

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 90686
Folder ID Number: 90686-005

Folder Title:
Monday, June 8, 1992 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	0	0	0	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Handwritten Note	Re: Presidential Phone Call with James A. Baker III. (1 pp.)	6/8	(b)(1)	
02. Cover Sheet	Re: Democracy. (1 pp.)	05/1992	(b)(1)	S
03. Cover Sheet	Re: Prospects. (1 pp.)	06/1992	(b)(1)	TS
04. Summary	Re: Heads of State Correspondence Summary. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
05. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/08/92	(b)(3), (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, June 8, 1992 [2]

Pinksheet Number: cap6133
OA/ID Number: 90686-005
Date Closed: 9/9/2019
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

CITIZENS' POLL

FOR DELEGATE
JOHN OVERINGTON
39th DISTRICT



DO YOU FAVOR?

Please indicate your views with a "YES" or "NO" in the left margin. Use an additional sheet for comments or other issues you are concerned about. Feel free to leave any blank. No photo copies please.

% In Percentage Form - 415 responses

- | Yes | No | |
|-----------|----|--|
| 90 | 10 | 1. Reinstating the death penalty for first degree murder. |
| 65 | 35 | 2. Lowering the food tax from 6¢ to 3¢. If "Yes", what would you cut? _____ |
| 89 | 11 | 3. Voluntary school prayer. |
| 95 | 5 | 4. Welfare reform that limits benefits to one or two years where education and job training are provided and where those with physical or mental problems are exempt. |
| 92 | 8 | 5. Initiative, Referendum and Recall (of elected officials before their terms have expired) where voters are given the right to originate (Initiative) or reaffirm (Referendum) laws directly on the ballot. |
| 81 | 19 | 6. Right to Work (ending required union membership at any workplace). |
| 94 | 6 | 7. Lowering the age that minors can be treated as adults in cases of repeat offenses or ones involving the use of force. |
| 76 | 24 | 8. The state restricting the licensing of additional bars with seating capacity of 100-plus in Berkeley County. |
| 94 | 6 | 9. Balanced Federal Budget Amendment (with exceptions for declared war or national emergency). |
| 34 | 66 | 10. Collective bargaining and the increased unionization of state employees and teachers. |
| 52 | 28 | Do you feel your life would be adversely affected if the proposed duPont landfill in North Berkeley County is constructed? (Yes, No, or Undecided) |
| Undecided | 20 | If yes, how? _____ |

Your Name _____
 Phone (home) _____ work _____
 Address _____ City _____
 Age _____ Occupation _____ Employer _____

Voluntary Advisory Committee(s) you would be interested in serving on:

--- Agriculture: --- Hunting: --- Education: --- Business:
 --- Environment: --- Crime: --- Roads: --- Taxes.

Clip and send to: Del. John Overington, 220 Hoffman Rd., Martinsburg, WV 25401
 by February 1, 1992. Thank you for sharing your views with me.

duPont Landfill Question

Location (By Zip Code)	YES	NO	UNDECI
Falling Waters (95)	75.8	14.7	9.5
Hedgesville (29)	44.8	20.7	34.5
Martinsburg (186)	44.6	33.9	21.5
Other Zip Codes (65)	44.6	33.8	21.5
TOTAL (375)	52.5	28.0	19.5

daily

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 28, 1992

2 MAY 28 P5:34

(fih)

Crs / 6-8

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

EDE HOLIDAY *[initials]*

SUBJECT:

Letter from John A. Puelicher

Attached is a memorandum which Secretary Brady provided to address the concerns that John Puelicher raised in his letter to you of December 9.

Attachment

*1 cc:
Brady He*



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

May 27, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY BRADY

FROM: Assistant Secretary Sophos *MS*

SUBJECT: Letter to President Bush from John A. Puelicher

John A. Puelicher wrote the President on December 9 urging him to veto FIDICIA because of a provision authorizing bank regulatory agencies to set bank employee compensation standards. FIDICIA was signed on December 19.

Treasury has supported legislation to modify or repeal this provision. We have worked with Senator Dole and with the IBAA and ABA to obtain repeal or modification.

~~The Senate passed version of the current RTC refunding bill contains a provision which clarifies that the FIDICIA language does not authorize bank regulatory agencies to issue standards for regulations setting specific pay levels or pay scales for depository institutions, although it does require these agencies to prohibit compensation abuses. This provision was added to the RTC bill in the Senate with the strong support of Treasury, the ABA and the IBAA.~~

As you know, the RTC refunding bill remains stalled in the House of Representatives, despite our ongoing efforts to secure support among a majority of Republicans.

331
5-27-92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: May 22, 1992

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: Boyden Gray
Nick Brady

The attached from Jack Puelicher.
I think it raises some profound
objections to the Federal Deposit
Act of 1991. Is there anything we
can do to correct the legislative
overkill?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1992

Dear Mr. Puelicher:

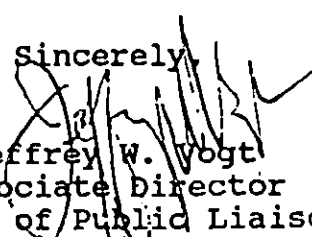
I would like to sincerely apologize for my delay in responding to your December 9, 1991 letter to the President. Secondly, I want to thank you for expressing your concerns regarding Section 132 (c) of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act of 1991. As you know, this section requires the federal banking regulators to devise standards prohibiting excessive compensation for the employees, officers, directors, and principal shareholders of banks and savings associations.

Although President Bush enacted the legislation on December 19, let me assure you that the Administration is aware of this and many other shortcomings in the particular law. In fact, the President stated at the signing ceremony that while the legislation had to be enacted to provide needed cash to the Bank Insurance Fund, Congress ought to again consider his comprehensive banking reform proposal to fix, rather than simply fund, the industry's problems.

In addition to seeking overall reform, the Administration has been meeting with the federal banking regulators to discuss problems with the law as passed. While the Congress was unable to enact the Administration's banking reform package last year, we continue to push for comprehensive reform on Capitol Hill. In the meantime, we have taken unilateral regulatory relief measures in an effort to ease the credit crunch and strengthen our banking system. I have enclosed fact sheets regarding some of these pertinent recent actions for your review.

We will keep your views in mind as we work to correct problems like Section 132 (c) and to urge Congress to pass comprehensive bank reform legislation. Thank you again for writing. Please let us know if we can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely,


Jeffrey W. Vogt
Associate Director
Office of Public Liaison

Mr. John A. Puelicher
Marshall & Ilsley Bank
770 Water Street
Milwaukee, WI 53202

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

Dear Jack:

For some obscure bureaucratic reason I just saw your letter of December 9. We have been inundated with the largest amounts of mail in the White House history, but that is no real excuse.

I saw Jeff Vogt's May 7 reply, and I hope that answers some of your questions. We are going to push to get out of that act the provisions that were totally unacceptable to me. The main thing is that I wanted you to know that I saw your letter and appreciate the constructive tone.

I am sorry our paths didn't cross on my most recent trip to Wisconsin. I asked how you were doing, and I believe John MacIver said you were out of town.

Sincerely,



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770 Water Street
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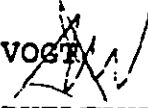
Mr. John A. Puelicher
Marshall & Ilsley Bank
770 Water Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MAY 13, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR JAN BURMEISTER

FROM: JEFF VOST 
SUBJECT: JACK PUELICHER LETTER

Attached you will find the Puelicher file, and the response which I recently sent to him.

He and I tried repeatedly to reach one another, however, we have not yet been able to converse.

Mr. Puelicher asked that I relay my message to his secretary, Diane, in his office, and she assured me she would pass along my concerns. I did the following:

- Apologized for the extreme delay;
- Explained how our correspondence system works, and how his letter was delayed, offering "mea culpas."
- Explained what our position was on the legislation which had prompted him to write; and
- Sent the attached letter with enclosures of our April financial services reform measures.

Let me know if you need additional information, and I will keep you posted if I hear from him. Thanks, Jan.

292891

John A. Puelicher

December 9, 1991

2004

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

Dear George:

I was your finance chairman for Wisconsin in 1979 and 1988, and although we did not do politically well in Wisconsin, we raised the amount of money you requested plus. I recite this to refresh your memory.

The Marshall & Ilsley Corporation is one of the more successful regional bank systems in America, and I would suggest you have one of your aides check this or ask Brother John so you may have some comfort in what I suggest.

The amendment Senator Carl Levin attached to Bill S543 as Section 132 and passed by the Congress will do more to destroy the banking system than imaginable. There is no regulator in existence who is capable of fairly judging the pay and incentives of employees of the banking system. This amendment affects the future of existing bankers, and as far as recruiting talent for the future of the industry, it destroys that, too.

You should veto Bill S543, send it back with a message to take out the offensive amendment and replace it with a decent clean bill.

