State of Washington each year. Forests prevent erosion, stem drought, store carbon dioxide and purify rain water.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Political Memo

Turnovers: The Talk of the House

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 1 — Representative Dante B. Fascell's announcement last week that he will not seek re-election set the Democratic cloakroom buzzing with anticipation over the prospect that, assuming Democrats retain control of the House, Representative Lee H. Hamilton of Indiana will become chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

It is not that his colleagues do not like Mr. Fascell, a 75-year-old Floridian who has been in Congress for 38 years, the last 8 of them as chairman of the Foreign Affairs panel. It is rather that Mr. Hamilton, 61, is one of his party's brightest stars, smart, knowledgeable and experienced on television, with a knack for commanding attention.

When Mr. Hamilton walks on stage, Democratic leaders say, they will have their best foot forward, a position they have not had in foreign policy matters since J. W. Fulbright and Mike Mansfield left the Senate in the 1970's.

Mr. Fascell has been a solid, workaday Congressman who avoided the limelight and often sided with the Reagan and Bush Administrations on foreign policy. He broke with his party's leadership, for example, and sponsored the resolution last year that sanctioned the Persian Gulf war.

Critic of G.O.P. Presidents

By contrast Mr. Hamilton, who was first elected to Congress in 1964, has been a thorn in the side of Republican Presidents who have served since 1969. He led the House fight against the gulf war resolution. In 1990, as chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, he sharply criticized the Bush Administration's economic policies. In 1987, as chairman of the committee that investigated the Iran-contra affair, he took on the Reagan Administration with a vengeance.

Politically speaking, Mr. Fascell's retirement is probably the single most important one so far in this record year for turnovers. Fifty-six representatives have announced they will not seek re-election; 9 others have been defeated in primaries.

But in the House of Representatives, the Foreign Affairs Committee is relatively small potatoes, a panel that is often in the political crossfire but one that has narrow legislative jurisdiction.

The most important committees

far and away are Appropriations, where decisions are made on how money is spent, and Ways and Means, where tax and Social Security policy is set. And big changes may be in the offing in those shops, too.

A Half Century in Congress

The chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Representative Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi, is 82 and has been in Congress more than 50 years. Roll Call, the Capitol Hill newspaper, has calculated that 15 lawmakers who are retiring this year were not born when Mr. Whitten was first elected to Congress in November 1941, the month before Pearl Harbor was attacked.

Mr. Whitten was in the hospital for several weeks early this year and

Changes may be coming in some key committees.

now seems too frail to run a committee hearing. His office denies he had a stroke, and says the problem was with his prostate.

He insists he has no plans to retire. But the talk in the corridors is that if he does not leave the Democrats will vote to oust him as chairman.

Next in line is William H. Natcher of Kentucky, who is also 82 but who is physically sound. Mr. Natcher is less rigid than Mr. Whitten and is quite popular among his colleagues. The word is that younger Democrats will not challenge him for the chairmanship next year.

Procedures to Be Revamped

But in return for gaining the chairmanship without opposition, Mr. Natcher is expected to promise to revamp the committee's outdated procedures. Under Mr. Whitten, the Appropriations Committee has operated mostly in secret. To the frustration of the Democratic leadership, it has remained a bastion of bipartisanship, a place where senior lawmakers of both parties worked with officials of the executive branch to get pork-barrel projects adopted.

Change is also coming below the chairmanship. The top-ranking Republican, Joseph M. McDade of Penn-

sylvania, is under indictment on Federal corruption charges. And important subcommittee chairmen — William Lehman of Florida, Edward R. Roybal of California and Bob Traxler of Michigan — are retiring. At last count, 14 of the committee's 59 members are leaving.

The situation on the Ways and Means Committee is less firm. Nine members have announced they are leaving at the end of the year, but most of them have little seniority.

But everything was complicated by the disclosure last week that Federal prosecutors are investigating the allegations of a postal supervisor that Representative Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, had used his expense account improperly to get \$20,000 in cash over the last six years.

Major Influence on Legislation

Probably no one else in Congress has more influence over legislation than Mr. Rostenkowski. His inclination has been to speak out against the tax, social and economic policies of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, but he tries to work with them on legislation.

No one can be found in the Capitol, not even lawmakers known to detest him, who believes Mr. Rostenkowski had his hand in the till. If he needs money, the law allows him to retire and take with him the nearly \$1 million unspent in his campaign chest. Or if he wants to stay in the House and get some cash under the table there are lobbyists who would drive up to his office with an armored car filled with much more than \$20,000.

But money-grubbing is not Mr. Rostenkowski's style. He loves the perks of office — the luxurious suite, the big car, the expenses-paid speaking engagements at resorts and golf clubs. Outside the office he lives simply, and has never been a big spender.

One explanation suggested by Mr. Rostenkowski's friends is that one of his staff members may have had a confidence game going. But the chairman himself has offered no explanation other than to deny wrongdoing.

If Mr. Rostenkowski were to step aside, it would cause an earthquake in the Capitol. The next ranking Democrat, Representative Sam M. Gibbons of Florida, is a maverick who has rubbed so many people the wrong way over the years that he would probably be denied the chairmanship. But no one can even dream how the succession battle would turn out.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS TO EXPAND ABROAD

U.S. Plans to Station Copters in 3 Caribbean Nations

By JOSEPH B. TREASTER

Trying to reduce the flow of cocaine through Central America and the Caribbean, the Bush Administration is planning to expand anti-smuggling operations in several countries, officials said yesterday.

Under the plan, which has been tentatively approved by a committee of the National Security Council but not yet authorized by President Bush, the United States would station Black Hawk helicopters in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic. It would also replace smaller helicopters now operating in Guatemala with Black Hawks, which can be armed with two machine guns and can ferry up to 11 fully equipped soldiers into battle.

None of the countries have yet been consulted. But all of them have cooperated extensively with the United States in the past, and Administration officials as well as diplomats from the region said they expected the latest plan to be accepted.

"Considering the level of cooperation in the anti-drug effort in the past, I would not expect any knee-jerk opposition," a Caribbean diplomat said.

Press Report 'Awkward'

The plan was first reported yesterday in The Washington Post. An Administration official said half a dozen members of Congress were briefed on the plan late last week. "Unfortunately," the official said, "we haven't talked to the countries yet, and it's a bit awkward having it in the newspapers first."

The new operations in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala are to be patterned after joint operations begun nearly a decade ago in the Bahamas in which teams of Bahamian police and Drug Enforcement Administration agents in United States helicopters lie in wait for smugglers' planes that drop bundles of cocaine to fleets of waiting speedboats or land and unload on dirt runways.

The helicopters cannot match the speed of the drug planes. But they hover over the retriever boats, trying to force their surrender, or follow them until patrol boats can intercept. When they catch a smuggler's plane on the ground, the police and agents try to capture the smugglers.

The initial success of the flights in the Bahamas forced smugglers from Colombia to shift much of their traffic to routes through Central America and Mexico. But Federal drug experts say smugglers have been increasingly trying to get cocaine into the continental United States through Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica.

The Customs Service and the Coast Guard have reinforced operations in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and Administration officials said both were discussing stationing planes and boats in the Dominican Republic.

Administration officials estimated the cost of the expansion in the three countries at about \$15 million to \$18 million a year. The Federal budget this year for anti-smuggling efforts abroad and at the borders of the United States is \$2.2 billion.

U.S. Has a Starring Role At Rio Summit as Villain

By JAMES BROOKE

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 1 — The Earth Summit officially opens here on Wednesday, but already "villain," "party pooper" and "Uncle Grubby" are being used to describe the Bush Administration, reviving anti-American sentiment rarely seen in international forums since the Vietnam War.

"The mood in Brazil is that the United States will be the biggest villain of the conference," Fabio Feldman, a Social Democratic congressman in Brazil, said today. "U.S. intransigence is recreating the polarized atmosphere of the 1960's: all civil society and the press against the U.S."

Traditionally centrist Brazilian magazines and newspapers are taking an increasingly harsh tone, accusing the Bush Administration of draining content from what Brazilians proudly predict to be the largest gathering of heads of state in history.

Calling President Bush "Uncle Grubby" and "Mr. Smoke," Veja, a Brazilian newsweekly, told its million readers on Sunday, "Bush comes to Rio as Earth Summit enemy."

In contrast, Japan was hailed as the world's "first environmental superpower."

Bush Won't Sign Treaty

The hostility boiled over on Saturday with the news that Mr. Bush would not sign a bio-diversity treaty when he comes here June 11 to 13. Mr. Bush only agreed to appear briefly after timetables and targets were withdrawn from the text of a second treaty to be signed here, on climate change.

"Our feeling is that the world is doing what it should to organize these vast areas, and that the U.S. is not prepared to join, that the U.S. is isolated," said Marco Azamabuja, Brazil's chief negotiator. "What's the point of a major treaty if the U.S. is not on board?"

American efforts to turn the tide in public opinion have been fruitless.

On Thursday, William Reilly, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, gave a long interview by satellite to journalists in Latin America and Europe.

Jornal do Brasil, an influential daily here, printed the interview with an explanation that Mr. Reilly "will have one of the less desirable jobs of the Earth Summit, that of party-pooper."

Reflecting the anti-American mood here, Carlos Minc, a left-wing Rio state deputy, posed on Friday with his new

The Earth Summit is focusing attention on Brazil's environmental movement. Science Times, page C4. A Swiss businessman is trying to change the way industry sees the environment. Business Day, page D1.

"lie-o-meter." The device, featuring a caricature of Pinocchio, was designed to reflect mendacity levels emanating from televised speeches from the official conference hall. For demonstration purposes, Mr. Minc placed a "U.S.A." plaque on the device and pulled Pinocchio's nose off the chart.

Today, the news that Mr. Bush had offered \$150 million in new forest protection aid mollified few environmentalists in a nation that has the largest expanse of tropical forest in the world.

"We feel that the United States is trying to pay to clean their name before the conference," said João Paulo Capobianco, executive director, of Brazil's largest environmental group, SOS Mata Atlantica.

Mr. Bush's proposal includes doubling international aid to protect world forests to \$2.7 billion in 1992.

The isolation of the United States seemed to take on a physical dimension today as reporters explored the new exhibition and office hall of the Riocentro conference center. In this miniature world's fair, the United States has rented the smallest office space of the eight industrialized nations.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

ECONOMY

Low-Income Mobility Was High in 1980s

Treasury Study Also Finds Those at Top Tended to Stay There

By DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Substantial numbers of low-income Americans moved up the income ladder in the 1980s, while those who started the decade at the very top tended to remain there, a new study by Treasury Department economists shows.

The study, based on income tax data that aren't publicly available, found that two-thirds of taxpayers who were in the bottom fifth of all taxpayers in 1979 had moved up to somewhere in the top 60% of the income distribution by 1988. Only 14% were still at the bottom in 1988.

The Treasury economists also found that nearly half of those who were among the richest 1% of taxpayers in 1979 were still there 10 years later. Most of those who fell out of the top 1% managed to stay in the top 5%.

The new information adds evidence to renewed debate about the nature of the economy in the 1980s. The Treasury's office of tax analysis carefully avoided politically charged language in describing its work, saying only that its data "suggest significant household income mobility over time."

But Texas Rep. Richard Armey, who asked for the data in his capacity as the senior Republican on the Joint Economic Committee, was quick to declare that the study "shows why pitting the poor against the middle class and the middle class against the rich doesn't work in American politics." He added, "There is literally no class in the class war."

Up and Down: Income-Group Mobility 1979-88

Upwardly mobile Staying put Downwardly mobile

		STATUS IN 1988					
		TOP 1%	TOP 2% TO 20%	NEXT RICHEST 20%	MIDDLE 20%	NEXT POOREST 20%	POOR 20%
STATUS IN 1979	TOP 1%	47.3%	38.6%	7.7%	3.8%	0.4%	2.2%
	TOP 20%	5.3	59.4	20.3	9.4	4.4	1.1
	NEXT RICHEST 20%	0.6	34.8	37.5	14.8	9.3	3.1
	MIDDLE 20%	0.4	14.6	32.3	33.0	14.0	5.7
	NEXT POOREST 20%	0.3	10.8	19.5	29.6	29.0	10.9
	POOREST 20%	0.3	14.4	25.3	25.0	20.7	14.2

EXAMPLE: Of those people in the top 1% in 1979 (the top row of numbers), 47.3% were still in the top 1% in 1988, while only 2.2% had fallen to the bottom 20%. At the same time, 0.3% of those in the bottom 20% had risen to the top 1% by 1988.

Totals don't add to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Treasury Dept.

The Treasury study differs from some others in that it tracks the same taxpayers from 1979 through 1988. Because the Treasury has no information about people with so little income that they don't file income tax returns, however, the report sheds

little light on the fate of the very poor Americans. It also provides no information on how the 1980s may have differed from earlier decades. Other research conducted at the University of Michigan suggests it was easier to move up out of the middle class in the 1980s than in the previous decade, but it was also easier to fall out of the middle class toward poverty.

The new study examines 14,351 taxpayers who filed returns in every year from 1979 to 1988 and compares their before-tax income at several points in the decade.

It finds, for instance, that of the taxpayers who were among the best 1% of all taxpayers in 1979, 47.3% were in the same affluent category in 1988, an additional 27.9% were somewhere between the top 2% and the top 5%. To move from the top 1% in the Treasury study, a taxpayer had to have income above \$255,333 in 1988 (measured in 1989 dollars). To move from the top 5%, a taxpayer had to have income above \$56,117.

Most of the taxpayers—about 65%—were among the top fifth of taxpayers in 1979 managed to remain there through the decade, the study found. To make it to the top 1% in 1988, a taxpayer had to have income more than \$73,705.

In contrast, the study picked up substantial movement—most of it upward—among taxpayers with lower incomes. Those taxpayers who were in the bottom fifth in 1979, 14.4% had climbed all the way to the richest fifth by 1988, while 14% remained at the bottom.

And among those taxpayers in the very middle of the income distribution, 47% moved up between 1979 and 1988 while 19.7% moved down. The remainder were in the same category a decade later.

Please Turn to Page A6, Column 3

Low-Income Mobility Was High in 1980s, Treasury Data Show

Continued From Page A2

middle quintile in 1988 were those taxpayers with incomes between \$37,657 and \$54,975.

The Treasury study also sheds light on the phenomenon of downward mobility. Of those taxpayers who were in the bottom fifth in 1988, nearly 70% had fallen from some higher category, most of them from other middle- or low-income classes. Some taxpayers fell from the very top of the income ladder. About 5.7% of those who were in the bottom fifth in 1988 had been in the top fifth in 1979. Treasury economists speculate that these are people who retired, some of whom may have substantial wealth but relatively little taxable income.

Of those in the very middle of the income distribution in 1988, 35.3% had been in lower income categories in 1979, but a substantial 27.1% had fallen from higher income categories. The remainder didn't move.

Although income tax returns provide little demographic information, the Treasury did find that young people were far more likely to move up during the 1980s than older people. For instance, the

average age of those who were in the bottom fifth in 1979 but in the top fifth in 1988 was between 20 and 25; many of these taxpayers were students at the beginning of the period and prosperous professionals at the end. The average age of those who remained at the bottom was about 40.

The Treasury economists also found that wage earnings—as opposed to interest or capital gains—are the most important factor in the upward mobility of most Americans. Of course, those in the top 1% tended to get the greatest fraction of their income from capital gains and other sources besides wages.

Taxpayers who changed their filing status from single to married tended to move up the ladder and those who changed from married to single tended to move down. But that didn't influence the overall findings. "For the whole sample, there's not enough of that to make much difference," a Treasury official said.

Because the study looked only at those taxpayers who filed returns in all 10 years, it excludes the very young and the very old. It also excludes most income that isn't taxable, such as Social Security benefits received by many Americans.

AT&T, Teleglobe to Build Ship

NEW YORK — American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and Teleglobe of Canada said they are building a \$75 million cable ship to install, maintain and repair undersea fiber optic cables.

Bush Pledges \$150 Million For Forest Preservation

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — President Bush pledged \$150 million in additional assistance to help developing nations preserve their forests.

But senior Bush administration officials acknowledged they know neither which projects would benefit from the funding, which is subject to congressional approval, nor where the money would come from.

The move is intended to prompt leaders from other industrialized countries to double current world-wide forest-preservation aid to \$2.7 billion from \$1.35 billion, a request Mr. Bush said he will make at this week's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. The U.S. currently contributes \$365.3 million for such assistance, including \$120 million in bilateral aid.

Senate Democrats generally complimented the move, but quickly compared it to other recent administration forestry stances.

"This is the same president who killed an international agreement on forests . . . and ignored the Endangered Species Act" to allow logging on national forest lands, said Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore, who will lead a delegation of Senate observers at the Rio summit.

A14

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Pax Cheney

India has just tested a ballistic missile that could carry a nuclear warhead, the Serbs are lobbing mortars into Sarajevo and Iran is rearming. Where's the "world's policeman" when you really need him?

We ask that question with some irony, since it's obvious to anyone watching rump-Yugoslavia that the fears of the U.S. as Globocop of the New World Order have been greatly exaggerated. Pat Buchanan, Joe Biden and their fellow isolationists of right and left can relax, even if Croats cannot. Maybe now that the straw policeman has been retired, we can get on with a serious debate about the shape of U.S. defense strategy for the post-Cold War world.

Such a debate is joined in the Pentagon's Defense Planning Guidance

ample, Japan and Indonesia don't have large military ambitions today, in large part because they're confident that America has the ability and will to come to their defense.

Mr. Cheney has to be diplomatic about naming countries, but his report warns of leaving "a vacuum in a region critical to our interests." Such a vacuum could make countries "feel vulnerable, which in turn could lead to excessive military capabilities and an unsteady balance of one against another," the paper goes on. In blunter words, it isn't in America's interest to let Japan or Jakarta rearm, inevitably going nuclear. Nor is it in our interests to have to rely on a "balance of power" game in strategic regions, playing one power off against another. We tried that with Iran and Iraq in the 1980s, and it didn't work out.

The Cheney strategy sounds like a Pax Americana, even if he never quite puts it that way. It rejects the isolationism of both right and left. Far from going it alone à la Buchanan, the draft makes clear that the U.S. wants to work cooperatively with nations to build a "democratic zone of peace." Recast alliances such as NATO are integral to that effort. He wants more, not less, defense cooperation with allies in order to cement that peace.

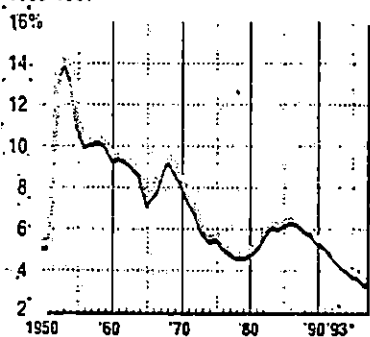
Yet Mr. Cheney also rejects the Biden illusion that U.S. power can be submerged under "collective security." The U.S. "will not ignore the need to be prepared to protect our critical interests and honor our commitments with only limited additional help, or even alone, if necessary," says the draft. The U.S. cannot "allow our critical interests to depend solely on international mechanisms" — read the United Nations — "that can be blocked by countries whose interests may be very different from our own." Anyone who thinks this isn't prudent after dawdling over Yugoslavia ought to spend a week in Sarajevo.

As we've said before, the Cheney strategy may be the biggest bargain in history. The nearby chart shows his defense budget costing about 3.4% of GDP by 1997, below Pearl Harbor levels. The point is to spend enough on defense now to deter threats so we don't have to spend much, much more in a new arms race later. The draft calls this maintaining "strategic depth." Discounting for congressional waste and pork, our one fear is that Mr. Cheney may be overestimating how much defense he's buying.

But at least Secretary Cheney has made a serious attempt at laying out a new U.S. defense strategy. It would be nice if instead of red herrings about Globocop and America First, the critics would get more serious about the future of American defense.

Defense Outlays As a Percent of GNP

1950-1997



*Projected: 1993-1997

Source: Office of Management and Budget

for 1994-1999. Don't believe those press reports that Defense Secretary Cheney rewrote the guidance after a leak exposed Globocop ambitions. Those stories focused on a draft done by junior staff that was already being rewritten even as it was being leaked. The draft that Mr. Cheney has now endorsed doesn't back down at all from his strategy of maintaining America's military pre-eminence.

His goal, clearly stated in the official draft we've seen (still unreleased), is for the U.S. to remain strong and engaged in the world enough "to preclude any hostile power from dominating a region critical to our interests." That isn't just North America. "These regions include Europe, East Asia, the Middle East/Persian Gulf and Latin America," the guidance says. Detering regional dominance, in turn, will "strengthen the barriers against the reemergence of a global threat" of the sort the Soviet Union became after World War II.

The strategy understands that the world remains dangerous, as Bosnians can attest, and the U.S. needs enough military force to deter enemies we can't now foresee. In Asia, for ex-

Politicians Panic

It may be that 1992 will be the year of the Big Incumbent Shakeout. Certainly the folks on Capitol Hill are sure running scared. "Incumbents view this year as a political Wild Kingdom," says one staffer. "They will do anything to ensure they come back alive next January."

A favorite congressional survival tactic is the pretense of reform. Congress has already passed pseudo-reforms on franked mail. They didn't prevent House Members from sending out 58 million pieces of franked-mail propaganda in a recent two-day period. In April, Congress passed a synthetic campaign reform bill that would have forced taxpayers to grubstake politicians through a public financing scheme. President Bush vetoed the bill because it was chock-full of provisions that would have only further advantaged incumbents.

Buried in the bill was a requirement that state term-limit campaigns send the Federal Election Commission a list of any donors who give them more than \$50. Proponents argued that it's too cumbersome to compile such records from state election offices. Term-limit sponsors say the rule was an invitation to intimidate their supporters. During last year's term-limit battle in Washington state, several business leaders suddenly resigned from the board of a pro-term-limit group after being called by aides to House Speaker Tom Foley.

Political reformers in Michigan expect the same kind of tactics will be used against a term-limit initiative there. No one is a bigger opponent of term limits than Michigan Rep. John Dingell, the chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, whose stranglehold over legislation and bullying tactics are legendary. Mr. Dingell views his House seat as a

family dynasty. His father sat in it for 23 years until his son succeeded him in 1955. When Big John finally retires, everyone expects *his* son, now a state legislator, to inherit the legacy.

Rep. Dingell's wife, Debbie, is a top lobbyist for General Motors Corp., Michigan's largest employer. She's become the unofficial quarterback behind the anti-term-limits forces and has deep-pocket promises of financial support from many corporations and labor unions. Ted Cooper, the chairman and CEO of Upjohn Corp., is actively chairing the effort to defeat term limits. No surprise there. Pharmaceuticals are a big interest of the Dingell operation, which recurrently runs investigations of FDA actions. An FDA advisory committee recently ruled positively on Upjohn's controversial sleeping drug Halcion, which has been pulled off the market in the U.K.

State legislatures are also getting into the act of hobbling term limits. In Nebraska, a term-limit initiative may not make the ballot due to a sneak attack by legislators. In March, they used an emergency clause to pass a bill that bans anyone from collecting signatures for an initiative petition in counties where they aren't registered to vote. Nebraska has 93 counties. Don Stenberg, the state's attorney general, says the law violates the First Amendment and he won a temporary injunction against it.

Pretty clearly, term limits are an insurance policy to make sure that once this election year passes, officeholders won't set to work sealing off any future political competition. You can bet that after November, a lot of incumbents will want to dig deeper moats between themselves and the restless voters of the Wild Kingdom.

Asides

Big Byrd

Who says public television can't compete? After a Senate vote today, it'll be able to compete with even the Playboy channel or the Howard Stern

show. To fend off conservative criticism, Senator Robert Byrd has proposed that public TV reserve its "indecent" programming for after midnight. Public After Dark should be a sight to see.

Species Preservation Without Tears

By JOHN A. BADEN

After much indecision, President Bush decided to join other world leaders in Rio for the Earth Summit. The administration saw itself in a no-win situation, caught between business and environmental interests. Last week, the president said that he won't let environmentalists "shut down" the U.S., and that he won't sign an Earth Summit treaty to protect natural resources, plants and animals. Yesterday he announced that the U.S. is going to donate an additional \$150 million to Third World countries to improve their forest management practices.

Mr. Bush is making a mistake when he suggests that Americans must choose between being pro-business or pro-environment. He should instead base his approach upon four fundamental principles:

- 1) Wealth fosters both environmental concern and the capacity to exercise that concern in a concrete way.
- 2) Private property and markets create wealth.
- 3) Government management decreases environmental quality.
- 4) Government has a role as environmental monitor, not manager.

One of the goals of the Rio conference is to address endangered species preservation and biodiversity. In the U.S. this conflict is reduced to one of jobs versus the environment. But government can create a framework that encourages environmental preservation without spawning job-de-

stroying regulation.

Just as the U.S. created the world's first national park, Yellowstone in 1872, it could lead the way to biodiversity with nongovernmental environmental trusts. Such institutions already exist in the U.S., ranging in size from the huge Nature Conservancy to the many hundreds of local land trusts. These trusts buy land at market prices and then preserve it. They make the cost of biodiversity explicit, and they spread them over the public at large, rather than imposing them all upon a few unlucky landowners.

Right now, however, environmental trusts rely upon private funds. Mr. Bush should now propose legislation to create publicly supported biodiversity trust funds, funding them through competitive grants. The money to support them would come from public land activities — such as grazing, logging, mining and recreation — that impinge on wildlife habitat. Landowners who voluntarily chose to preserve their lands could receive tax credits.

Private conservation groups and land managers would compete in developing habitat preservation proposals. Through the competitive grant process, trust fund managers would seek the most efficient means to protect a maximum number of species. Environmental and wildlife groups could buy conservation easements in the areas where disturbances might harm species listed as endangered. The North American Elk Foundation, Trout

Unlimited and Ducks Unlimited have each done this on private lands and waters. Such organizations could pay "bounties" to land managers if an endangered or valued species successfully breeds on their land.

Under these incentives we can expect private landowners to support, or certainly oppose less strongly, the listing of new species — finding such species on their land would suddenly become potentially profitable, rather than ruinous. Under existing law, a landowner who improves habitat on his own property to facilitate an endangered species, could lose control of that property. Dayton Hyde, a rancher in Oregon, created a lake on his rangeland, attracting a variety of species including bald eagles. The Environmental Protection Agency then told him that he could no longer enter his property by truck because he might disturb the eagles.

By adopting the environmental trust idea, Mr. Bush could harness incentives and property rights to serve the environment. More species would be protected, and at less cost. And developing and industrialized nations alike would be shown that conservation can coexist with economic goals.

Mr. Baden teaches at the University of Washington and heads the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment in Seattle. Robert Ethier, of FREE, contributed to this article.

Whittle's Lesson Plan for the Public Schools

Christopher Whittle plans to commercialize America's classrooms, and he's not apologetic about it, either.

"Absolutely," he sees schooling as a business like any other, the only qualification being government's commitment to making it "available to all." With the profit-seeking instructional concerns he aims to open beginning in 1996 — 200 at first, 1,000 thereafter — Mr. Whittle thinks he can show how to succeed where many public schools fail. He wants to do it within the bounds they face.

That means capping per-pupil charges at about \$5,500 annually, and taking all comers (sort of). The education establishment laughs derisively and, now that Yale's Benno Schmidt has been added to

Business World

By Tim W. Ferguson

the Whittle operation, nervously. The temple of basic learning, off-limits to unsanitized enterprise during more than a century as America's formative social institution, is about to be ventilated.

The inveterate entrepreneur with his seeming web of substantial allies in business and government is only one prong of the assault. All the while, a political movement for vouchers and parental choice advances. "We are more about choices than choice," Mr. Whittle's line goes. "Some critics of this are going to try to pull us into that debate. I am resistant to that."

"With that said, I think we're going to become very important to those who are leading the choice debate. They will probably use what we are doing as an important part of their arsenal."

Of course Mr. Whittle would be happy to take vouchers. Right now, the financial cushion is thin. His planned \$5,500 charge

isn't really comparable with the average public-school expenditure, he says, because the Whittle schools must allow maybe a 15% return for their investors, must carry building costs and pay taxes, and must generate about a 20% internal subsidy for scholarships so that no poor applicants are denied, voucher or no. In actual operating costs, "we're probably going to have to bring this in at around \$3,500" per pupil annually, closer to what parochial schools spend.

At that cost, Mr. Whittle is looking to be technologically current. (His opening order for personal computers, he estimates, will initially amount to 20% to 30% of the product market, suggesting an alliance with a maker is in order.) The Whittle schools may stay open nearly year-round and 12 hours a day with a staggered schedule to assist working parents.

That's part of Mr. Whittle's intent to customize for the sake of the customers (parents), which the public schools seem incapable of doing. In return, he wants after-hours support for his schools' efforts. "One of the things I've thought of from time to time is that though we'll have no entrance requirements for the kids, we might have for their parents," he says.

That's a difference with the public schools as they normally exist today. The bare fact that Whittle enrollees will have sought out the new schools, often at a personal cost, indicates a level of commitment. What about the prerogative to expel malcontents? "We haven't figured out our position on that yet," he says. "Obviously it's very difficult. The public schools basically don't, and our feeling is that we want to approach that position, but I'm not sure what we're going to do."

Public school standards themselves could be raised, courts and legislatures willing. Compulsory attendance laws and a body-count funding mechanism are what stick old PS 39 with the passive and the

delinquent, but those could be changed. After all, Mr. Whittle maintains that his program is the "private research and development arm of the public schools." Only if, 15 years out, "we in fact have created a fundamentally superior approach and there's absolutely no reaction in the public schools to it" will their existence be threatened.

A classic example of ossification on the government side is the notion that a school must have a traditional campus, with rows of classrooms, an auditorium and a big playground. That's expensive and inflexible as enrollment patterns change. In fact, "school" can be anywhere, including maybe the home. The Whittles are wrestling with the issue.

"This is a question that worries me a great deal," says Mr. Whittle. "It's part of the old model that feels almost inescapable. We all have this sense that you must have a physical facility. I want us to question that. One of my fears is that we're not going to be radical enough in that regard." Though buildings of some sort now appear inevitable, they may not be ones used full time by the Whittle schools, he says. And yes, "the Resolution Trust Corp. has already contacted us" about its multitude of seized office space that could be leased.

In fact, site selections are the challenge that looms nearest, according to Mr. Whittle. In order to open in fall 1996, "we hit the first serious capital wall in 18 months, when land and real estate commitments have to be made." At that point, development costs move from the tens of millions

"into a different category." In order to satisfy financiers, "we need to have a demonstration of parent buy-in at that point." If the schools expect matriculation by age four, as they might, that'll require some toddler applications.

Pressure groups won't like much of what they hear out of Whittle's Knoxville headquarters, but the founder says experience to date with Channel One, his advertiser-supported entry of televised news to public-school classrooms, encourages him to think powerful resistance to change can be overcome.

"I actually find the people in the trenches, the teachers and the principals that go to work every day, to be quite open," he says. "The lesson of Channel One is that the national groups condemned it, while local groups adopted it in great numbers. Forty percent of middle and high schools in the U.S. are on line."

For all the pizzazz that Mr. Whittle's latest effort promises, its success likely rides on whether, as he believes, most parents in the applicant pool do care enough to make the program work, especially if he's going to be Pollyannish about the schools not having to punish.

The clincher, however, is that Whittle's approach isn't the sum of the alternatives. Once the path is broken, others may see profits in proprietary schooling. Children learn in all settings, and those with a gift for reaching them at play — say, Walt Disney Co. — may choose to extend the franchise. Even McDonald's, the favorite eatery of kids the world over, now plans to teach about nutrition(!). Will reading and counting be next?

"We're not saying that our system is going to be the only one," Mr. Whittle says. "I actually envision that 20 years from now there are going to be several major national providers. Each will have a different design. The parents will have wide choice."



Christopher Whittle

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Clinton flies around state to meet voters in person

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

OAKLAND, Calif. — Democrat Bill Clinton jettied around the state yesterday in what has become a fixture of his presidential campaign — a "fly-around" whisking him to as many voters as possible on the eve of California's primary.

"I'm a pro-business, pro-growth, pro-labor, pro-education, pro-environment, pro-health care, pro-family, pro-choice Democrat," the Arkansas governor said here in a lunchtime rally at a plaza in front of the earthquake-damaged City Hall here.

Near Fresno two hours earlier,

Mr. Clinton had delivered his standard speech about restoring the middle-income earner to economic prosperity. In the heart of San Joaquin Valley's raisin and walnut country, he praised the trailing provided by the future farmers of America.

"I'll tell you what, if this nation was run as well as the FFA teaches folks to run a farm, this country would be a lot better off," he said at Kerman High School.

Mr. Clinton is expected to easily go over the top in today's final six-state round of Democratic presidential primaries, with or without a win in California.

Even former California Gov. Jerry

Brown, trailing Mr. Clinton slightly in polls, acknowledged the Arkansasian was in luck to clinch the nomination but insisted Democrats could still reject Mr. Clinton and "turn this party to a winning direction."

Clinton officials held firm to the campaign style and substance, saying Mr. Clinton's up-close approach and tailored remarks most effectively personalize campaigning at a time when electronic soap boxes — and satellite lookups as used by Ross Perot on Friday — are the 20th century's political stumps.

The Clinton camp defended the whirlwind, whistlestop campaigning. "We're going to do it through the

end of the campaign. There's only so much Ross Perot can do without real people," said Clinton consultant Paul Begala.

Voters find the live appearance by a candidate a refreshing change from the steady diet of disembodied voices over toll-free '800 telephone numbers and through satellite uplinks.

The FFA remark drew an upbeated reaction from the Kerman crowd. "It was the best thing he could have said," said Madge Spikes, a Kerman tutor.

"It's too bad," said Clara Monroy, a Kerman secretary. The demise of personal campaigning means the students she works with will not

have the special stimulus to civic involvement that comes with seeing a candidate in person.

"They'll get to see the candidate on television and radio, but where are they going to go to get the kind of excitement going that makes all the difference?" she said.