I remember sitting with you in the Ritz Hotel in Boston in 1979 and telling you then I didn't want a job in Washington or any other favors. All I wanted was a statesman in the White House for a change, and that is all I want now. If this bill passes and we continue our present policies on regulation and bad legislation, banking will lose its potential of attracting talented people to the industry and the consumers will lose the potential of good bankers in their communities across the country.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1992

Dear Mr. Puelicher:

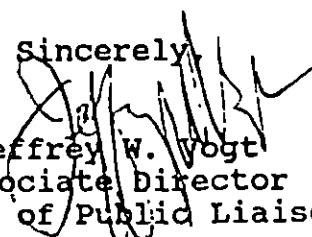
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RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Deed of Gift Restrictions

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

6-8

Date



M

Chas Bennett
leave Horn

✓ NEA's Rodice
Did she tell us "Gay!"

✓ Gingrich - can he advocate
as for Prez!

✓ Rio PR plan
need banner to advocate!

✓ Speech Draft - Rio

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *dk*

W

Looking Ahead

8-21 June

Monday

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

Monday

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

Major International Events

Malian
presidential
inauguration

Indonesian
legislative
elections

Conference
on US-Europe
relations in Amsterdam

Lithuanian
referendum
on CIS
military
withdrawal

EC FMs in Brussels

Organization
of Islamic
Conference
in Istanbul

Irish
referendum
on Maastricht
treaty

Turkmenistan
presidential
election

Togolese
presidential
election

Congolese
legislative
elections

Ethiopian
regional
elections

Environment conference in Rio

Mozambican
peace talks
open in
Rome

Visits to US

Major in DC and Bogota

Kozyrev in DC

Nicaraguan Assembly
president Cesar in DC

Mubarak in DC

Ugandan
Pres Museveni
in DC

Yel'tsin in DC and Ottawa

Visits Abroad

Gaviria and
Salinas
in Caracas Dutch,
Portuguese,
British FMs
in
South Africa

Bulgarian Pres Zhelev in Caracas

Queen Elizabeth in France

Pope John Paul in Angola

Rutskoy in Argentina

Zimbabwe Pres Mugabe in Quito

Uzbekistan Pres Karimov in Seoul

WEU ministerial in Bonn

Immigr. Reform Control Act

daily 6/8

almost 50 by San Diego

Immigration

1.7 introduced

Border apprehensions dropped from 1986 to 1989. Since 1989 they have been climbing back up toward 1986 levels.

The 1986 IRCA contemplated a 6,000-man Border Patrol.

Since 1989, Border Patrol strength has dropped from about 4,140 to 3,675. Also, INS criminal investigators have dropped from 1,700 to 1,500.

✓ Illegal immigration and criminal aliens has had heavy impact on California, especially Los Angeles.

✓ ● In country of 8.9 million, illegal aliens estimated at 770,000.

✓ ● Number of citizen children of illegal aliens receiving AFDC increased from 40,682 in January 1989 to 116,725 in August 1991.

✓ ● Criminal aliens arrested by INS in L.A. have increased from 5,800 in 1989 to 14,000 last year.

This past February, a major initiative was undertaken which, through reprogrammings, accomplished the following enhancements of INS resources on the enforcement side:

✓ ● 300 new Border Patrol added this fiscal year.

✓ ● 200 new criminal investigators added this fiscal year.

IMMIGRATION INITIATIVES
(HIGHLIGHTS)

I. OPERATIONAL

A. BORDER CONTROL

- Add 1500 new border patrol agents.
- Enhance border barriers along the portions in California and Texas where most illegal entries occur.
- Make increased use of military for interdiction, transportation and support.

B. CRIMINAL ALIENS

- Add 400 new investigators.
 - These would be deployed roughly as follows:
150 in California, 100 in Texas, and 150 in the rest of the country (concentrating in Florida, Illinois and New York).
- Add detention space for 2000 criminal aliens, and detention and deportation officers.
- Expand institutional hearing program, which processes criminal aliens for deportation while they are in prison serving their sentence.
- Accelerate National Criminal Alien Tracking Center and use of NCIC to help identify criminal aliens.

C. EMPLOYER SANCTIONS

- Add 400 new investigators to enforce employer sanctions to reduce the "pull" of employment.
 - These would be deployed roughly as follows:
300 in California and 100 in Texas.
- Enter into agreements with other state and federal agencies (e.g., Labor) to do employer sanctions investigations when they visit businesses for other purposes.
- Create interagency document fraud task forces to prevent circumvention of sanctions.

D. LOS ANGELES OPERATION

- An immediate, targeted effort in Los Angeles focusing on criminal aliens and employer sanctions. Would involve additional agents, expanded use of the institutional hearing program, and document fraud task forces.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE/REGULATORY

A. BORDER CONTROL

- Change regulations to streamline deportation and political asylum process by eliminating duplicative levels of review and enforcing standards more rigorously.

B. CRIMINAL ALIENS

- Require federal prosecutors to insist on stipulated orders of deportation in plea agreements for criminal aliens to expedite deportation.
- Additional regulatory/administrative changes to speed up deportation.

C. EMPLOYER SANCTIONS

- Reduce number of forms of identification acceptable for employment.
- Additional regulatory/administrative steps to increase enforcement of employer sanctions, including increased use of asset forfeiture.

III. LEGISLATIVE

A. BORDER CONTROL

- Summary exclusion proposal to permit rapid removal of individuals who show up with forged or fraudulent documents.
- Enhanced penalties for smuggling aliens.

B. CRIMINAL ALIENS

- Proposal for involuntary transfer of criminal aliens to serve sentence in their home country (currently transfer is possible only where inmate agrees).

- Reduce discretionary bases for relief from deportation for criminal aliens.
- Additional steps to speed removal of criminal aliens, such as permitting entry of final order of deportation at time of sentence.

C. EMPLOYER SANCTIONS

- Increased civil penalties for employer sanctions violations.

daily 6/8

Violent Crime

Violent crime is on the increase.

Small group of chronic violent offenders are responsible for most predatory violence.

To reduce violent crime we must target hardcore offenders and incapacitate through stiff prison sentences.

Although 95% of violent crime falls under state and local responsibility, federal government can play a role.

The Administration is following two-prong strategy:

- ✓ (1) We are using our tough federal tools in high impact operations in cooperation with state and local law enforcement.
- ✓ (2) We are promoting legal reforms that will strengthen state criminal justice system.

I. High Impact Operations

A Project Triggerlock:

Nationwide federal targeting and prosecution of hardcore firearms offenders. Since April last year, over 6000 armed felons charged. This is double previous rate of federal firearms prosecutions. So far, 90% conviction rate; average sentence, 7 years without parole.

B Gang Initiative: Violent crime task force.

Creation of joint task forces with state and local agencies in 39 cities. Transfer of 300 FBI agents from FCI to anti-gang squads. Announced establishment of a national gang analysis center. Moved 150 INS criminal investigators into anti-gang work. Created 4 joint task forces with ATF.

C Fugitive Operations:

U.S. Marshals have carried out "Operation Gunsmoke", the largest fugitive round-up in history. Over 3,300 hardcore offenders captured. ^{in 8 weeks} but also

FBI established 27 fugitive task forces with state and local law enforcement.

D Weed and Seed:

Implemented new strategy to reclaim high-crime neighborhoods. Now underway in 20 cities. Links law enforcement

activities -- including community policing -- with social rehabilitation.

II. Promoting Stronger State Criminal Justice System

A. Violent Crime Report:

✓ Comprehensive report containing 24 recommendations on how to strengthen state criminal justice system. (Widely pre-cleared with law enforcement and victims groups.)

B. Prison Initiative:

✓ Adopted new DOJ policy to help states get from under judicially-imposed population caps and onerous judicial micro-management of state prison systems. So far implemented in Texas and Michigan.

C. Habeas Corpus Reform:

✓ Pursuing Crime Bill in Congress which would stop abuse of habeas corpus.

VIOLENT CRIME INITIATIVE
(HIGHLIGHTS)

I. OPERATIONAL

- Add following resources to fight violent crime: 1000 additional agents (800 FBI/200 DEA); 300 prosecutors; 100 Marshals; related support personnel.
- ~-- Agents would be deployed roughly as follows: 200 to California; 500 to major cities; 300 to small cities.
- Federal/state/local task forces would be used to leverage additional personnel.
- A National Gang Intelligence Center will be set up for use by federal and state and local law enforcement.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE/REGULATORY

- Issue Attorney General's Violent Crime Report, which includes 24 specific recommendations for states to improve their criminal justice systems, including increased pre-trial detention and longer incarceration for violent criminals.

III. LEGISLATIVE

- <-- A Gang RICO proposal that would define criminal street gangs and make criminal activity that furthers the gang's criminal goals a federal offense. This will facilitate taking down entire gangs, or their leadership, in one operation.
- <-- A Juvenile Justice proposal that will make it easier to try violent juveniles as adults in the federal system.
- <-- Propose legislation to limit federal court interference in running prisons and to make it easier to transfer criminal aliens to serve their sentences overseas.

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C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

Mr.
Calio

Mr. Passmore)

Nick Carlo Post

John H. Martin

John Albert Houser

Bobbie

daily 6/8⁴²³⁷

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
June 6, 1992

12 JUN 6 P4:16

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: Presidential Note to Queen Margrethe II and Prince
Henrik of Denmark

Purpose

To send a Presidential note to Queen Margrethe II and Prince Henrik of Denmark on the occasion of their silver wedding anniversary.

Background

On June 10, Queen Margrethe II and Prince Henrik celebrate their silver wedding anniversary. In Denmark the silver anniversary is considered a major milestone and the Royal Couple's anniversary will be celebrated throughout the month of June.

You hosted Queen Margrethe II for her State Visit to Washington in February 1991. As you may recall, the Queen is very pro-American and, although her position is ceremonial, she privately has stressed the importance of Denmark's participation in NATO.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the draft note at Tab A or consider hand writing it or your own note.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Presidential note

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Queen Margrethe and Prince Henrik:

On the occasion of your twenty-fifth wedding anniversary, Barbara and I want to extend our warm best wishes. I understand that it is a Danish tradition to serenade the couple with an old song that begins, "How lovely it is for two people who love each other to go through life together." Barbara and I fully agree with that sentiment and wish you a lifetime of happy years together.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "LBJ", written in a cursive, flowing style.

Her Majesty
The Queen of Denmark
and His Royal Highness
The Prince of Denmark
Copenhagen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/8

June 5, 1992

12 JUN 5 P6:16

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*
SUBJECT: Pan Am 103 Memorial Cairn

The Victims of Pan Am 103 organization is seeking a site to erect a memorial cairn to honor the 270 persons who died in the bombing of the aircraft on December 21, 1988. Mrs. Jane Schultz, with whom you met on May 19, is leading the group's effort to procure an appropriate site.

The stones for the cairn were cut from a quarry near Lockerbie, donated by the Lockerbie Air Disaster Trust, and were shipped to the United States last October. The NSC staff, at the request of Mrs. Schultz, intervened on your behalf to facilitate their entry into the United States without the levy of a substantial customs fee.

The Victims had hoped to build the memorial on the Mall but were informed by a representative of the National Park Service that it is not possible at this time. The law governing memorials in the District mandates that no memorial can be built on Park land until 25 years after the incident. This is intended to allow historians time to reflect on the significance of the event.

Mrs. Schultz has indicated the Victims want to erect the memorial this year, in time for its dedication on the fourth anniversary of the disaster. She is now in contact with the Director of Arlington Cemetery, seeking a location. The families seem comfortable with that alternative and believe there is sufficient rationale for its placement there: numerous military personnel perished on the flight, and a memorial to the Challenger crew was built there after unsuccessful efforts to locate it on the Mall.

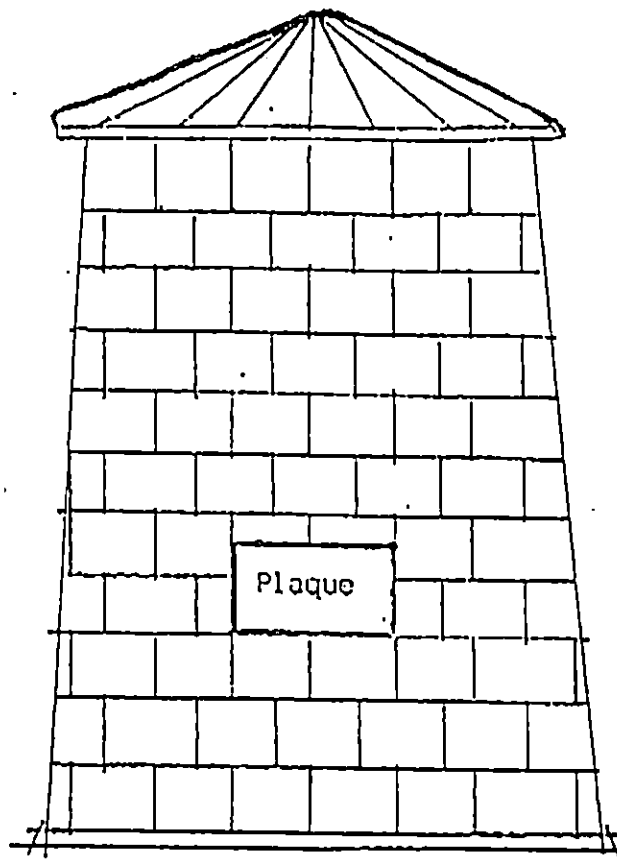
At this time, no action is required. Mrs. Schultz has indicated, however, that she may once again ask for White House intervention if she runs into obstacles at Arlington Cemetery. This would not be the first request for White House intervention regarding Arlington Cemetery regulations. But, if we were to intervene, we would set a possibly awkward precedent.

Attachment
Tab A Schematic of Memorial Cairn

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

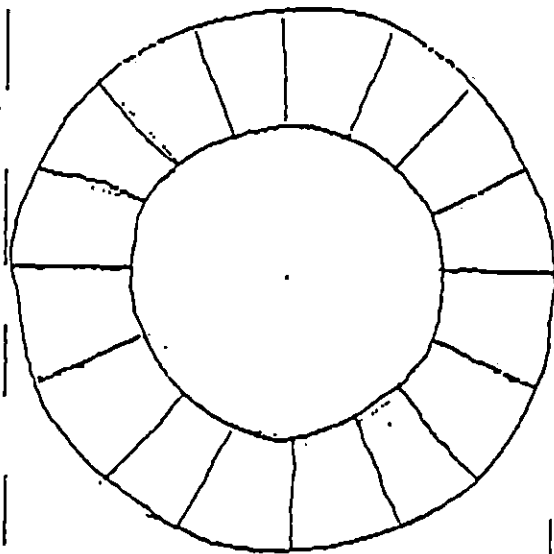
DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF PROPOSED CAIRN

LOCKERBIE AIR DISASTER



Circular Cairn constructed with 270 stones of local sandstone, cut individually to size. The Cairn has a base of 2.2m (diameter) and a height of 3.2m. Each stone is approximately 300 x 200 x 150mm. The stones will be numbered for ease of construction and decrease in size with height. The Cairn will be finished with a sandstone cope. The local sandstone is fine grained, with an even texture with a pleasing salmon pink colour.

The plaque can be set into the stonework. See attached details for wording used elsewhere. The same bronze-type material would be used.



Gordon Smith
Hillard Anderson
17th January 1991

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

02 JUN 5 P4:11

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALLS BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman Ron Mazzoli (D-KY)

DATE: June 5, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To persuade Congressman Mazzoli to support the Stenholm (D-TX) Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

BACKGROUND: The House is scheduled to begin consideration of the various balanced budget Constitutional amendments on Wednesday. Recorded votes are expected on Thursday.

Congressman Mazzoli is genuinely undecided about whether to support the Stenholm amendment, even though he is a cosponsor of that amendment. In general, he is reluctant to amend the Constitution but understands the need to impose some fiscal discipline in the current system. Congressman Mazzoli's commitment to support the Stenholm amendment is vital in achieving the two-thirds margin needed to pass.

KEY POINTS:

- { I'm calling to ask for your help in passing the Stenholm balanced budget amendment. I know you have some reservations about amending the Constitution. I can understand that. Normally, I'm not a big fan of amending the Constitution either.
- But a couple of things outweigh that concern. First, the current system is out of control. And this is not a partisan thing. We all bear some of the blame for that, just as we all bear the responsibility for getting it back under control.

14-44 .

expect 1 hr

*④ If we don't
oversee it, it
does help*

*① I'm on Stenholm's deal
signed discharge petition ⑤ mention
Stenholm
⑤ Probably supports Stenholm's.*

- But the other factor to take into consideration is what we're doing to future generations. What about those who have no voice in this debate: our grandchildren and great-children? Who's protecting their Constitutional rights?
- They're the ones who have to live with the consequences of our continuing to pile up hundreds of billions of dollars of debt, year in and year out. We are borrowing against their future and that has got to stop.
- I am now more convinced than ever that the time has come to move a balanced budget amendment forward. Can I count on your help?

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

June 5, 1992

ACTION:

--- Monday --- June 8, 1992 ---

```

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

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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TOMORROW -- ON "TODAY"

Clinton to take calls for an hour on NBC morning talk. Will return to formula Friday night -- also NBC -- for half-hour live Q&A. (#7)

RUNNING MATES: Clinton takes high-profile, high-risk tack of embracing Dem Hill leaders for 100-day gridlock-busting. (#7)

VEEP MILL SPITS: PEROT-KEMP???

RUMOR DU WEEKEND: Some say Rollins, supply-sider Wanniski in Perot camp means maybe ...

MEANWHILE: Gov. Weicker (I-CT) gives firm no, Schwarzkopf said not interested. (#4)

SUMMER TUBE WATCH: Perot TV testimony to 6/30 Senate POW hearings could be defining moment. GOP, Dems sharpening knives? (#6)

"OUTTA THE HOUSE" UPDATE NO. 71
Bennett (D-FL) quits. (#14)

12TH NIGHTMARE IN THE HOUSE

CA survey reinforces Rollins strategy; House rules stall; Cook's key 16 races (#11)

NC: HELMS STABILIZES (#15)

SPOTLIGHT

A WEEK TO FORGET

In order:

"Bring back Baker"
Rollins changes hoss
Network no-shows
"incoherent" conference
Budget Amendment "fraud"
economy words vs. stats
leaking on Reilly
Rio hurts int'l reputation
Nixon OK's Perot
Gingrich says "look out"
return of the Wimp word

And two polls (#17, #18)
showed the Bush free-fall
continuing: NEWSWEEK TIME
Bush 33% 24%
Clinton 25% 24%
Perot 35% 37%

TIME says Bush unfavorables
higher than Clinton's. BUT
NEWSWEEK says 70% need to
know more about Perot --
and many insiders still
think he's fad who'll fade.
Bush #1-2; Predictions #10
Polls #17-18; TV #19

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

"Maybe it would be better if he'd pick one or two,
rather than a whole list."

-- Barbara Walters to Bush manager Fred Malek, following Malek's
response on what "moves" Bush, "Brinkley," ABC, 6/7.

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Summit moving forward -- without U.S input ...
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: NC schools, businesses and a community college unite to prepare students for workforce.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: Day 5 of pro-life MA demonstration. Hand grenade found at "peaceful" KS rally.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: WH's Skinner promises NJ Medicaid refund; HCFA says not so fast; WH charged w/"politicking."

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

WHITE HOUSE '92

BUSH: The Not-Ready-For-Prime-Time President. (#1)
BUSH: Campaign pains. (#2)
BUSH AND ENVIRONMENT: Tough crowd awaits "Uncle Grubby." (#3)
PEROT: Not to be superstitious -- but keep June 27 open. (#4)
THE PEROT TEAM: Just don't call them handlers. (#5)
PEROT AND POW/MIA: Stage set for hearing appearance. (#6)
CLINTON: 100 days of plan on the wall, 100 days of plan. (#7)
BROWN: Jacques and Jerry go to Rio. (#8)
THINKING THREE-WAY: Love Newts, lost swingers, war plans. (#9)
PREDICTIONS: "This thing is totally up for grabs." (#10)
12TH NIGHTMARE: Campaigns are getting ready; is the House? (#11)

SENATE WATCH

CO: Heath bars ballot crunch; submits petitions. (#12)
CT: Dodd v. "What's-their-names." (#13)

ON THE HOUSE

FL 03: Bennett lifts "Out of House" list to 71. (#14)

HOTSPOTS

NC: Helms condition stabilizes after scare. (#15)
VA: Robb report, convention, "Dump Goldman" dumped. (#16)

POLL UPDATE

TIME/CNN: Perot 37%, Clinton 24%, Bush 24%. (#17)
NEWSWEEK: Perot 35%, Bush 33%, Clinton 25%. (#18)

TV MONITOR (#19)

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

Might the Democratic Party House majority be threatened if enough of its House candidates take a party loyalty pledge to back Clinton -- regardless of how their Districts vote?
(See "12th Nightmare" #11)

*1 BUSH: THE NOT-READY-FOR-PRIME-TIME PRESIDENT

News about the 8 year high in unemployment released after Bush's TV address gave way to headers like "Surprise jump in jobless rate a blow to Bush" (CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 6/6); "Jobs scarcer, despite Bush optimism (N.Y. POST, 6/6); "Gloomy May figures rebut Bush's claim of solid recovery" (MIAMI HERALD, 6/6). N.Y. POST's Broderick compares Bush's statements in his 6/4 press conference on the "recovering" economy to the unemployment figures, noting the WH "always gets the figures before the public." GOP strategist John Sears: "My guess is they were afraid to give the president the bad news so they let him go on and make a fool of himself" (6/6). Bush chair Bob Teeter: "It has never been a matter of faith that the economy alone would determine the president's reelection" (W. POST, 6/7). U.S. NEWS' David Gergen: "To let him go out and say the economy is turning around in that fashion suggests, ... somebody out there is asleep at the switch, and they are not running a good campaign" ("MacNeil/Lehrer," PBS, 6/5).

WEEKEND TALK-JOCKS: W.S. JOURNAL's Al Hunt: "The Thursday night news conference was not one of Bush's finest hours." Mona Charen: "Both Bush and Clinton have the same problem, which is they have to respond to Perot because he is the front runner now, but they cannot do it on Perot's terms. That was Bush's mistake in that press conference -- this is Perot's issue. ... Bush is sort of trying to leap on that bandwagon, he should have found another thing to talk about." Mark Shields: "Bush was singing a tune written by Ross Perot" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 6/6). David Gergen: "There is no doubt that George Bush held that press conference ... because of Ross Perot. There is no doubt ... why Bill Clinton went on 'Arsenio Hall,' because of Ross Perot." ("M/L," PBS, 6/5). George Will: "The networks did the Bush campaign an enormous favor by not putting that manic and incoherent performance in front of a larger audience than it had anyway." Tom Wicker: "The networks did right in re-asserting their principles, that the President cannot simply command the networks anytime he wants to." Will: "The networks now yawn, when the president says 'I'm going to address the nation'" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). Fred Barnes: "George Bush never misses an opportunity to miss an opportunity ... what he has to do is attack Ross Perot. ... his aides tell him it will be undignified to attack Ross Perot, let the press take care of it -- he's living in Dukakis-Land." Jack Germond: "He was very lucky that NBC, ABC, CBS chose not to air it ... talking about a balanced budget, he's been talking about that for fifteen years" ("Group," 6/5). Roger Ailes: "The press isn't interested in issues -- they're interested in an issueless billionaire and a saxophone player" (CBS, 6/6). BOSTON GLOBE's Tom Oliphant: "That tells you about the people floundering around in the West Wing of the White House ... I didn't think they would go ahead with [the press conference] because it was so transparent and what amazed me, it really was transparent" ("Inside Washington," 6/6).

*2 BUSH: CAMPAIGN PAINS

KNIGHT-RIDDER's Warren, Boyd & Hess write, "There is growing frustration, anguish and even some panic" in Bush's "inner circle. ... Dissension among Bush staffers is evident as campaign and [WH] officials emerge from one of their four daily staff

meetings to tell reporters in private that somebody besides themselves is goofing up." One WH official: "If someone doesn't light a fire under Bush, we're all going to be at the unemployment office this fall." Senior WH official: "We have no message and that's Bush's fault. We have no strategy and that's [Chief campaign strategist Bob] Teeter's fault. We have no execution and that's [WH CoS Sam] Skinner's fault." Retiring Rep. Vin Weber (R-MN): "There is very deep concern that the whole ticket could be hurt by this." GOP analyst Kevin Phillips: "He's almost the worst type of president you can imagine for a time when the system has come unglued, when there is a need for innovative leadership" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/6). One Bush campaign veteran said the Mosbacher/Teeter/Malek campaign team "is as bland and unadventurous as 'IBM salesmen.'" One "frustrated" GOP "insider" who "complained that simple campaign operations continue to be botched": "There's nobody [in the campaign] who has a sense of what it's like on the other side. When Mosbacher comes to [CA] he just talks to his rich friends." N.Y. TIMES' Wines writes, as "polls show that voters are apparently sick of finger pointing and are looking instead for leadership," Bush "is trying a somewhat different tack. He is saying nice things about Congress, hoping it will pass some of his legislation" (6/6). U.S. NEWS' Walsh writes, "No president in the modern era has so energetically reached out to citizens from all walks of life." Bush regularly meets with "50 or 60 intimates and informal advisers outside government ... The mystery is why, with all that input from outsiders, Bush still has such trouble connecting with the public at large" (6/15 issue). One senior campaign official: "A lot of the blame for our current 28 percent approval rating has got to rest in the Oval Office" (Page, NEWSDAY, 6/8).

SHAKES, RATTLES AND ROWS: TIME's Michael Duffy writes, "With Perot's A-Team in place there are also growing signs of further shake-ups at both the White House" and the campaign, "where most of the squad is regarded as decidedly second-string." One senior Admin. official "who just days earlier had denied published rumors of James Baker's return now openly predicts [Baker] will take a 'leave of absence' from his Cabinet post to replace the ineffectual Robert Mosbacher as campaign chairman. Such a move would be timed to follow the party's Houston convention in August -- unless Bush's fortunes turn up by then." Baker "would provide something Bush has lacked since" Sununu left: "a high-level bad cop who can keep the troops in line and sometimes read the riot act to Bush himself" (6/15 issue). HOUSTON CHRONICLE's McDonald cites one WH official who said Baker stepping in would be "unlikely": "The president wants to go at it alone this time." But a "very good possibility" is one of Baker's top aides moving into the WH (6/6). CNN's Ralph Begleiter: "There is something to the rumors ... Baker is paying close attention to the campaign, but not so close that he is in anyway neglecting his job as Secretary of State" (6/5). Malek said he didn't "envision any change" in the campaign or at the WH: "Baker has indicated he wishes to stay [at State], and the president has indicated his full confidence in the ... team" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). CBS' Bob Schieffer reported Perot's strong showing in 6/2 exit polls "sent the Washington rumor mills rolling." Over scenes of Bush with Baker, an interview with DoD Sec. Dick Cheney, the Rollins/Jordan press conference and Roger Ailes entering the White House: "Was a major shake-up in the campaign in the works? When Ed Rollins jumped ship to run Perot's campaign, it seemed to only undermine that Mr. Bush's