"I've been voting since Eisenhower," said Corceta Villanueva, a retired grower from San Joaquin who said she does not like satellite links to candidates.

"At a live appearance he's there in front of you. You can see better and hear better on TV, but there's excitement here that doesn't come across over the tube."

likes the human touch and while he sandwiches satellite feeds into his day, the heart of his schedule involves crowds.

The Clinton camp — like the campaign for President Bush — had a close eye on Mr. Perot. Two national polls released yesterday signaled Mr. Perot's upcoming strength.

A CBS poll had Mr. Bush leading at 35 percent, Mr. Clinton at 27 percent and Mr. Perot at 26 percent among registered voters. An ABC-Washington Post poll of registered voters gave Mr. Perot 34 percent to 31 percent for Mr. Bush and 29 percent to Mr. Clinton.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

Russian radar site to become furniture plant

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

After years of demanding the destruction of an illegal missile-defense radar system in Siberia, the Bush administration will allow Moscow to convert what remains of the facility into a furniture factory, U.S. arms control officials said.

Most of the huge phased-array radar near Krasnoyarsk already has been dismantled due to U.S. protests going back nearly a decade.

But local government officials there halted demolition efforts in April and appealed to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and President Bush to permit conversion to a furniture plant.

The Russians said it would take 200 million rubles — about \$1.6 million at the current exchange rate — to complete the dismantlement, said administration officials who spoke on condition of anonymity.

To save money, Krasnoyarsk officials asked that arms control compliance be shelved in favor of economy.

The U.S.-Russian agreement on Krasnoyarsk allows the remaining 30 percent to 40 percent of the radar facility to be converted into factory space, provided the plans are approved by the U.S. government and that inspections of the finished building are permitted, the officials said.

"The question is not whether or not it will be a radar sitting there with a furniture plant under it," one senior official said. "It can no longer be converted back to a radar."

The official said all radar transmission panels were removed and that the upper structure "has got to be irrevocably dismantled" under the conversion agreement.

"It will be a multifloor structure, but it will be a plant, not a skyscraper," the official said.

The facility, located on a river, includes housing, rail lines and electrical power generators that will be used for the factory, the official said.

U.S. officials said most of the high-technology components of the radar have been transferred from Krasnoyarsk to a new radar facility near Komsomolsk in the Russian Far East.

The administration had demanded the complete dismantlement of the radar as a condition for concluding the Strategic Arms Limi-

tation Treaty, which Moscow agreed to do.

But an interagency report on Soviet arms treaty compliance stated in March that "the Soviet Union did not fulfill its commitment to dismantle the radar completely by the end of 1991."

Senate conservatives may demand that the radar be torn down completely as a condition for ratifying the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, one Republican aide said. Debate on treaty ratification is expected to begin next week.

The once-secret facility was known as Yeniseysk-15 and control over it has been transferred from the Defense Ministry to a Russian fuel and energy association known as Siberenergo TEO, according to a Russian news report.

For conservatives, the Kras-

To save money, Krasnoyarsk officials asked that arms control compliance be shelved in favor of economy.

noyarsk missile-defense radar has been a symbol of Soviet duplicity in arms control talks since construction was first detected in 1983. Moscow for years denied the radar was a missile warning and fire-control center and claimed it was meant solely for space tracking.

In 1989, then-Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze admitted the radar was built in violation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and the Soviets agreed to dismantle it.

The Reagan administration came close to declaring the Krasnoyarsk radar a material breach of the 1972 ABM treaty, which is grounds for withdrawing from the pact. As recently as March, it was labeled "a significant violation of a central element" of the treaty.

Under the ABM pact, Krasnoyarsk-type radars must be located on borders and pointed outward. Krasnoyarsk is about 2,000 miles east of Moscow in what was the central part of the old Soviet Union.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



Ross Perot, a crafty portsider, signs a woman's shirt while stumping for the presidency. Bill Clinton, a canny southpaw, plays ball with the Astros. Reuters

Next president sure to be a leftie

Three hopefuls are 'portsided'

By David Alan Coia
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A sinister minority appears to have a lock on the presidency this year: All three major candidates — President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot — are left-handed, a condition they share with only 10 percent of Americans.

The odds on this are probably incalculable. Only four portsiders in 200 years have made it to the White House: James Garfield, Harry Truman, Gerald Ford and George Bush. (Mr. Bush really bucked history's odds; he was also the first president named George since Washington and the first sitting vice president to win promotion since Martin Van Buren.)

The portent for the country is equally unclear. Since Roman times at least — "sinister" was their word — left-handed has had bad vibes, denoting suspicious, underhanded, spurious, evil or at best clumsy and awkward.

The tyranny of the right-handed majority continues to this day, as lefties who drive and play golf can attest. Even in baseball, where left-handers are often treated with respect, the righties' ingrained bias lingers in the myth that southpaw pitchers are invariably nut cases.

In defense of left-handed presidential candidates, Suzan Ireland,

PRESIDENTIAL SOUTHPAWS

Left-handed presidents.



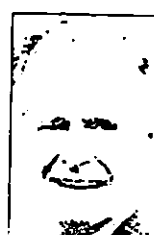
James Garfield



Harry Truman



Gerald Ford



George Bush

The Washington Times

editor of Lefthander Magazine, published in Topeka, Kansas, said lefties are more adaptable. They have to be to survive in a right-handed world, she said, adding: "And maybe a little more intrepid, too."

While she was at it, Miss Ireland described left-handers as "creative, visual, intuitive" — adjectives she said fit perfectly with individuals who are right-brain dominant.

Giving left-handers a right-handed compliment, University of Chicago psychobiology professor Jerre M. Levy said, "Left-handedness has been found with an increased frequency among mathematically gifted people."

But she and other experts cautioned against drawing conclusions based upon a person's manual orientation. "We can't say anything about a left-hander specifically without extensive testing," she said.

At least eight factors can lead to left-handedness, Mrs. Levy said, in-

cluding genetic, hormonal and sociocultural factors and birth trauma. In any given left-hander, all of them could be operative, she said.

The only general trait left-handers share in common is that they are more diverse, said Mrs. Levy, adding that right-handers have speech in one hemisphere of the brain while left-handers have speech in both hemispheres.

"For some reason, left-handers seem to be more variable in almost everything," said Alan Searleman, a psychologist at St. Lawrence University in Canton, N.Y. "There are more left-handers with high IQs and among artists and intellectuals, as well as among handicapped groups. They seem to have a more variable brain organization than do typical right-handers, which can allow them to do extraordinary things, both good and bad."

"When you look at the ability curve of left-handers," said a psy-

chologist who is a leader in handedness research, "what you see is that the distribution is flatter." There are fewer average left-handers than average right-handers, he said, adding that there are more left-handers proportionally than right-handers at the upper and lower ends of the spectrum of intellectual abilities.

The psychologist — citing the political focus of the issue — was willing to offer more specific comments on condition of anonymity.

"President Bush's speech is a caricature of a left-hander," he said. "You know what he means. You get all the right images, and you know what they mean, but from a grammarian's standpoint it's totally incoherent."

"He has found ways of projecting images that other people grab immediately. I don't get that feeling [of caricature] from Perot, and Clinton appears to be in between."

On lefties in general, he added:

- Left-handers are not as verbally fluent as right-handers. They have more difficulty reading.

- Left-handers are perhaps more visually gifted than right-handers. Thus they may work better with visual imagery and think more often in images than right-handers.

- When left-handers are very effective it is by building on specific skills they have in greater measure than average right-handers.

- Left-handers tend more often to be dyslexic from birth than right-handers. In its mildest form, dyslexia involves the occasional transposition of letters or numbers.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Pairings to be set today for fourth of House races

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Voters in primaries today will choose the nominees for nearly a quarter of all seats to the U.S. House — and could oust as many as five incumbents.

Eight states hold elections for 101 House seats as well as six Senate seats in 1992's single biggest batch of congressional primaries.

In looking for trends, political observers will be watching especially how women candidates fare and voters' attitude toward incumbents — especially those with House bank overdrafts or who backed a congressional pay raise.

So far this year, one Senate and six House incumbents have fallen to anti-Washington challengers; the prospect of more casualties today has several lawmakers on edge. In 1990, only one incumbent lost in a primary.

Those thought to have the toughest challenges are Democratic Reps. Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio and Frank Pallone of New Jersey and Republican Reps. Bob Dornan and Bob Lagomarsino of California.

At least one incumbent definitely will fall. Ohio Republican Reps. Bob McEwen and Clarence Miller are running against each other because redistricting eliminated Mr. Miller's district. Three other incumbents, all Democrats, have lost this year to other incumbents because of the decennial process of redrawing district lines to match changes in population.

In the Ohio contests, the scandal at the House bank could help bring about the defeat of Miss Oakar and Mr. McEwen, who had 166 and 213 overdrafts, respectively.

Miss Oakar, a 16-year incumbent and former member of the Democratic leadership, has been hampered with questions about the bank and her ties to the House post office in a Cleveland district that is 40 percent new to her.

But she has fought back with a libel suit against the Plain Dealer newspaper, with negative ads

against her chief rival, Cuyahoga County Commissioner Tim Hagan, and by reminding voters about the federal dollars she has brought to the district.

Mr. McEwen has a southern Ohio district where about 40 percent of the territory previously belonged to Mr. Miller, a 13-term senior member of the state's delegation.

Incumbency is not nearly as strong an issue in the two California races where lawmakers are at risk.

Mr. Dornan, a fiery seven-term conservative from Orange County, was thrown on the defensive because of his strong pro-life views. His challenger is former county Judge Judith Ryan, a pro-choice Republican who has gained significant financial help from national women's and abortion rights groups.

In Mr. Lagomarsino's Santa Barbara district, businessmen Michael Huffington planned on spending \$2 million, much of it his own money, to unseat the 20-year House veteran.

Mr. Lagomarsino accused his rival of being a carpetbagger for changing his residency from Texas shortly before the election.

A Huffington ad accused Mr. Lagomarsino of trying to help a company sell surveillance cameras to China, a charge he denied.

Mr. Pallone's future in Congress after two terms is shaky because his district along the New Jersey shore was carved into three slices. Of his three challengers, state Rep. Bob Smith, who has strong name recognition and county Democratic support, is the most formidable challenger.

Of the Senate races, the two California seats have captured the most attention, but some observers saw a possible upset in another race.

Alabama Sen. Richard C. Shelby is facing Chris McNair, a popular Jefferson County commissioner, for the Democratic nomination. Mr. McNair, who has made an issue of the senator's opposition to abortion and his backing of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, has gained support, but time may run out on him.

CONGRESSIONAL CAPSULE

Eight states are holding primaries for House seats tomorrow. Montana, New Mexico and South Dakota are holding uncontested primaries and are concentrating more on the November general election. Highlights of key races:

Alabama

With five Democrats and two Republicans now serving in the House, one lawmaker from each party is retiring. Voters may elect a black to Congress for the first time since Reconstruction. Any runoffs will take place June 30.

Senate: First-term Sen. Richard C. Shelby faces Jefferson County Commissioner Chris McNair in the Democratic primary. McNair, a popular black liberal, could upset the moderate, pro-life Shelby, but polls show a heavy advantage for the incumbent.

House: 2nd District — Republican Rep. Bill Dickinson is retiring after 14 terms. One of three Democrats running is state Treasurer George Wallace Jr.

7th District — Six Democrats and three Republicans are competing to represent the district.

California

The state will add seven House seats to its contingent of 45 representatives and will replace eight current lawmakers who are either retiring or running for other offices. Republicans, who now trail Democrats 26-19, expect to improve their ratio.

Senate: "Short seat" — Sen. John Seymour is favored to win the GOP primary. Former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein leads state Controller Gray Davis and two other Democrats for the party's nomination.

"Long seat" — The Democratic primary to replace retiring Sen. Alan Cranston has three challengers locked in an apparent tie for support. Among Republicans, Rep. Tom Campbell and commentator Bruce Herschensohn are leading a pack of six candidates.

House: 6th District — J. Bennett Johnston III, son of Sen. J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, faces eight opponents in the Democratic primary.

22nd District — Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino is toughing it out against businessman Michael Huffington, who is spending an unprecedented \$2 million in the Republican primary.

36th District — Ronald Reagan's eldest daughter, Maureen Reagan, is running in the 10-person Republican primary.

46th District — Republican Rep. Robert K. Dornan, a staunch conservative, is running hard against Judith Ryan, who is pro-choice.

Iowa

Primary elections are not at the forefront here — the general election in November is.

House: Because of redistricting, Democratic Rep. Dave Nagle and Republican Rep. Jim Nussle will face each other in November.

Senate: Two-term GOP Sen. Charles Grassley is unopposed in his primary and will face either Democratic state Sen. Jean Lloyd-Jones or Roseanne Freeberg.

New Jersey

One district has been chiseled away from the 14-member delegation, which now has eight Democrats and six Republicans.

House: 6th District — Democratic Rep. Frank Pallone Jr. is running against state Rep. Bob Smith in a new district where Smith has the edge in party support.

13th District — An open seat vacated by retiring Rep. Frank Guarini. Voters could send New Jersey's first Hispanic member to Congress, Union City Mayor Robert Menendez.

Ohio

The state's 21 districts are shrinking to 19.

Senate: Sen. John Glenn is unopposed in the Democratic primary in his quest for a fourth term. His top GOP challenger is Lt. Gov. Mike DeWine.

House: 6th District — In the only GOP vs. GOP incumbent matchup to occur so far this year, Rep. Clarence Miller had his district carved up and decided to challenge Rep. Bob McEwen. The district's makeup favors McEwen, but he could be thrown out if voters are angry about his 166 bad checks at the House bank.

10th District — Democratic Rep. Mary Rose Oakar also is saddled with bank overdrafts, 213. In her toughest fight since going to Congress in 1977, she has six challengers with Cuyahoga County Commissioner Tim Hagan leading the pack.

The Washington Times

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Clinton out of cash; Perot nowhere near

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Democrat Bill Clinton is pleading for more donations to keep his presidential campaign operating properly while undeclared independent candidate Ross Perot is pondering how much more than \$100 million to spend on the race.

Mr. Clinton is telling supporters in a six-page letter he does not have enough money to keep his campaign functioning at the level needed in the next six weeks.

The Arkansas governor, who finished April more than \$2 million in debt, asks supporters to give him another \$50 or "the very most you have within your means to give."

"I simply don't have the campaign funds I need today to carry our message and mission as far and as wide and for as long as I must," he wrote in the letter dated May 25.

"Whether it's feeding and housing my dedicated volunteers or researching the true story of George Bush's record, I urgently need the funds to get through the California primary [Tuesday] and on to the convention," Mr. Clinton wrote.

Spokesman Jeff Eller said Mr. Clinton is worried about facing the better-funded President Bush and the self-financed campaign of Mr. Perot, a Dallas billionaire.

"These are tough times and it's just that much harder," Mr. Eller said. "It's no secret we get out-raised and out-spent by Republicans all around. George Bush hasn't had the primary expenses and Ross Perot is a rich businessman."

Mr. Bush raised \$2 million in May, increasing his primary total to \$24.2 million, just shy of the \$27.62 million federal limit for primary campaign

spending, according to estimates his campaign released yesterday. Mr. Bush finished May with about \$8.26 million in cash on hand, spokesman Tony Mitchell said.

Meanwhile, Mr. Perot's aides are putting out word that he is ready to spend far more than \$100 million on his independent candidacy, a prominent Republican consultant said yesterday.

The consultant, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said he was approached by Perot political lieutenants late last week about a possible job in the Perot campaign.

The consultant said he turned them down, but not before Perot aides divulged some campaign strategy, including the Texan's spending intentions.

"The context was: 'You've seen this \$100 million figure? Don't take that seriously. . . . He'd spend many multiples of this,'" the GOP consultant said in recounting the conversation.

Mr. Perot, worth an estimated \$3 billion or more, has said he would spend "what it takes" to run a first-class campaign, noting that the \$100 million figure often mentioned was an estimate made by journalists.

The major-party candidates, whose general election campaigns are financed by tax dollars, will be allowed to spend only the \$55.2 million in public funds each will receive from the government for the general election. Mr. Perot has no such limit because he is paying for his own campaign, which qualified for the ballot in a 12th state yesterday — Arkansas.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Earth Summit forms

U.S. reservations cloud prospects

By Jeremy Gaunt
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil — U.N. negotiators sat down yesterday for last-minute preparations before their huge Earth Summit on how the world's nations can protect the planet.

Two years of negotiating for the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) were coming to a head with agreements still missing on such key issues as forests, funding and the overall responsibility of the industrialized world to Third World development.

The outlook for the conference has been roiled even further by the U.S. decision last Friday that it will not sign a so-called biodiversity treaty to protect plants, animals and natural resources.

Washington argues that the treaty would threaten the intellectual property rights and patents of U.S. companies because of its ownership and royalty provisions concerning product developments from rain forests and the like.

The European Community's senior representative at the conference warned yesterday that this stance, along with other U.S. positions, for example on pollution, threatened to divide industrialized nations at a time when they should be showing leadership to the Third World.

"It is very important to show the developing world that industrialized countries are taking steps to put their house in order," said Laurens Brinkhorst of the Netherlands.

see SUMMIT, page A6



Maurice Strong, Earth Summit secretary-general, and his wife are joined by a Brazilian Indian in Rio de Janeiro.

SUMMIT

From page A1

The summit, which is expected to attract as many as 100 world leaders on top of the 30,000-plus officials, journalists and environmentalists already gathering here, officially begins its two-week run tomorrow. But for many, it has already begun.

Official negotiators met in the Rio Centro convention center, which is still under renovation, to decide organizational matters and elect Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello as official UNCED chairman.

Other committee members were also to be chosen, the results of which could set the tone for various decisions to come out of the conference.

"Certain procedural decisions will have tremendous impact on the final results," said one environmentalist, referring to the various controversial plans and actions to be included in the conference's main document, a blueprint on the environment called Agenda 21.

Private talks were also expected to try to clear some of the forest of brackets still contained in the 800-odd-page document.

Reflecting what many developing countries hope will be a major result of the conference — money — Brazil announced it had received a \$300 million loan from Japan's Ex-Im Bank, part of which was earmarked for environmental cleanup projects.

EARTH SUMMIT AGENDA

The summit has three major themes including two treaties and one long-term plan for the future.

Biodiversity Convention: A treaty to protect wildlife from excessive exploitation and to establish the principle of sustainable use of natural resources.

Climate Change Convention: The European Community wanted a binding commitment to peg emissions of carbon dioxide at 1990 levels by the year 2000. The United States rejected binding targets. This treaty says nations "aim to return" carbon dioxide emissions pegged to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

Agenda 21: This 800-page agenda for action covers issues not included in the two conventions, including everything from deserts to river and air pollution, overfishing of the high seas and dealing with disposal of toxic wastes.

The United Nations estimates Agenda 21 will cost about \$125 billion a year to implement. The phrasing is deliberately vague, non-binding and has no timetables.

Source: London Daily Telegraph



UNCED officials have estimated that developing nations will need \$125 billion a year from the industrialized to meet the goals set out in Agenda 21.

Earlier, in a British Broadcasting Corp. interview, Britain's environment minister, David Maclean, said the economic recession among industrialized nations essentially ruled out such huge amounts.

"I call the figure [\$125 billion] incredible," he said.

In downtown Rio de Janeiro, about 20 miles from the convention center, environmentalist groups geared up for their parallel event, an unprecedented gathering on the environment called the Global Forum.

Greenpeace's famous ship, Rainbow Warrior, was to dock nearby later in the day, following a series of attempts to block ships leaving Brazilian ports containing cargoes the group considers environmentally damaging.

The group, which has been among the harshest critics of what agreements have been reached by Earth Summit negotiators, again expressed concern that not enough is being done to protect the Earth's future, which it considers grim.

"We hope that heads of state will take the steps to bring us back from the abyss," said Josh Karliner, a member of Greenpeace's UNCED team.

The Washington Times

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Gays see progress this election year

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush waffles on their demands, Ross Perot won't hire them and Pat Buchanan thinks they're unnatural. Only Bill Clinton calls them "gifted."

Still, homosexuals think it's been a great election so far.

"It's actually a banner year in presidential politics because everyone is addressing our issues, even the 'fabulous' President Bush," said Richard Rouillard, editor of the Advocate magazine, published in San Francisco.

While organized homosexuals are pleased with what they view as a discussion of their concerns, they are more delighted by Mr. Clinton's willingness to carry their banner.

"More than any other major candidate in history, Bill Clinton has sought and earned the support of our community," said Tom McFeeley, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, which says it is "the nation's largest lesbian and gay political organization."

In May, Mr. Clinton told an overflow audience of gay and lesbian supporters they represented "a community of our nation's gifted people whom we have been willing to squander."

That the Arkansas governor is running third behind a non-declared independent and an incumbent president only helps make this "a terrific year," as Campaign Fund spokesman Gregory King put it.

"In any three-way race," he said, "our leverage increases. Support from lesbian and gay Americans can make a real difference to a candidate

in a tight race."

Mr. Perot's explanation about why he wouldn't hire known adulterers and homosexuals showed him to be "part of the immoral minority still trying to divide the American family and public," said Bob Kunst, director of "The Oral Majority."

Mr. Rouillard thinks Mr. Perot later tried to reassure homosexuals by "saying that all he meant when he said he wouldn't hire gays was a concern about their surviving the Senate confirmation process."

"Nice two-step, Ross, but it didn't walk in the gay and lesbian community," Mr. Rouillard added.

Some homosexuals think the cruelest cut came from Mr. Buchanan Sunday when he said he halted ticket sales for his appearance at a downtown San Francisco auditorium because of possible demonstrations.

KCBS had planned to interview him there and take questions from the audience, but Mr. Buchanan, saying he feared militant homosexuals would disrupt the event, moved the event to the radio station's studios.

"I do not think anybody's got a right to force you out of an auditorium and into a studio," he said.

He also said that anybody who "doesn't see a connection between male promiscuity [and AIDS] really is an ideologue whose mind has been shut irreparably to the facts."

KCBS News Editor Doug Sovern said Mr. Clinton's auditorium appearance on Wednesday was sold out and Jerry Brown's on Friday nearly was — but only 52 tickets, at \$10 a piece, were sold for the Buchanan event when it was canceled

Congress gets to work on energy policy

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Shower heads and toilets will use less water, light bulbs and motors less electricity. Neighborhood service stations might offer natural gas as well as gasoline.

There will be more windmills producing electricity — and perhaps more nuclear power plants as well.

That, and more, could come to pass by the end of this decade largely because of a 1,500-page document working its way through Congress and likely to emerge later this year as the Comprehensive National Energy Policy Act of 1992.

The House passed the bill last week 281-37, the Senate by a 94-2 margin last February. And while some differences remain to be worked out, the outlines of a final bill are set in what will be the first overhaul of the country's energy policy since the late 1970s.

"In big ways and small ways, everybody will be affected. Houses will be built differently. We'll see different types of fuel being used. We will have reduced dependence on [oil] imports," says Deputy Energy Secretary Linda Stuntz.

The aim is to set a course away from oil, especially imports. By 2010, changes brought about by the legislation will enable oil imports to



Philip Sharp

be 5 million barrels a day lower than they otherwise would be, says Rep. Philip Sharp, Indiana Democrat and one of the House bill's architects.

The heart of the legislation is a combination of programs to improve energy conservation and spur expansion of other energy sources: nuclear and natural gas and renewables such as solar, wind, biomass

from agricultural wastes and geothermal from the earth's inner core.

While some energy experts maintain that Mr. Sharp's projections are too optimistic, they nevertheless foresee the bill having significant impact on how much energy is used and how it will be produced in the coming decade.

"Consumers will live in more efficient buildings and use more efficient appliances," says Howard Geller, executive director of the American Council for an Energy Efficient Economy. "Industries will have more efficient motors, offices more efficient lighting. People will be using less water and less energy to heat water."

The catalyst for this will be a requirement for new energy standards for such things as lights, appliances and various equipment from commercial motors to home air conditioners and bathroom fixtures — as well as construction.

There also are requirements for government and private fleet owners to buy vehicles that use alternative fuels and begin to wean America's transportation system away from gasoline.

As many as 1.6 million fleet-owned vehicles are likely to be using

alternate fuels such as natural gas or methanol blends by 2000 with an additional 800,000 such vehicles expected to be bought annually after that, Ms. Stuntz said.

With that kind of market, the number of privately owned alternative fuel vehicles will grow and neighborhood refueling stations offering natural gas and other fuels won't be far behind, she predicts.

Modest tax breaks are intended to foster conservation and may also bring changes in lifestyle.

More people may be persuaded to take buses or subways to work instead of driving as the government gives a tax break to those using mass transit and limits tax writeoffs for employer-provided parking.

Conservation also may be spurred by new research money authorized by the bill, although Congress would still have to come up with the money from year to year.

Energy experts say such technology as new solar cells, more efficient batteries to power electric vehicles, better insulation, more efficient motors, new lighting and new breakthroughs that will allow cleaner burning of coal are only a few of the areas that might benefit.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Only few questions on ballot

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP) — Californians accustomed to long lines at the polls because of ballots crammed with complicated initiatives might need a new excuse for being late to work today.

Only three statewide propositions and a scattering of local questions share space with the candidates on the primary ballot.

Los Angeles voters will consider a ballot initiative that would make the Police Department more accountable to citizens, a measure that has taken on added relevance after the Los Angeles riots.

In 1976, 73 percent of registered California voters cast ballots; this year, state election officials project a turnout of 44.3 percent. "It's been a depressing campaign season," said Richard Zeiger, editor of the California Journal.

Pollster Mervin Field said Californians are "recoiling from politics. They are disengaged and withdrawn. They don't see either the Democrats or the Republicans or any particular program that is really going to make a difference."

Not that it's been an entirely dull political season.

True, the presidential campaign has been less than sizzling — President Bush already has the Republican nomination locked up, and Bill Clinton could lose to former California Gov. Jerry Brown today and still easily claim the Democratic nomination.

But there have been hot races for both of California's U.S. Senate seats,

which are up simultaneously for the first time in state history. Two women — Dianne Feinstein and Rep. Barbara Boxer — are considered the front-runners in Democratic primaries for each seat.

Altogether, 11 major candidates are battling for the four Senate nominations in campaigns that have largely been conducted through TV commercials.

And some of the propositions — especially those on the local level — have caused a stir.

In Sacramento County, tobacco companies have spent more than \$1 million trying to defeat a ban on all smoking in restaurants and businesses. The campaign prompted an only-in-California event: pro and con ads delivered as Gregorian chants.

In San Jose, officials want to use public money to build a \$265 million stadium to lure the San Francisco Giants south.

Besides the Police Department issue, Los Angeles residents are voting on a charter amendment that would let the city give preference to local companies when awarding contracts.

In 31 counties, voters will be asked whether California should be split into two states. "It's sensible, it's logical," said Assemblyman Stan Statham, a Democrat from far Northern California who leads the breakaway movement. The results are not binding.

The statewide ballot questions include two that would authorize using the proceeds from bond sales to pay for programs for schools and colleges. Another would allow poor property owners to defer taxes. None has generated the interest or controversy that accompanied past initiatives, such as the Proposition 13 tax cuts that voters overwhelmingly approved in 1978.

Most political pros contend the small number of statewide questions is directly tied to the results in 1990, when 22 of the 28 ballot questions were defeated.

SAC finishes job of four decades

OFFUTT AIR FORCE BASE, Neb. (AP) — The Strategic Air Command was put to rest yesterday as the United States sheathed — but did not shelve — the nuclear sword it has wielded through four decades.

At the same time, Air Force and Navy nuclear weapons came under the control of a single Strategic Command, or Stratcom, a streamlined military creature born of lean budgets and an easing nuclear threat.

"The horror of World War III never came. You kept the peace," Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said during a ceremony at Offutt Air Force Base. The base has been SAC's headquarters since 1948.

Navy dress white uniforms mixed with Air Force blues as 2,500 people gathered in a hangar to bid farewell to SAC.

SAC was the nation's nuclear sentry during the Cold War with its

force of bombers and missiles. For years, it was responsible for the nation's nuclear bombs and missiles and planned for long-range or strategic wars.

"Since 1946 SAC has had to get it right every hour of every day," said Gen. Merrill McPeak, the Air Force chief of staff.

Also attending the ceremony were Air Force Secretary Donald Rice and Gen. Lee Butler, SAC's last commander and Stratcom's first.

The Washington Times

Perot draws local boosters from ranks of disappointed



Perot volunteers Doug Moon, Pierre Paret and Roy Asanah work phones.

By Judith Colp
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bill Colton volunteered on his first presidential campaign four years ago, for George Bush. Now the George Washington University freshman says Mr. Bush "hasn't stuck to his word" — and he wants Ross Perot to be president.

"If you had told me four years ago that in the first year I could vote I would not be supporting George Bush but a third-party candidate, I would have said you're crazy," says Mr. Colton, 18 and a Philadelphia resident.

But 1992 is looking to be the year all past endorsements are off.

An informal survey of volunteers at the People for Perot headquarters on 15th and H streets NW revealed past supporters of President Bush, Democrat Paul Tsongas and New Alliance Party founder Lenora B. Fulani.

One Perot volunteer, Steve Stokes,

see PEROT, page E5

PEROT

From page E1

wrote in long-dead President Harry Truman in the 1972 election and backed Republican Gerald Ford four years later.

"I am just fed up with politics," says Mr. Stokes, 43, a self-employed computer analyst. "All politicians are concerned about is getting re-elected. This is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to make changes. I don't think it will be rosy with Perot in there at the start, but we've got to have change."

"He's a businessman with proven abilities," Mr. Stokes adds. "Countries are like businesses, except that they can't go bankrupt."

The storefront Perot headquarters, opened officially Thursday, the day the man whipped through Washington and made a visit to chat up volunteers. It encompasses two tidy rooms.

The walls are covered with several full-length sketches of a youthful-looking Mr. Perot and a large American flag. A computer data base, which is being filled with names of volunteers, has broken down — an ironic turn of events since the presidential possible made his fortune with a computer services company.

The most important campaign product so far is the supply of Perot T-shirts — a polo-style design for \$25 and a cheaper one. T-shirt sales apparently are keeping the sparsely furnished office financially afloat.

"The office is very entrepreneurial, very grass roots," says Jo-Ann Herrick, 41, an energy lobbyist, who comes to volunteer each morning. "We just see what needs to be done and do it."

Just like Mr. Perot.

Anthony Amob was visiting the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on Memorial Day when Mr. Colton approached him to talk about Mr. Perot. Two days later, the former teacher decided to stop into the campaign office on his way to volunteer at a nearby soup kitchen.

Mr. Amob, an American Indian, came bearing a gift tin of Bazooka bubble gum and a greeting card with a groundhog on the cover saying "Hi." Inside were the words "Your Turn" and Mr. Amob's own personal message to Mr. Perot.

"I figured if I was going to have some impact on people in the soup kitchen, I should start here," Mr. Amob says. "I don't know very much about him, but he seems to believe in a government that's unimpeded and unprostituted. No, that's not the right word. Someone help me out."

"Uncontaminated," another volunteer interjects.

"Yes, that's it. I want to vote for someone who feels like a friend," Mr.



"If you had told me four years ago that in the first year I could vote I would not be supporting George Bush but a third-party candidate, I would have said you're crazy."

Amob says.

Gloria Borland, Perot coordinator for the District, first heard about the possible contender from a friend after her earlier choice, Mr. Tsongas, dropped out of the race. She watched closely the next time she saw Mr. Perot on TV. The self-described media entrepreneur liked the image.

"He's sharp and I want a president that's brilliant," Miss Borland, 35, says. "If he could take \$1,000 and build a business, then he could take the United States out of the recession. The man speaks from experience; I mean, he's walked the walk."

Take the recent riots in Los Angeles, offers Terry Miller, 58, a retired writer. President Bush, he says, made the situation worse by sending out five different, confusing messages.

"Mr. Perot would have been clear about his reaction and his plans," Mr. Miller says. "He wouldn't be wishy-washy."

"There is, in my humble opinion," he adds, "no choice in this election. The country is in real trouble; it needs a dedicated effort to get out of it. We're just tired of the same old style."

Don't try telling any of these volunteers that Ross Perot can't win. They'll tell you he will enter the race



Top: Philippa Snowden puts Perot bumper stickers on straw hats. Above: Gloria Borland and Bill Colton work at the candidate's D.C. headquarters.

and then win it.

Mr. Colton says he's even proved it in a term paper for his political science class. Under his theory, Mr. Perot will take California (where the electorate is concerned about soldiers believed still imprisoned in Southeast Asia, a Perot issue) and

Texas (Mr. Perot's home state).

Mr. Perot, Mr. Colton concludes in his term paper, could beat Mr. Bush and force Democratic candidate Bill Clinton into a distant third. The paper, which the student circulates around Perot headquarters, earned him an "A."

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

BUSH

From page A1

istration officials said.

The president plans to endorse the actions of the 12-day summit, administration officials said, but won't sign any extensive agreement to curb carbon dioxide emissions because it would lead to huge taxes and leave the government open to lawsuits if the goals aren't reached.

Administration officials said Mr. Bush is upset with many of the 100 world leaders attending the summit who have accused the United States with holding up progress on improving the world's environment.

To offset those attacks, echoed by American environmental groups, the administration yesterday released a 56-point fact sheet detailing White House initiatives to clean up the nation's air and water.

"It's setting the record straight," said one administration official.

"When we go to Rio, the U.S. will go proudly as the world's leader, not just in environmental research, but in environmental action," said Mr. Bush.

A senior administration official said the attacks from American environmental groups and foreign nations are "hot air.... It's ludicrous that we take any shots across the bow."

Another official said "the Europeans deserve high marks for their rhetoric." The official said the United States has balked at signing a major agreement because "we take these things seriously."

Other nations, he said, find it easier to make commitments. One nation said, "It's only words, why worry about it?" Officials from another unidentified country, in pressing for a tougher clean air agreement, said, "Why worry? It doesn't take effect until the year 2001," according to the official.

In his speech, Mr. Bush said his policies strike a "balance" between the environment and industry. But his policy advisers, who huddled with Mr. Bush at Camp David yesterday, focused on the political damage from the crush of criticism expected to be directed at the president during the Earth Summit.

Critics were quick to hit Mr. Bush's proposals yesterday, calling them an attempt to divert attention from his environmental record.

"President Bush's international forestry plan announced today reflects the staggering hypocrisy of this administration's environmental policies," said George Frampton Jr., president of the Wilderness Society.

"It is clear that President Bush's goal is to divert attention away from his administration's attack on the Endangered Species Act, the Clean Air Act and a host of other fundamental federal environmental laws," he said.

Mr. Bush proposed and signed into law historic changes in the Clean Air Act and has tried to balance environmental calls to block logging to protect the Pacific Northwest Northern Spotted Owl with the protection of jobs.

Sen. Al Gore, the Tennessee Democrat who is heading the Senate delegation to the summit, applauded the additional \$150 million to save world forests, but added: "This is the same president who killed an international agreement on forests... and watered down the agreement on global warming. Now he wants us to believe he cares?"

Bush proposes plan for planet

Offers 'action,' not 'rhetoric'

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration yesterday launched a pre-emptive strike against its environmental critics, claiming that the Earth Summit opening in Brazil tomorrow will produce more rhetoric than action.

President Bush, spelling out his own four-point "fast track" program to improve the world's environment, told a NASA audience in Greenbelt that "actions speak louder than words."

The administration is under attack from American environmental groups and foreign governments for its lukewarm approach to the United Nations-sponsored environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro.

Speaking to 250 employees at the Goddard Space Flight Center, headquarters of the Earth Observing System -- called the "Mission to Planet Earth," Mr. Bush said his program would last "long after those speeches in Rio have been given and the conference is over."

It would:

- Double the U.S. contribution to international programs to protect forests. Mr. Bush pledged to add \$150 million to the \$120 million he has already promised for fiscal 1993 and called on industrialized nations to join in doubling to \$2.7 billion the fund to protect forests.
- Open the door to sharing envi-

ronmental technology with other nations. The administration would create a corps to identify "green technology" for rapid development and distribution.

• Speed implementation of environmental action plans.

• Support increased climate change research handled mainly by Goddard in the multibillion-dollar "Planet Earth" project.

Mr. Bush will present his program June 11-12 at the Rio summit, admini-

see BUSH, page A6

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Bunker at hotel doomed

Democrats to set timing of closing

By Paul M. Rodriguez
and Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley is expected to meet with top Democratic leadership officials this week to discuss how soon Congress can close down its nuclear war hideaway underneath the posh Greenbrier resort in West Virginia.

Democratic leaders have already agreed informally among themselves that there is no justification in the post-Cold War era for the continued existence of the facility, following disclosure of its location last Friday by The Washington Times.

The full cost to the taxpayer of maintaining the facility is not known. The government pays the Greenbrier's owners, CSX Corp., \$50,000 to \$60,000 a year in rent.

The Times yesterday called a number of Democratic and Republican lawmakers with direct legislative responsibility for the facility, and all said the bunker should be closed.

Rep. Dave McCurdy, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, when asked if the facility should be maintained, said: "Absolutely not. It is a Cold War anachronism."

The Oklahoma Democrat said he has told Mr. Foley personally that Congress should close the bunker.

An aide to Mr. Foley acknowledged yesterday that "the utility to Congress [of the Greenbrier bunker] has been eclipsed by events."

"The probable intention of the bipartisan leadership might well be to ask the executive branch to review the usefulness for any other governmental purpose," the aide said.

Rep. Dan Glickman, Kansas Democrat and a senior member of the House Intelligence Committee, said the bunker should be closed and suggested it could be "turned into a homeless shelter."

An aide to House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri said Mr. Gephardt had yet to meet with Democratic leaders on the issue but expected a meeting this week.

Although the joint congressional leadership issued a statement last Friday bemoaning disclosure of the bunker's existence, Mr. Gephardt was already downplaying its usefulness, dismissing it as "a relic of the Cold War which probably ought to be mothballed."

"The bipartisan leadership already has spoken on this matter and concluded that the bunker's usefulness is now moot," one House Republican leadership aide said.

"It's not a question of should we, but how fast to get it behind us," agreed a Senate Democratic leadership aide.

The complex, built in the late 1950s at an initial cost of about \$14 million, has its own water supply and air recirculation systems and can house up to 800 people. It also con-

BUNKER

From page A1

tains food, medical and other supplies than can last up to a year, according to officials who spoke with The Times.

Although Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas and House Minority Leader Robert Michel of Illinois knew about the supersecret bunker, lawmakers and press reports over the weekend portrayed the hideaway as another public relations eyesore for an already-embattled Democratic leadership, especially in the House.

Mr. Foley, The Times was told by Hill sources last week, rejected the recommendation of an interagency committee to close the underground complex because of the reduced chances of a nuclear war.

"I can think of no possible use for it," Rep. Charles Wilson, Texas Democrat and chairman of the House Intelligence subcommittee on oversight, said yesterday. "I can't see that it ever had any useful purpose."

Rep. Bud Shuster, Pennsylvania Republican and ranking member of the House Intelligence Committee, said Congress needs a plan to protect congressional leaders, the Supreme Court and key Cabinet members in case of a terrorist nuclear attack.

But, "it ought to be shut down," he said of the bunker, adding that he never knew it existed.

Mr. Shuster said he's testified in classified hearings about the need to protect high government officials. "I didn't even know we had a bad plan. This one doesn't make sense."

Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery, a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, said in a writ-

ten statement that he had never been an advocate of bunkers and fallout shelters.

"In the case of the Greenbrier bunker, I don't think it had any real usefulness even during the Cold War," he said. "It had no practical use then and certainly doesn't today. We should not spend any more money at all on it."

Notwithstanding such strong negative reactions toward continued funding of the 800-bed, multi-chambered underground facility, no clear course of action to close it materialized yesterday.

Even though the House is scheduled to consider the 1993 Defense Department authorization bill this week, officials already have agreed on the amendments to be discussed and a proposal to close the bunker is not among them.

"This is a matter that rests solely with the speaker," a senior Democratic official said. "It's his call as to when this issue comes up and in what context it comes up within the party."

But one Democratic leadership aide said congressional Republicans, the White House and the Pentagon also have input into the facility's future.

House Democrats often used the Greenbrier resort as the meeting place for retreats. They halted its use in 1989 after interest groups and others criticized lawmakers for going on what they called a paid vacation while considering a pay raise.

Asked yesterday if Democrats would ever again travel to the resort for a retreat, one senior official said: "Only in the event of nuclear war. It certainly does bring a new definition to getting bombed at the Greenbrier."

• J. Jennings Moss contributed to this report.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Court to look at GOP's remapping plan for Ohio

By Mary Deibel
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

The Supreme Court agreed yesterday to rule on a Republican redistricting plan that was struck down for "packing" Ohio's big-city districts with black voters to dilute their impact in suburban areas.

The justices said they will study a lower court ruling invalidating a Republican-controlled board's re-map for the Ohio General Assembly in the wake of the 1990 census.

A decision, expected next term, could simply address how far federal judges can go in redistricting disputes also pending in state court.

Alternately, the justices could hand down a broader ruling that could affect the Republicans' nationwide strategy of carving out heavily minority congressional and state legislative districts wherever possible.

"We think we — Republicans, racial minorities and probably women

— have succeeded in breaking the back of the gerrymanders of the 1980s that kept ... the old-white-boy Democratic network in control," said Ben Ginsberg, Republican National Committee general counsel.

Mr. Ginsberg, chief architect of the party's nationwide redistricting strategy, said it's designed to end "the Democrats' slicing and dicing up of racial minority communities to ensure the election of white Democrats."

"This hasn't happened in a lot of other places to date because Republicans don't control the process in most places," said Mark Gersh, spokesman for the Democratic National Committee. "But there's no question their long-term strategy is to pack minority voters into their own districts so that loyal Democrats have less influence in lily-white areas."

In the Ohio case, Republican Gov. George Voinovich and two other GOP officials who control the five-

member state reapportionment board asked the justices to overturn a March 10 ruling in which a three-judge federal court had concluded the Republican plan illegally diluted minority voting strength.

The lower court said the plan packed big-city districts with black voters in a way that needlessly diluted their influence in adjoining suburban districts. It rejected Mr. Voinovich's argument that any ruling overturning the plan would violate a 1986 Supreme Court precedent.

That year, the Supreme Court made it easier for blacks and other minorities to challenge redistricting plans that dilute their voting strength in a case that struck down most of North Carolina's 1981 legislative redistricting plan because there was sufficient evidence that it hurt black candidates' chances for election.

But the Ohio court said the circumstances in North Carolina, with

its history of Voting Rights Act violations, could not be compared with Ohio's track record of electing blacks to the state legislature from districts with black voting-age populations as low as 38 percent.

"Substantial coalition voting between the races exists in Ohio," the court said, adding the issue is "whether the [Republican-controlled] board should be permitted to destroy what is right in Ohio."

The lower court appointed a special judge to draw a new map and ordered the state legislative primary delayed from May 5 until today, the same day as the state's presidential and congressional primaries.

But the Supreme Court stepped in in April to allow the GOP state legislative plan to be used in the primary today. Ohio political analysts say the plan gives the Republicans their best chance to control the General Assembly since 1973.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Double Senate race confuses primary voters in California

By Valerie Richardson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SAN FRANCISCO — In one of the wildest contests since the Gold Rush, California voters go to the polls today to nominate four candidates in an unprecedented race for two U.S. Senate seats.

The two seats opened up at the

same time due to the retirement of Sen. Alan Cranston and former Sen. Pete Wilson's move to the governor's mansion. Since then, 11 major candidates and a host of minor ones have spent tens of millions of dollars to reach voters in the nation's most populous state.

With a presidential primary and S4 House races to think about, most voters appear too overwhelmed to sort out the fractious Senate contest. When a Los Angeles television reporter asked a dozen people on the street to name one U.S. Senate candidate, not one could.

In political shorthand, the two races are for the "long," or six-year, seat, and the "short," or two-year, seat. But they could also be described as the "too-close-to-call" and "sure thing" races, based on polling data and conventional wisdom.

In the "short seat" or "sure thing" race, Democrat Dianne Feinstein and Republican Sen. John Seymour are expected to coast to victory, despite credible challengers. Both

see SENATE, page A5

CALIFORNIA SENATE RACES

Eleven candidates vie for two U.S. Senate seats in today's primary.

The "short" seat

Candidates for the so-called "short" seat are vying to finish the final two years of now-Gov. Pete Wilson's unexpired term, currently being filled by appointee Sen. John Seymour.

Republicans

- **Sen. John Seymour:** Ads stress law and order after the Los Angeles riots. Incurred wrath of conservatives after switching to pro-choice on abortion in 1989, but polls show him well ahead of the field.
- **Rep. William Dannemeyer:** Radio ads mock Seymour as a "flipper" on the issues. With little money and low poll numbers, he's counting on stalwart conservatives.
- **William Allen:** Stressing conservative values, the U.S. civil rights commissioner is running third while draining support from Mr. Dannemeyer.

Democrats

- **Dianne Feinstein:** With a huge poll lead, she is expected to win handily.
- **Gray Davis:** He has tried to whittle down Feinstein's lead with ads comparing her to Leona Helmsley and Charles Keating.

The "long" seat

The "long" seat opened up with the retirement of Democratic Sen. Alan Cranston. The winner will serve a normal six-year term.

Republicans

- **Bruce Herschensohn:** In a tight race with Rep. Tom Campbell, the former Los Angeles television commentator has carried the banner for conservatives. Ads call his foe "a real liberal."
- **Rep. Tom Campbell:** A Stanford professor known for money and brains, he calls Herschensohn "a liar" for calling him a liberal. His own ads stress pro-choice and call for more AIDS research and education funding.
- **Sonny Bono:** The former Palm Springs mayor has given the race a lift with his moderate-to-conservative message. Running third, he's siphoned votes from Campbell.

Democrats

- **Rep. Barbara Boxer:** Running in a three-way tie, she plays the gender card in ads showing scenes from the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings.
- **Rep. Mel Levine:** The television candidate, he jumped 18 points in the polls after spending \$4 million on air time. Ads mix liberal, pro-choice views with support for Desert Storm and law and order.
- **Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy:** Longtime office holder has greatest name recognition but is dropping in polls as his two foes surge. Ads attack opponents for voting for congressional pay raises.

The Washington Times

SENATE

From page A1

have begun sparring with each other, rather than with their primary rivals.

The race for the "long seat" has had no shortage of lead changes, mud-slinging and name-calling. In the Republican corner, Bruce Herschensohn, a former Los Angeles television commentator, is a pro-life conservative who wants to maintain defense spending and loosen strict environmental regulations.

In one ad, he calls his opponent, Rep. Tom Campbell, "a real liberal," noting that Mr. Campbell has advocated tax increases.

Mr. Campbell, a former Stanford Law School professor elected to Congress in 1988, has countered with an ad calling Mr. Herschensohn "a liar," explaining that he never actually voted for a tax increase. Mr. Campbell, who describes himself as a moderate Republican, is pro-choice and liberal-leaning on social issues but more conservative on fiscal questions.

Fueling the fiery race is former Palm Springs Mayor Sonny Bono, who appears to have taken a bite out of Mr. Campbell's early lead.

"The predictions were that Sonny Bono would be a spoiler and the person he's spoiling is Campbell," said Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political analyst at the Claremont Graduate School.

After exchanging the lead several times, the candidates are locked in a dead heat, with Mr. Campbell a few points ahead. Mr. Herschensohn's campaign is counting on his base of conservative supporters, who tend to be more dependable voters, to put him over the top.

The race on the Democratic side is no less volatile. The candidates — Rep. Barbara Boxer, Rep. Mel Levine and Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy —

are within 5 percentage points of each other in the polls, making it anyone's race.

As with the Republicans, each has flooded the airwaves with commercials, especially Mr. Levine, who was little more than an afterthought before he launched a \$4 million ad campaign.

His politics are mostly liberal, but Mr. Levine's ads highlight his support of Operation Desert Storm. He is also a staunch backer of Israel and has criticized his party for not coming down harder on those who went on a rampage during the Los Angeles riots.

Mr. Levine's rise in the polls has come mainly at the expense of Mr. McCarthy, a well-known, longtime figure in California politics whose early lead was attributed largely to name recognition.

To win back support, Mr. McCarthy is airing anti-Congress ads that show his foes as backers of the congressional pay raise. His years of campaigning — most recently in 1990 for the lieutenant governor's post — have drained his war chest, cutting his ability to buy advertising.

Mrs. Boxer's poll numbers have remained virtually unchanged, even after she denied and then later admitted writing 143 bad checks at the House bank. The most liberal of the three, her ads call for bringing more women into the U.S. Senate and show scenes from the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings.

Analysts say Mrs. Boxer's supporters are the least likely to be swayed by scandals or negative ads. "Her people don't care about check bouncing — they're there for ideological reasons and they're rock solid," Mrs. Jeffe said.

If both Mrs. Boxer and Mrs. Feinstein win today, women's political groups are ready to use California as a springboard for a Year of the Woman campaign.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Rio, here they come

As the Bush administration packs its bags for the Earth Junket that starts in Rio this week, one hopes it will take a closer look at the scientific report that everybody down there will be talking about. It's a 365-page document, not including a brand-new supplement, produced by an organization known as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), and it has one big problem. It's not very scientific.

Of course, it has all the trappings of science. It has data. It has formulas. It has scientists. But it doesn't have the approval of peer review, the means by which the research community attempts to distinguish mere theory from science. Non-reviewed speculation on the dangers of Alar caused a disaster a few years back from which the apple industry is still recovering. The stakes in Rio are substantially higher.

The IPCC report (and to a large extent the Rio confab) concerns fears that such human activities as driving cars and lighting grills are adding gases to the atmosphere that trap heat and warm the Earth. There are other sources of heat-trapping gases, notably flatulent cattle and wetlands. Together these emissions contribute to what's known as the greenhouse effect, without which this planet would be one big snowball.

What sort of worries the IPCC authors is that these gases may be trapping too much heat and making the Earth too warm. One says "sort of" because the IPCC report itself states, "It is not possible to attribute all, or even a large part, of the observed global-mean warming to the enhanced greenhouse effect on the basis of observational data currently available." That's a nice way of saying the planet appears to be warming for reasons they don't understand. That's possible. The Earth has been warming and cooling for hundreds of thousands of years, long before anybody thought about driving out to the mall and adding a few greenhouse gases to the atmosphere.

The usual way of resolving a debate like this one would be for scientists to gather their data on warming, construct their theories and their atmospheric models and send the whole report off to a scientific journal for publication. The editors would then ask authorities in the field to review the report. To ensure the impartiality of the review, it would be "double-blind": The study's authors wouldn't know who was reviewing their work. The reviewers wouldn't know whose work they were reviewing. If the study survived review, it would be published and become "science" — at least until some other, better theory comes along.

That's not what happened with the IPCC report. The study's authors handpicked the reviewers. Everybody knew everybody. The study's critics were largely ignored, and the study was sent out to the lay press. Then everyone decided to go to Rio.

Fortunately, the press itself is beginning to have doubts. The Washington Post, in what amounts to a three-page correction of its past eco-hysteria, admitted up front in a Rio story that "most of the scientists who specialize in the subject still can't figure out whether anything unusual is actually happening to Earth's climate."

There are also signs that scientists themselves are beginning to take the lead against press-release science. More than 200 scientists, including 22 Nobel Prize winners, have just released a petition called the Heidelberg Appeal, in which they warn political leaders at Rio against making decisions "supported by pseudo-scientific arguments or false and non-relevant data." They profess concern "at the emergence of an irrational ideology which is opposed to scientific and industrial progress and impedes economic and social development."

President Bush ought to be concerned about it, too. Let other Rio participants take superstition and fear as their guides. His standard should be science.

PETER SAMUEL

Lhe personally indignant — to use P.J. O'Rourke's term — are now complaining loudly about President Bush's unwillingness to sign the Convention on Biological Diversity at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. This shows his heartless lack of concern for the rain forests and their diverse ecosystems, that he has capitulated to business interests, and so on. Actually, business and indeed most conservationists rather forgot about the biodiversity treaty, having devoted most of their energy to fighting the climate change treaty.

The biodiversity treaty was something of a stealth weapon for the greens.

sign.
Thirty-nine pages of closely typed text, it is a long-winded collection of sporadic bureaucratic platitudes about the environment. I dove off the first line I tried to read. It took a U.S. government official a few small paragraphs to concentrate my mind on some of the environmental land mines hidden within this diplomatic mush. The treaty contains numerous

development. The treaty concludes that people derive from housing, energy and industrial development. The treaty concludes that people derive from housing, energy and industrial development. The treaty concludes that people derive from housing, energy and industrial development.

see SANTEL, page 43



SAMUEL

From page F1

human development on the wilds. Rather it simply emphasizes the imperative of preserving the wild, regardless of human cost of development forgone and property rights denied.

The vice president's staff memo enumerates the problem of the treaty as follows: "[The treaty] greatly extends the responsibilities of government beyond our current, extensive federal management of biological resources. It will require enactment of broadened environmental legislation in the U.S. Both the Endangered Species Act and the National Environmental Protection Act would need to be substantially expanded since the draft convention

imposes greater obligations in these areas. . . . It could greatly increase litigation because of new compensation legislation [that] would need to be passed as the draft treaty contains a vaguely worded provision to establish liabilities and a right to compensation for damage to biodiversity."

The vice president's memo draws attention to two more aspects of the draft treaty on biodiversity:

- Provisions for technology transfer to developing countries that override patents and other intellectual property rights.

- Establishment of a new U.N.-type fund called the Biological Diversity Fund to be financed according to a treaty formula by developed countries for the benefit of poor country governments.

Now, U.S. industry is a world

leader in environmental science and technology, yet this treaty would commit the government to override existing patent rights to ensure the free or subsidized proliferation of U.S. inventions to the Third World.

Environmentalists constantly misrepresent this issue. For example, in an intemperate editorial in the latest issue of *Sciences*, Sherwood Rowland says the U.S. position has been to refuse to allow the transfer of environmental technology. In fact since Third World countries are already free to negotiate to license the rights to the technology, or to buy it as incorporated in U.S.-designed equipment or simply to allow U.S. firms with the technology to invest and build facilities in these countries, there is no question of the United States refusing them the technology. The issue has been

whether the convention will interfere with freely negotiated business dealings and give legal sanction to extracommercial rights.

If U.S. companies fear they will lose the right to negotiate sale of their technology on a commercial basis overseas, and think it will be expropriated, they will stop the research. Or else they will demand government contracts for all research, a formula for the socialization and government control of all environmental R&D.

A proposed Biological Diversity Fund as provided in the treaty is just another international economic aid mechanism, whereby the taxpayers of the United States are asked to fund the schemes of foreign governments and international agencies. Americans who want to help retain the tropical rain forest and its rich life forms in Brazil can work with

like-minded Brazilians, put their money where their mouths are, buy up tracts of the forest and preserve them, using the model of the Nature Conservancy. The American public is rightly hostile to new international aid agencies.

No one has paid much attention to this treaty, in part because of its mind-numbing name. It could be renamed for what it is: The Treaty for the International Appropriation of U.S. and other Advanced Country Technology, for Enlarged International Economic Aid, and for the Institution of Comprehensive National Land Use Controls and Other Measures for Ending the Encroachment and Impact of Mankind on Wilderness Worldwide.

So named, the American people would overwhelmingly endorse President Bush's decision to "Just Say No" to this other treaty at Rio.

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

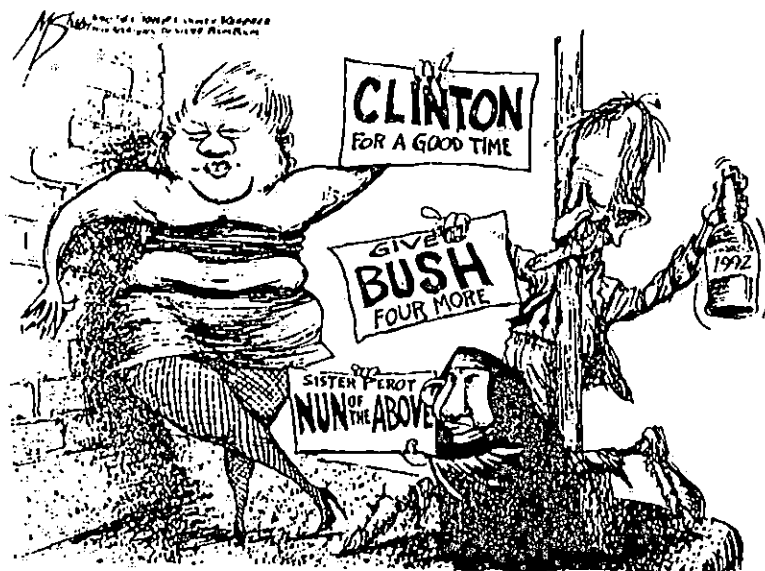
The choosing of a president . . . if no one wins

With Ross Perot climbing in the polls, constitutional experts are beginning to prepare for the possibility that no candidate may win a majority of the electoral vote. Every high-school civics student knows that if that were to occur, the presidential election would be "thrown" into the House of Representatives. But behind that simple civics phrase lurks a potential constitutional and political nightmare.

First, a description of the possible scenarios. By early Wednesday morning after the election, we should know whether any candidate has achieved the necessary majority of electoral votes. If a candidate has received such a majority, he will become president. Although in theory — and indeed by law — "electors" are entitled to vote their conscience, they will not defy the voters if a majority of electoral votes has been obtained by a candidate.

Everything would be less clear if no candidate achieves an electoral college majority — and this would be a distinct possibility if Mr. Perot were to carry California, Texas and a handful of other states in which he is currently leading in the polls. At this point, individual electors could decide that it is far better for the election to be decided by the electoral college than by the House. Assume that Mr. Perot finished third, but with enough electors to give either of the other candidates a major-

Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School, is a nationally syndicated columnist.



This nation has thrived on stability, legitimacy and majority rule. These may be at risk if no presidential candidate achieves a clear majority of the electoral college.

ity. Mr. Perot's electors could decide to cast their votes so as to give one of the other candidates the necessary majority. If that candidate were the one who finished on top of the pack, there would probably be no political or constitutional crisis. But what if the Perot electors gave a majority to the candidate who had finished sec-

ond in the electoral (and popular) votes? Would the American public readily accept a "loser" as their president? Would they accept the independence of electors — unknown people who are unaccountable and who nobody really votes for?

Moving on to the next scenario, if the electors could not produce an

electoral college majority for any candidate, the presidential election would indeed be thrown to the House. The newly elected House — which will likely contain a large number of post-Rubbergate rookies — would then vote for the president. According to the 12th Amendment, "The votes shall be taken by states, the representatives from each state having one vote." Thus, California and Nevada each have one vote, despite their population differences.

How the "representatives from each state" determine how to cast the state's single vote also raises a potentially divisive issue. Should each member of Congress vote in the state caucus in accordance with the way the people in his district voted? Should they vote along party lines? Should each vote for who would make the best president? Should a majority vote within the state delegation determine how the state's single vote is cast? Who breaks a tie vote?

It is possible, however, that even if the electoral college produces no majority, a vote for president would not take place in the House. Back to the words of the 12th Amendment: "A quorum for this purpose [electing a president] shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states." What a terrible piece of constitutional draftsmanship! And what an invitation to partisan maneuvering!

Imagine the following scenario. One of the candidates now has a majority of states in his corner, but the other candidates have more than a third of the states. Those who con-

trol the losing third could decide to flex their muscles by not showing up for the vote, thus denying the necessary quorum. Would it then be enough if the majority candidate could persuade a single dissenting member of Congress from these no-show states' delegation to appear on the floor of the House? After all, the Constitution explicitly defines a quorum to include "a member" from two-thirds of the states. Was that intended to apply only to states with a single member of Congress, or to a single member of Congress from states with multiple representatives? Who knows!

And now onto the final scenario. If no president is selected by Inauguration Day, then — according to the 12th Amendment — "the vice president shall act as president." Under the 20th Amendment, the vice president serves only "until a president shall have been qualified," though it is not clear whether that applies in the event the House has chosen no president.

But wait! How do we get a vice president? There are two ways: The electors may choose one by a majority, though that is unlikely if they have been unable to choose a president. And, second, by a majority of all the senators, after a two-thirds quorum has shown up on the floor.

All in all, it is a mess, with the prospect of chaos, civic unrest and worse. This nation has thrived on stability, legitimacy and majority rule. All of these may be at risk if no presidential candidate achieves a clear majority of the electoral college in the November election.

June 2, 1992

Bush plan to save forests called 'clumsy'

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush repackaged his oft-stated goal of balancing environmental protection with economic development and introduced it Monday as "the new environmentalism."

"This balance is absolutely essential," he said as Wednesday's opening of the U.N. Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, approaches.

Bush is taking fire at home and abroad for trying to undercut the meeting's goals. He has:

► Stuffed efforts to fix targets and timetables for reducing "greenhouse" gases.

► Refused to sign a treaty protecting plants and animals, saying to comply would choke the U.S. economic recovery.

Yet he defended his record: The United States goes to Rio "as the world's leader ... in environmental action."



Bush Monday also said he'll propose that worldwide forest conservation assistance be doubled to \$2.7 billion next year,

Pollution of Earth on Rio agenda, but population issue sparks bickering
► Full preview, 4A

and pledged \$150 million toward that goal.

But Bush's plan generated little praise among those disillusioned over what many regard as his minimalist record:

► "Taken alone, it's good. Taken in context, it hardly compensates for the logging of our own ancient forests," said Fred Krupp, director of the Environmental Defense Fund.

► The forest plan is "a clumsy attempt to keep attention away from even clumsier policy," said Sen. Albert Gore Jr., D-Tenn., who is heading the Senate delegation to Rio.

Trade talks draw retail attention to Mexico

By Ellen Neuborne
USA TODAY

While a North American free-trade agreement is being hammered out in Washington, some U.S. retailers are heading south of the border.

Last week, Wal-Mart revealed an expanded plan with CIFRA SA, Mexico's largest retailer. Six to eight warehouse clubs are planned for Mexico City by next year. The companies also plan distribution centers and super-

permarkets. Wal-Mart first announced plans to build a warehouse club in Mexico last year.

Negotiations continue this week in Washington to create a North American Free Trade Area among the United States, Canada and Mexico. A free trade agreement would scrap certain duties and restrictions between members. A final agreement might be months away, but early prospectors abound:

► Retail developer Melvin Simon

signed joint ventures to build malls in Mexico. Planned cities: Monterrey, Guadalajara, Mexico City.

► Dillard Department Stores plans to anchor three new malls in Mexico City. "There are 20 million people in Mexico City — 20% is the right demographics for Dillard's. That's twice the size of Dillard's largest U.S. market — Dallas," says Woody Whyte, an analyst at Stephens.

► Oshman's Sporting Goods has licensed its name and format to a Mexican partner. Two Oshman's-Mexico stores are open in Mexico City. A third is planned for next month.

NAFTA talks drew attention to the Mexican market, says Jackie Bivins, retail consultant at Coopers & Lybrand. "Now, U.S. retailers are starting to see that Mexico has room to develop a lot of retail formats," she says. Mexico offers U.S. retailers an international venture close to home.

"It's easier to break into this if you don't have to cross an ocean."

IN WASHINGTON

Sesame Street goes to Congress

The fate of Big Bird, Mister Rogers and other familiar images of public broadcasting rests with the Senate today as lawmakers vote on whether to keep funding public television and radio. Few expect Congress to end 25 years of support for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, but an unexpected snag in the agency's request for a \$1.1 billion 1994-96 reauthorization has sparked vigorous debate.

Critics claim public broadcasting is too liberal and elitist. They say the federal subsidy should be abolished, allowing the free market to decide public broadcasting's fate.

— LaCrisha Butler

'STAR WARS': A Pentagon analysis found Congress' plan to deploy the \$35 billion "star wars" anti-missile system by 1997 carries risks of big cost overruns and could produce a "technologically inferior" system, *The New York Times* reported today. The *Times* said the analysis, obtained from an unnamed Pentagon analyst, was the sharpest criticism to date of congressional revisions of the "star wars" program.

HAT-CHANGE REPORT DENIED: The State Department said "there is nothing factual" to stories Secretary of State James Baker is about to be tapped to assist President Bush's re-election campaign.

END OF SAC: The Strategic Air Command was put to rest after four decades. Air Force and Navy nuclear weapons now come under the control of a single Strategic Command, a streamlined military creature born of lean budgets and an easing nuclear threat. "The horror of World War III never came. You kept the peace," Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said during a ceremony at Offutt Air Force Base, Neb. The base has been SAC's headquarters since 1948.

June 2, 1992

California today's big prize

By Richard Benedetto
and Carolyn Pesce
USA TODAY

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

NBC joins the dig into Clinton's past

For Democrat Bill Clinton, who's been trying to get out of unofficial independent candidate Ross Perot's shadow and engage President Bush on issues, this may be a frustrating week:

► First came a new *Time* magazine story that says Clinton and his mother suppressed memories of her abuse by his stepfather.

► Now comes a report tonight on *Dateline NBC* claiming that the Arkansas governor protected the job of his state's former chief medical



By Blake Sell, Reuters

CLINTON: Controversy, money problems confront candidate

examiner, Fahmy Malak, who made a controversial 1981 ruling involving Clinton's mother, then a nurse anesthetist, after the death of a patient. Malak said the patient died because of injuries suffered when a man hit her in the head with a brick. The man served 2½ months in jail. NBC says the patient may have died because Clinton's mother, Virginia Kelley, had trouble inserting a breathing tube during surgery. Malak strongly denies a cover-up.

► Clinton is pleading with supporters for another \$50 or "the very most you have within your means to give. ... I simply don't have the campaign funds I need," he wrote in a letter dated May 25. He finished April more than \$2 million in debt. Spokesman Jeff

Eller said Clinton is worried about facing the better-funded President Bush and the self-financed campaign of billionaire Perot.

MARGOT PEROT ON VEEP: Margot Perot, wife of unofficial independent presidential candidate Ross Perot, is urging her husband to choose a female running mate. Her choice, she said on NBC's *Today*, is "someone very impressive" whom she wouldn't name. Top rumor, female division: former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. Margot Perot also said abortion is "probably the most important issue to me. ... I think there are extenuating circumstances where an abortion might be the best choice, and certainly the choice that should be made by that individual." Her husband also backs a woman's right to abortion, putting him in agreement with Bill Clinton and opposed to President Bush.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: San Francisco, votes at University High School; Santa Monica. Bill Clinton: Los Angeles.

Republicans George Bush: White House, health care briefing, barbecue for members of Congress. Pat Buchanan: Washington; Manchester, N.H., primary-season-ending rally.

Independent Ross Perot: Dallas.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Brian O'Connell

LOS ANGELES — Presidential primaries that began in February ringing with voter anger close out today in six states with voters sounding even grumpier.

Bill Clinton — facing his final primary test in California and five other states — is expected to lock up the Democratic nomination. President Bush, the Republican nominee, should fatten his delegate total.

Celebrations may be subdued by undeclared candidate Ross Perot, likely to draw write-ins or "uncommitteds."

A new ABC News/Washington Post nationwide poll has Perot leading with 36% to Bush's 31% and Clinton's 27%.

Among registered voters the race is even tighter. Perot leads with 34%, Bush has 31% and Clinton 29%.

"Whether Perot is real or just a balloon that will come down is still unknown," says Emory University political scientist Merle Black.

Displeasure with politics-as-usual also might cloud results.

California Democratic analyst Joe Cerrell says, "It's no one single issue like the L.A. riots, increased taxation, the decline of medical care or education — it's all of the above."

A California Poll out Monday shows Clinton leading ex-California governor Jerry Brown 35%-28%.