campaign might be in trouble." Ailes told CBS he wasn't rejoining the campaign: "We basically had a social evening and didn't talk much politics" (CBS, 6/6). TIME's version of the campaign team "Bushies daydream about": Campaign chair -- "Mosbacher is better at fund raising. Look for Jim Baker to take the whip hand after the convention." Sec/State -- Cheney or Powell. WH CoS -- "dream replacements: Cheney or Powell." Media -- Ailes (6/15 issue). ABC's Sam Donaldson also suggested Bush "re-hire" Baker (6/7). Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS): "My view is that Jim Baker can be helpful on the margins, but I think George Bush has to do it himself" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 6/7). WASH. POST's Devroy reports Skinner has been circulating names of those who might move to the WH: Hollis McLaughlin, deputy to Treas. Sec. Brady; VP Quayle CoS Wm Kristol; undersec. of State/Baker adviser Robert Zoellick; OMB deputy dir. Robert Grady (6/7).

STAY TUNED: W. TIMES' Bedard reports the Bush campaign "has drafted a strategy" to put Bush and Quayle "before the voters without the filter of the news media." Bush would appear on TV shows like "20/20" and "60 Minutes" -- "and possibly even 'Donahue'" -- as well as news shows and C-SPAN. Quayle is also planning to hit the airwaves on "wholesome" sitcoms like "Major Dad" where he did a cameo a few years ago. The TV strategy "would be without precedent" as "no other president has gone off the types of shows" Bush is considering, according to WH officials. WH aides "admitted the strategy is unconventional, but in their desperation to catch up with" Perot, they "are willing to try anything." One Bush aide: "No Arsenio or Oprah." Another admin. official: "We like Barbara Walters" (6/7).

THE W-WORD: Ex-N.Y. TIMES' Tom Wicker: "We are seeing the wimp, the one we thought we were going to see in 1988." ABC's Barbara Walters: "We didn't see a wimp a year ago. Something happened in this last year" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). NBC's Jim Miklaszewski: "Bush appears to have adopted the Alfred E. Neuman strategy, 'What, me worry?'" Bush: "I do better when I'm fighting. I do better when I'm coming from behind" (NBC, 6/7). Bush, at press meeting with British PM John Major, on Perot: "I cannot tell a lie, his name came up" (CBS, 6/7).

OOPS: Bush-Quayle spokesperson Torie Clarke sent an apology note to Buchanan for her 6/4 comment that Buchanan must "grovel on broken glass with his mouth open and tongue hanging out" to address the GOP convention (see HOTLINE 6/4). The note said the remark "was in bad taste and totally inappropriate," but that it was a joke told to the reporter off the record (mult., 6/5-7).

MAKING A LIST: Malek, pressed by Barbara Walters on a 2nd Bush term: "Here's what he feels passionate about. He feels passionate about an economic opportunity for all Americans. He feels passionate that all Americans deserve the chance to get a sound education. He feels deeply and convincingly that we need strong law and order in order to secure our neighborhoods and streets. He believes in fundamental family values. He believes in a national defense capable of securing world peace." Walters: "Maybe it would be better if he'd pick one or two rather than a whole list." Malek: "You asked me what he believed in" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). Dole, asked about Bush's "perception problem" on domestic policy: "Let's face it, right now it doesn't seem to be getting off the ground, there's no clear message. Maybe there are too many themes, maybe they should have one or two or three issues and say, okay, this is what we're going to talk about between now and November. But again I'm not here to tell the president what to do" ("Meet," NBC, 6/7).

QUAYLE WATCHING: NEW REPUBLIC's Fred Barnes contrasts the political instincts of Bush and Quayle: "If a Pledge of Allegiance of Willie Horton issue comes along in 1992, the new Bush coterie will probably shy away from using it. Quayle won't" (6/22 issue). W.S. JOURNAL's Harwood writes, "Alarmed at the drift in the president's campaign," Quayle "has publicly and privately assumed an increasingly assertive role. He has emerged, basically by default, as more capable of driving the political debate than anyone else on the president's team -- including Mr. Bush himself." His performance "has all but silenced the once-widespread speculation that [Bush] might dump him" from the ticket. But one Quayle associate "worries the idea might be revived by frustrated Bush aides seeking a 'long ball' -- Gen. Colin Powell, for example -- to shore up the president's standing this summer" (6/8). W.S. JOURNAL's McQueen notes Quayle is presently reading the "Autobiography of Malcolm X" (6/8).

ALSO: L.A. TIMES' Jehl looks at the corporate obligations of Bush campaign officials (6/7). Skinner is profiled in two Sunday magazine cover stories. W. POST's Marjorie Williams writes he is "smart enough to make it in Washington and he's certainly tough enough. But he may not be cynical enough to succeed in George Bush's White House" (6/7 issue); CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Timothy McNulty writes, "People are wondering if the man known as 'Sam the Hammer' for his tough prosecutions in Chicago is suited for this kind of work." One Bush confidante: "He may be too nice" (6/7 issue). NEWSWEEK reports SPY magazine has a "lengthy but not especially convincing cover story" about "at least three" alleged Bush extramarital affairs before he became president (6/15). Morton Kondracke: "The balanced budget amendment is a total fraud, it's a desecration to the constitution -- much as the Perot candidacy is a sort of cavalier attitude to the constitution" ("Group," 6/6).

*3 BUSH/ENVIRONMENT: TOUGH CROWD AWAITS "UNCLE GRUBBY"

As EPA chief Wm Reilly "faced an aggressive global press corps. that could hardly hurl its pointed questions fast enough" TIME's Alexander writes, "the shots aimed at [Reilly] are just a preview of what awaits" Bush in Rio. The Brazilian press has dubbed Bush "Uncle Grubby" and called the U.S. a "party pooper" for refusing to sign the biodiversity treaty and watering down the climate-changing pact (6/15 issue). A rejected "appeal" by Reilly to find a "last-minute 'fix'" that would "allow" the U.S. to sign the biodiversity treaty "left Reilly holed up in his hotel room ... trying to avoid a crush of reporters" after his request was leaked to the press. U.S. sources trace the leak to VP Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council which was "outspoken against the treaty" (Robinson/Weisskopf, W. POST, 6/6). The "snub was only the latest in defeats that Reilly has suffered in battles with top" WH officials "who prize economic growth over conservation" (TIME, 6/15 issue). Bush "had put his own twist on the adage, 'Think globally, act unilaterally'" (Begley, NEWSWEEK, 6/15 issue). S.F. EXAMINER's Kay writes Bush "is the villain of the year at the Earth Summit. He stands almost alone among world leaders in refusing to accept the summit's premise. ... Bush symbolizes the consummate capitalist, living a luxurious lifestyle while the poor underdeveloped nations eat up their natural resources to survive." In the "official newspaper of the Earth Summit," Canadian journalist Jim MacNeill wrote, "Pandering to his right wing, which is still wedded to the defunct idea that the environment is the enemy of the economy and isolated from the

real world, he said no to targets, no to timetables and no to everything else that would have made the (global warming) treaty worthwhile" (6/6). Bush, appearing with British PM John Major, who is planning to sign the treaty: "I have nothing to be apologetic for" (L.A. TIMES, 6/8).

RIO TV: Mark Shields: "Quayle's operation at the Competitive Council has gone bare knuckles out, they've embarrassed Bill Reilly ... I don't honestly know how he can hang on." Bob Novak: "This whole thing down in Rio is a metaphor of what is wrong with the Bush administration. ... He ought to fire Bill Reilly. ... Reilly has been a viper at his breast for four years" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 6/6). NBC's Jim Miklaszewski: "Bush's environmental chief tried to bail his boss out." Reilly: "We will support biological diversity in the rest of the world, just as though we were a treaty participant." Miklaszewski: "Bush's convinced that if Americans understood his position on the environment, they'd support him. But then that's been the rap against the Bush White House and campaign. They either can't sell the Bush message, or don't believe it themselves" (NBC, 6/7). CBS' Doug Tunnell reported Reilly "insisted that he would not resign." Sen. Al Gore (D-TN): "It's unfortunate that the principle environmental spokesman in this administration has once again been overruled. I think it's doubly unfortunate that this time it took place when the entire world was watching" (6/6).

*4 PEROT: NOT TO BE SUPERSTITIOUS -- BUT KEEP JUNE 27 OPEN

AP reports Perot "has approached ABC and NBC about buying half an hour on prime time on June 27, according to people at both networks. There has been speculation that he will formally announce his candidacy on that day, which is his 62nd birthday." Perot spokesperson James Squires "said the campaign was just 'shopping'" (L.A. TIMES, 6/7).