Ohio, New Jersey, West Virginia, Montana and Alabama also vote. Hot races:

► California's Barbara Boxer and ex-San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein can win Democratic Senate bids.

► A record 35 women are running in California's 52 congressional districts, including Maureen Reagan, the former president's daughter.

► Alabama Democrat Sen. Richard Shelby is tested by Jefferson County Commissioner Chris McNair.

► Ohio Reps. Mary Rose Oaker, a Democrat, and Republican Bob McEwan, both check bouncers, face challenges.

Election coverage

- Presidential primary season ends today, 1A
- California voting, 3A
- Gays and politics, 10A

June 2, 1992

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

U.S. to widen anti-drug effort

Including Guatemala could stir opposition

By Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

BRADY ON DEFICIT THREAT: Though the economy is strengthening, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady warned that the budget deficit is a threat to the USA's future. "Our continued large federal deficit ... poses a threat to our future prosperity, and we must bring it under control," Brady said after talking to bankers at an International Monetary Conference. Brady said the sluggish Japanese economy is an immediate concern. He called on Japan to reduce its large trade surplus and stimulate its economy to boost demand for foreign imports.



USA TODAY
BRADY: Economy shows solid growth.

The Bush administration said Monday it plans to expand anti-drug operations in Central America and the Caribbean, a move that carries political and diplomatic risks in one of the target countries: Guatemala.

Guatemala has been mentioned, along with Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, for wider counternarcotics campaigns because it has become an important shipping point for U.S.-bound cocaine.

The plan, estimated to cost \$30 million a year, reportedly involves use of military helicopters. That has prompted questions about whether Congress would go along.

Congress has long objected vehemently to U.S. military aid to Guatemala because of claims the Guatemalan military has a negative human rights record.

"I'm afraid what's happening is that battle against drug trafficking is turning into the same kind of rationale (for U.S. security aid) that the battle against communism used to be," said American University Latin American expert William LeoGrande.

"Do we want to be feeding this sort of stuff to regional military forces?" said Eva Loser of the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

"The U.S. is interested in law enforcement and judicial reforms, but it's difficult to see how this fits in."

"It's crazy to get ourselves involved with the Guatemalan military," said LeoGrande.

The State Department's Margaret Tutwiler said the administration "has under review a variety of proposals to enhance counterdrug cooperation" in the Central America region.

But she and Pentagon spokesman Army Maj. Bryan Whitman refused to disclose details of the anti-drug strikes, which would deploy Black Hawk helicopters, until all plans are completed. "We don't discuss operational planning," said Whitman.

Reports published Monday said the helicopters, piloted by U.S. military personnel, would carry State Department officials and federal drug agents.

Of the three countries mentioned, only Guatemala has an insurgency movement. But the guerrillas there have not been active lately, unlike Peru, where the Maoist group Shining Path has been involved with coca growers in an area where U.S. drug agents have operated.

They were withdrawn after President Alberto Fujimori threw out the Peruvian constitution in April.

THE CONFERENCE IN RIO

The world's largest environmental gathering, to consider how to slow the destruction of Earth's ecosystems, begins Wednesday in Brazil amid fears it will pit the developed nations against those less developed

Nations gather to examine Earth's future

The land's wastes put sea at risk

By John Larrabee
USA TODAY

PROVINCETOWN, Mass. — Ask fishermen in this Cape Cod port about declining catches, and talk turns to what they call "The Big Flush."

That's what locals call the 9.5-mile sewage effluent pipe that'll carry waste from Boston into Cape Cod Bay. When the pipeline is completed it will pump more than a billion gallons a day into the waters where fishing boats now drag for cod and flounder.

"Everyone wants to blame the problem on overfishing," says Ken Macara, who's been fishing out of Provincetown for 50 years. "They don't want to

THE OCEAN

talk about pollution. I'm no scientist, but I know if you keep putting garbage in the ocean, it won't do any good."

Pollution from land-based sources is considered among the major threats to the world's oceans, and the condition of those seas is on the agenda at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

"It's time to take a big-picture look," says Tom Miller of the Center for Marine Conservation in Washington, D.C.

In this century, the seas have been used to dispose of many things, including sewage and radioactive waste. Consequences: algae blooms, marine mammal epidemics, fish disease, and oxygen depletion that kills both plants and fish.

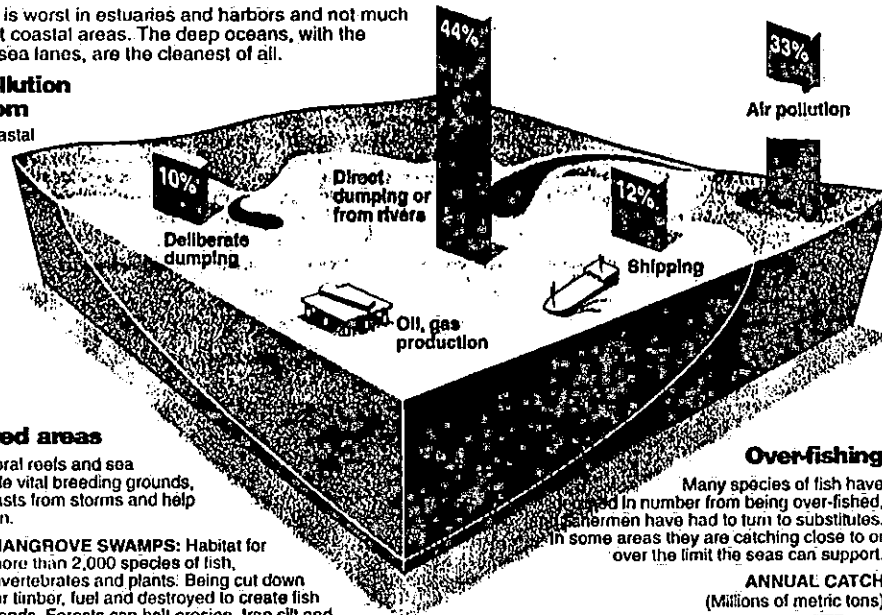
The new focus on ocean degradation comes as fishing fleets worldwide are faced

How the ocean is polluted

The pollution is worst in estuaries and harbors and not much better in most coastal areas. The deep oceans, with the exception of sea lanes, are the cleanest of all.

Where pollution comes from

Most of the coastal (and ocean) pollution is attributable to discharge of sewage sludge into the sea.



Endangered areas

Mangroves, coral reefs and sea grasses provide vital breeding grounds, shelter the coasts from storms and help prevent erosion.



MANGROVE SWAMPS: Habitat for more than 2,000 species of fish, invertebrates and plants. Being cut down for timber, fuel and destroyed to create fish ponds. Forests can halt erosion, trap silt and filter out pollution.



CORAL REEFS: As rich in species as a rain forest, the reefs provide fish habitat, protect shore from storms. Many being destroyed by silt, dredging, land reclamation.

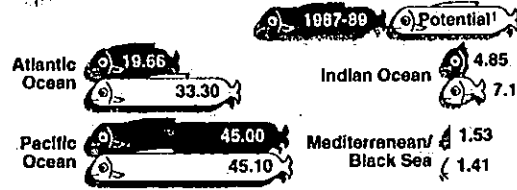


SEA GRASSES: Trap sediment, slow erosion, clean water; damaged by dredging, pollution, silt. Five times as many fish live over sea grass beds than over mud, shell or sand.

Over-fishing

Many species of fish have declined in number from being over-fished. Fishermen have had to turn to substitutes. In some areas they are catching close to or over the limit the seas can support.

ANNUAL CATCH (Millions of metric tons)



Source: USA TODAY research

1—As many fish as can be caught without depleting supply.

By Ron Coddington, USA TODAY

with dwindling catches, and scientists find more evidence of pollution-related damage.

Those who work in the fishing industry are often the first to cite overfishing as a cause for declining catches, a problem they say can be corrected.

In the eyes of fishermen, the bigger threat is pollution; it looks to be out of control and

nearly impossible to clean up. And projects like the Big Flush often are cited.

"They'll be dumping millions of gallons of effluent right into our back yard, right in the place where we work every day," says Chris King, 30, a fisherman since his teens.

Fishermen sailing out of Massachusetts' North Shore

also have reported netting barrels that some believe contain hazardous chemicals or radioactive waste. Dumping such materials was legal and common 20 years ago; today, no one is certain where the waste is. Last year, several men on a Gloucester boat were burned when a barrel exploded and sprayed their deck with an un-

identified chemical.

Macara, whose grandfather and great-grandfather were Portuguese fishermen, sometimes takes his 12-year-old grandson, Greno, on fishing trips. But he hopes the boy finds a different career.

"It gets worse and worse every year," he says. "There are so few good fish around."

Air of optimism as historic session nears

By Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil — After years of preparation, the United Nations Earth Summit begins here Wednesday — with diminished expectations about its chances for success.

Whatever happens here will make history: It'll be the largest meeting of heads of state. But the question is, with so many divisions and unresolved issues among leaders, will the meeting be a huge success or a really big failure?

"These issues are important and important issues are never easy," says summit organizer Secretary-General Maurice Strong. "But the conditions of the planet have deteriorated, and we can't afford not to act."

One thing is certain. It will be a spectacle, enhanced by the bikini-clad sun-worshippers and horn-happy cabbies for which Rio is rightly renowned.

Attending the gathering in the scenic foothills of the Serra da Carioca Mountains: 131 heads of state (New Zealand may drop out, Libya's Moammar Gadhafi may come); more than 7,000 bureaucrats (Japan's delegation is about 700); 30,000 conservation and industry activists; and 6,700 members of the media.

Billed as an action-packed follow-up to the first environmental summit in Stockholm in 1972, the conference will deal with weakened treaties and a plan of action without binding mandates. Still, damage control is under way and silver linings are emerging.

"I'm optimistic," says Pakistan's U.N. ambassador, Jamshed K.A. Marker, who leads an unprecedented alliance of 77 developing nations.

The seemingly inexhaustible Strong, who has hopped from meeting to meeting almost nonstop since taking on the project in December 1989, concedes some agreements aren't as stringent as hoped. He's still optimistic they'll have an effect. On the agenda:

► **Agenda 21:** A 900-page blueprint for action on broad goals, like promoting development that doesn't destroy natural resources, protecting oceans, managing toxic wastes, protecting the atmosphere and eliminating poverty.

► **Rio Declaration.** A lofty, 27-point Bill of Rights on environmental protection and development principles.

► **Climate Treaty.** Considered the summit's centerpiece, this agreement to slow global warming was weakened in the face of U.S. opposition over mandatory deadlines.

► **Biodiversity treaty.** The ink is still wet on the draft completed last weekend in Nairobi, Kenya, and already President Bush says he won't sign. It aims to protect the mix of ecosystems — and the plants and animals that inhabit them.

► **Forest principles.** First conceived as a forest protection treaty, debate downgraded it to a statement of largely unresolved principles.

Also unresolved: Financial aid for developing nations.

Cost estimate to accomplish the goals of Agenda 21: more than \$600 billion per year.

"Many of the tough decisions have been put off," says Liz Barratt-Brown of the Natural Resources Defense Council. "The jury is still out on whether anything other than paper will come out of Rio."

► **Bush forest plan, 1A**

not high on agenda

By Anita Manning
USA TODAY

World leaders gathering this week in Rio de Janeiro will address such critical environmental issues as global warming and deforestation. But one important environmental topic they won't hear much about is population. It's not that no one cares. A recent report from the United Nations Population Fund warns that, unless something drastic happens, world population is likely to double by 2050. "Concerted actions to reduce family size during the 1990s

THE PEOPLE

are essential to prevent acute pressures on land and water resources and threats to wildlife," it says.

Indeed, rising populations would mean greater consumption in developing countries, possibly leading to severe food and water shortages.

Yet, population barely made it onto the agenda for the Earth Summit, says J. Joseph Spedel of the Population Crisis Committee, a Washington, D.C.-based non-profit group.

The reason: politics.

► The Vatican has expressed concern over policies that link environmental solutions to birth control.

► Environmental groups point to the connection between poverty and rapid population growth. More than 90% of population growth is in the poorest countries.

► Leaders of developing countries fear they'll be blamed for chopping down rain forests and polluting rivers, while wealthy countries escape blame for gobbling more than their share of resources.

The wealthiest one-fifth of the population now uses more than 70% of the world's energy and material resources.

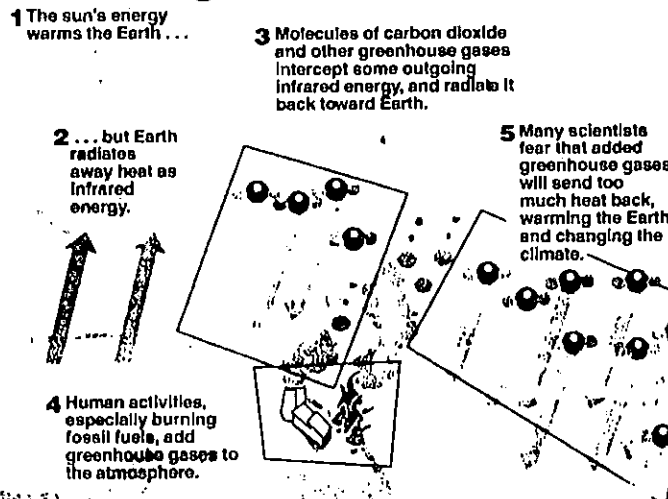
Spedel says he was told by representatives of poor, developing countries: "We won't discuss population because you won't discuss overconsumption in the north."

But after several pre-summit meetings, "both sides gave a little," he says, so population "will be discussed, but it's not as high on the agenda as I think it should be."

Global warming

Supporters say average global temperatures are rising because increasing amounts of "greenhouse gases," such as carbon dioxide, are being released into the atmosphere.

How the "greenhouse effect" works



Source: The USA TODAY Weather Book published by Vintage Books

Gas concentration

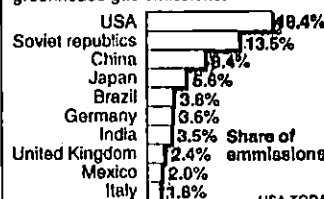
Increase in carbon dioxide, the primary greenhouse gas, (in parts per million):



Source: World Resources Institute

Who's putting out gases

Countries with the highest greenhouse gas emissions:



USA TODAY

Critics: Treaty a 'side step'

By Jack Williams
USA TODAY

A global warming treaty will be signed by President Bush in Rio de Janeiro, but some say the United States weakened the agreement to the point of ineffectiveness.

"This treaty isn't a first step forward. It's a side step," says the Sierra Club's Daniel Becker. "We don't want to give people a false sense of security that governments are acting to curb global warming — because they're not."

Environmentalists had pressed for specific timetables to reduce global warming emissions — a commitment that would "not be in the best interests of the United States," says Clayton Yeutter, Bush's domestic policy adviser.

Though there is still some uncertainty about the extent of global warming, some scientists say it might be too late to head off disastrous climate changes if governments wait to resolve all questions.

Normal "greenhouse" gases, such as carbon dioxide and methane, trap heat that would otherwise radiate away into space. Without the gases, the Earth's average temperature would be around 60°F colder. But adding more greenhouse gases could be like turning up the Earth's thermostat. The effect could be far beyond making the globe a little warmer.

Warming up the entire Earth is sure to change wind and storm patterns, and maybe alter the courses of vital ocean

currents like the Gulf Stream. Some places would become wetter. Others, possibly including key agricultural areas, could turn drier — making them unproductive. Parts of the Earth could even turn cooler, at least for a while.

Experts say the best defense against global warming is to cut greenhouse gas emissions — especially carbon dioxide. A major source of carbon dioxide: fossil-fuel-burning power plants.

The best way to curb carbon dioxide emissions, says Sweden's Bert Bolin, chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, an international science panel: "Energy conservation and improved (energy) efficiency."

By Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

In Africa's Sahel region, nearly 5 million acres of usable land in southern Mauritania, Mali and Niger, is drying up or eroding each year.

China loses more than 500,000 acres a year; Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan lose about 247,000 acres to erosion around the drying Aral Sea.

Every year and in nearly every region of the world, more and more productive farm and grazing lands are crumbling to dust or washing away.

Desertification — the degradation of productive dry lands — is a world crisis that will get global attention at the Earth Summit in Brazil.

"This is like a cancer," says Jim Norton of the Wilderness Society. "Once it gets started, it eats away at more and more

THE LAND

land, making it unproductive." And the problem is not limited to Asia and Africa. The driest continent is Australia, with 75% dry lands, then Africa with 66% and Asia with 46%.

But dry lands also make up about one-third of Europe and North and South America.

In the USA, rangelands were in good condition before settlers introduced livestock.

In the mid-1800s, when large numbers of livestock were produced in the West for shipment East, destruction of vegetation became a serious problem, says Texas Technical University Professor Harold Dregne.

"By 1910 to 1920 we probably hit the bottom with overgrazing," he says. Since 1920, when range management began, conditions have improved. Worst hit are the USA's

Southwest rangelands from Texas to California.

New Mexico's Rio Puerco watershed, north and west of Albuquerque, was once the breadbasket of the state. Small communities and farms covered the area. Cottonwoods and willows once lined the sides of streams, shading the waterways for fish.

"Now, along the Rio Puerco, water looks like chocolate milk, it's so loaded with sediment," Norton says.

In the USA and elsewhere, damage to irrigated lands — those with the highest productivity — presents the biggest economic problem, and the best remedial target.

"If you're going to improve the land, that's where to invest money," Dregne says. "The point is, it can be reversed."

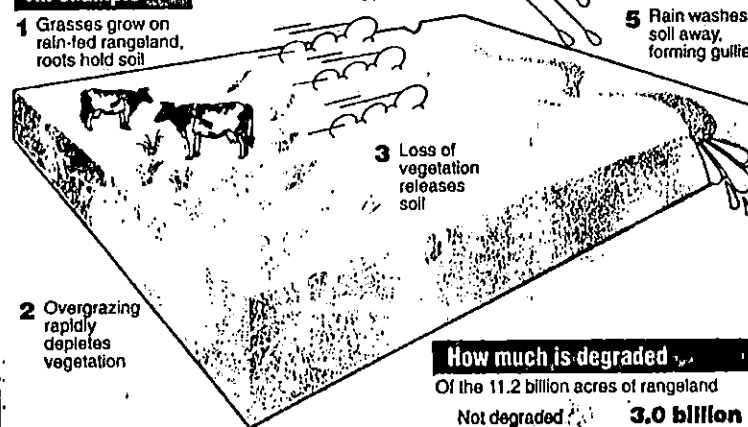
Rangeland under pressure

When human activity leads to degradation of valuable land, the process is called desertification. Essentially the land has become unproductive and desertlike:

Five reasons this happens

1. Over-cultivation of poor soils
2. Overgrazing by sheep, goats, cattle and camels
3. Excessive cutting of firewood
4. Excessive logging
5. Poor irrigation techniques

An example



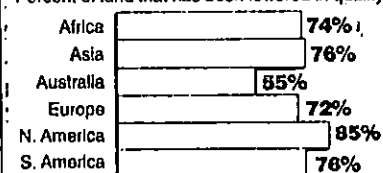
How much is degraded

Of the 11.2 billion acres of rangeland

Not degraded	3.0 billion
Degraded	8.2 billion
(Severely degraded)	(4.9 billion)

Degradation by continent

Percent of land that has been lowered in quality.



Irrigation

All irrigation water contains some salt, which forms a crust on the soil's surface as water evaporates. Too much accumulation of salt will kill plants, leaving the land open to wind and water erosion. This has happened in the Middle East and is occurring in parts of California.

Source: An Earth Summit report, Professor Harold Dregne, Texas Tech

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth
Founder, Sept. 15, 1982



Peter S. Prichard
Editor
Karen Jurgensen
Editor of the
Editorial Page
Thomas Curley
President and Publisher

Today's debate is on **GAY RIGHTS** and comments about homosexuals by Ross Perot and Pat Buchanan.

Protect the rights of gays against discrimination

OUR VIEW Freezing gays out of equal opportunities offends the nation's most basic principles.

Left to linger, myths often replace reality — a fact painfully known to racial and cultural minorities.

Ross Perot had a chance last week to dent myths about one such group — homosexuals. Instead, answering questions on ABC's 20/20, he indicated that if elected, he wouldn't appoint gays to his Cabinet. His reason, and a poor one: controversy.

Not long ago, the same excuse could have excluded blacks or women.

Perot's stance — and caustic comments about gays from Republican candidate Pat Buchanan Sunday — reinforce the idea that the nation's estimated 25 million homosexuals should be treated differently from others.

They should not be.

Despite significant political and social gains, homosexuals remain the most frequent hate-crime victims, says the National Institute of Justice.

Suicide is the leading cause of death among gay teens, who see a future filled

with more of the hostility spewed by family, peers, the culture at large.

Much of the blame belongs to stereotypes that deserve to be debunked. A sampling, along with the facts:

Gays choose this life: Jury's still out, but two new studies indicate it's genetic. In polls over the years, 90% have said they wouldn't change.

Gays weaken traditional values: Whose values? The USA's most fundamental value is freedom to choose one's own way of life.

Gays want special privileges: Yes — if that means having the right to get a job, buy a house or walk on the street without being assaulted.

Or have an equal chance to serve in the nation's top offices.

Gays have logged gains. Twenty states consider gay bashing to be a hate crime; six include gays in civil rights laws. Gay culture flourishes — and gay clout: 61 elected officials are openly homosexual.

The problem isn't gays but a society that still too often limits and hurts them — and so wastes valuable resources that could improve all our lives.

► Cover story, 1D

No special rights for gays

OPPOSING VIEW Catering to those who engage in immoral behavior is unconscionable.

"Gay rights" are dedicated to the belief that family values must be destroyed to accommodate those who engage in homosexual sodomy.

The militant homosexual leaders are out to redefine the family and are willing to sacrifice their blind followers in the process.

As with any deviant behavior, some who engage in homosexual activities recognize they have a problem which they struggle to overcome, while others deny, justify or even promote it.

Whether the behavior is homosexual sodomy, pathological lying or adultery, showing true compassion includes helping people conquer harmful behavior, not pretending their actions are normal.

The denial of right and wrong is de-

structive to individuals and to society as a whole. Hatred of people who are slaves to their immoral behavior is equally immoral, and those who physically harm or terrorize anyone can be held accountable under existing laws.

But the militant "gay rights" groups want special privileges that other Americans don't have. They like to compare their crusade to that of blacks in order to promote their lifestyle. We must never forget that what classifies them as "homosexual" is not their ethnic origin but their deviant sexual practices.

It is an insult to African-Americans to liken them to those who engage in homosexual sodomy.

Just as lying or cheating on one's spouse, homosexual activity is a behavior that is legitimately held to be immoral, repugnant and degenerate. For the government to force churches, employers or anyone else to cater to those who engage in such destructive activities is unconscionable and self-defeating. When politicians cave in to the demands of the homosexual lobby, they forfeit the family and the future. And there's nothing gay or right about that.



By Rebecca Hagelin, a senior editor of *New Dimensions* magazine.

June 2, 1992

JOE URSCHEL

When a little reading is a dangerous thing

A Mark Twain quotation means trouble for two Pa. high school seniors.

Marketing *Wunderkind* Chris Whittle and Yale President Benno C. Schmidt Jr. are getting a lot of attention with their ambitious plans to launch a system of high-quality, for-profit schools.

To which I say, why bother? Our public school administrators continue to provide the kind of learning experience that you just cannot pay for.

How are Whittle and Schmidt going to improve on the kinds of lessons Heidi Schanck, 18, and Jessica McCartney, 17, learned in their final days at Blackhawk High School in Beaver Falls, Pa.?

The two college-bound, never-been-in-trouble teen-agers were handed a copy of *A Teachers' Treasury of Quotations* recently and given the challenging task of finding a "thought for the day" to read over the school public address system.

While flipping through the book, the girls found this from Mark Twain: "In the first place, God created idiots. This was for

practice. Then he made school boards."

Perfect! There has been controversy in Beaver Falls. The school board decided not to renew the contract of the school superintendent, who was quite popular with the students and their parents. So, the girls figured they'd take a banal assignment and start a little intellectual sparring. Right after the Pledge of Allegiance, Heidi read it into the microphone.

"We weren't thinking like, 'Wow, we're gonna burn them!'" says McCartney. "Most of the time, nobody pays attention to the announcements anyway. We just thought it was kinda funny."

Well, that's what you get for thinking. Immediately afterward, the two were summoned to the principal's office — the first time either had been called there for disciplinary action.

"It was clear really quick that we were in a lot of trouble," says McCartney.



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Says Schanck: "The principal said we should have known this would get us in trouble. That we should have used common sense. That the First Amendment didn't apply in this case."

But this was not just a lesson in constitutional law.

The two were required to write letters of apology to the school board, teachers and students. To help the girls avoid the kind of mischievous humor that got them in trouble in the first place, the letters were dictated. End of writing lesson, beginning of three-day suspension.

Once the story got out to the local papers, TV and the Paul Harvey radio program, the school relented somewhat. Suspension was cut to two days.

The community reaction "has been great," says Schanck. "They really think the school went overboard."

School officials won't comment.

My guess is they've been re-reading Twain, who always felt, "It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either of them."

Keep airfare ads honest

On another subject, USA TODAY cautions against leaving airline advertising unmonitored.

The skies may look less friendly today, thanks to a Supreme Court ruling that prevents states from acting against deceptive advertising by airlines.

The ruling invites a return of some questionable practices last seen during the fare wars of the mid-'80s, when advertising illusion was common.

Cheap fares were advertised but made available only in very limited numbers. One-way fares were advertised in a way that left the impression they covered round trips. Limitations were confined to the fine print.

To protect consumers, in 1987 the National Association of Attorneys General adopted guidelines. Among them: Airfare ads must include all taxes and surcharges in the advertised prices.

Butt out, the court said Monday. Fed-

eral law deregulating air service pre-empted states from enforcing laws to protect consumers from misleading ads.

The ruling comes at a particularly fitting time.

Airline offices are swamped with customers trying to get in on low fares the airlines trotted out last week.

That should send a message: Airlines don't need to hide the truth in order to attract customers. But history says they'll find that lesson hard to learn.

The federal government, which last time around dropped its responsibility, must now train a watchful eye.

The administration should adopt standards similar to those developed by the attorneys general.

Consumers should not be forced to buy bigger and better magnifying glasses to wade through the misconceptions to find the grains of truth in advertising.

► Air wars, 1A, 4B; court, 8A

June 2, 1992

MARVIN KALB

Politicians known by company they keep

The campaign on TV shows who the candidates want to be seen with — and without.

As with many of us, presidential candidates can be known by the company they keep. Or, in this age of contrived imagery, they can be known by the company they want us to think they keep.

According to an ongoing study of campaign coverage under the supervision of Professors Marion Just and Ann Crigler at the Shorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, whenever President Bush was seen with other people on the evening TV newscasts in April, he was seen with white people about three-fourths of the time and with African-, Hispanic- or Asian-Americans only a little more than one-fifth of the time.

By comparison, Bill Clinton, the presumed Democratic nominee, was seen with whites only a little more than one-third of the time and with non-whites a little more than half of the time.

These April figures reflected pre-Los Angeles riot political strategy, focusing on the white suburban Republican voter the president was obviously courting, and the mix of white and non-white Democratic voters Clinton has consistently courted.

Once the riots dominated television coverage in early May, the president shifted tactics and was seen much more frequently with African-Americans. So far, the evidence suggests that this shift has not lifted his campaign.

April also saw the unmistakable rise of Ross Perot, who blasted the president for not going to



AP
Marvin Kalb is director of the Shorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Los Angeles immediately and "taking charge."

Of the 183 stories on the three evening newscasts devoted to the presidential campaign, Perot was featured in 24 of them — or 13.1%. Bush was featured in 57.4% of them, Clinton in 56.3%.

The May figures are likely to show a significant drop for Bush and Clinton and a further boost in TV coverage of Perot. In addition, the tone of the Perot coverage has been favorable.

The figures, however, do not always reveal a candidate's press/TV strategy. Perot rose to prominence primarily by controlling both his image and his message. He used the relative sanctuary of a TV studio as a substitute for the rough-and-tumble of a primary campaign, and he distanced himself from both political parties and Washington, often referring to the nation's capital as "up there." His message was often vague on detail but precise and insistent on action and results, conveying the impression that he was different from the politicians, who were trapped in the quagmire of Beltway stagnation.

Perot also linked the press invidiously with the politician, criticizing one newscaster after another for asking tough questions. This has normally proven to be a counterproductive approach to the press, but so far, anyway, Perot has emerged relatively unscathed — indeed, strengthened. His supporters have invariably rushed to his defense and have attacked the press for being too intrusive and trivial.

What is clear is that traditional press strategies have failed to do the job. Perot has injected a totally unpredictable factor into the presidential race, requiring substantial strategic rethinking by both the Bush and Clinton camps — and the press.

► Tuesday primaries, 1A

Political Zoning in Prince George's

IT MAY look like a great blow for political freedom and ethics, but a campaign spending control just enacted in Maryland is really a mischievous slap at one Prince George's County politician by another. The champion of the bill is Thomas V. Mike Miller, president of the state senate and no great fan of County Executive Parris Glendening. The Miller measure would severely restrict direct campaign contributions from developers to county council members or the county executive. Under its provisions, developers or anyone else connected to a zoning application would be barred from contributing to council members or the executive while the case is pending. The law also prohibits council members from voting on zoning case involving developers who have donated to their campaigns in the previous three years. Aside from being unnecessary, this law is ripe for court challenge on constitutional grounds.

Even though Gov. Schaefer signed the bill last week, he too voiced doubts about it, saying he did so to "allow the courts to resolve the issue once and for all." While some citizens' groups have hailed the

law as a way to insulate planning and zoning decisions from the influence of developers' campaign money, critics of the measure—including leading black politicians in the county—charge that the restrictions could make it most difficult for the county's growing black constituency to field council candidates. Worse still, the bill has its own fat loophole for slate-makers: Developers are still able to contribute indirectly to council candidates by giving money to a slate. In Prince George's, these party slates are usually headed by state senators (such as Sen. Miller).

The size and scope of developer money and political influence in Prince George's may be trouble to a lot of voters, but financial disclosure—open books on campaign contributions—is the answer. All sorts of interests are free to contribute to any politician, and singling out developers for unique treatment is wrong. As Del. Paul G. Pinsky of Prince George's said during consideration of the bill in the house, the influence of developers is still there because of the loopholes anyway, and the law "is unethical legislation in the guise of ethics."

A Shift on Veterans' Health

A FEW MONTHS ago the Bush administration tried to overcome an outdated distinction by letting a limited number of mostly lower-income nonveterans into a couple of underused rural veterans' medical facilities. The veterans' organizations and faithful committees in Congress shot the idea down, in part on grounds that it was an opening wedge and threat to the principle of a separate veterans' health care system.

Now, however, the House Veterans Affairs Committee itself has made a proposal similar in some respects, which some of the veterans' organizations support. The administration is against it for various technical reasons, and to some extent the committee is simply trying to tap into Medicare as a source of financial support for the system while broadening political support by taking on a new clientele. The committee bill nonetheless represents some fundamental moves in interesting directions.

There are various issues with regard to the size of the veterans' health care system, the cost of which is now more than \$14 billion a year. The basic one involves the extent of society's obligation. Clearly there is an obligation to make returning veterans whole and support the dependents of those who die in battle. But some benefits go well beyond that. A second issue involves demography. The veteran population is aging and threatens in not too many years to decline. The system probably has more general hospitals than it needs but perhaps fewer nursing homes. How to convert and how to integrate the veterans' system more fully into the civilian system and possible national health care reform?

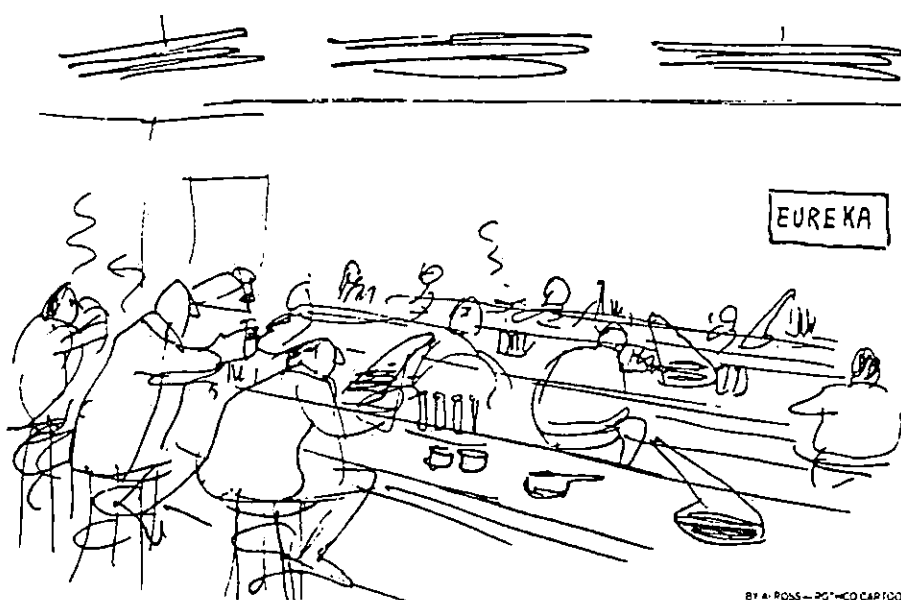
Because some veterans' facilities are already un-

derused, the wise secretary of veterans affairs, Edward Derwinski, proposed beginning to use some of them for nonveterans, with the money to come from their budgets and the rights of veterans to be cared for protected, of course. The veterans' groups and Congress reflexively said no. Yet now the House committee would take a similar step, in part to cushion the impact of base closings.

One thing lost when a base shuts down can be health care for military retirees and dependents living nearby. The bill would let them get it at nearby veterans' facilities instead, with Medicare to pay when they were of sufficient age. Medicare would also begin to pay for certain other older or disabled veterans who were previously either covered under the veterans' department budget or denied admission because (under a 1980s reform to which veterans groups objected) their incomes were too high. In effect, all veterans would again be eligible; the veterans facilities would get both patients and funds that they presently lack. The expansion would be kept within the military family, making it more palatable to the veterans' groups. In some cases, veterans facilities might also get patients and funds through the Defense Department's off-base health insurance program for armed forces families.

You can argue against this as a grab for funds in a tight budget and another unfair distinction: Non-military patients remain unwelcome, but not non-military dollars. But it does begin or advance the process of making broader and more rational use of the veterans' system. If the right kind of step is being taken, it may not matter that it's for some of the old wrong reasons.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



BY A. ROSS — POST-ECO CARTOON

James J. Duderstadt

Too Many Scientists? Don't Believe It

Recently, the debate over whether the United States is developing adequate numbers of scientists and engineers to meet future national needs has taken on a disturbing tone. To hear Congress, the media, policy gurus and even a few scientists tell it, we will soon face a glut of scientists and engineers in America.

Of course, these same concerns were raised in the early 1970s—remember the mythical PhD taxi driver? But those projecting an oversupply were wrong then, and they are wrong now. Unfortunately, the stridency and nature of their arguments poses far greater danger today that it did two decades ago, since it threatens to undermine our national commitment to improving science education at all levels.

The current debate was triggered, in part, by recent congressional hearings that focused criticism on a single preliminary research study performed five years ago by the National Science Foundation. This study suggested the United States could face a shortfall of more than a half-million scientists and engineers over the next two decades if the present decline in the number of college-age students associated with the postwar baby boom/bust cycles was not countered by other factors or programs.

Going far beyond criticizing this particular study, Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.) characterized these projections as a deliberate deception designed by the National Science Foundation to promote a budget increase for science education. Following in his wake, *The Post* referred to the incident in an editorial entitled "Pipeline Paranoia."

While it is difficult to project manpower needs, certain trends seem likely. On the one hand, the downturn of the defense industry is likely to release many scientists and engineers for civilian purposes—at least for the next few years. Additional manpower may become available from the disintegrating socialist economies, although it has never been wise public policy to depend heavily upon foreign capital, whether human or financial.

On the other hand, the effects of the decline in the number of 18-year-olds will be with us for at least another decade. Furthermore, an increasing percentage of college-age students are minorities and women, who historically have had low participation rates in science and engineering (believed to result from inadequate encouragement and support). In addition, over the past two decades college students have been rapidly moving away from science and engineering majors. Nationwide, 10 times as many students major in accounting as in mathematics; last year, at my own University of Michigan, we graduated more than 1,300 students planning to enter law school but only 22 in mathematics.

Of course, the most important factor affecting our long-term production of scientists is the tragic inadequacy

of our primary and secondary science and mathematics education programs. The results of this educational disaster are felt at every point along the path to postgraduate and professional degrees. Tragically, most graduates taking jobs in government, business, education, the media and other professions will lack adequate understanding of the scientific and technological factors increasingly influencing the world in which they must function.

On the demand side, the recession certainly has had a short-term impact on the job market. But to believe that this will persist is to assume that the United States will never again recover its economic prosperity—a self-fulfilling prophecy if we do not pay attention to science education needs. Or it is to fail to understand the knowledge-intensive nature of the modern world economy. Our competitors get this point, and are putting a far higher priority on science education requirements for their work forces than we are.

Recent media hype to the contrary, NSF studies of long-term, high-level manpower needs have had little or nothing to do with the significant growth in the NSF budget for science education in recent years. The fact is that more than 80 percent of this increased funding has been aimed at improving our disastrous K-12 science and mathematics education; less than 20 percent of the increase has gone to undergraduate or graduate programs intended to increase the flow of students through the science pipeline to advanced degrees. Indeed, we can thank Congress for wisely providing leadership for this important national policy initiative in science education—although you would not know it from the recent hearings on this subject.

In 20 years we have come full circle in this squabble over how many scientists and engineers eventually may sit on the head of a pin. It would be a great folly to be blinded by immediate events and issues—the end of the Cold War, the recession, an obscure debate among demographers and statisticians—so that we cannot see the long-term trends that will determine the strength and prosperity of our nation.

The real issue before us today is how to prepare the next generation of Americans to work in the growing number of jobs that call for scientific and technical knowledge and skills. Isn't it time to end this finger-pointing and get serious about effective science and mathematics education for America's children?

The writer is president of the University of Michigan and chairman of the National Science Board, the body responsible for overseeing the policies governing the National Science Foundation.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Jim Hoagland

A Bogyman Theory of Government

HELSINKI—In America, it is called a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. Here in Finland, it is called the European Community. In reality they are the same thing: a great hairy monster that politicians conjure up to frighten themselves (and voters) into unpopular but responsible action.

That irreverent and somewhat inexact parallel came to mind as I listened to Esko Aho, Finland's personable young prime minister, explain why Finland is abandoning its traditional concept of Nordic neutrality and isolation to seek membership in the European Community.

Aho naturally enough describes the organization he hopes to join not as a monster but as a golden opportunity offered by the end of the Cold War. "Finland, like the rest of Europe, has to resolve broad economic and environmental problems on a European basis."

He told me diplomatically that I was all wet in intuiting that he hopes Community membership will impose

in the Community. So are Austria and Finland, on which geography and Cold War imposed neutrality.

Again, Prime Minister Aho puts it far more diplomatically:

"All neutral countries had their own form of neutrality and their own reasons for it. I don't think the concept of neutralism had any content."

At 38, Aho heads a center-right coalition that took control of parliament in 1991. This year he gambled on the initially unpopular step of applying for Community membership. Polls now show a majority of Finnish voters favoring membership, even if it means some bitter economic medicine to start.

"Throughout the Cold War Finland lived in boom-and-bust economic cycles we handled through devaluations and other temporary fixes. As a poor country caught in the bear's hug, we could get away with it," says a Finnish editor. "But we can't get away with this erratic behavior now."

Blaming things on bureaucrats at EC headquarters in Brussels will come in handy as changes are made. More important, the Community's European Monetary System will act as an external source of constraint on spending and deficits.

Dominated by Germany's central bank, which is committed to tight money, the Monetary System has effectively prohibited Community members from pursuing the inflationary policies and devaluations that have granted quick but not lasting relief to electorates in the past.

"You have to accept the discipline of a remote, powerful and prosperous authority—the Bundesbank—that says with credibility that if you do what it is doing, things will turn out all right," says a prominent figure in the Finnish economic policy making elite.

Adds a Swedish diplomat in another European capital: "How long can anyone remain 'independent' vis a vis a decision by the Bundesbank to change the interest rate or the value of the German mark? About 20 minutes?"

Rule 3: When you are looking for a hairy monster to force change in national economic behavior, make it remote, powerful and credible.

It is too late for the proponents of the balanced budget amendment in the White House and Congress to follow any of the three rules. It is abundantly clear that their amendment is the creation of their own indiscipline. They seek to distance themselves, temporarily and artificially, from a real monster—the \$400 billion deficit they have amassed.

Even with a balanced budget amendment on the books, would Congress really eliminate all the valuable, politically popular programs that the House Budget Committee says would have to be axed to balance the budget in five years?

Or would Congress, in political extremis, slash to ribbons a defense budget that has been handled gently thus far and vote to raise taxes to meet the amendment's requirements? It could easily happen. Monsters can turn on those who create them.

When governments have to be scared into doing the right thing.

an economic discipline and competitiveness on Finns that the country would not develop in isolation.

But that's Rule 1 in the hairy monster theory of political action: Don't get caught creating them. They have to appear suddenly and menacingly to force you into unpleasant, tedious actions.

The changes that the end of the Cold War brings for Finland provide some good examples of the monster theory at work. They help explain why I think the Community is a useful monster for Europe and the balanced budget amendment will turn out to be a flawed one for American politicians.

Throughout the Cold War, the Finns had to live in the claws of the Soviet bear. The Soviets imposed enormous political constraints on Finland's external actions, while the Finns pursued democracy and a free if erratically administered economy at home.

Rule 2: Real monsters often impose artificial constraints that do not last when the menace seems to lessen. The right formula is to use artificial monsters to create and sustain real constraints.

Neutrality in Europe was so artificial that it followed the Cold War into history's junkyard with amazing speed. Neutrality in East-West affairs, as practiced by four important European countries, turns out to have been a mixture of desperation and opportunism that had no sustaining values of its own.

Switzerland and Sweden, which imposed a profitable neutrality on themselves, are now seeking membership

Arthur P. Brill Jr.

The Grounding of Lt. Thorne

Two weeks ago Lt. j.g. Tracy Thorne was the pride of the Navy. The 25-year-old navigator-bombardier finished first in his highly competitive flight training classes and received top honors. Assigned to a jet combat squadron last December, he flew often and was soaring to stardom.

Today, he is an outcast, riding a desk, his biggest project planning a chili cookout at the Oceana, Va., air station. Rep. Robert Dornan (R-Calif.), called him nasty names on the "Today Show" last week, and the Navy wants Thorne to resign—now. If he doesn't, he is threatened with formal proceedings or worse. Forget the \$2 million taxpayers spent to train him. Forget his talent, accomplishments and promising career.

What happened to the pride of the Navy in two weeks? Did Thorne refuse to cut his hair? Did he contribute to Saddam or Slobodan Milosevic? Did

he lose his nerve? Did his flying talents disappear overnight?

Hardly. Life changed for Thorne on "Nightline" two weeks ago when he admitted to the world that he was gay. In the Navy's eyes, his fitness for military service dived from A-plus to F-minus in one breath.

The TV appearance made Thorne instant news, and soon afterward his lawyer approached me for media relations advice and training. As a former Marine "grunt" myself, I found him to be a sharp, polite, sensible young officer who remains popular with his family and fellow fliers. Thorne says he loves the Navy and his career. More important, he is still one hell of a flight officer, capable of spotting and zapping a target at tree-top level in an A-6 attack jet racing at 500 mph.

Two questions deserve attention. Is the military's automatic discriminatory policy fair? Also, why did Thorne publicly destroy his career?

Thorne says he is not part of some high-powered, political gay-rights

move meant to embarrass the Armed Forces, though his "Nightline" appearance did roughly coincide with Bill Clinton's campaign promise to change the Pentagon's anti-gay policy, and with Rep. Pat Schroeder's (D-Colo.) introduction of a House bill to that end.

Thorne admits that public attention to the issue helps, but says he "came out of the closet" for his own good after much soul-searching. He talks about being born gay but not really knowing and accepting it until recently. He is finally at peace with himself, he says. The inner hurt caused by crude, locker-room, anti-gay remarks by fellow fliers, who would have refrained had they known Thorne's sexual identity, are now a burden of the past.

The military says a person's homosexuality alone is grounds for barring entry and for automatic discharge. Schroeder's bill would allow gays to join and remain in the military, with

sexual misconduct, not sexual orientation, the dividing line.

Thorne agrees with that goal. If military discrimination ends, gays and their uniformed heterosexual counterparts would have to conduct themselves properly. He says most military gays do that now, but they are restricted "to the closet." The rules regarding sexual misconduct, including violent acts, propositioning and harassment, apply to all.

The answer is self-discipline. Thorne thinks it is time for people to stop thinking that all gays lack control of their sexual appetites. Gays have the same temptations and find it no more difficult to conform to behavioral standards than heterosexuals. The rules of society, the workplace and the military are followed by most people.

The Armed Forces have taken the lead in fighting drugs, promoting equal pay, and welcoming minorities. They are a true melting pot save for this one blemish.

Pentagon officials say privately that the barriers against homosexuals will fall, and perhaps sooner than the hardliners acknowledge. It was the same for blacks and women. Eventually, performance and conduct will be the bottom line for everyone in uniform—not skin color, sex or sexual orientation.

Will our fighting men be safe in their foxholes, tanks, submarines and barracks showers then? Probably just as safe, if not safer, than women are in the military today, where they are often at close quarters with men.

Tracy Thorne has flown more than 200 hours in the A-6 Intruder sitting right next to the pilot. He hasn't let his sexual orientation get in the way of doing his job: locating and destroying targets. As long as that's the case, he should be back where he belongs—in a cockpit, not planning chili cookouts.

The writer, a retired Marine officer, was an infantry combat commander in Vietnam.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Richard Cohen

The Perot Dalliance

Ross Perot, the family man who didn't tell his wife he was going to run for president ("It was as much a surprise to me really as to anyone else," Margot Perot told Barbara Walters), not only comes on as a non-politician but fairly revels in that image. Yet, when it comes to being on two sides of an issue, he could teach George Bush a thing or two. The Ross Perot I've been reading is both for and against raising taxes. Read his lips.

The first statement comes from the aforementioned Walters interview. Having carried on about the federal deficit (with good cause, I think) and having proposed his solution ("Just turn the world upside down aggressively") he was asked if any of that meant raising taxes. "No, I'm absolutely against raising taxes," Perot told Walters. All America must have breathed a sigh of relief. After all, the man's no politician. He tells the truth.

But on Oct. 25, 1987, a man claim-

ing to be the same Ross Perot wrote an article for The Washington Post. It was entitled "A Tycoon Looks at the Debt Bomb," and it contained the following prescription: "We must cut spending and raise taxes to pay our bills. We all know it. Let's make sure that our leaders understand that this must be done." Yes indeed—especially if one of those leaders turns out to be Ross Perot himself.

One wonders about such a man. I wonder about a guy who proclaims himself a moral man and yet belonged to a country club that by his own admission had no Jewish or black members. He quit, he told Walters, not in any moral repugnance but mostly because he was running for president and it was "obvious that this was, you know, not the right thing to do." He said he had only joined in the first place for his kids' sake—so they could have "a safe place for them to swim." A safe place to swim? Perot

clearly has blacks and Jews confused with sharks.

Similarly, I am a bit chagrined about Perot's position when it comes to employing homosexuals. In his interview with Walters, Perot attempted to show that he has logic on his side. He doesn't object to gays in general, he suggested, just gays in certain jobs—"certain places where it would be very difficult."

And where is that? Perot cited the position of secretary of defense as well as the military in general. Here we get the old canard—actually, two of them. The first is that gays could be blackmailed into divulging military secrets. But Rep. Gerry Studds (D-Mass.) once asked the Pentagon how many times this has happened, and the answer he got was none.

The second has to do with showers—how gays would behave in them while in the military. But this concern presupposes that homosexuals cannot control themselves. Undoubtedly, that's occasionally true. It is clearly

not true, though, in the many cases where career officers are discharged only because they chose to acknowledge their homosexuality. Up to then, no one knew.

Anyone who saw the Walters interview could not help but be impressed by aspects of Perot. He is an engaging man with some obvious qualities. One of them is a lust for action—an itch to do something about the problems of this country. On the other hand, we have in Perot a man who seems to have swooned for his own image and does not really consider what he's saying. The inconsistencies just fly out of him like color from a sparkler.

For instance, he proclaims himself a family man and, indeed, he is, of a special sort. But when his own wife testified, in effect, to her isolation from a decision that would change her life as much as his, we are entitled to wonder what sort of family Perot has in mind. As it happens many Ameri-

can men would be brained for acting so unilaterally. Indeed, when Perot prescribes parental notification of a teenager's abortion, is he aware that some parents would forbid it, that sometimes the girl is pregnant by incest or that she may have good reason to fear for her physical safety?

The more we learn about Perot, the more we have cause for wonder. He knows precisely where he wants to go and I, for one, would love for him to take us there. But from what he has said so far, he hasn't a clue of how to get to there. For the moment, the polls tell us that none of that matters. Perot is simply a dalliance, an extramarital affair for Americans bored and disappointed in their politicians. If he wants to go the distance, if he wants to get serious, he had better use his formidable intelligence to think past his prejudices and reconcile his contradictions. For starters, is he or he is not for raising taxes?

Once again, we're waiting.

Funding Public TV

THE FIGHT over funding of public television goes finally to the Senate floor this afternoon, and though media debate has ranged far and wide over broad policy questions—has public broadcasting's role been preempted by cable? Is the budget too tight nowadays for any such frills as cultural funding?—the changes actually being contemplated are smaller in scope. Intense rhetoric and negotiations have produced an agreement on program labeling, one on disclosure and one to adopt language urging board members to take note of existing requirements for "objectivity and balance." Other, unspecified amendments could still be offered to affect, rather than erase, the \$1.1 billion, three-year reauthorization of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which contributes what ends up being about 17 percent of the budgets of public TV stations and programming bodies nationwide.

But that small percentage—17 percent—is helpful in clarifying the debate on what is and isn't at stake here. At issue is not whether public television's most popular programs, such as "Sesame Street," could support themselves. Many of these programs and stations do. In the case of the Public Broadcasting System—the familiar PBS—the federal money goes to making new programs. For the hundreds of stations that use those and other programs on the air, the money is for operations and is dwarfed by funds from state, local and corporate sources—and, as any watcher or listener

knows, pledge week (once described by our critic Tom Shales as "the descent into tote bag hell").

Supporters point out that, like federal matching grants, pledge week and local and private funding constitute a directly, indeed aggressively democratic voice in what sort of TV the viewers want to see, a device to keep the federal funding from producing matter for an elite cultural few. That point has been muddled in the debate over whether public money for broadcasting is a frill for the upscale. The audience for publicly helped programming, by all measures, is wider than the roll of contributors; the audience is far from elite, and the arrival of cable stations to show similar programming commercially is evidence to support rather than undercut that argument. The point of public seed money in a commercial medium such as broadcasting has been to help creative people show the market a product that does indeed turn out to be in demand. The cable channels now copying science and nature programming or rerunning the "Civil War" series, far from undercutting public TV's usefulness, actually demonstrate it; the public money sparked innovation that led to a healthy expansion in the market TV can serve. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting is good at what it does: opening new possibilities. It shouldn't be sacrificed to a climate in which every attempt to fund cultural enrichment is seen as contradictory, offensive and problematic.

India's Nuclear Semantics

FROM INDIA, the country that brought us the explosion of a nuclear "device" (not a bomb) in 1974 now comes a second test of a 1,500-mile nuclear-capable "technology demonstrator" (not a missile). If Indian scientists are as skilled as Indian semanticists—and there is reason to think they are—then India is just a screwdriver's turn and an honest word away from being a full-fledged and acknowledged nuclear power. For that matter, so is its arch-rival, Pakistan, which has followed it in removing every nuclear veil except the last. Nuclear war is thus at least a possibility in south Asia.

India, which went nuclear to match China, plainly ran its missile test last week to answer the large underground weapons test that China audaciously conducted last month while India's president was visiting Beijing. Still, the raw edge of its policy is in Pakistan. And where Pakistan pays a heavy price in American aid forgone for going down the nuclear road, India pays no price, not depending on American aid in the first place. Only now is it coming under serious pressure to review its ways.

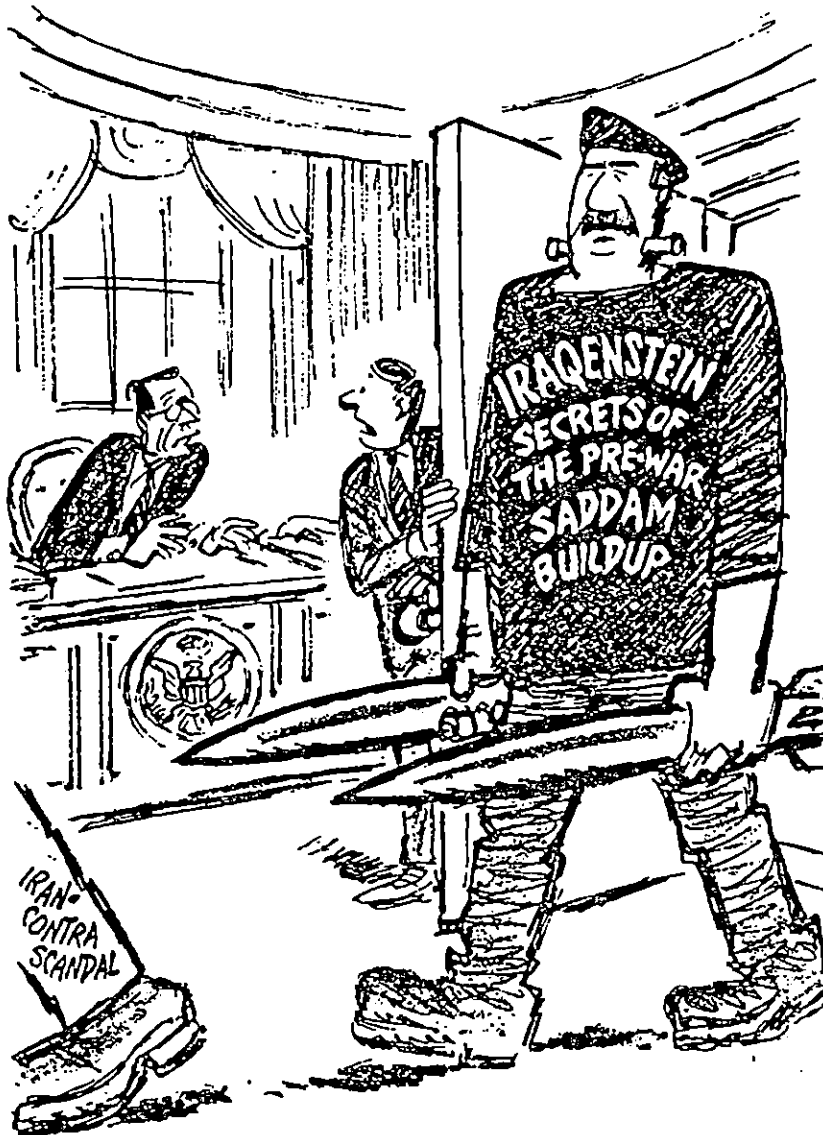
In mid-May the Bush administration banned trade with the Russian organization that would sell,

and the Indian organization that would buy, certain missile-useful rocket engine technology. A bipartisan Senate Foreign Relations Committee majority went further and made Russia ineligible for U.S. aid if it completes the sale. Americans say the deal would violate the Missile Technology Control Regime, an informal suppliers' nonproliferation agreement. Russians contend it won't. Indians add that the regime clubbily discriminates against countries such as India that seek technology for urgent civilian purposes. For Americans, this is a simple issue. Status-conscious India has a fair claim to civilian technology and needy Russia to general aid. But the requirement to tighten the nonproliferation rules comes first. There should be no wavering.

The weekend missile test apparently drew on indigenous technology and provides no easy hook for outsider concern. Yet India, losing its old Soviet connection and abandoning a statist economy at the same time, has a growing need for full contacts with the United States and the world economy. It has security needs too and is now open to working with Washington on some of them—though not yet on regional nuclear restraint. That's where the priority lies.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

"THIS ONE IS ALL YOURS, CHIEF"



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For the Record

From an article by Laurent Belsie in yesterday's *Christian Science Monitor*:

Say goodbye to the paperboy. The era of American children delivering newspapers is coming to a close. . . .

Paperboys and pagergirls won't disappear completely, [says] Joe Forsee, executive director of the International Circulation Managers Association. But increasingly, newspapers are turning to part-time adult carriers. If this shift is closing one era, it is opening another that may well determine the future of newspapers. . . .

By moving to a part-time adult work force, [a] company would save money, media experts say. But it also would be acquiring a work force that could handle more complex jobs. These experts suggest a newspaper's delivery system will become key to its survival. "It's a real period of exciting transition," says John Lavine, director of Northwestern University's Newspaper Management Center in Evanston, Ill.

Instead of delivering just a newspaper, publishers are beginning to look at delivering magazines and product samples, he says. Eventually, a newspaper might run the ad of a local clothier, take the company's phone orders and deliver clothes to the customer.

"Outside the post office," they [newspapers] are the largest delivery system in America," he says.

In the past month, for example, the Tampa Tribune delivered a list of tax delinquents to 50,000 county residents and 250,000 sample packets of Pert Plus shampoo to its subscribers.

The company also delivers a national business newspaper and is working hard to convince national magazines to use its delivery service instead of the mail.

C. Boyden Gray

Put the Forests First

It is far from clear that substance will triumph over rhetoric at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro this week. Some delegates to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development as it is officially called, or UNCED, want to impose their own solutions to what they see as "inappropriate lifestyles and overconsumption." Others just want a handout.

These sideshows have threatened to overwhelm Rio with distractions that will divert attention from the most pressing environmental and development issues.

Fortunately, President Bush has insisted on an agenda that could truly ensure a better environment—without all the unrelated extras. Rather than bowing to the fads of the day, the president has insisted that the conference produce results that embrace good science, good economics and respect for national sovereignty.

To begin with, the president pushed hard for a climate-change treaty that is environmentally and economically sound. He insisted that the treaty take a "comprehensive approach" to reducing greenhouse gases. This approach requires nations to account for all their greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere, so that they cannot purport to reduce emissions of one gas while increasing another. Meanwhile, countries must take steps to limit all their greenhouse emissions, but without separate targets for any single gas.

It may be that vigorous scientific research into global warming will soon demonstrate the need to act more drastically on greenhouse gases, but this has not happened yet. That's why the United States funds as much climate research as the rest of the world combined, and why the president convinced other countries that, while drastic international deadlines are premature, a framework for concrete national action plans is ripe.

This was just the approach we took in responding to the threat of ozone depletion. When the Vienna Convention on that issue was followed by compelling new evidence of the "ozone hole," the signatories agreed to specific targets to reduce CFCs. Using a market-based approach, the United States has reduced CFCs more rapidly than any other industrialized nation.

But the immediate need is not climate change. As almost every expert recognizes, and as John Newhouse has written in *The New Yorker*, "the problem of diminishing forests is more acute and pressing than that of global warming." Tropical forests are disappearing before our eyes, at over 40 million acres a year, and temperate forests are also under stress. That is happening today—it's not something in computer models projected to occur decades from now. If we wait, the forests will be gone, and with them the biological treasures of the ages.

That is why the president wants to bring an innovative approach to conserving the Earth's forests. His forests initiative would foster a powerful international marketplace for forest conservation investments. Developing countries would compete to make their best proposals for conserving and sustainably using their forests. Proposals could include creating institutes to survey their forest resources, or offering to change subsidies and ownership rules that needlessly encourage forest clearing. Investor nations would likewise compete to invest in the best opportunities. This approach would foster "forest partnerships" in a marketplace of entrepreneurs and investors, maximizing the cost effectiveness of conservation efforts and preserving the sovereignty of nations over their own lands.

Conserving and sustaining the forests is an economic as well as ecological imperative. Some of the most promising medicines in the world have already come from the forests, including treatments for ovarian cancer, leukemia and Hodgkin's disease. Through the new tools of biotechnology—an area in which the United States is the world leader—scientists will be better able to screen forest biodiversity to identify more useful products. Already Merck & Co. is paying Costa Rica to do just that. The combination of the president's forests initiative and his actions to accelerate biotechnology will help reveal the true value of the forests and stimulate further private investment in their conservation.

What's more, saving the forests would actually do more to reduce greenhouse emissions than the European proposal to stabilize industrial country CO₂ emissions by the year 2000 at 1990 levels. As any high school student knows, trees absorb CO₂. Analysis indicates that halting forest losses by the turn of the century would likely reduce total CO₂ emissions by more than twice the effect of the European CO₂ stabilization plan—at less than a fraction of the economic cost.

The president believes that the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development should live up to its full name, and promote both environment and development. If this century teaches any lesson, it is that central economic control yields only poverty, pollution and intellectual stagnation. Economic growth mobilizes the resources to address environmental problems. The president's call to reduce perverse subsidies worldwide and expand free trade is decidedly pro-environment.

In Rio, the delegates should seize on the chance to do first things first: Arrest the decline of the Earth's forests now.

The writer is counsel to the president.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Bush Moves to Expand Urban Enterprise Plan

White House Seeks to Generate Hill Support

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration plans to tell congressional leaders today it will broadly expand its proposal to create urban enterprise zones, including adding new tax benefits for poor people employed in those zones, as it seeks to generate support in Congress for its urban package.

White House and congressional sources said yesterday that President Bush, in a meeting today with a bipartisan group of congressional leaders and with California officials, will embrace a broader and deeper program than the enterprise zone plan in his original budget. The original proposal would have provided certain tax benefits for firms locating in 10 such zones.

Under a new proposal, approved in concept yesterday, the White House will propose deeper tax benefits, including a refundable earned income tax credit for unemployed persons who get jobs in the new zones. The credit will basically offset the Social Security and other taxes lower-income wage earners pay that sometimes results in their bringing home less money when working than they did when they collected welfare benefits.

The administration also will allow businesses investing in enterprise zones to write off up to \$50,000 in capital expenses the first year, compared to spreading those expenses out over several years, and will allow them to use both tangible and intangible assets in calculating capital gains. All of these elements have been proposed by Democratic supporters of such zones, arguing that much wider benefits are needed to offset the risks of investing in urban areas.

In addition, Bush has already

agreed to turn the zone proposal into a type of urban entitlement. If a city meets the criteria for unemployment, crime, joblessness and other categories of distress, it would automatically be eligible for establishing a federal enterprise zone. As a result, the administration hopes support for the proposal will increase substantially among urban mayors, most of whom are Democrats, and put pressure on Democrats in Congress to approve at least the urban enterprise zone piece of an urban package this year.

"We think enterprise zones [proposal] has the best chance of early passage," said White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater.

The enterprise zone proposal will be "costly," officials said, and it was unclear yesterday how the White House would pay for it, or whether the Republicans and Democrats could agree on actual costs. The Democrats have always said such zones will have a far higher cost in lost tax revenue than have the Republicans.

While the debate over a longer-term urban package continues, the White House and Democrats have yet to reach agreement on the emergency urban aid package. Senior White House officials met yesterday with House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) on the emergency supplemental bill. The House's \$800 million, pared-down version contains money only for Small Business Administration loans and Federal Emergency Management Agency loans. The Senate version adds funding for summer jobs, Head Start, speeded up transportation spending and a variety of other items.

Officials said yesterday that the White House is trying to "pre-cook" an agreement with Democrats on the



MARLIN FITZWATER
... sees chance for early passage

emergency spending package that would trim it enough so that Bush can sign the legislation. But a Democratic congressional source said little progress was made yesterday.

California Gov. Pete Wilson (R), Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and former baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth—who is heading the rebuilding effort in Los Angeles—will join Bush at the meeting today with leaders of Congress. Bush met with all three men last Friday in Los Angeles on his second trip to that city since it was torn by riots a month ago.

They will confer with leaders from both parties and the chairmen of the committees preparing an urban relief package, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.).

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

California Voters Express Disillusionment With Bush and Clinton

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

BURBANK, Calif.—It took only a few hours last week at the Media Center City mall here to understand why George Bush and Bill Clinton are lagging in the latest Washington Post-ABC News poll.

On a sunny Saturday, when a heavily advertised sale at a discount home furnishings store was drawing throngs of shoppers, people came back to the parking lot burdened not only by potted plants and unassembled bookshelves, but by a heavy sack of political disillusionment they were eager to unload.

It was scarcely 72 hours before the Tuesday presidential primary and these Californians seemed ready to cast a vote of no confidence in the soon-to-be-chosen Republican and Democratic nominees.

Two Ross Perot volunteers at card tables could hardly accommodate those eager to sign nominating petitions for the independent presidential candidate. Other voters voiced such disparaging comments about the president of the United States and the Democratic governor of Arkansas that it was almost a mercy Bush and Clinton had no campaign workers on the scene.

"Bush is living in his own little world. He just doesn't see much outside where he is," said Carole Ainsworth, a registered Democrat who crossed party lines to vote for Bush four years ago.

A recent retiree from the accounting department of the Los Angeles Times, Ains-

worth expressed anger that increasingly frequent gunshots have made her feel it is no longer safe to take after-dinner walks in her neighborhood.

"Bush is spending our money where it's not needed—in space and around the world—when there are so many people who need help with jobs and education and opportunity here at home," she complained. As for her own party's likely nominee, Clinton, she said: "I never in my life heard of him until all the hoopla about the draft and his marriage. Where do they find these people? Arkansas?"

The disappointment in Bush and the disdain for Clinton expressed by this voter were echoed by dozens of others interviewed late last week here and at the Serramonte Center in San Mateo County, south of San Francisco.

Barbara Hahn, a young Asian-American computer technician, visiting Serramonte with her husband and two young children, reviewed the options and said, "I think maybe I should be running."

"You're not 35," the minimum age for the presidency, her husband, Donald, said. "But I'm better than these guys," she replied.

Clinton is "a big phony," she declared. She supported Bush last time, despite her disagreement with his antiabortion stand. "That's become more important now," she said. "I could not support him again."

Leaders of both parties in Sacramento—who know from their own soundings how weak Bush and Clinton are right now in this vital state—blame much of the disillusion-

ment on the severe recession. In addition, a series of natural and social disasters—from the Oakland fires to the Los Angeles riots—have converted the California culture that nurtured Ronald Reagan's inbred optimism into a 900-mile-long psychological wasteland.

Even those whose education and profession have spared them the worst of the recession share the general lament about the lack of available leadership.

Charles Antonini Jr., a physician who lives in upscale Hillsborough, is a 1988 Bush supporter who "really doesn't know" if he can vote for him again. Partly it's the abortion issue that worries this self-described "pro-choice Catholic." But more has to do with the kind of president he thinks the country needs.

"Bush has concentrated on foreign policy, because that's what he's comfortable with," Antonini said, "and he's appointed very competent people in that area. But he's not shown a similar handle on things here at home, and the people he's appointed in economic and domestic posts are not good. It took them forever even to admit there was a recession."

As for Clinton, Antonini dismissed "the sexual innuendo" as "unimportant," but not the larger question of credibility. "He would have been so much better off if he had just said, 'Yeah, I tried marijuana. What about it?' And the same way with the draft, if he had just said, 'Yeah, I tried everything I could to keep out of Vietnam.'"

Clinton and Bush were campaigning not far from where these interviews were conducted,

but neither candidate was communicating much hope or inspiration to these voters.