THE SPECIFICS THING: Perot campaign chair Tom Luce, on when Perot will get specific on issues: "Issues is the word that we use that really defines the political game. What we really ought to be talking about is problems and solutions" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/7). Barbara Walters to Perot co-manager Ed Rollins: "As soon as [Perot] becomes specific, he's in trouble. Is that going to be your strategy?" Rollins: "It's certainly not the total strategy. I think the bottom line is you've got to talk about the areas you're going to address and your formula for addressing them. ... The critical thing in this election ... is really leadership. The American public is craving leadership" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). W.S. JOURNAL's Alan Murray examines Perot's push for "tough U.S. trade policies." Perot statements to the L.A. TIMES "suggest his view of free trade may stretch the usual definition of the term" (6/8). Perot, on reducing Japanese imports: "You're going to see the clock stop. You could never unload the ships to this country -- just could never unload the ships" (L.A. TIMES, 6/5).

MAKING BELIEVERS: U.S. NEWS' David Gergen writes, "Perot is streaking across the political skies so rapidly now that he is more likely to win outright -- or crash and burn long before November. He's just too hot to stand still. ... In less than 10 weeks, a man who has no party and no political experience has made this a race that's his to lose. Both the other candidates are now copying him in both style and substance" (6/15 issue). Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS): "When [Perot] starts down the list of abortion and gun control, balanced budget and line-item veto, death penalty -- then you get into hard stuff after that. Then I

think some of the seats will be vacant at the next meeting." But Dole added, "I think he's for real, don't misunderstand me; I don't think he's going to go away next week or next month. He's in this race and I think he's going to be a factor up until the end." W. POST's David Broder said of CA's Perot phenomenon: "This is not a concocted media event. These are real people, they are about as excited and turned on as anything I've seen" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 6/7). U.S. NEWS' Mort Zuckerman writes Perot "is Revolution -- giving voice and form to a revolution in the whole way we conduct our affairs. Perot has done nothing less than restore the individual to the center of American democracy" (6/15 issue). AP reports several local candidates may be tying themselves to Perot: Larry Brady (R) announces this week whether he'll run for NH Senate as an independent; GA House candidate Ray Miller (R) endorsed Perot; Rep. Chet Atkins (D-MA) signed a Perot petition; former IN county Dem chair Craig Hartman is considering a run for Rep. Jill Long's (D) seat "as a Perot man" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 6/8).

VEEP WATCH: On "McLaughlin's One on One," Gov. Lowell Weicker (I-CT): "I have absolutely no thought at all of vice presidential bids or being [VP]. I've got all I can handle in [CT], I don't have to go routing around for trouble in the other 49 states. ... I would decline any offer of a vice presidency, whether it came from" Clinton, Bush or Perot (6/7). BUFFALO NEWS' Doug Turner reports supply-side economist Jude Wanniski, described as a "key" adviser to HUD Sec. Jack Kemp, has joined the Perot campaign and said "that Perot should make" Kemp his running-mate. "Although he has not discussed the matter with either Perot or Kemp, Wanniski believes Perot will offer Kemp the chance to be his running mate and that Kemp will seriously consider it." Wanniski said the "Kemp team is moving to Perot," and calls '88 Kemp financial backer Theodore Forstmann "another convert." A Kemp spokesperson maintained Kemp supports Bush and is "actively campaigning for his reelection" (6/7). Evans & Novak report Rollins "will attempt to place" Kemp on the ticket. "If Kemp had to decide today, he would say no. But at the end of the summer ... the answer could conceivably be yes" (W. POST, 6/8). TIME reports JCS chair Colin Powell has been on the Perot "short list" but the "greatest efforts" have gone toward trying to "woo" Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. But Schwarzkopf, "who reportedly has turned down Perot at least twice, regards [him] with dismay as a loose cannon" (6/15 issue).

PRESIDENT LOMAN? NEWSWEEK's Fineman & Carroll profile Perot's biography: "Horatio Alger, Navy Man, Risk Taker, Patriot, Boy Scout, Mr. Smith: Perot is all these mythic characters. But also not quite any of them. His career is a trail of earnest pluck as well as rank opportunism, of genuine humanitarianism as well as self-promotion, of plain talk as well as half-truths" (6/15 issue). Dem media man Michael Sheehan: "The way he sells himself ... it's half-way between Alka-Seltzer and Drano. In his speeches he establishes the problem, talks about the consequences and promises fast-acting relief. It's almost like a classic 1960s ad campaign" (Balto. SUN, 6/7).

VENDETTA? NEWSWEEK's Clift & Carroll examine the history of enmity between Perot and Bush. The Perot line that he wouldn't "have to prove [his] manhood by sending anybody to war," set off a "seismic reaction" in the WH. One Bush campaign aide: "The president is ready to deck him. Where does this guy get off" (6/15 issue). Asked of Bush campaign charges that Perot's candidacy stems from a "grudge or a vendetta" against Bush, Perot

adviser Mort Meyerson: "That's got to be the wildest statement I've ever heard. Nobody would subject themselves to the pain, to the torture or to the amount of energy you have to pour into traveling this country and doing what Ross has to do because you're mad at somebody" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/7). N.Y. TIMES' Maureen Dowd pits Bush vs. Perot with a "Tale of the Tape, Texas Style." Subhead: "Who is Quickest on the Drawl?" (6/8).

PARTY LINE: Dole disputed House Minority Leader Bob Michel's (R-IL) characterization of Perot as a "demagogue": "That hasn't been my experience. ... I don't know him to be that at all." Dole called Perot a "very patriotic person" and noted Perot pledged \$500,000 to the Dole Foundation for work on disability issues ("Meet the Press," NBC, 6/7). W. POST's David Broder characterizes Dole's comment as "defend[ing] Perot against charges of demagoguery from other top GOP officials" (6/8).

GOOMBAS IN HIGH PLACES: U.S. NEWS' Gergen reports Mario Cuomo was an "accidental force" in getting Perot to run. Through mutual friend Felix Rohatyn, the two "started chatting by phone" after a Cuomo speech to business execs. Realizing they had similar ideas on the economy, Cuomo suggested Perot take his ideas to CNN's "Larry King" show (6/15 issue). Cuomo to the N.Y. POST: "Don't blame me" (Dicker, 6/8).

PEROT-TO-TYPING: N.Y. TIMES' Michael Kelly examines the genesis of the "electronic town hall" idea (6/6). HOTLINE sources report only 100 turned out for a Perot rally in Fargo, ND (6/7). Columnist Paul Greenberg, noting the comparisons to the Peter Sellers character in "Being There," Chauncey Gardner: "Remember that Chauncey was a fraud only to other frauds; he communicated well enough with the rest of us" (CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 6/5). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Lombardi reports the Perot camp has hired NY state Sen. Martin Connor (D) as state campaign counsel. Connor is described as an "expert" on NY's "technicality-laden election law" (6/6). KNIGHT-RIDDER's Huckshorn & Boyd imagine a Perot presidency (PHILA. INQUIRER, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/7); as does NEWSWEEK's Alter & Carroll. NEWSWEEK's Morgenthau "fills in the blanks" on Perot on the issues (6/15 issue). Operation Rescue's Randall Terry called Perot a "wolf in sheep's clothing," and vowed his pro-life group would "hound" Perot's campaign (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 6/6). Evans & Novak report Rollins wants a "come-one, come-all" Perot convention, perhaps at the Rose Bowl -- a potential crowd of 200,000 (N.Y. POST, 6/6). NEWSWEEK reports one Perot friend suggested David Wolper, documentary film-maker and '84 Olympics choreographer, advise the campaign. "The idea was rejected" (6/15 issue). Sidney Blumenthal reports, after a Perot meeting with Jesse Jackson described by one Jackson aide as "magnificent," Perot's "anti-gay comment made it impossible for the leader of the Rainbow Coalition to play with him" (NEW REPUBLIC, 6/22 issue). USA TODAY's Dan Dorfman reports a '69 SEC probe into possible manipulation of EDS shares during a hostile takeover bid. At the time, Perot's investment banker Kenneth Langone cited bad legal advice. Perot and Langone were both cleared of any wrongdoing (6/8). NBC's Lisa Myers reported that abortion may be an issue for Perot, "one-in-four Perot supporters favor making abortion illegal." Pro-lifers believe that Perot supporters are "unaware of his abortion rights stance" (6/5). L.A. TIMES reports Perot, who called VP Quayle's criticisms of Murphy Brown "goofy," referred to "Doogie Howser, M.D." in a 9/26/91 meeting with the TIMES editorial board. Perot on the episode where Doogie loses his virginity: "Some 15-year old girl that's been thinking about it hadn't done it yet. 'Hell,

Doogie's girl did it. It must be all right.' You and I didn't see that kind of stuff growing up" (6/6). W. POST's Lloyd Grove examines Perot's gender gap, "now a fissure." Bush spokesperson Torie Clarke: "The theory is that women tend to find him a little bit erratic, a little bit unpredictable, a little bit scary. Chicks don't like that" (6/8). WA petition gatherers report 160 mini conventions are planned throughout the state for 6/28 for people to sign (SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 6/8). Perot meets with U.S. Conf. of Mayors pres. Ray Flynn and several other mayors today to discuss urban policy (W. POST, 6/8).

*5 THE PEROT TEAM: JUST DON'T CALL THEM HANDLERS