A Pacifica nurse, Julie Maykel, tried to recall what she has heard about Clinton. "I think he has a program," she said, pausing, "to help middle-class people," then another pause, "with their education. I'm guessing that's Clinton. I don't know his stands on the environment, but I remember reading his state is not doing very well on that score."

Not one of several dozen voters identified Clinton with his "reinventing government" or "new covenant" themes; not one mentioned any of the "five pillars" of Bush's domestic agenda. But they were quick to voice their disillusionment with the two men.

Liberals like Maykel said Bush "hasn't kept his promises" to be "the environmental president" or "the education president." Conservatives like Jim Clairton of Arcadia said Bush's change of heart on "no new taxes" showed him "I was right in the first place to question his integrity."

As for Clinton, he is repeatedly described by one of the most cutting nouns in the voters' 1992 vocabulary: He is, they say, "a politician."

Jeanne Yudin of Los Angeles, an aerospace company executive pained by the recent layoffs in her industry, sounded as if she were a Democratic speechwriter—talking about the "disappearance of the middle class" and the loss of manufacturing jobs and "Reagan and Bush making this almost a Third-World country."

But asked about Clinton, she said: "He strikes me as very, very slick. When I saw him first, on the debates where there were eight or 10 other candidates, I really liked what he said. He was talking about change. But the more I watch him now, the more I realize he is just a wonderful-looking package, with nothing inside. There's no real conviction there."

These comments would be discouraging enough to the major-party candidates, but the people working at the Perot petition tables would add to the angst.

One was Bob Godman, a United Auto Workers union shop steward at Rocketdyne, convinced "the politicians in Washington, whatever party, won't lift their hand" to stop the layoffs that he said have cost "half the jobs we once had—good jobs, jobs paying maybe \$48,000 a year, the kind of jobs you can't find in this country anymore."

The other was Eloise Wickham, a middle-aged Republican, who had "helped out on quite a few" past Republican campaigns. "This year, they hadn't called me and I decided I was interested in Ross Perot—and I've never had more fun."

"The funny thing," she added, "is that I got home from signing up people for Perot just the other day and had a message on my machine from the Bush people asking me to help them."

"What did you do?" she was asked. "I erased it," she said.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

TODAY'S ELECTIONS AT A GLANCE

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES: THE LONG MARCH FINALLY ENDS

Once upon a time, a final round of primaries that included three megastates might have been significant in the race for president, but not this year. President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton are concluding the long primary season looking over their shoulders at Texas businessman Ross Perot and his likely independent candidacy.

Six states, California, Ohio, New Jersey, Alabama, New Mexico and Montana, hold primaries today in the busiest election day since Super Tuesday last March.

Bush long ago clinched renomination, while Clinton needs just over 100 more delegates to top the magic 2,145 required to be the Democratic nominee. In terms of suspense, there isn't much, except on the question of Clinton's margin in California, where former governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. hopes to tarnish Clinton's victory or even spring an upset.

THE CALIFORNIA RESHUFFLE

But once past the presidential race, there is much at stake, particularly in California: two Senate seats, 52 new House districts, state Assembly and Senate primaries and two local contests in Los Angeles that represent a referendum of sorts on the recent riots.

In this year of the woman, California Democrats could become pacesetters by nominating women for both Senate seats being contested this year. They've become known as the "short seat" and "long seat" because one completes



Dianne Feinstein

the final two years of a six-year term and the other is for a full six years.

Former San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein is heavily favored to win the Democratic nomination for the short seat, while Rep. Barbara Boxer leads Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy and Rep. Mel Levine, according to the latest California Poll, for the long seat.

Feinstein is expected to face Sen. John Seymour, the Republican appointed to fill the vacancy created when Pete Wilson was elected governor in 1990; Seymour is favored to defeat conservative Rep. William Dannemeyer in the GOP primary.

The other Republican primary pits Rep. Tom Campbell, a Stanford University professor and advocate of abortion rights, against conservative television commentator Bruce Herschensohn.

The House primaries in California mark the beginning of the Republican effort to regain seats lost a decade ago because of redistricting, and the party hopes that by November they will have added a big batch of new members.

THE BANK BOUNCE: CONT'D



The House Bank scandal hangs over congressional races elsewhere. Democratic Rep. Mary Rose Oakar of Ohio, who had 213 overdrafts at the House Bank, faces a tough primary opponent in Tim Hagan, a Cuyahoga County commissioner. No matter what happens to Oakar, at least one Ohio incumbent will lose today because Reps. Bob McEwen and Clarence Miller have been thrown into the same district. Miller has made an issue of McEwen's 166 overdrafts.

In Alabama, Chris McNair, a county commissioner from Birmingham, is running the most serious statewide campaign ever in Alabama by a black candidate, but is the underdog against incumbent Democratic Sen. Richard Shelby.

—Dan Balz

THE WASHINGTON POST

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT

A Daily Digest

California Dreaming—About Home

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

OAKLAND, Calif., June 1—On Bill Clinton's penultimate day of the 1992 presidential primary season, the crowds were reasonably large and sufficiently noisy, the Arkansas governor's speeches rang with the quintessential Democratic rhetoric of jobs and fairness and inclusiveness. It was all there, all the sounds and smells of American political fanfare. And yet it seemed somehow antiquated, if not irrelevant.

What if they held a primary and no one knew what it was all about?

That was the overriding feeling that enveloped the Clinton traveling party on the eve of the last-in-the-nation presidential primary in California. Clinton woke up early and dutifully flew off on a final frenzied tour of the state. He never mentioned the imminent election. He never even obliquely referred to his primary opponent, former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. There was certainly no sense that Clinton was within 24 hours of clinching his party's nomination—the day he had been aiming for since he opened his campaign nearly eight months ago last October.

Perhaps the most telling sign that an election day was approaching was that Clinton sounded more than ever like an old-fashioned Democrat, as Democrats are prone to do near the end. At one point

during his speech before a roaring crowd of 2,000 people outside Oakland city hall, he left little doubt that he was a "pro" kind of guy. "I want you to know," he said, "that I am pro-growth, pro-business and pro-labor, pro-education, pro-health care, pro-environment, pro-family and pro-choice."

Clinton began his day by flying from Los Angeles to Fresno and hopping into a limousine for a cruise out to the farming town of Kerman. He told the students at Kerman High School that he took a snooze on the journey through the grape fields, but that when he awoke he almost thought he was in Arkansas. He said it with an innocence that evoked Dorothy awakening from her Ozian dream and finding herself in Kansas.

For the first time in more than a month, both of Clinton's strategy consultants, James Carville and Paul Begala, traveled with him at the same time.

Now and then swarms of reporters would gather around one or the other of them, searching desperately for any hint of inspiration or insight. Begala could only compare what was happening to someone buying tires. There are tire sale ads in the newspaper every day, he said, but you only see them when you need you need to buy tires yourself. The voters will finally see Clinton, he said, when they realize they need to vote.

And what kind of tire is Clinton? Begala was asked.

"We're the ones who don't go flat," he said.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

COLMAN MCCARTHY

Earth and the Religious Challenge

Environmentalism is getting religion. Last month in Washington, some thinkers in the business of saving souls turned their minds to saving the planet. God, it is rumored, created it and humans, it is verified, are on the way to uncreating it.

The Joint Appeal by Religion and Science for the Environment, a New York organization, convened a gathering of men and women of faith that included Rabbi Alexander Schindler of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Rev. Joan Campbell of the World Council of Churches, the Rev. Benjamin F. Chavis Jr. of the United Church of Christ and Bishop James Malone of the U.S. Catholic Conference. The group affirmed a resolution passed a year ago in New York: "It is what God made and beheld as good that is under assault. The future of this gift so freely given is in our hands, and we must maintain it as we have received it. This is an inescapably religious challenge."

For sure.

It's a blessing that organized religion is becoming a believer, turning away from ecological agnosticism. Is there a problem? Who knows? That has been the consistent response. The conversion, like all early-stage born-again bursts, is still mostly talk. The Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter on the environment last November and the Council of Churches has established an office on environmental justice. In Rome, the pope has written an encyclical on the subject. It was a first for the Vatican, qualifying John Paul II to be the environmental pope.

These statements and conferences have brought religion, at last, to the ecological wailing wall, where the Earth groans and begs for relief. That God's creation has been degraded into a state of global toxification is an example of how Western religions ignored their own scriptural teachings. In "Replenish the Earth," a rigorous examination of religion and conservation, Lewis Regenstein writes: "The early founders and followers of monotheism were filled with a sense of wonder, delight and awe by the greatness of God's creation. Indeed, nature and wildlife were sources of inspiration for many of the prophets of the Bible, and one cannot fully understand the scriptures, their teachings and

symbolism, without an appreciation for the natural environment that inspired so much of what appears therein. Although this is rarely preached from the pulpit, the Bible contains a message of conservation, respect for nature and kindness to animals."

The message isn't much preached because its practice would push the leaders of organized religion into personal action. How many members of the clergy do you know who have simplified their diets because of the environmental destruction caused by raising cattle for meat? How many clergy have decreased their use of cars and choose instead to get around town by bicycle? How many clergy personally boycott companies that dump their toxic wastes in landfills located in black or Hispanic communities, as the majority are?

Religion's progressives have been engaged mostly in antiwar, human rights, poverty and racial justice issues. Many already are exhausted by crisis overload, without having still another heaped on them. An answer to this is provided by Walter Wink in "Engaging the Power: the Spirituality of Social Struggle": "We are not called to do everything, to heal everything, to change everything, but only to do what God asks of us. And in the asking is supplied the power to perform it. We are free from the paralysis that results from being overwhelmed by the immensity of the world's need and our relative powerlessness. We are freed from messianic megalomania."

That sounds manageable. A constitutional amendment is not needed from the state nor a new theology from the church. In this part of the world, where much of the pollution is found and sanctioned, it means acting on the traditional prayer of tribal people: "O Great Spirit of our Ancestors, I raise my pipe to you. To your messengers the four winds, and to Mother Earth who provides for your children. Give us the wisdom to teach our children to love, to respect, and to be kind to each other so that they may grow with peace in mind. Let us learn to share all the good things that you provide for us on this Earth."

That prayer, if acted on personally and collectively, might be enough to ease doubts about the most difficult of all the mysteries of faith: belief in the future of the Earth.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

THE PEOPLE AND ROSS PEROT

Ross Perot's sudden emergence as a candidate has transformed the presidential race, even as voters wonder who he is. Last week, as part of a poll, The Washington Post and ABC News asked a random sampling of Americans to express, in their own words, what they specifically

liked about Perot and what made them uneasy. For many people, Perot is the plain-speaking, truth-telling outsider who will recapture a dysfunctional government from the politicians and deliver it back to the people. His lack of political experience

as well as his rejection of both the Republican and Democratic parties only strengthens his appeal to many disaffected voters. But others, including some of his own supporters, wonder whether Perot would be effective if he were elected president.

"I ain't been working the way it's been, so maybe there will be a change with him The way he talks, he'll fight for everybody I think he's got backbone. I think he'll speak up and maybe be truthful I'm just more or less tired of the other ones saying they'll do this or that, and they do nothing. Maybe this man will."

— A male Minnesota Democrat, 61

"I think cliché-spouting, six-gun-shooting, self-made billionaires who have no experience in the give-and-take of elective representative government are a menace."

— A male Massachusetts Democrat, 58

"He stands for a fresh start. He doesn't have to answer to anybody except the people. He doesn't have to answer to any financial group, as he's backing himself. He's for America first."

— A female Florida political independent, 60

"He doesn't have to do this; he's being asked. It's not his goal; the people are asking. Also, he is the best qualified. He came from nothing, took a small business and made it into an empire that is profitable and efficient."

— A female Pennsylvania political independent, 39

"It's impossible, a waste of time. He's an independent. An independent can't get anything out of Congress If the Republicans and Democrats can't, how can an independent? That's the main reason I wouldn't vote for him."

— A male Florida Democrat, 75

"If he makes up his mind, there's no negotiating with him. He's a real bullhead—that could be bad. Very demanding—that could be bad. It could be something that would hurt the country."

— A male Minnesota Democrat, 60

"I think he's got a mind of his own. He's not affiliated with any party, and the best is that he's not an attorney. I think this country's got about three times as many as they need I think he has enough of his own money so that he won't have to go to Washington and steal from the people."

— A male Florida Democrat, 63

"Anybody that's not Democrat or Republican, I'd vote for. He sounds great. He doesn't sound like he's lying like all the others."

— A male Alabama Republican, 40

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

"I like that his attitude is that of Will Rogers—get rid of all the rascals. I like his initial statement that the government is not working for us the people any more, meaning the so-called royalty in government."

— A male Missouri political independent, 65

"I think he has a lot of experience in business management, and he built himself up from a small businessman to a millionaire . . . He can't do worse than what we have now. They say he does not have the background for politics, he doesn't know how to run a country, he has never been to Washington, but maybe that's good. We could start over again."

— A female Wisconsin political independent, 85

"He's trying to buy the presidency. I don't like him at all. I don't see why we can't just have a politician that has come up through the ranks and is experienced. I just don't think somebody out of the blue should run our country simply because he is rich and famous . . . He has been kind of quiet, like incognito. I'd be scared, in a way, for that reason. America is in bad shape, and I don't think Ross Perot could get us out of it."

— A male Kansas Democrat, 59

"He has experience in running a major corporation, and that's what the government is—a large corporation."

— A male Massachusetts political independent, 36

"I like . . . the fact that he has no platform, because he's not making any promises that tend to get candidates in trouble."

— A female California political independent

"I don't like how he stands on a variety of issues. He's glib, not specific how he stands on education or drugs. He says what he hopes to do, but doesn't say how he will do it. I hope that he learns how to work along with Congress if he is elected."

— A female New York political independent, 55

"He stands for something. He said that if the American public didn't like the job he was doing, he would resign. That takes guts."

— A male Texas political independent, 29

"I don't think he could say a word about foreign policy. I don't think he's good at all. I don't think he knows diddle about this country. I don't think he ever had to worry about a land payment, he never had to worry about paying bills. He doesn't have a clue about where the money is going to come from. He has all the money in the world and he doesn't care about us out here."

— A female Montana Democrat, 41

"I think he's different. Although he has been involved in politics, I don't identify him as an insider. He's noncommittal, but you don't get the impression that you're sold down the river when you hear him talk."

— A male Michigan Republican, 46

"He's a self-aggrandizer. He's a phony because he knocks the present campaign financing through PACs but he is also one of the worst offenders. I also think he's greedy. I have very serious doubts about his candidacy. He comes off as a moralist and seems to be too far to the right for my taste."

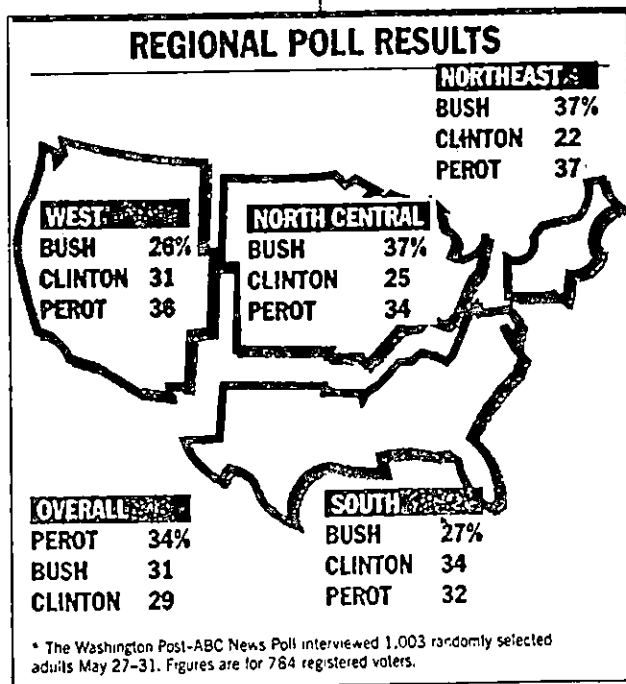
— A female Texas political independent, 32

"Nobody gets that rich without being dirty or getting dirty. To get to the top you have to step on the bodies of people under you. I don't trust people who can just make that kind of money; it must be in some dirty way."

— A female Texas Democrat, 48

"He has absolutely no dirt. The newspapers can't find anything on him. He must be pretty clean. He started his little empire from scratch, and that takes a lot of determination and the ability to work with people."

— A male Florida Democrat



"He's a businessman, not a politician. He would get things done. Politicians are wheelers and dealers. He's new. He's not being bought. He's rich enough not to have to worry about favors."

— A female New York political independent, 49

"He isn't presidential material. He has no political background. Internationally he is not well known, and he doesn't have any knowledge about international affairs. He made his means off the government and taxpayers from government contracts."

— A male Virginia Republican, 61

"I doubt that being a successful businessman qualifies him to be president of the United States. Knowing how to make money doesn't mean he can handle world situations or the political implications of other countries."

— A female Pennsylvania Republican, 61

"What does a billionaire know about a working man? These people do not know anything about working people. They never carried a dinner pail and never belonged to a union and got grease on their face and hands."

— A male New York Democrat, 72

"It seems like he's for the working class, the blue-collar man . . . It seems like he is more believable and doesn't contradict himself. From what he speaks, he speaks fact, from the past, his past experience of what he has done."

— A male New York Democrat, 28

"We need a radical change. Things haven't been good since the Republicans are too much for the rich, and the Democrats are too much of a social party. We need someone in the middle."

— A male Washington political independent, 26

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Japan Seeks Role in Rio but Lacks Delegation Chief

Prime Minister Miyazawa 'May or May Not Attend'; No Consensus on Level of New Aid

By T.R. Reid

Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, June 2 (Tuesday)—For a wealthy, technologically advanced and environmentally minded country like Japan, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro could be a perfect opportunity to take a leadership position in world affairs.

After years as a supporting player behind the United States in all manner of international assemblies, Japanese have hoped that this U.N. Conference on Environment and Development would be the chance to step into a starring role.

But with the curtain to rise in Rio on Wednesday, the Japanese still don't have their act together.

It is not even certain who will lead the delegation to Rio—Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa "may or may not attend," the government says—and government agencies are still feuding over how much Japan can spend to fund environmental protection elsewhere.

In sharp contrast to the popular image of a monolithic "Japan Inc.," the business community is badly split between environmentalists seeking safeguards and those who would avoid restrictions on logging, whaling and other endeavors.

Confusion reigns even though Japan is in the midst of an ecology boom. Labels like "Green Power," "Pure Water," and "Our Earth" grace everything from beer cans to baby powder, and the media carry series on how individual Japanese can help preserve the planet.

Government and business leaders' concern for Japan's current international image goes back to the Persian Gulf War.

Japan aligned itself with the U.S.-led multinational alliance before and during the war and contributed \$13 billion to the effort. Japan even raised federal taxes to pay for its share of the war, something the U.S. Congress did not. Yet, because of uncertainty over the war here and the public's lingering fear of any military role, Japan looked weak and hesitant to others.

Foreign leaders, including Secretary of State James A. Baker III, declared that Japan had failed to live up to its global obligations as an economic superpower. Domestic critics were saying the same thing.

But for months now, Japan's government and business elite have been saying that the Earth Summit would be a different matter. "We took a lot of heat over the Gulf war, because we were just not ready to make the kind of active contribution the other nations expected," said Kazuo Aichi, a ruling Liberal Democratic Party legislator and a former head of the Environmental Protection Agency here. "But environmental control is an area where we have been strong on our own, and we can play an important role in the world."

Japan's potential for leadership at the environmental summit rests on two pillars:

■ **Role model.** As a country that has made major strides in energy efficiency, emissions control and pollution clean-up, Japan could offer an example—and be a supplier—for other nations worried about their environment.

■ **Donor.** As one of the two biggest foreign aid donors, Japan could use economic incentives to nudge Third World countries toward environmentally sound policies.

"Japan, one of the worst polluters in the 1960s, became the world leader in clean air and now exports large quantities of pollution-control technology," the University of Maryland's Center for Global Change reported. "Japan's economy is one of the most [energy] efficient in the world, clearly demonstrating that efficiency goes hand in hand with economic growth."

Japan is sending more than 100 government officials to the Rio conference, one of the largest official delegations, to explain how Japan has improved its own environment and how it can help other countries do so.

But Prime Minister Miyazawa may yet decide to stay in Tokyo, rather than attend in Rio, to work for parliamentary passage of legislation that would authorize Japan's military to take part in U.N. peace-keeping forces. That measure has been under debate here since the Gulf crisis erupted nearly two years ago.

Meanwhile, various governmental agencies—which often seem more like warring states than national partners—are engaged in a heated battle over the "environmental tax" proposals expected to be offered at Rio. The environmental agency and the diplomatic corps reportedly believe Japan should endorse the new taxes, while the finance and trade ministries are balking.

Japan, which is tied with the United States as the world's biggest donor of development aid, is certain to face pressure in Rio to increase aid to developing countries and restrict much of it to environmental uses. But just as in the United

States, foreign aid has minor public support here.

Meanwhile the Japanese press reported that Tokyo may come with an additional aid package of \$35 million to be used for environmental programs around the world over the next seven years.

Currently, Japan's aid program emphasizes large development programs, and many businesses benefit from it, which means they will pose a shift in aid policies.

While every country has policy disputes, they are more problematic in Japan because this country at the moment lacks a leadership that could bring the debate to an end and settle on a clear position.

With Miyazawa distracted by peace-keeping bill and various government scandals, the closest to a leader among the Japanese in Rio will be a former leader: Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita.

Takeshita has become the outspoken environmental advocate in Japan's government, urging taxes and new approaches to foreign aid and development assistance. But he, too, has reportedly been instructed by fellow members of the dominant party here not to push his ideas too hard in Rio.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Senate Votes Today on Ban On State-Run Sports Betting

Bill's Foes Say Leagues, Politicians Too Cozy

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Staff Writer

The camaraderie among Washington politicians and athletes has been a proven winner, allowing each side to bask in their own glories.

When the Baltimore Orioles held their opening-day bash in April, for instance, President Bush and Sens. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), David L. Boren (D-Okla.) and Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), among others, watched the game from a special stadium box.

At this year's Super Bowl, National Football League leaders asked a gaggle of legislators, including Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine), to join other celebrities in their prime viewing box.

Now big sports is backing a bill, which the Senate will vote on today, that would ban state governments from operating sports pool lotteries or any other form of sports wagering on professional and amateur games.

From Boston Celtics President Red Auerbach to former Cincinnati Bengals linebacker Reggie Williams, officials and players have mounted a full-court press to lobby for the bill's passage. Their argument: Legalized gambling would degrade professional sports' image.

The bill's principal sponsor, Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), and other backers have already enlisted 59 supporters, virtually assuring the bill's passage.

"It's true that some sports gambling goes on," DeConcini said in an interview, "but when it is sponsored by states, it sends the wrong signal. You can argue with the need for this legislation but I think it's important for maintaining the integrity of our sports and sports figures."

The bill's opponents—a loose coalition of state legislators, state lottery operators and casino owners—say that the legislation would deny state governments an important source of revenue. They also contend, as Rep. Peter A. DeFazio (D-Ore.) pointed out, that this legislative game has no referees and that pro sports scored easy points because of their long-standing access to legislators.

"I... object to the tactics used by the professional sports leagues to secure passage of this legislation," said James J. Davey, director of the Oregon lottery, in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee last summer. "Having your picture taken with me will not get as much ink back home as having your picture taken with the [league] commissioners or the players appearing here today."

DeConcini and other proponents of the legislation acknowledge that teams provide tickets usually difficult for the general public to buy, but the lawmakers said they pay for their tickets.

"I like sports," DeConcini said, "but when I go to the Super Bowl I buy my own ticket."

Opponents of the bill say that sports lotteries have proved to be a popular way to raise revenue. If sports wagering is introduced in every state and taxed, it could yield up to \$712 million in net state revenue, according to the North American Association of State and Pro-



SEN. DENNIS DeCONCINI
... "it sends the wrong signal"

vincial Lotteries, one of the bill's most active opponents.

The bill's opponents also note that illegal sports gambling is already a major business, generating from \$20 billion to \$100 billion a year, and will continue, regardless of whether the bill passes.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), a former pro basketball star, said in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee last year that he understands many states are facing financial crises. "But turning to the \$100 billion sports gambling industry cannot be the only way for states to raise the revenues they need," he said.

Bradley, who supports DeConcini's measure, added: "I don't want to see athletes turned into roulette chips. When gambling becomes an obsession, it wipes out savings, destroys careers, breaks up families as quickly and as surely as alcohol or drugs. . . . Sanctioning gambling for purposes of revenue can only make the problem worse."

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9:30 a.m.
Committees:
Appropriations—2:30 p.m. Treasury, Postal Service & general govt. subc.
FY93 appropriations for Secret Service 116
Dismant Office Bldg.—9 a.m. Manpower & personnel subc. Active & reserve personnel issues, including treatment of women, 216 Hart Office Bldg.
Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Civil litigation activities of Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. & Resolution Trust Corp. 538 DOB
Finance—10 a.m. Trade & competitiveness, 215 DOB
Labor & Human Resources—10:30 a.m. Implementation of Ryan White AIDS Care Act, 430 DOB
Small Business—10 a.m. Price Waterhouse study of Small Business Administration's 7(a) Guaranteed Business Loan Program, 428A Russell Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Meets at noon.
Committees:
Agriculture—10 a.m. Conservation, credit & rural development subc.
Amended Rural Electrification Act of '36 & establish grant program to improve health care & educational services in rural areas, 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Energy & Commerce—10:30 a.m. Mark up pending legislation: Govt. Securities Reform Act of '92, permit national securities exchange members to effect transactions on accounts for which they exercise investment discretion, Community Environmental Response Facilitation Act, Petroleum Marketing Practices Act Amendments of '92, & Child Safety Protection & Consumer Product Safety Commission Improvement Act, 2123 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Interior & Insular Affairs—10 a.m. National parks & public lands subc. Establish Mark Twain National Historical Park in Vermont and to establish Cape Cod National Seashore, 1324 LHOB
Judiciary—10 a.m. Possibility of appointing independent counsel to examine U.S. assistance to Iraq in months preceding Persian Gulf War, 2141 RHOB.
Post Office & Civil Service—1:30 p.m. U.S. Postal Service 311 Cannon House Office Bldg.
Public Works & Transportation—9:30 a.m. Aviation subc. Legislation to provide for appointment of Thomas Richards as administrator of Federal Aviation Administration while a general on U.S. Air Force retired list, 2167 RHOB
Rules—1 p.m. FY93 defense auth. H313 Cap

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

American Specialists Sow Their Advice on Fertile East German Soil

By Marc Fisher
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEURUPPIN, Germany, June 1—In a formal room of heavy wood and huge chairs, cleared of busts of Vladimir Lenin and photos of Mikhail Gorbachev only two years ago, a group of Americans in sports clothes sat across from nervous eastern German colleagues, chatting about the virtues of apple chips, catfish farms, food additives and golf course development.

The Americans—economic development specialists from Washington, D.C., Vermont, South Carolina and Pennsylvania—had come to formerly communist eastern Germany to train local officials in the art of turning around depressed areas.

They arrived expecting to start from scratch, teaching the ex-students of socialist planning how to lure jobs and investment to their suffering region. They left 10 days later marveling at how far the easterners had come in such a short time.

The economic transformation of what was East Germany has been a largely German affair. With rich cousins as immediate neighbors to the west, the eastern Germans have had a leg up on everyone else emerging from communism in the former East Bloc.

But eastern Germans, frustrated by what they see as the colonial attitudes of many of their western brethren, have clamored for more

support—investment, advice and simple interest—from Americans.

Officially, U.S. diplomats say they are pleased by the level of American activity in eastern Germany, pointing to a dozen or so investments by large companies such as Coca-Cola, R.J. Reynolds and Otis Elevator. But privately, those diplomats say they are embarrassed that their country has left the remaking of eastern Germany mainly to the Germans.

Enter Henry Glaser, a German-born Washingtonian who worked at the U.S. Economic Development Administration for 25 years and retired as its planning director. Glaser, who spent several years of his childhood in a Nazi concentration camp and then an orphanage before escaping to China, decided to return to his birthplace after a chance meeting on an airplane with an eastern German who had never met a German Jew.

"I thought maybe I could use my skills to help out, and I thought it would be good both for the east Germans and for me if we could have some contact," Glaser said. He gathered three local U.S. economic development officials and offered their expertise to the east German state of Brandenburg.

The idea was to match U.S. communities with similar places in Germany, then exchange visits so German officials could see how their American counterparts battled their common problems of unemployment and dying industries.



German farmer Andreas Endler, right, consults with a U.S. development expert.

For example, Chris Page of northern Vermont's Economic Development Council was matched with the Neuruppin area north of Berlin because both regions suffer from a decline in farming and are located within striking distance of major cities.

Page pitched the Germans the idea of building resort communities to lure weekend visitors. But the Germans were wary of letting land go to non-residents who would not

generate jobs. Page tried another tack: "Agriculture and tourism can work well together," he told a group of Neuruppin officials gathered in the ornate meeting hall of the state council. "We've been through the decline of our dairy farms, and we've tried to take the skills of our dairy farmers and apply them to something else."

He described how cheese makers used their talents in new businesses

that make food additives and dietary supplements, how Vermonters are raising eels for export to Italy and producing apple chips as the latest in gourmet snacks.

But Page and the other Americans were surprised to find that the eastern Germans, working on their own, already had shown far more initiative and creativity than western German press reports had reflected.

Neuruppin entrepreneurs, using German federal research money, are growing rapeseed, which is being converted into an experimental fuel for cars. Trout farms have opened, with smokehouses not far behind.

Farmers who lost the guaranteed markets of the communist era are buying western machinery, switching crops and learning how to profit from the substantial subsidies the German government and the European Community provide farmers to protect them against foreign competition.

"More than anything else, we found ourselves having to say to them, 'Protect your traditions, don't be so hard on yourself, don't believe all the bad things the west Germans say about you,'" said Patricia Edmonds, executive director of the Upper Savannah Council of Governments in South Carolina. "Just like in the U.S., you see the conflict between those who want to go fast and those who want to protect what they have."

The German officials quickly

warmed to their guests, pumping them for information and advice. Siegfried Christoph, a local agricultural agent who has helped turn a massive collective farm into three corporations that grow, process and market a variety of agricultural products, said the Neuruppin area suffered from "a parade of charlatans who came in after [German] reunification—advisers, consulting teams, you name it."

"The west Germans, they believe the east Germans know nothing," he said. "An American would never look down on us like the west Germans do. All those specialists came here when we had 5,600 people working on farms. Now we have 1,700. And in two years, it will be down to 1,200. That's how we got taken."

The Americans told Christoph that no one could bring back the days of large-scale farm employment. Instead, they offered ideas for combining agriculture, retailing, tourism and other small businesses that take advantage of a rural community's resources.

Glaser found himself at ease, speaking his native language and getting to know people for whom he felt both the sympathy of a countryman and the estrangement of a victim. "We had to change our plans as we went," Glaser said. "They knew so much more than we'd expected. Their understanding of markets and their enterprising spirit are amazing."

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Chafee Pushes Handgun Confiscation

Lawmaker Voices 'Serious Reservations' About Brady Bill

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) is an accommodating and pragmatic lawmaker, a no-nonsense New Englander who is not given to grand gestures.

So what was Chafee doing up in Providence yesterday calling for enactment of a law to rid the country of most of its estimated 67 million handguns?

"I just feel it's the right thing to do," he said in a telephone interview after his news conference to announce that he will soon be introducing legislation to ban the importation, exportation, manufacture, sale, purchase, transfer, receipt, possession or transportation of handguns.

"I hear people say it's a radical proposal. Well, I think to have the current situation is what is radical. No other country has anything like it," he said, referring to this nation's firearms violence and its social costs.

Radical or not, Chafee's proposal is a stunning departure from the narrowly focused, piecemeal approaches that even some of Congress's boldest cage-rattlers have taken in recent years toward gun violence and other major national problems.

Recent gun-control efforts have concentrated on passage of a bill to require a week-long waiting period for purchase of a handgun. The bill is caught in a partisan stalemate over anti-crime legislation in the Senate.

Chafee said he continues to support the waiting-period bill, named for former White House press secretary James Brady, who was seriously wounded during the attempted assassination of then-President Ronald Reagan in 1981. "I'm not trashing the Brady bill, but I have serious reservations about whether it will do enough" to reduce gun-induced violence, he said. "If we're going to do it," he added, "let's do it right."

Chafee has not yet rounded up cosponsors for his legislation and acknowledges that many lawmakers

may shy away from it. Even Handgun Control Inc., which has spearheaded efforts for the waiting period, distanced itself from Chafee's proposal.

"While we laud his efforts to reduce the killing, this is not the approach our organization is supporting," said Gwen Fitzgerald on behalf of Handgun Control, which intends to continue pushing for passage of the Brady bill.

The National Rifle Association, which has been instrumental in blocking any far-reaching gun-control measures, was predictably unenthusiastic. "We don't consider it a serious proposal except to confirm what we've been saying for some time: that there are some members of Congress who would like to disarm law-abiding citizens," said Jim Baker, the NRA's chief lobbyist.

As Chafee described it, his bill would establish a grace period during which handguns could be turned into any law enforcement agency without penalty. Owners would be reimbursed with \$25 or the fair market value of the gun, whichever is greater.

Handgun ownership would continue to be allowed for law enforcement officials, antique firearms collectors, federally licensed handgun sporting clubs, federally licensed security guard services and the dealers, importers or manufacturers who service these approved activities.

Violators could be jailed for up to five years and fined up to \$5,000.

Chafee said he was struck as he worked on health care and education legislation with how much money was drained out of both systems by handgun violence, including an estimated \$4.4 billion in health services, nearly 90 percent of which is paid by the government.

"Unless we get handguns off the streets, out of homes and out of schools, we will continue to kill ourselves in larger and larger numbers, at younger and younger ages, and at greater and greater human and financial cost," he said in remarks at a Providence high school, where he unveiled the legislation.