Perot co-managers Ed Rollins and Hamilton Jordan offer side-by-side W. POST op-eds explaining their decisions to join the campaign. Rollins: "I firmly believe that America today is at a crossroads. ... We need to shake off our national paralysis. ... In the final analysis, some may think that I have betrayed my party and its principles. They are wrong. I am instead saying goodbye to politics as usual, and I'm proud to be a Republican for Perot." Jordan: "I believe simply the possibilities of a Perot presidency are more promising and compelling than the certainties of a Clinton or Bush presidency. ... To underestimate him as a candidate or as a possible president is to underestimate the American people" (6/7). Rollins also appeared on ABC's "Brinkley": "There's a movement in America today that's demanding change. I see Ross Perot as a candidate who can obviously ... come to Washington and make those changes. He's got a lifelong history of being a leader" (6/7).

CREATING A STIR: Bush advisers "are doing their best to discredit the man they consider a turncoat. They pointedly mention a five-page peacemaking letter Rollins wrote to the president this spring after Rollins' wife joined the White House staff. In it, Rollins tried to make amends for past criticisms of Bush and his family and pledged his full support in the future. Senior advisers now paint Rollins as an overrated has-been." One GOP strategist: "This is what you get when you spend most of your time trying to punish wayward Republicans instead of fighting Democrats" (U.S. NEWS, 6/15 issue). TIME's Michael Duffy, also citing the Rollins note to Bush: "Bush and his aides took [Rollins' move] as a sign of betrayal. By turns shocked and furious, they vowed that Rollins had ruined his future in the [GOP] and accused him of caring about little more than money and revenge. Once they simmered down, a harsher reality set in: Perot had signed up a pair of veteran strategists who had helped win the White House three times in five tries and were now joining forces to try it again." Rollins and Jordan's "biggest challenge will be to erect a nationwide organization without upsetting the enormous volunteer corps that got the Perot balloon off the ground." But Duffy, noting the bi-partisan team approach "sounds better in theory than in practice," adds that neither of the two has known Perot for very long, and "Rollins' penchant for candidly criticizing his own clients will eventually put Perot's legendary thin skin to the test" (6/15 issue). George Will: "Out there in the Republic's vastness, voters must have been bemused by the fuss the national media made over Jordan and Rollins. It was as though baseball writers ... got all lathered up about a team hiring a new baseball coach" (NEWSWEEK, 6/15 issue). NEWSWEEK examines a past Rollins' effort -- Linda

Chavez's '86 challenge to Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D-MD) -- and reports Chavez denied Rollins' advice to hire a private investigator to probe Mikulski's private life. "A proposal by Rollins' firm for a TV ad featuring an image of a closet -- a veiled and unsubstantiated reference to Mikulski's sexuality -- was also turned down by the Chavez campaign" (6/15 issue). Chris Matthews writes for Rollins, "it's a matter of beliefs. He has them. George Bush doesn't" (W. TIMES, 6/7).

TV: Mark Shields: "What it conveys, more than anything else, is that our two parties have become very, very hollow institutions." Tom Harkin, on whether Perot is an outsider even with the hiring: "There is no one who has been more on the inside than Ross Perot, going clear back to the Nixon era" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 6/6). Jack Germond, on Rollins and Jordan: "It was a smart move ... they're smart guys and know how to do things." Chris Matthews: "Rollins is against the Republican party because it's going back to it's Whig roots, it's country club roots, and given up on guys like him ... he's a working class, labor oriented Democrat from California and he's the very guy Bush doesn't like" ("Group," 6/6).

THE OLD HANDS: Perot campaign chair Tom Luce and senior adviser Mort Meyerson appeared on CBS' "Face the Nation." Luce, on "attack politics": "[Perot's] into unifying the country, not dividing the country. He is saying I don't want people voting for me who hate. He is saying we're a melting pot, we need to come together. Let's be with the Republicans when they're right, let's be with the Democrats when they're right." BOSTON GLOBE's John Mashek claimed the Perot crowds "all appear to be white faces" and asked what appeal Perot had to blacks and Hispanics. Luce cited a "zip code analysis" done of TX petition signers which showed a "demographic and ethnic mix exactly as to the population of the state of Texas" (CBS, 6/7).

*6 PEROT AND POW/MIA: STAGE SET FOR HEARING APPEARANCE

Perot is "expected to be asked ... to confront assertions by Vietnamese officials that he discussed going into business with the Hanoi government" between '87-'90 when he testifies in 6/30 hearings before the SEnate POW/MIA subcmte. Vietnamese officials said in '90 they sent Perot a letter asking him to be their nation's "American agent in rounding up investors for the day when the U.S. embargo is lifted." A Perot spokesman said the Vietnamese contract "was not personal business for profit, but was to serve as an intermediary between a country that wanted to get its business rolling." Perot spokesperson James Squires calls the alleged contract "nonsensical" because of Vietnam's communist economy: "It's the last place you'd look for investment" (Mintz, W. POST, 6/6). Dem sources "have suggested" that GOP cmte members "may use the hearings to bash Perot" while GOP sources said "they expect to see" subcmte chair Sen. John Kerry (D-MA) "aggressively question" him. One GOP cmte source: "Kerry's intent is to trash Perot as a candidate." Kerry: "I don't have the slightest clue where that story came from and have nothing to say on it. Perot has been supportive of our efforts" (Miga, BOSTON HERALD, 6/6). NEWSWEEK's Joe Klein theorizes the day of the hearings -- June 30th -- may be the day Perot's "prairie fire ... eventually burns itself out." Perot's POW/MIA record "has been a tangled commingling of idealism and weirdness. It may be one of the clear windows into the soul of the man" (6/15 issue).

*7 CLINTON: 100 DAYS OF PLAN ON THE WALL, 100 DAYS OF PLAN ...

"In a bold new initiative that his own campaign concedes may be risky," Clinton is "quietly consulting" with Dem congressional leaders to draft a detailed "100-day legislative agenda" that he would submit to Congress as president (Chen/Tumulty, L.A. TIMES). Though the strategy "may well cede the outsider's mantle" to Perot, the proposal did allow Clinton to say, "We've got to do something to break the gridlock in Washington. This country needs action. It needs real action." Clinton spokesperson Dee Myers: "There's always an element of risk anytime you get specific about change. But the idea is to show that if Gov. Clinton was elected, he would have a mandate." L.A. TIMES notes their poll last month showing Clinton followed Perot and Bush (32%/21%/17%) on who could best accomplish change (6/8). Most reports note Clinton discussed the 100-day agenda proposal with congressional leaders in April but echo USA TODAY's report that Gov. Mario Cuomo (D-NY) "is giving it new momentum, telling audiences the Clinton-Congress partnership is the only way to sell [Dems] as an alternative in the fall." The risk: "promising voters Clinton is tied to a Congress that's in more trouble with voters than he is" (6/8). N.Y. TIMES' Ifill reports Clinton, Cuomo and Dem leaders "appear to have joined forces in an effort to save [Clinton] from becoming politically insignificant." Ifill adds that while Cuomo said Clinton adopted the strategy "at his urging," Clinton, his aides and party leaders "resisted giving Mr. Cuomo full credit" (6/8). WASH. POST's Broder says while some Dems cautioned Clinton to "keep his distance" from Congress, Cuomo "apparently prevailed with the argument that neither Bush nor Perot could plausibly claim the same majority support in Congress for their programs" (6/8). The likely content: "Many of the domestic initiatives of Clinton's campaign platform," including reforms of health care, tax codes, campaign finance, handgun control, college loans and apprenticeships. Bush spokeswoman Torie Clarke: "People tend to hold the [Dem] controlled Congress in great contempt right now, and if Bill Clinton thinks that's the way to change America, he's dead wrong" (L.A. TIMES, 6/8).

GET YOUR FREE ADVICE HERE: U.S. NEWS' Donald Baer, warning of campaign paralysis, says Clinton "keeps falling victim to the policy maven's need" for programmatic proposals, "missing the chance to inspire and challenge the voters" (6/15). NEWSWEEK's Alter, under the header "Clinton in the Twilight Zone": "He needs to figure out how to reintroduce himself to an American public that still doesn't know much about him -- and doesn't much like what it does know," by a disciplined focus on three or four major issues and speaking "in slower, human terms, not 78-rpm policy-speak." Alter concludes, "in politics the only way to pierce the public consciousness is to create conflict. If [Clinton] doesn't start antagonizing someone (say, George Bush), he won't break through, no matter how many town meetings he holds" (6/15).

VEEP WATCH: Evans & Novak report, "Prominent [CA Dems] are advising that the party's only chance to carry the state for president is a Clinton-Brown ticket" -- CA Treasurer Kathleen Brown, Jerry's sister (N.Y. POST, 6/6). TIME terms the selection "probably a month away" (Walter Shapiro, 6/15 issue); Germond & Witcover focus on Clinton's choice, noting some campaign advisors advise Clinton to announce his choice early so the convention media coverage will focus entirely on Clinton (Balto. SUN, 6/6). PHILA. INQUIRER's Polman and Enda profile Sen. Bill Bradley (D-

NJ), who "is becoming the conscience of a nation in a volatile election year," noting "his defiance of politics-as-usual has raised his stock" in the VeepStakes (6/8); TIME's Walter Shapiro says Bradley is off the list, having "convinced Clinton that he genuinely does not want the job" (6/15 issue). S.F. EXAMINER reports Jesse Jackson is in Oakland to mediate negotiations between striking workers and a private hospital (6/7).