The Washington Post

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

The 10th annual Children's Miracle Network Telethon netted more than \$1.8 million in pledges from Channel 20 viewers this past weekend...

Proceeds of the 22-hour telethon go to Children's Hospital and the Hospital for Sick Children here...

The program, seen on 193 stations in the United States and Canada, netted \$106.2 million over the weekend, making it the biggest telethon of them all...

Among local participants: host Bob Levey of The Washington Post; WRC's Bob Ryan and Doreen Gentzier; WUSA's Andrea Roane; WTTG's Hillary Howard and Sue Palka; and CBS News's Roberta Baskin...

Along the Campaign Trail (puff puff): Barbara Walters's interview of Ross and Margo Perot on "20/20" Friday night boosted ratings to a 17.4 national Nielsen rating and a 32 percent audience share, the fourth best of the season for the ABC News show...

In Washington, the Perots got a 14.1/25 on Channel 7...

Over on public television, the appearance of Gov. Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, on "Talking With David Frost" an hour earlier that same night, averaged a 2.1 rating and a 4 share in 16 of Nielsen's 25 big-city overnight markets...

The Clintons did best in San Francisco, poorest in Houston, Chicago and Charlotte. In Washington they did a 4.3/8 on Channel 26...

Saturday night, Lyndon LaRouche bought half an hour from CBS. In the 25-city overnights, he averaged a 3.0/6, including a 2.5/5 on Channel 9 here from 8 to 8:30...

And Gennifer Flowers, who has claimed to be a longtime girlfriend of Gov. Clinton (he denies it), has canceled her scheduled appearance this week on the "Donahue" show...

According to a "Donahue" spokesman, she called bookers a week ago to say she'd appear this Wednesday even though she wasn't feeling too good. But on Friday her agent called to say "it wasn't going to work." Since then, Gennifer hasn't answered her phone...

In her place tomorrow (the show will be seen at 9 a.m. Thursday on WUSA) will be a discussion on the subject "If Perot splits the tickets, could Quayle somehow become president?" (Gennifer, would you think it over?)...

Now This

Wedding bells this Saturday for CBS News Washington bureau chief Barbara Cohen and NBC senior White House correspondent John Cochran, who will be married in a small church ceremony in Washington. It will be a second marriage for both...

Nancy Mathis, most recently a general assignment reporter seen most often on the 11 o'clock news, has resigned from Channel 9 for personal reasons...

She joined the station in October 1986 from WTVF in Nashville...

David Lynch and Mark Frost, creators of "Twin Peaks," are reported to be unhappy about plans at ABC Entertainment to move their short-run summer series, "On the Air," from a 9:30 Wednesday timeslot to 9:30 on Saturdays, starting June 13...

The sitcom is about a Sid Caesar-like variety show in the early days (1950s) of live TV...

Cable News Network announced convention and national election coverage plans yesterday, prompting executive vice president Bob Furnad to speculate on the future...

As for the return to CNN's "Crossfire" of presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, Furnad said that "if he comes back, I believe it will be late in the fall, after the election. But it's not settled at this point"...

Both John Sununu and Jesse Jackson will do their CNN shows from the Democratic and Republican conventions (Sununu appears five nights a week on "Crossfire"; Jackson hosts his "Both Sides With Jesse Jackson" on Saturday nights). But Furnad says, "How much outside those shows we'll use them hasn't been solidified—it's not as if we'll be hurting for analysts"...

Talks are continuing with former "Today" anchor Deborah Norville about an assignment, Furnad said, but "the ball is in their court." He added, "The last conversation was a couple of weeks ago; there are some issues not resolved"...

He said CNN is looking to make some changes in two dayparts—"we'd like to strengthen 6 to 7 in the evening and also in the morning." (If CBS stops payment to its affiliates for carrying "CBS Evening News" and some other network follows suit, that early evening CNN news might look pretty good to some local stations next year)...

He said there would be "no dramatic anchor changes but we'll be refining anchor assignments." He said he's pleased with Leon Harris, a recent addition to the early morning (7 and 8 a.m. broadcasts) team...

Furnad also said CNN is considering replaying "Larry King Live," which airs weeknights at 9, at 1 a.m. Eastern time instead of the current 4 a.m. A 1 a.m. start would give King a 10 p.m. crack at primetime audiences on the West Coast...

Furnad, however, wouldn't comment on reports current in Atlanta that all-time top model Christie Brinkley is all set to join Cable News Network in the fall as host of a 10:30 a.m. talk show. But our sources said again yesterday that it's just about a done deal...

In other Weekend Ratingzzzz Results: The NBA game between Cleveland and Chicago on Friday did an 11.4/22 on NBC...

Saturday night, in the Nielsen 25-city overnights, the new summer series "Julie" debuted on ABC with a 7.5/15; and on Sunday, the Tony Awards on CBS averaged a 10.4/17 between 9 and 11...

In Washington, the NBA game on Friday did a 13.5/25, while Frank Herzog's farewell to WJLA audiences attracted a 9.7/17 to the 11 p.m. news...

On Saturday, "Julie" did an 8.3/16 on WJLA; and on Sunday, the Tonys did an 8.4/15 on WUSA...

And keep in mind, each national ratingzzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes; a 25-city overnight point, 431,028; and a Washington point, 18,199 TV homes...

A belated congratulations to the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, which marked its 50th anniversary on May 26...

Local Ratingzzzz

We have put this off just about as long as we could but here are some of the May sweeps results in the Washington market...

Audiences were up from a year ago, in part because of the earlier-than-usual start of the sweeps and in part because of the lousy weather (certainly not because the TV was any better, although with all the series farewells and Murphy and Johnny, the 29 days certainly had their moments)...

Among the highlights—a strong performance by WJLA in the 5 p.m. news, the loss of audience due to the transmission problems at WDCA and the continuing strength of WRC at 11 p.m. WRC says its late-news performance in May—actually increasing the news audience over the network's 10:45 p.m. lead-in audience—was a Washington first...

Here're a few of the highlights (with last May's numbers in parentheses):

From 7 to 9 a.m. Mondays-Fridays: "Good Morning America" on Seven was first with a 4.3/18 (4.0/19); "Today" on WRC jumped to a 4.0/17 (from 2.7/13); "CBS This Morning" on WUSA was flat at 3.2/14 and "Fox Morning News" on WTTG was up at 2.6/12 (1.8/9)...

From 4 to 5 p.m. M-F: Oprah Winfrey lapped the field on Seven with a 9.1/28 (8.8/27), followed by "Eyewitness News" on Nine at 5.6/17 (4.7/15); WTTG cartoons at 5.0/15 (4.5/14); "Inside Edition" and "Hard Copy" on WRC at 4.2/13; and WDCA cartoons 1.7/5 (2.3/7)...

From 5 to 6 M-F: WUSA news continued on top with a 7.8/21 (7.3/20)—but just barely as Seven jumped to a 7.7/20 from a 6.8/19. The front-runners were followed by WTTG sitcoms at 6.7/18 (4.7/13); WRC news at 5.9/15 (5.8/16); and WDCA cartoons at 2.5/7 (3.3/9)...

From 6 to 7 M-F: WUSA remains untouchable in this daypart with a 9.7/22 (9.1/21), followed by WTTG sitcoms at 7.9/18 (6.1/15); WRC news at 7.4/16 (7.2/17); WJLA news from 6 to 6:30 at 7.1/16 (5.9/15); and WDCA sitcoms at 2.7/6 (2.5/6)...

Network evening news M-F: "CBS Evening News" on WUSA at 7 leads with a 10.1/20 (8.4/19); followed by "ABC World News Tonight" at 6:30 on WJLA at 9.4/20 (8.4/20); and "NBC Nightly News" at 7 on WRC at 7.8/16 (6.7/15)...

Late news M-F: WRC, which has been untouchable at 11 for a long time, made the lead even wider last month, averaging an 11.7/25 (10.8/24), followed by WUSA at 9.5/21 (9.4/21). Meanwhile, WJLA jumped more than two points, to 7.9/17 from 5.8/13...

Channel 5's 10 o'clock news averaged a 9.8/16 (9.5/16)...

As noted above, Four points out that in May, NBC's programing averaged an 11.4/20 from 10:45 to 11, while CBS gave WUSA an 11.6/21 lead-in and ABC gave WJLA an 11.4/20—albeit those figures are based on WRC's Monday through Sunday averages. Hnumnum...

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Perot Has Narrow Lead In Post-ABC News Poll

Differing Surveys Show Campaign's Volatility

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Political independent Ross Perot leads President Bush and apparent Democratic nominee Bill Clinton in the latest Washington Post-ABC News presidential preference poll.

The survey found Perot with a statistically insignificant lead of 34 percent to Bush's 31 percent among registered voters. Clinton trailed with 29 percent in the poll taken last week.

Those results are the latest in a



A random sampling of Americans were asked their opinions of Ross Perot. Responses appear on Page A6.

series of highly unsettled and frequently contradictory poll findings that mirror the volatile nature of this unusual presidential campaign.

In the past two weeks, surveys have reported Perot ahead, behind or tied with Bush. And last night, CBS News reported the results of its latest national survey, which showed Bush leading his rivals with 35 percent, compared to 27 percent for Clinton and 26 percent for Perot.

The new polls came as the primary season concludes today with voters casting ballots in six states, the largest being California. The primaries are expected to give Clinton a majority of delegates to the Democratic convention and allow him to clinch his party's nomination, something Bush has already done. But while the end of the primaries can often give a boost to the putative major party nominees, they will end this year with the nation fixated on the Perot challenge and the weaknesses of the two traditional parties.

Perot's name is not on any of today's primary ballots, and California will not be counting write-in votes cast for him. But exit polling in both parties is expected to confirm the surge to Perot, who was running ahead in public polls in the state before he led nationwide.

Perot has not officially announced his candidacy and is in the process

See POLL, A6, Col. 6

■ Voters voice disillusionment, Page A6; today's elections, Page A7.

Perot Takes A Narrow Lead in Poll

POLL, From A1

of putting together a campaign organization, meeting over the weekend with two political consultants he hopes will play senior roles in the campaign. Republican Edward Rollins and Democrat Hamilton Jordan, but getting no definite commitment from either.

The Texas billionaire's showing as an independent has virtually no precedents in the history of polling. The most recent third-party presidential candidates to poll relatively well nationally, former House member John Anderson, who ran as an independent candidate in 1980, and George C. Wallace, the former Alabama governor who ran a third-party candidacy in 1968, never led in national polls.

President Bush's showing is one of the worst ever for an incumbent and marked his steady decline since the election year began. Clinton, though running weakly, appears to be holding onto a base of support and that he is tied with Bush marks a kind of improvement, because many state polls have shown him running third.

The Post/ABC poll confirms reports from around the country that Perot has, for the moment, cornered what market there is in political enthusiasm. Still, as Perot gains nationally against a disorganized Bush and a beleaguered Clinton, polling experts warned against making too much of early surveys.

"In point of fact the people are nowhere near ready to make a decision," said Everett Ladd, a professor of political science and director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut. "These early choices are so lightly held that I sometimes despair that they are even reported at all."

Others agree, to a point. "It certainly is too early, but the fact that the public has not solidified is a very positive factor for Perot, indicating the possibility that he can overcome the pattern of third-party trailoffs and sustain support to November," said pollster Mark Penn, who did a feasibility study for Perot several months ago but does not currently work for him.

Perot's support is broadest among men, political independents, those earning more than \$25,000 a year and the college-educated. Perot does particularly well with middle-aged voters; among those 45 to 54 years old, the survey found that the independent claimed 43 percent of the hypothetical vote.

A total of 1,003 randomly selected adults were interviewed May 27-31 for this survey. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 3 percentage points, and 4 percentage points when the results are based on the 784 registered voters included in the sample.

Polling analyst Sharon Warden and staff writer E.J. Dionne Jr. contributed to this report.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Bush: \$150 Million Hike in U.S. Aid for Forests

Environmentalists Decry Announcement as Hypocrisy in Wake of Decision to Allow Logging

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush, facing criticism of his environmental policies on the eve of the opening of the Earth Summit in Brazil, yesterday pledged to more than double U.S. aid to developing nations next year to help them conserve their forests.

Bush announced the expanded aid in a speech at the Goddard Space Flight Center in Maryland in which he defined his environmental approach as a "new environmentalism," one that protects the environment with policies that are "compatible" with economic growth. His policies, Bush said, "harness the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment."

The announcement of a \$150 million increase in U.S. aid for forest conservation next year was coupled with a call to other nations to increase their assistance. But the announcement drew immediate cries of hypocrisy from environmental activists who strongly opposed the administration's decision last month to allow a limited exemption to the Endangered Species Act to permit new logging on some Northwest federal land.

"The president continues to advocate policies at home that would loot the last remaining stands of America's old-growth rain forest," said Rep. Bruce F. Vento (D-Minn.). "His rhetoric today about saving forests in other countries is sadly hypocritical."



President Bush speaks at NASA's Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt.

Bush's \$150 million increase is part of an administration effort to get developed countries to double the \$1.35 billion now spent on forest protection worldwide. The president wrote leaders of the major industrialized nations Sunday asking that they join the effort. The White House hopes that effort will be part of the discussions in Rio de Janeiro next week among Bush and some of the 160 other world leaders.

"At Rio, I will ask the other industrialized countries to join me in dou-

bling worldwide forest assistance with the goal of halting the loss of the world's forests by the end of the decade," the president said.

U.N. figures indicate tropical forests are being lost at the rate of more than 42 million acres a year and at least half of the temperate forests in Europe are subject to air pollution problems.

The addition of \$150 million in U.S. aid would come on top of \$120 million already in the budget for the U.S. contribution to bilateral forestry

efforts, which include such programs as training in forest management, tree planting and harvesting help, technical assistance and loans in exchange for leaving trees unharvested.

Officials acknowledged that the forest proposal was an effort to blunt criticism emerging from the Earth Summit gathering that the Bush administration has watered down a global warming treaty and refused to sign a biodiversity treaty aimed at preserving the world's plants, animals and natural resources.

An official briefing reporters yesterday said the biodiversity treaty had a series of unacceptable provisions, but that spending money to preserve forests was a better approach to the same conservation goals. "This is a concrete way of conserving forests," the official said. "This is not rhetoric. This is reality. This is real dollars."

The president used his speech yesterday to expand on a pre-summit theme of eschewing environmental "extremism" in favor of policies that both promote economic growth and protect the environment—a theme he has been sounding the past week. "I came to this office committed to extend America's record of environmental leadership," Bush said, "and I have worked to do so in a way that is compatible with economic growth because this balance is absolutely essential and because these are twin goals, not mutually exclusive objectives."

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

For Riggo Tonight, It's Curtains

For the first time since junior high school, John Riggins, former Redskins running back and unofficial social adviser to Justice Sandra Day O'Connor ("Loosen up, Sandy baby"), will be performing onstage. "It's almost game time," he says of his starring role in tonight's Olney Theatre premiere of "Illegal Motion," "and the hair is standing up on the back of my neck."

Playing a lead in the big leagues of local theater is a leap for the relatively inexperienced Riggins, but he knows he can handle the part of college football coach Bud Blackwell. "It's a big load for a neophyte like me, but I'm attuned to the role. I've got a certain insight, if not the acting experience."

So, how did he land the part? [Playwright Bernie DeLeo's] wife read an interview with me in the New York Times about how I wanted to get into acting and she suggested trying me. They called my agent in New York—and I thought, 'Bull's-eye!'

"Funny thing is, I thought the part was mine for the asking, but I soon found out I had to read for it."

Like many kids, Riggins dreamed about the bright lights—but acting was not considered a real option for a boy growing up in Kansas. "Everything was geared toward athletics. If you failed at that, you became a farmer like everyone else. . . . I don't think drama would have gone over well with my dad."

But, as a second career, the transition



BY JIM BARON PHOTOGRAPHY

Riggo in rehearsal: Not a hog, but a ham?

to stage came naturally to the Hall of Famer. "I always considered myself an entertainer when I was playing football, so that's not new. Also, the cast has accepted me, even though I'm a rank rookie."

Preparing to go before an audience is

not too different from the pregame jitters. "I used to think, 'What the hell am I doing here?'—a fear-of-failure type thing. Then when I would get out there and get knocked down, it was all clear. "I just hope no one decides to knock me down on the stage."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

Benefit Organizers Discover a Hole in the Donor

■ There may be no such thing as a free lunch, but a local hustler figured out how to get a free dinner for himself and a bunch of friends at some of Washington's finest affairs.

A man identifying himself as "Dr. David Hall" last month called the D.C. Hotline before its benefit opening for "Lettice & Lovage." "He wanted 12 tickets for dinner at Red Sage, seats at the National Theatre, party at the British Embassy," said the crisis center's director, Channing Wickham.

"Frankly," said Wickham, "this kind of donor doesn't come out of the woodwork."

But "Hall" allegedly gave Wickham the standard scam line: The \$3,500 check was in the mail.

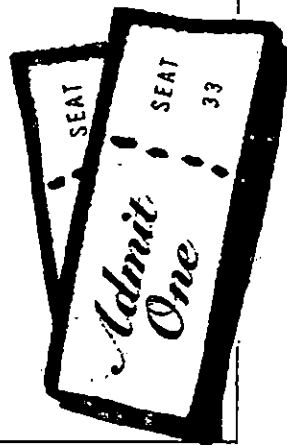
Hall was asked for a credit card guarantee for the reservation, but claimed a "nasty divorce" left him without credit cards, recalled Wickham. That amount of cash was also out of the question, Hall told them. Finally, Hall gave the American Heart Association as a reference. Ironically,

that organization said he had also scammed them.

Wickham discovered quickly that Hall had used his hustle to attend an Art Barn benefit last fall, as well as an Entertaining People charity gala—with much better luck. He got his free tables, according to sources. One charity, which asked not to be named, called the police after Hall "purchased" a table at its April gala.

Police confirmed yesterday that a certain David Lee Hall had an outstanding warrant and was arrested May 21 and charged with fraud and theft.

"He's very smooth," Wickham said. "He said we had to return the check when it arrived. It never did. He really played it to the end."



WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ Elizabeth Taylor will be among those testifying on Capitol Hill today for more AIDS funds for hard-hit localities.

■ "Cosby Show" alumna Sabrina Le Beauf says changes in her personal life have affected her role in "As You Like It," which opened last week at Carter Barron



Amphitheatre. "I did the play before when I was single; now I'm married," she says. "As an actor you take the changes with you. There's a lot more love there now, in Rosalind's love for Orlando, which I didn't really explore before."

■ Patrick Cassidy and the cast of "Conrack" have been invited by Barbara Bush to entertain the Ladies of the Senate Luncheon at the White House tomorrow.

■ Former First Daughter Susan Ford hitched a ride to Washington from Oklahoma City on Air Force Two with

Dan Quayle Friday to be on hand when Dad Gerald spoke at the National Press Club yesterday.

■ Capitol Hill was humming last week with talk that John F. Kennedy Jr. was considering throwing his hat into the congressional ring for the Manhattan seat now held by Rep. Ted Weiss.



Slain actor Crane: Finally, a suspect.

■ After 14 years, a suspect has been arrested and charged with the 1978 murder of actor Bob Crane, known for his lead role in the popular TV series "Hogan's Heroes." John Henry Carpenter, 64, is being held in Los Angeles awaiting extradition to Arizona.

■ On the subject of Ross Perot, Whoopi Goldberg told an E! Entertainment cable show succinctly: "If he wins, I'm leaving the country." Now that's a stance!

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



Rust-Belt Emissions Cloud Earth Summit

U.S. Factories Lag in Energy Efficiency

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

LORAIN, Ohio—Built on the banks of Lake Erie in 1919, the Edgewater power plant is still spinning out electricity from a steam boiler half as efficient as state-of-the-art generators. Power courses through antique transmission lines to the nearby Ford Motor Co. plant, which makes vans from steel forged the old-fashioned way, using three times the energy of new blast furnaces.

Welded, painted and fitted with a motor, the vans are moved down a long assembly line lit brightly as a jeweler's case and strewn with power tools hissing air. A new Ford Econoline rolls out every 60 seconds, built with about twice as much energy as a comparable Japanese vehicle.

Lorain is a long way from Rio de Janeiro. But the way its factories and products affect the global environment will be one of the paramount concerns of the industrialized nations gathering in Brazil Wednesday for the opening of the U.N. Earth Summit.

Unlike the developing nations of the Third World—which have to put economic survival ahead of ecology—the industrialized countries generally agree that they must become more

energy-efficient if they are to improve the environment.

But here in the Rust Belt, amid orphan remnants of the Industrial Revolution, old energy habits die hard. Every additional dollop of energy put into the Econoline van means that much more carbon dioxide put into the atmosphere. The most prevalent of the "greenhouse gases" that threaten to turn up the planet's temperature, carbon dioxide is released when oil and natural gas are burned to generate power for factories, homes and vehicles in cities around the world.

Econoline, the nation's best-selling full-sized van, is by no means the least efficiently made U.S. product. But it is typical of the heavy energy consumption—and carbon dioxide binging—in U.S. manufacturing. And the way it is produced is illustrative of why many American industries fear strict measures to control global warming and tighten environmental protections.

Energy inefficiency is responsible for a host of problems, including smog, acid rain and forest damage, the ecological costs of coal mining, and oil disasters from the Exxon Valdez spill to leaking "tank farms" in Virginia. But literally above all, it contributes to the threat of global warming, the Earth Summit's

See WORLD, A8, Col. 1

Rust Belt's Lagging Energy Efficiency Means More 'Greenhouse Gas'

WORLD, From A1

hinge issue as representatives of more than 150 nations debate how to develop the planet without destroying it.

Thus the principal challenge facing industrialized nations at Rio is to decide among themselves on a strategy for better management of energy.

No nation has resisted the call more doggedly than the United States, which single-handedly blocked a tougher treaty sought by the rest of the industrialized world to stabilize carbon dioxide emissions.

U.S. Emissions of Carbon Dioxide

Yet no nation contributes more to the threat. The United States, with less than 5 percent of the world's population, emitted 22 percent of the world's carbon dioxide in 1989, according to the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. The average American used enough energy at home, work and play to emit 5.4 metric tons (one metric ton is about 2,200 pounds), compared to 2.3 metric tons per capita in Japan, 2.9 in western Germany, 1.7 in France and 0.6 in China.

Part of the reason for that difference is a product of the coveted U.S. lifestyle: Americans generally live more comfortably in spacious homes that are much better heated, better cooled and more highly illuminated than the average in even wealthy nations.

And part is geographic: Possessing a quarter of the world's coal reserves, the United States has less need to scrimp. Cheap energy has always been a staple of industry. In addition, the vast U.S. land mass—dwarfing Japan or individual European countries—requires long-distance travel to distribute basic goods and services.

"We're blessed with a tremendous amount of natural resources, and the Japanese aren't," said Murray Weidenbaum, an economics professor at Washington University in St. Louis. "It makes sense to use the resources you have in great abundance."

But much of the disparity in national emissions of carbon dioxide is attributable to waste. According to Amory Lovins, director of the Rocky Mountain Institute in Colorado, an energy think tank, global warming will be "an artifact of the economically inefficient use of resources, especially energy."

A series of international comparisons by the federally funded Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory in California showed that efficiency was responsible for nearly half the difference in U.S. and Japanese uses of energy. When the same activity was compared for energy use, the Japanese consumed 30 percent less per unit of industrial output, 25 percent less for air conditioning and 25 percent less for auto travel.

In Europe, only Norway and Sweden exceed U.S. industrial energy use per unit of output, in large part because they concentrate in the production of energy-intensive aluminum and other basic materials. France, Germany and Britain each consumed 40 percent less energy than the United States for every unit of industrial output in 1988. Even bigger differences occur in auto fuel efficiency. Americans consume about 50 percent more gasoline for every mile traveled than Italian and Danish motorists.

The Benefits of Efficiency

To understand the environmental benefits of efficiency, consider the Ford Econoline. The energy spent on each van, including the production of steel, generates 10 tons of carbon dioxide, industry experts estimated.

In Japan, producing the same vehicle with less energy would generate about 7 tons of pollution, the experts said. Modern blast furnaces run more efficiently than old coke ovens. Auto plants are equipped with super-efficient motors and laid out to minimize lighting and heat.

The 1973 oil crisis awakened Americans to the value of efficiency. And over the following 10 years, America's per capita use of fuel decreased sharply, despite a population increase of about 20 million and a 30 percent rise in gross national product. By 1987, U.S. industry cut its energy use by a third for every unit of output and U.S. vehicles used a third less gasoline per mile.

Still, cars and factories lagged far behind the efficiency of Japanese and European competitors.

"The Japanese and Europeans were always more prepared to meet the world on competitive terms," said Lee Schipper, an energy economist and author of the Lawrence Berkeley studies. "As world trading nations, they can't afford to be wasteful."

No one questions the potential for reducing U.S. energy use and pollution. The Bush administration reported recently that with a few inexpensive measures, industry could offset the growth in energy consumption projected for this decade. More optimistic analyses say that halving energy use is technologically feasible and easily affordable.

But barriers to reform are rooted deeply in the nation's political system. Energy has never been taxed to reflect the full costs of its production and use, including the cleanup of environmental damage and the defense of foreign oil fields, said Eric Hirst, a corporate fellow at the Oak Ridge laboratory. Instead of taxing energy suppliers and consumers, the government passes along those costs in general taxes.

As a result, many analysts believe, energy prices have remained so low that they encourage consumption. By contrast, the high price of European gasoline—battered by taxes to \$4 a gallon in Italy—encourages conservation. Europeans buy more fuel-efficient cars and rely more heavily than Americans on public transportation.

U.S. energy suppliers not only escape taxes, but also receive federal subsidies that cover much of their costs and permit them to keep prices low. According to the Center for Renewable Resources here, a study of the fiscal 1984 budget found that there were \$44 billion worth of such subsidies in the form of tax breaks, loans, guarantees, research grants and protection from liability. Chief recipients were electric utilities and producers of oil and coal.

The 1986 tax law eliminated some of the breaks. But when the Alliance to Save Energy, a nonprofit research and advocacy group here, recently examined the fiscal 1989 budget, it found that energy suppliers still received tax credits of \$75 million for the purchase of new equipment and took \$400 million in deductions for the costs of oil and gas exploration. Industry also benefited from \$5.5 billion in Energy Department research programs during the 1980s to identify new techniques for producing and cleaning up fossil fuels.

"If we're sending price signals to consumers that energy is cheaper than it really is,

we'll be building buildings and plants with less efficiency than we should and we'll be using more fossil fuels than would make sense from an economic point of view," said Mary Beth Zimmerman, the alliance's program manager.

All of which may help to explain what happens in Lorain, a largely blue-collar town of 75,000 people. Located on Lake Erie, within easy reach of Appalachian coal fields, it is a natural hub for heavy industry. Today's lineup of energy-guzzling plants here—construction equipment, steel and auto—makes Lorain a miniature of Cleveland 25 miles to its east and a provincial capital of carbon dioxide.

Remnants of Industrial Revolution

Like so many old midwestern towns, it has never fully evolved from the culture of the Industrial Revolution.

Edgewater power plant, a fortress-like structure on the edge of downtown Lorain, began turning coal into electricity just after World War I. Used today in periods of peak demand, it is one of the least efficient U.S. facilities, federal officials say.

Officials of Ohio Edison Co., which runs Edgewater, say that the overall efficiency of their utility compensates for the relatively small output of the old Lorain plant.

But energy specialists said that keeping such plants in service, which is especially common in parts of the country where coal is plentiful, makes little sense if the goal is to economize on the use of the most polluting fuels.

Not far from Edgewater stand great mounds of iron ore mined in Minnesota for the blast furnaces of Ohio. One destination is the Cleveland Works of LTV Steel Corp., the nation's largest manufacturer of flat-rolled sheets used in everything from washing machines to Ford Econoline vans.

Steel mills devour energy and pour out carbon dioxide. But the amount can vary widely depending on the type of process selected to produce steel.

Japanese steelmakers have turned increasingly to new electric-arc furnaces that cut energy needs by two-thirds and halve carbon dioxide emissions.

For LTV, the choice was dictated by old Rust Belt logic. The new furnaces cost 10 times more to operate than blast furnaces that run on cheap coal. Although the company acquired some such new equipment in the 1980s, it stopped running it two years ago because of the expense.

"Customer demands drive our capital investment programs, and they were looking for quality and [low] cost" of steel, said Marty Suhoza, LTV's energy director. "We had to plow it into quality improvements

and get whatever energy efficiency we could along the way."

With the new furnaces becoming common in Japan, steelmakers now average 17 million British thermal units (Btu) of energy per ton. In the United States, where 70 percent of steel is still made the old way, 22 million Btu are needed on the average. At LTV, last year's rate was 25 million Btu, which resulted in 3.5 million tons of carbon dioxide from the Cleveland Works alone, based on calculations from LTV's own figures.

Piled into freight cars and trucks, LTV steel is shipped to Ford's stamping plant outside of Cleveland, where it is cut into sheets, stamped and sent to Lorain for assembly into America's favorite full-sized van.

The Lorain plant, a sprawling lakeside complex, consumes more energy every year than many medium-sized cities—most of it in the form of electricity, coal burned to generate steam, and natural gas for certain processes. The assembly line is a mechanical symphony of fans, pumps, blowers and conveyor belts. The Econoline begins as a floor pan put on line by robots and encased in a frame. It is dunked in anti-corrosion baths, treated by spray guns and dried at 350 degrees.

Energy conservation measures have cut consumption by 40 percent per car since 1972. But Ford still uses twice as much energy—and thus loses twice as much carbon dioxide—as the big automakers in Japan do to produce a vehicle. General Motors Corp. is even more consumptive, exceeding Japanese energy intensity threefold, according to company statements.

To explain why American car makers emit more carbon dioxide than their Japanese rivals, it is necessary to follow the flow of power at the Ford plant. The same energy inefficiencies occur throughout much of U.S. industry, which accounts for 27 percent of the nation's total energy consumption.

Most of the electricity used at Ford's Lorain plant goes through hundreds of small motors that power fans and pumps. The standard U-frame motors long used by U.S. automakers are among the most efficient in industry. But a new, super-saver model came on the market in recent years that uses 3 percent less power to perform the same task.

According to Jim Kaman, Ford's energy conservation specialist, the new motors could cut overall energy consumption 20 percent at Lorain, significantly reducing the carbon dioxide emitted by Ohio Edison to generate power for the plant.

More and more Japanese car plants are shifting to the super-efficiency motors. But Ford has not moved beyond general discussions, Kaman said, because of a lag time before savings in electricity bills made possible by the devices would repay their initial cost. "The pie is only so big," Kaman said of the money available for capital investment. "Most funds are going now to build more competitive products to make money so we can have more to spend on efficiency."

Some efficiency, however, is cost-free. For example, Japan limits the energy spent in its auto plants by building them about 20 percent smaller than U.S. facilities.

U.S. Industry's 'Payback Gap'

The Ford plant here covers 3.4 million square feet, including long unoccupied corridors.

Every inch is brightly lit, ventilated and temperature controlled 16 hours a day. Lighting alone accounts for 15 percent of the plant's electricity consumption.

New lighting technologies offer big savings potential in commercial and residential buildings. Compact fluorescent bulbs, for example, consume 75 percent less electricity than traditional incandescents and last 13 times longer, according to the Rocky Mountain Institute.

Four years ago, Ford began to install high-efficiency lighting at the Lorain plant. After replacing 60 percent of the bulbs, however, it balked at the prices. They were so high that the payback from lower electricity bills would have taken years.

The "payback gap" has emerged as a major obstacle to energy conservation in U.S. industry and the developed world at large. Technology breakthroughs of the past few years have led to the development of high-efficiency industrial equipment, office machines and home improvements from shower heads that cut hot water use in half to double-glazed windows that are nine times more effective in retaining heat.

Taken together, the innovations are considered so promising that some analysts predict a halving of U.S. energy use within a decade and the emergence of a new "green machine" industry to sell American energy efficiency worldwide.

If so, the nation will have to change the habits of centuries. "Energy efficiency is viewed as a luxury, something for wimps," said Hirst of Oak Ridge. And yet, "We're in a global economy and are competing with other economies that are a lot smarter about managing their resources."

U.S. car makers operate less modern plants and conserve less energy in their operations than those in Japan.
1988 FIGURES

In terms of production, a car requires:

U.S. (GM): 23 million British thermal units (Btu)

U.S. (Ford): 15 million Btu

Japan: 7 million Btu



For the steel that goes into a car:

In million Btu per ton of steel	
LTV	25
American Steel	22
France	20.7
West Germany	19.9
Britain	19.8
Japan	17.6

For the glass that goes into a car:

Figures include numbers for stone, glass and clay

U.S.: approx. 50 gigajoules (50 million Btu)

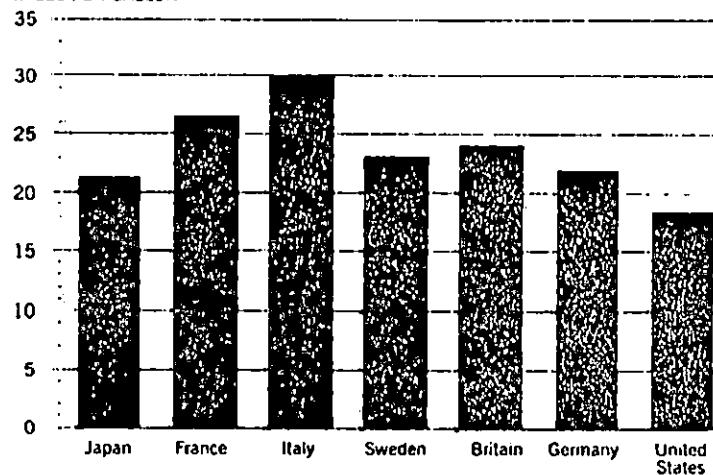
Japan: approx. 30 gigajoules (30 million Btu)

BY MICHAEL DREW THE WASHINGTON POST

U.S.: ENERGY HOG

Fuel economy of the gasoline automobile population for selected countries, 1988

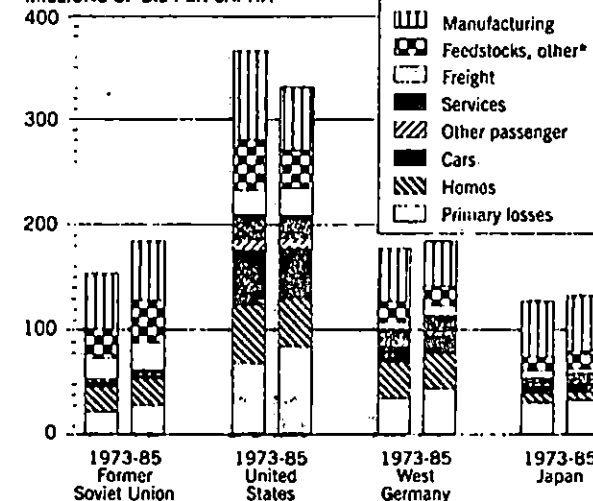
MILES PER GALLON



SOURCES: International Studies, Energy Analysis Program, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, Berkeley, Calif., 1991.

Energy use in industrialized societies, major end uses

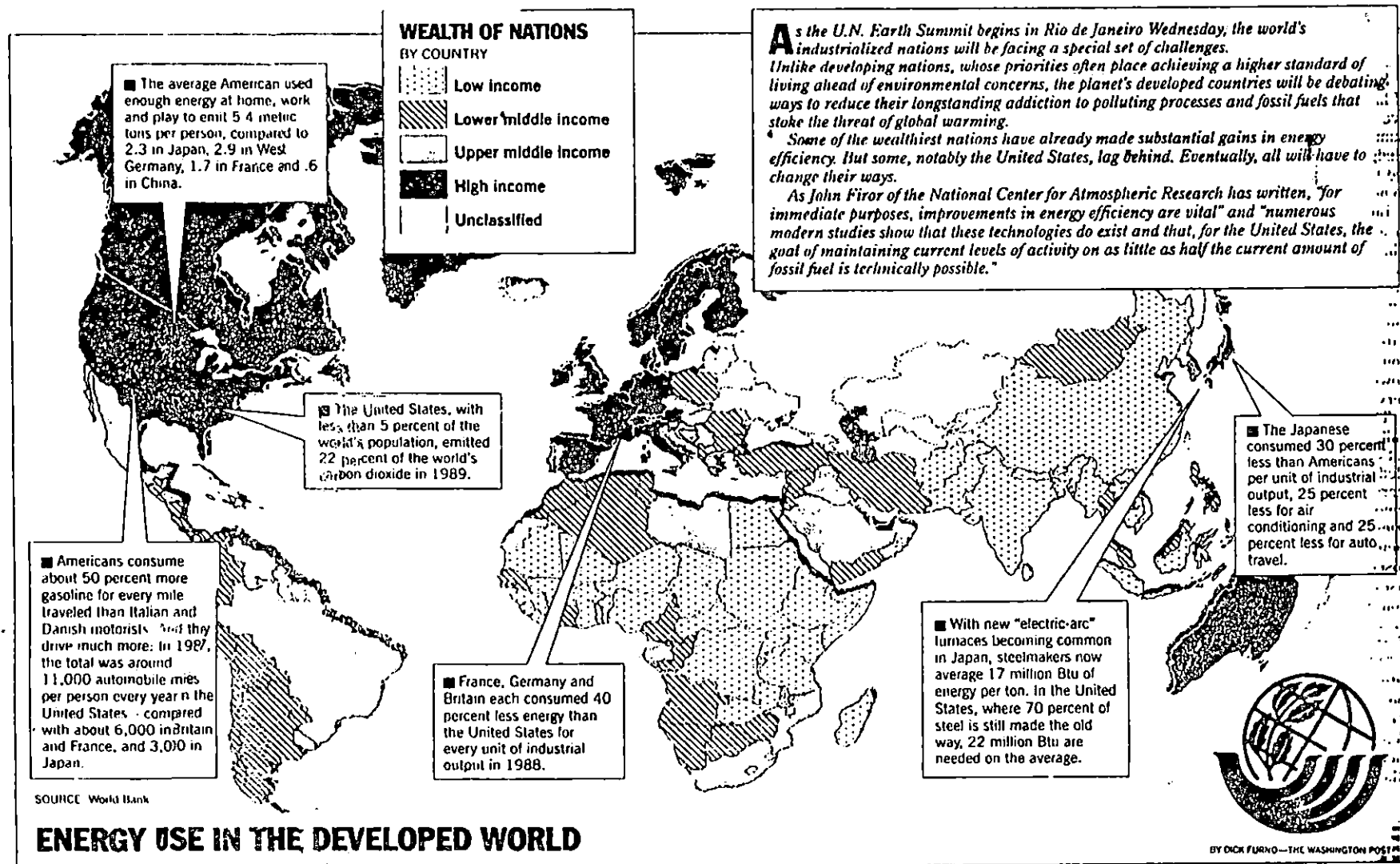
MILLIONS OF Btu PER CAPITA



*Mining, construction, agriculture, misc. Losses: Utilities, energy industry



TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992

MARY McGRORY

Missed Chances in California

SAN FRANCISCO

The California Democrats' "unity" dinner may be better remembered as the night that West Virginia Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV shushed up Texas Gov. Ann Richards and shoed her off the stage.

It was an odd scene—and, perhaps to some, further evidence that Democrats have a hard time doing anything right these days.

When they booked the charismatic keynoter of the '88 convention, her hosts were probably looking for levity.

But the witty governor was not in the antic vein and delivered a lament about the sins of government and the shortcomings of her party.

Many doubtless followed along in hopes of a glint of her celebrated wit in her somber tapestry. All respect her as a genuine Democratic heroine. But to Rockefeller, the master of ceremonies, she was just a speaker who went too long.

He did some heavy-duty lurking to send his message. He stood on the left side of the platform, then on the right. He stood behind her. At length, it seemed in desperation, he took over a second lectern that was on the stage, and leaning down from his great height either blew kisses in her direction or made motions suggesting she button up her lip.

In due course, Richards turned her head in his direction. She emitted a 12-beat "W-e-l-l-l-l" and paused.

The audience gasped and then kicked in. Chants of "We want Ann" went up. The women were furious: Sisterly solidarity has reached critical mass here; women are planning to nominate two of their own for the Senate.

Richards held her ground at this oratorical Alamo, but finished her speech in some haste and left amid wild applause and unlimited female outrage.

"They would never do that to a man," was the unanimous sputter.

Rockefeller was defensive about his gaffe. "Governor Clinton had arrived," he said, "and was ready to go on—it was his show."

But it wasn't, and Clinton knew it. At the outset he observed stiffly "that most of what needed to be said has been said tonight." It was no more his show than California is his state. Just as Richards had stolen his best lines, her fellow Texan, Ross Perot, is walking away with the Golden State.

Despite some leading-man qualities—he is tall and beguiling—Clinton does not play well in Hollywood. Unexpectedly, in precincts where dalliance is not only an industry but a

calling, disapproval of his alleged infidelities is much heard. "Yes," said a female Democratic activist, "it goes on here, but it is not condoned."

In the opinion of even his fans, Clinton lost his golden chance here when he went to Los Angeles after the rioting. On the issue of racial harmony, he has been unequivocal and impeccable, and on his visit he spoke of Republican neglect that had helped produce the calamity. Some polls later confirmed that this is a view widely held in the country.

But after an attack from the White House, Clinton seemed to back off and felt obliged to protest that he was not sympathizing with the rioters. "In the end, we don't know why he came here," said a young Los Angeles Democrat. "He didn't have anything to say to us."

Bush, too, lost his last chance in the last primary in the charred streets of Los Angeles. He could have transformed his campaign and changed his image forever had he used the wretched occasion to lecture his countrymen on the evils of racism. He made a tentative try during his first post-riot tour.

But on his return to Washington he dropped the subject of racism—which any 8-year-old knows is at the root of the problem. The right wing does not like being scolded about prejudice, and Bush's campaign is directed at coddling them. He is paying a huge price among Republican women for his adamancy against reproductive choice but even they would forgive him if he were to stand up, as only a president can, and instruct the nation in its moral obligations.

All he needs to do is to express what is so obvious to Californians. Racism is bad for you. The blocks of burnt-out stores and the long unemployment lines tell how dangerous it is for the health of the community. But when the president came back for a second visit, he was back to bleating about law and order.

Clinton and he have failed together in the same place. They failed to take hold of a moment that has completely overshadowed the campaign and told us just about everything about the state of the nation.

The longing for leadership is palpable here. The absence of it in either of the prospective nominees is remarked at every card table—the symbol and weapon of the Perot revolution.

As far as California is concerned, Bush and Clinton equally deserve to be the ones who should be kicked off the stage.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



The candidate and Mickey Kantor.

The Clinton Campaign's Old Pro

Insider Mickey Kantor Faces the Challenge of Outsider Ross Perot

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES

It's a loud, insistent, piercing sound—smack in the middle of Bill Clinton's education speech. Mickey Kantor, who until this second has been nodding and clapping in all the right places, reaches under his seat in the college auditorium and retrieves his cellular phone.

He bolts out of his chair with the trilling instrument, his face taking on a dash of color, and makes a beeline for a side door a few yards from the stage. Only a dozen or so members of Clinton's thousand-strong audience actually turn to stare.

"Hello? Hello?" Kantor murmurs into the mouthpiece as the Arkansas governor—apparently undistracted—presses on with his education program.

"They hung up," Kantor finally mutters, dislodging the phone from his ear.

It's an uncharacteristic moment for Clinton's national campaign chairman—who seldom misses a connection.

Today, with his old friend Bill expected to nail down the Democratic presidential nomination as Californians and voters in five other states do their civic duty, Kantor should be reaping the rewards of two decades at the nexus of big business and big-time politics. But, as Kantor knows better than most, life isn't fair.

Tonight's victory celebration will be decidedly brief for the 53-year-old, pin-striped lawyer-lobbyist, who has been the nominal head of the Clinton campaign since the scandal-plagued New Hampshire primary race—and who must now put the spin of his life on the sudden and disturbing advent of Ross Perot.

"It's dead even between the three of them," he says with eerie serenity, bringing George Bush into the equation, "so, in effect, we've started the general election campaign dead even with the incumbent

See KANTOR, D2, Col. 1

Clinton's Campaign Chief

KANTOR, From D1

president of the United States. I would take that position any time."

Unlazed by a reporter's wildly arching eyebrows, he makes short work of the Texas tycoon who has been rocking his beloved two-party political establishment.

"I'm not discounting Perot," Kantor says. "I'm saying that there's 66 percent of the vote in this country for change. That is a very good situation. An incumbent president of the United States is getting barely a third of the vote right now. I think when voters look at these three people and judge them, watch them campaign and hear them debate, Bill Clinton will be the next president of the United States."

With his silken Tennessee accent and quiet fervor, Kantor nearly brings it off.

Designated 'Grown-Up'

He was up at 4:45 this dewy May morning in the hills of Zip Code 90210, hoping to get in a quick jog before his 6 a.m. conference call with Little Rock and Washington, but instead he found himself rearranging garbage scattered about his property by mischievous coyotes. Had he not made a breakfast date, he would have had two more conference calls by noon at the downtown offices of his powerful law firm, the well-wired and frequently hired Manatt, Phelps, Phillips & Kantor.

As it is, he communes with his "cell phone" in the chauffeured campaign car—which whisks him to Clinton's speech at East Los Angeles College—dictating memos to be faxed to various operatives, ordering up cable television advertising buys and making a 7 p.m. dinner reservation for himself and his wife, former NBC reporter Heidi Schulman.

"I'll try to get back to everybody," Kantor says, "and I probably won't get back to everybody. That's the frustration. It drives me crazy. Everybody deserves to be called back."

With his air of enforced calm, born of experience in four previous presidential efforts, Kantor is the designated "grown-up" of the Clinton campaign, always hugging the emotional median strip on a road of frenzied ups and downs. He played this role in New Hampshire, where Clinton plummeted 20 points in the polls during the Gennifer Flowers and draft record flaps, by answering an SOS and flying in from California to chair a near-continuous strategy session at the Manchester Days Inn. Ditto New York, where Kantor sent his candidate to do battle with the tabloids on "Donahue" and drive-time radio—and Clinton beat his way back to victory over former California governor Jerry Brown.

While his precise role is less than clear, Kantor calls himself the CEO of an enterprise dominated by eager young operatives who were still in grade school when he was an idealistic poverty lawyer, recruited by Sargent Shriver to help manage his 1972 vice presidential race

as South Dakota Sen. George McGovern's running mate.

"Mickey's got street smarts," says Shriver. "People either have that or they don't. . . . He's also courageous and progressive, but he's not a loose cannon."

"He's one of those very affable people in a tough campaign environment where you have a lot of sharp elbows," says Washington lawyer Lee White, another veteran of 1972.

Yet there are those who say that he's the personification of power-and-money politics.

"What's wrong with the Democratic Party is Mickey Kantor," says Lucien Haas, a former top staffer of California Sen. Alan Cranston, who has known Kantor since they worked together in Cranston's 1974 reelection campaign. "He's a metaphor for big-time politics. Mickey is a partner in one of the biggest law firms in L.A. that has connections in Washington and is in the business of influence peddling. He's a very active, effective practitioner of that kind of politics, which, incidentally, is the only kind we've got. At least I'm going to be voting for Jerry Brown, because I'm fed up with it."

Then there's Brown himself. Kantor ran his campaigns for president in 1976—steering him to five late primary victories against Jimmy Carter—and for Senate in 1982, keeping up friendly relations until this year's Illinois primary race. Offended by Brown's attack on Hillary Clinton during a televised debate in Chicago, Kantor accused him of "giving hypocrisy a bad name."

"Jerry and I were both hurt and shocked" by the broadside, says Brown's campaign manager, Jodie Evans. (Brown declined to be interviewed for this article.) Evans adds that Kantor "has always been buying into the corrupt political system" that Brown, an acknowledged former sinner, has spent the primary season denouncing.

"I hope he's still a friend. It's up to him," Kantor says of Brown, who may yet hand Clinton one final embarrassment by winning California today. Last week, Kantor canceled Clinton's schedule in Ohio and New Jersey in hopes of fending off defeat in a state that will award some lucky candidate 54 electoral votes in the general election.

"No Brown really has ever lost a primary in California, so it's still going to be very tough to win here," Kantor says. "What we're trying to do is set the table for November, because it's a critical state and you can't win the presidency without it."

He delivers these lines with perfect equanimity.

Yet for all his vaunted composure, Kantor describes himself as "not the easiest person in the world to be around. I think I'm intense and driven and sometimes forget about the important things in life."

His wife of 10 years, who has been volunteering on the media side of the campaign,

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 2, 1992



Kantor consulting with Dee Dee Myers, Clinton campaign press secretary.

confirms this judgment. "He's been known to throw his tennis racket," laughs Schulman, whom Kantor married four years after the death of his first wife in a 1978 airliner crash. They have a 9-year-old daughter.

"Mickey has a lot of nervous energy," says his older brother, Carl. "His son Doug was telling me that when he played baseball in high school and Mickey came to a game, the coach asked him, 'Is there something wrong with your father? He keeps walking back and forth.'"

"I can't stand to lose," says Kantor, who has done just that in every "presidential" up to now. "I am the worst loser you ever met in your life. I get mad."

Going Pro

Kantor's youth in Nashville, where he worked in his parents' mom-and-pop furniture store, was defined by his fanaticism for baseball, which fed his equal fanaticism for competition. At Vanderbilt University, where he played shortstop until his graduation in 1961, he entertained dreams of going pro, and even did a stint in a professional softball league before buckling down to the demands of adulthood (though for several years in the 1980s, he was a part owner of the Stockton Ports, a farm team of the California Angels).

"Any time there was a game going, Mickey always wanted in, even when he was a little bitty boy," says Carl Kantor, 57, who played a season with a Detroit Tigers farm team before going into the restaurant business. "If you didn't want him to play, you had to run him off. You practically had to pick him up and carry him home."

Carl recalls that he secured his Tigers try-out at age 17 after receiving a letter from the front office, one of several he got from major league ball clubs. "I couldn't figure out why I

was getting these letters. It was unheard of. It turned out that Mickey had written to all these teams—he was 13 years old—telling them about me and making me look like the next Babe Ruth."

Another important influence was Mickey's father, Henry, a member of the Nashville school board who set an example of civic activism. "When the *Brown* decision came down in 1954," Mickey Kantor recalls, referring to the Supreme Court's edict abolishing segregation in public schools, "Dad immediately fought for integration of the schools in Nashville. And the mayor, Ben West, allowed as how that wasn't exactly what he wanted to do that quickly. And he booted my dad off the board: 'Henry, you're off.' It was a searing thing for me—searing in the sense of good and bad. A local newspaper wrote an editorial praising my father for having the courage to stand up and say what was right. And it had a major effect on me."

In 1967, after a four years as a junior officer in the Navy, Kantor acted on his civic convictions, traveling to Florida with his new wife, Valerie, after they received their law degrees from Georgetown. The couple helped start South Florida Migrant Labor Services, a federally funded legal aid program that then-Gov. Claude Kirk tried to put out of business.

"One place called Camp Happy I'll never forget," Kantor says of an oddly-named compound in Lee County. "They were literally buying kids in the state of Mississippi, bringing them to Camp Happy, and when you arrived there you were issued certain bed clothing, mattress, blanket, whatever—which, of course, you had to pay for, so at that point you were already in debt. . . . It was a place surrounded by barbed wire fences and guards. The more you worked, the more you owed, and you couldn't leave. And when they would try to leave—escape is not too strong a word—the sheriff would come looking for them."

"Mickey was a front-line soldier in the war against poverty," says Shriver, who was Lyndon Johnson's general, "and rather than shooting his mouth off and theorizing, he went out and did the work that needed to be done." During the Carter administration, Kantor served on the board of the Legal Services Corp.—along with Hillary Rodham, the wife of Arkansas's brand-new governor (she took his last name in 1982). They became fast friends.

As for Bill, "He's a good, loyal decent friend," Kantor says, his eyes taking on an evangelical gleam. "This goes beyond politics. . . . There are a lot of politicians you might support but you wouldn't want to spend an afternoon with them. Bill Clinton's just the opposite."

Kantor says he immediately identified Clinton as presidential timber. By then Kantor was established as an influential lawyer, having joined the firm of Democratic power broker Charles Manatt. The firm boasted a long list of corporate clients that stood to benefit from its partners' political clout—notably tycoon Armand Hammer and his company, Occidental Petroleum.

Though most comfortable working quietly behind the scenes, Kantor took the lead in Occidental's multi-million-dollar but unsuccessful fight for a ballot initiative to drill oil near the beach below Pacific Palisades—where Kantor lived at the time—and in 1988 became a lightning rod for enraged environmentalists. Some of them had been his friends and neighbors, and a few say they will never forgive him.

"For Mickey to . . . use his political muscle and respectability that he'd built up over all those years for a man like Armand Hammer—well, it wasn't the Mickey Kantor I thought I knew," says Jodie Evans, publicly echoing feelings that others express in private.

"I don't blame them," says Kantor, who still defends the merits of Occidental's position. "I was on the other side. They cared deeply about it. They had a right to be angry with me. . . ."

"It was not a great time in my life," he says, adding that just before the election, his 17-year-old son, Russell, was killed in an automobile accident—a second tragedy that has haunted his life. "Frankly," he says of the oil-drilling battle, "it was like it didn't even matter."

But Kantor vehemently denies that he's sold out, noting his active involvement in a host of civic organizations, as well as his service on the commission convened after the Rodney King beating to reform the Los Angeles Police Department. It was headed by his good friend Warren Christopher, whom Kantor recently tapped to serve on Clinton's vice presidential selection committee.

"We're in a general election mode now," says Kantor, who plans to move to Little Rock after the Democratic Convention in July, when Bush and especially Perot might be giving his candidate fits. Clinton's presidential campaign, in any event, might well be Kantor's last. "I've often fantasized about just going back and being a high school baseball coach," he says. "I love to coach. When I'm most weary and most discouraged, I think about it."

A Balanced Budget Amendment: The Dream and the Debate

A balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution, for years a dream of conservatives upset about the flood of red ink generated by Washington, suddenly has a chance of winning approval.

Congress has flirted with the proposal before, as in 1982 when the Senate voted to adopt the amendment before it foundered in the House. Then in 1986 the amendment failed by one vote in the Senate, and four years later it fell seven votes short in the House.

This year, with a nervous and troubled Congress anxious to allay voter concerns about the economy and a runaway budget deficit approaching \$400 billion, liberals as well as conservatives suddenly are singing the praises of a balanced budget amendment to force spending discipline on the government.

The House and Senate are scheduled to vote on the issue early this month. Many think the contest will be tight in the House; the amendment could face tougher opposition in the Senate. At least three major proposals are now under consideration.

One, offered by Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), would require that total federal spending not exceed the government's total receipts for a given year. It would take three-fifths of the entire membership of the House and Senate to override this requirement, and even then Congress would have to declare a specific deficit amount.

The president would be required to submit a balanced budget for each fiscal year, and an absolute majority of both chambers would be needed to increase revenue and raise taxes. Congress could waive the amendment's requirements in the event of a declared war or a threat to national security.

Another measure, introduced by Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), has 278 cosponsors and is scheduled to be taken up by the House on June 10. It would require the president and Congress to agree to an estimate of total receipts each year. The actual outlays for a given year could not exceed the revenue estimate unless three-fifths of both chambers voted to permit a specific deficit. Stenholm's proposal also would require a three-fifths majority in the Senate and House to adopt any measure that increased the limit on the federal debt. Under current law, the House and Senate can raise the debt limit with a simple majority.

A third plan, offered last week by House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.) and others, would require the president to annually submit a budget in which expenditures do not exceed total receipts, unless the budget is accompanied by a presidential Declaration of National Emergency for that year. Congress would have to approve the declaration by an absolute majority of both chambers.

In no case could Congress approve a budget that calls for more in spending than the president proposed. Moreover, spending for Social Security would not be subject to spending cuts for the purpose of meeting the demands of the balanced budget amendment.

A companion measure, subject to a separate vote, would set five-year deficit-reduction targets and would automatically impose spending cuts or tax increases any time Congress and the president failed to meet the targets. While many think that it has a good chance of passing in the House, the proposal is running into greater opposition in the Senate.

For sure, there are growing concerns about the potential impact of the amendments on the economy and government programs. Some wonder, too, whether Congress would be abandoning majority rule on budget issues to a political minority or to the courts.

Just how would the proposed amendments affect the balance of power within Congress or between Congress and the White House? And what would be the likely effect on fiscal policy? A wide range of policy experts were asked what they thought. A sampling of their responses follows.

—Eric Pianin

Charles L. Schultze, senior fellow, the Brookings Institution: "For the remainder of this decade, the federal budget deficit is projected by the Congressional Budget Office to average above \$200 billion a year. The amendment says not a word about how to get from \$200 billion to zero, and no senator or representative is required to vote for any specific expenditure increase or tax cut. In the highly likely event that the 10-year impasse between the Congress and the president and among various groups of American citizens over how to balance the budget will not be broken, a constitutional crisis may well occur. The Supreme Court may find it necessary to intervene and become the final arbiter on budget policy.

Once the amendment is enforced, by whatever means, the performance of the U.S. economy could be seriously damaged. One of the features of our economy, which has kept modern business cycles less violent than was true earlier in American history, is the automatic stabilizing character of the federal budget. When recessions occur, budget revenues automatically fall and spending rises, helping to sustain the economy through the period of weakness. Under the amendment, a determined minority in either chamber of Congress could force highly depressing spending cuts (or less likely, tax increases) during recessions, driving the economy deeper into trouble.

As the years went by, the whole process of federal policy would gradually become corrupted as a succession of clever OMB [Office of Management and Budget] directors and congressional budget experts gradually found ways to take programs off the budget and substitute mandates on business and state and local governments—a growing share of Medicaid costs mandated on the states, the wholesale substitution of initially expenditure-free loan guarantees for federal spending programs, the creation of off-budget quasi-federal agencies and so on.

Surely, you say, that wouldn't be allowed. Not allowed by whom? Either there is no enforcement, and these shenanigans will multiply, or the Supreme Court will once again have to step in and set budget standards, procedures and accounting. And that's an outcome hardly dear to the hearts of many of the most fervent conservative proponents of the amendment."

Rep. Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.): "I think the big danger in this is that a balance of budget amendment would be the end of the Appropriations Committee and subcommittees. Their ability to fund pet pork barrel projects would be greatly inhibited. Many members could no longer be congressmen in the manner they have for so many years.

The most important reason for passing the amendment is to force members of Congress to set priorities. Do we spend scarce resources on farm subsidies or children's nutrition? Do we spend money for national defense or public television? Currently, we're simply pushing these tough decisions into the future.

The White House would also be dealt back into the process. Administration officials will play a much larger role in crafting what is actually in the budget. Congress could not simply deem the administration budget 'dead on arrival.'"

Robert Greenstein, executive director, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities: "The proposed constitutional amendment would have a profound impact. The vote on it raises some of the most important public policy issues in many a year.

Numerous members of Congress have explained the increased attractiveness of the amendment this year by citing the high level of the deficit and the government's inability to do anything about it. Yet the claim that no action has been taken is not correct. Due to the 1990 budget agreement, the deficit will be nearly \$500 billion lower during fiscal years 1991 to 1995 than it would otherwise have been. The agreement has brought congressional action to expand entitlements to a virtual halt and placed non-entitlement spending on a downward path. The deficit rose despite the agreement—not because the agreement failed, but primarily because of the recession and increased costs for the savings and loan bailout.

A series of further multi-year budget agreements or other deficit-reduction packages of similar magnitude are needed. But a balanced budget constitutional amendment—which could damage the economy and bring on more recessions, distort national priorities and lead to reductions in needed investments, shift substantial power to minority factions and make it harder to raise revenues—is not."

Rep. Willis D. Gradison Jr. (R-Ohio), ranking Republican, House Budget Committee: "The balance of power within Congress will shift toward any coherent minority (40% plus one) able to push its agenda. This need not be the minority party nor a budget-related issue.

I see no reason why a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution would, unlike a line-item veto, have any effect on the balance of power between Congress and the executive. I would argue that in the context of a balanced budget amendment, the real question is not between Congress and the executive, but rather between the Congress and the executive on the one hand and the judiciary on the other.

The principal effect on fiscal policy will be higher taxes and curtailed spending (especially in entitlements) than would otherwise be the case, with the long-run outcome being a higher standard of living. Of course, this assumes that the balanced budget amendment, if ratified, achieves its objective, which is at best a hope."

James C. Miller III, chairman, Citizens for a Sound Economy, and fellow at George Mason University's Public Choice Center: "An amendment to the Constitution requiring a balanced budget (BBA) would have only marginal effects on the distribution of power within Congress. Without the crutch of deficit financing, the principal budgetary committees would become somewhat more important, at least at the beginning, since more precise revenue and spending targets would have to be met. Pressure would be on the budget committees in both Houses to develop grand strategies. The appropriations committees and, especially, the Ways and Means and Finance committees would be under pressure to make whatever cuts in projected spending might be necessary and to address the issue of revenue augmentation. Republicans would gain slightly relative to Democrats, inasmuch as the former would be in a better position to control the nature of spending cuts and, especially, could be a decisive force in blocking tax increases.

A BBA would give the president a limited increase in power relative to that of Congress. By conspiring with supporters in Congress (in both parties) and wielding a veto threat, the president could have a greater impact on spending priorities and, especially, could be more effective in limiting tax increases. (Because they cannot so easily focus the benefits of spending on constituents while imposing the costs on others, presidents—of both parties—typically prefer to cut spending rather than increase taxes whenever there is a budget gap.)

A BBA would have significant effects on fiscal policy. No longer being able to utilize one conventional method of gaining command over resources (that is, deficit finance), the federal government would grow at a diminished rate, everything else equal. However, there would be increased pressure on the other means of gaining command over resources. Taxes might increase, depending on the type (if any) of supermajority requirement contained in the BBA language. Regulation (conscription of resources) would surely increase, giving further justification for instituting a regulatory budget. Renewed attention would be focused on economic policy—in order to maintain economic growth and thus stable and rising governmental receipts."

Walter Dellinger, professor of law, Duke University: "It would be wonderful if we could simply declare by constitutional amendment that henceforth the air would be clean, the streets free of drugs and the budget forever in balance. But merely saying those things in the Constitution does not make them happen. Putting false promises in the Constitution is not a trivial matter. It breeds disrespect for the rule of law.

The proposed constitutional amendment specifies no mechanism for accomplishing its goal. Perhaps without saying so, the amendment implicitly empowers the president to impound whatever funds he deems necessary to achieve a balanced budget. (Such a radical shift would take from Congress the "power over the purse," which Madison called "the most effectual weapon with which any Constitution can arm the immediate representatives of the people.") Or perhaps it implicitly transfers to the courts the power to raise taxes or cut appropriations by judicial order (a truly terrible thought). If it does neither of these, then it provides no mechanism at all for bringing about a balanced budget.

Proposing a balanced budget amendment would not be a step toward a balanced budget, but a diversion from that goal. Its adoption would cut no spending and raise no revenue. Because it provides an excuse for

Bill Frenzel, guest scholar, the Brookings Institution: "Both branches, executive and legislative, have failed in their duties to manage a sound fiscal policy. Because the framers gave Congress greater "powers of the purse," its failures are more conspicuous.

If it works, the amendment would relieve the stalemate in fiscal policy without significant change in the balance of power between Congress and president. Each branch will retain its constitutional powers. The amendment will merely ratchet down the deficit."

Stuart E. Eizenstat, Washington attorney and chief domestic policy adviser to President Jimmy Carter: "The balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution is the wrong remedy for our budget-deficit disease. It would place fiscal policy in a straitjacket, greatly complicate the most important responsibility of the president—the proper management of the nation's economy—and exacerbate economic downturns by requiring recession-induced deficits to be reduced by tax increases and/or spending cuts at precisely the wrong time in the economic cycle.

Moreover, the balanced budget amendment would dramatically change power balances between Washington and the states, within Washington's own institutions, between Republican and Democratic agendas, and even between generations, in ways which have insufficiently been considered.

As the imperative of balancing the federal budget each year impinged on Washington, the federal government will meet inevitable public demands for increased services by imposing greater mandates on already hard-pressed states, shifting even greater responsibilities and costs to states, removing burdens and dollars from federal books.

The impact would be equally profound within Washington. Presidents will be under excruciating pressure to present Congress with "balanced budgets" which contain overly optimistic economic and budget assumptions, leaving it to Congress to deal with the practical problem of complying with the amendment. In Congress, the power of the budget committees will be further enhanced compared to appropriations and authorizing committees, since they will constantly be called upon to engage in "creative accounting," such as developing capital budgets and special authorities to take spending "off budget." But the biggest shift in power will be from Congress to the federal courts, which will be called upon to interpret congressional action under the amendment.

A balanced budget amendment will markedly shift power from the Democratic to the Republican Party, by locking in the low tax rates on the wealthy and the cuts in public investment programs passed during the Reagan era, protected by a minority of conservatives against Democratic efforts to finance children's health care, job training and education initiatives.

There will be an equally profound impact on the elderly since the amendment will force the president and Congress to sharply reduce spending for health care and retirement programs where the greatest growth in federal expenditures has occurred.

Perhaps the greatest long-term damage a balanced budget amendment will cause will be to erode public confidence as presidents and lawmakers use every imaginable device to escape the vise in which the amendment has placed them."



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Tuesday, June 2, 1992

7:30 am (15 min)	<u>Coffee with Larry Gatlin</u> (Presock)	Oval Office
7:45 am (45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
10:00 am (60 min)	<u>Bipartisan Congressional Meeting</u> (Calio) (TAB A)	Cabinet Room
11:00 am (20 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
11:20 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with John L. Morris, Fisherman of the Year</u> (Rollins) (TAB B)	Oval Office <i>Skills</i>
11:30 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Congressman Zeliff</u> (Calio) (TAB C)	Oval Office
11:35 am (25 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (20 min)	<u>Video Taping Session</u> (Smith) (TAB D)	459 OEOB
1:35 pm (20 min)	<u>Documentary Taping Session</u> (Smith) (TAB E)	459 OEOB

*1:46 begins
2:07 ends*

UNP 06/01/92
6:00 pm

*Martin
1:30*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/02/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Tuesday, June 2, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/7/2024	OA/ID Number: 90684-009
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

1:37 Cardinals Video -- 100th Anniversary begins
 1:41 " " " " Ends
 1:42 Gathering of Eagles taping begins
 1:45 Gathering of Eagles taping Ends
 1:46 Interview with Robert Stinnett begins
 2:02 " " " " Ends
 2:06 POTUS Announced in to 450 OEOB
 2:15 POTUS Out to hold
 2:19 POTUS Out to WW
 2:22 POTUS In Fitzwater's office
 2:30 POTUS In Roosevelt Room
 3:32 POTUS In
 3:33 POTUS Out to Cabinet Room
 4:36 POTUS In with Bayden Gray
 4:37 Scowcroft In
 4:40 Scowcroft Out
 4:49 Gray Out

bc: Kathy Super

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 2, 1992

Dear Herb,

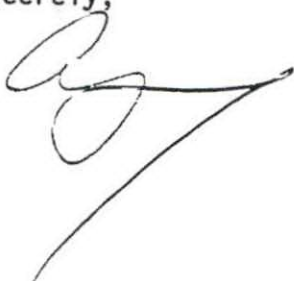
I just received your invitation to The Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army Conference. It sounds like a great event and I would love to "energize" some folks but, unfortunately, my schedule for those days has already been committed.

Thanks for the invite, though, and I appreciate so much your thinking of me.

Loved the old postcard. It's difficult to imagine being able to mail anything for a penny.

Best wishes to you, Diane and all the conference attendees.

Sincerely,



Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Hoffman Apparel International Corporation
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

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



JAN'S