CONVENTION WISDOM: N.Y. DAILY NEWS reports "The militant anti-abortion organization" Operation Rescue has vowed to stage daily protest rallies at next month's Dem convention (Frank Lombardi, 6/6). NEWSWEEK reports Dems, to make their convention "at least remotely interesting," will "showcase 'real people': an unemployed steelworker, a person who is HIV-positive, an author" (6/15 issue).

"AMERICA SPEAKS" UPDATE: Clinton's televised "town meeting," slotted for 8:00-8:30pm EST this Friday on NBC, will feature Clinton taking questions from undecided voters in Pittsburgh, PA (Clinton release, 6/6). Clinton will take viewer calls on NBC's "Today" tomorrow (NBC, 6/8). ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE's Fullerton reports Clinton is the first presidential candidate to buy national TV time for a town meeting; Clinton used a similar approach for primaries in NH, PA and CA (6/7). BOSTON GLOBE's Oliphant notes top Clinton aides say they want to buy up to four 30-minute blocks this month. Oliphant terms such forums "wonderful," "superb," and "a direct challenge to journalism to get its antiquated, negativist act together" (6/7).

TV REAX: Bob Novak on Clinton's "Larry King" performance: "He sounded like Jack Kemp more than he did Arsenio Hall." Mark Shields: "Bill Clinton has bottomed out and George Bush hasn't, that's the difference between them" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 6/6). David Gergen: "The difference in the gap between Arsenio Hall and going and talking to someone like John Major to me is so dramatic, it suggests that he doesn't have a handle on what it takes to be President" ("MacNeil/Lehrer," 6/5). Tom Wicker called the "Arsenio" appearance "undignified. ... The association with jazz music, the dark shades, and the 'Arsenio Hall' show, I don't think that is an asset in running for the presidency" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). Fred Barnes: "Perot is eating George Bush, bringing Bush down, so that's helping Clinton." Morton Kondracke: "Clinton cannot move too soon [from] this 34% strategy, where he only relies on the blacks, because he will offend all the whites by being too close to Jesse Jackson" ("Group," 6/6). Dem pollster Harrison Hickman: "The good news for Bill Clinton is that with a third party candidate in the race he doesn't have to worry about winning 50% of the vote ... so he could see this as a liberating experience" (NBC, 6/6).

STAFF CHAFF: N.Y. TIMES' Richard Berke profiles Clinton national chair Mickey Kantor (6/7); N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Earl Caldwell examines Ron Brown (6/8); MS. MAGAZINE's Letty Cottin Pogrebin op-eds on Hillary Clinton (N.Y. TIMES, 6/8); Sidney Blumenthal notes the efforts of David Mixner, "the most prominent gay political consultant in L.A." (NEW REPUBLIC, 6/22 issue).

\$\$\$: Sunday's BOSTON GLOBE reports Clinton's campaign "is straining to stretch limited dollars to cover exploding expenses" between now and the convention, though Clinton aide Dee Dee Myers said, "We will have enough to keep the plane in the air" (6/7). ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE covers Clinton's record-setting per-capita fundraising from Arkansas residents (6/7).

CLOSE CALL: The N.Y. DAILY NEWS personality column, citing the NATIONAL ENQUIRER, reports today that Gennifer Flowers has

backed out of a \$1 million deal with Penthouse magazine to pose nude. "Flowers evidently balked because as part of the deal, she would have had to release 51 more minutes of the telephone conversations she taped with Clinton. The tapes would have been played on a national 900 number for all the world to hear" (Richard Johnson, 6/8). WASH. POST notes similar Flowers waffling on a Donahue appearance (6/8).

***8 BROWN: JACQUES AND JERRY GO TO RIO**

Jerry Brown "brought California's far-sighted 1970s environmentalism to the Earth Summit, packing in a global audience who came to hear a U.S. politician who practiced what he preaches." Brown talked up his initiatives as CA Gov., including windmill and solar energy, forestry reform, and a ban on nuclear power plants, saying, "And they call it flaky and moonbeam." He also raised his campaign theme about corruption, saying "It's easy to talk about environmentalism, but when you get there, you find a lot of greed standing in the way. Corruption is at the heart of the rape of the environment, and it's alive all over the world" (Kay, S.F. EXAMINER, 6/7). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Hester & Kovalski report Brown "plans to crash at a homeless shelter" during his stay at the Dem Convention. "Brown's decision to stay at the shelter is ironic, given that the homeless are expected to be kept away from the 'zone of security' surrounding Madison Square Garden (6/8).

***9 THINKING THREE-WAY: LOVE NEWTS, LOST SWINGERS AND WAR PLANS**

W. POST's Devroy reports on a memo circulated to the WH and the Bush campaign by House Min. Whip Newt Gingrich (R-GA), calling on Bush and aides to "wake up to the realities of 1992 campaign." Gingrich in the note: "We had better start dealing with ... how unique this year is, how frightened and angry the American people are, and how deeply the American people believe the current situation ... justifies the radical gamble of a third candidate." Gingrich cited a potential Perot "ceiling" of 45%, with a possible 45-30-25 outcome (Clinton trailing). But Bush and chief strategist Bob Teeter are said to be content to "wait for things to settle down," in the words of one aide. Bush plans to do more interviews and news conferences, as well as Bush '80-style "Ask George Bush" forums with voters. A senior campaign official said the new Bush "communications effort will target older white voters, particularly men, a group he described as 'liking George Bush but not liking the direction the country is going.' That group, however, is also one of Perot's strengths, according to polls" (6/7). Bush manager Fred Malek: "What Newt has pointed out ... is that there's a lot of protest vote out there, and what you're seeing out there is Ross Perot really capitalizing on that protest vote ... saying, I'm for change, the government's not doing enough, we need to do more. Well lo and behold, that's what George Bush feels. He feels also that government's not doing enough and we need to accomplish more" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7). Bob Dole: "I don't have a recipe, as Newt Gingrich seems to have" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 6/7). ABC's Ann Compton after report of Gingrich memo that Bush says he hasn't seen: "He still refuses to get more aggressive either with Perot or with Clinton until closer to election day" (6/7).

SWING NO MORE: SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS' Trounstone examines the 3-way race's effect on Bush and Clinton's initial "suburban, swing-vote strategies." Bush will need the support of Buchanan and his "red-meat Republicans." Clinton will need Brown and his

"bran-muffin Democrats," as well as Jackson backers. Dem strategist Bill Carrick: "There is no fight for the suburban voters -- they are occupied territory. In a three-way race, they're not swing voters. They're the Perot base." Clinton spokesperson Jeff Eller: "It may be occupied territory, but I'm not sure they've laid in the sandbags and firmed up the walls" (6/7). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Nelson: Perot "can push to one fringe the overpaid corporate executives and country-club conservatives who dominate the [GOP]; he can marginalize [Dem] Establishment liberals on the other side. ... He can grab the American middle that the two parties had left up for grabs" (6/8).

UNDER THE MICROSCOPE: W. POST's Dionne: The Perot vote "looks more like a [GOP] vote, the rallies look more like [GOP] rallies." Perot "could be a kind of dagger aimed at the heart of this [GOP] coalition ... I think he's picking up, first and foremost ... Republicans who voted for President Bush, President Reagan twice, and also some of those conservative Democrats who did the same. ... the Clinton folks have been sort of reluctant to go after Mr. Perot, because they see him splitting the [GOP] coalition in a way that they never could have on their own" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/7). Dionne writes, "Conservatives, including some who are sympathetic to Bush, say that Perot is gaining ground even among voters who know [his] positions on certain issues -- notably his support of abortion rights -- are more liberal than their own." Conservative think-tanker Burton Yale Pines said "many conservative activists may feel freer to support Perot" with Ed Rollins on board (6/8). TIME's Kramer writes if voters pass on Perot for lack of specifics, they would "probably turn first to Clinton. Of the rationales Bush has offered for his re-election, his claim to be a change agent is laughable. But Clinton won't get his sought-after second look if Perot's savvy continues, and perhaps not even if Perot falters ... Since he is the 'none of the above' candidate so many seek, wherever Perot intends to go, his starry-eyed supporters are convinced it will be away from the status quo. In the end, that may be enough" (6/15 issue).

THE ART OF WAR: N.Y. TIMES' Toner & Ifill look at Bush and Clinton plans to deal with Perot. Toner writes the Bush "hallmark is caution: Let the President be President, and let surrogates take the shots at Ross Perot." Teeter says the "honest answer" on Perot's staying power is "You don't know." Bush strategist Charles Black on Clinton, to a reporter: "You all are doing such a good job keeping him hidden under a bush, we don't want to interfere with that." Many Bush strategists concede, "not until summer's end will they have a sure sense of the geopolitics of this race" (6/7). Ifill writes Clinton and aides "are of two minds" on Perot. They "seem to have settled on something in between" attacking him and holding back -- "a course that reflects Mr. Clinton's own ambivalence." She also notes Clinton's tactic of more talk-show appearances and "electronic town meetings," including a 30 min. live broadcast 6/12 on NBC. The program, "America Speaks," will originate from Pittsburgh (6/8). GOP strategist Roger Ailes: "I don't think you have to attack Ross Perot, you have to repeat what Ross Perot says. Ross Perot has yet to show himself as anything but a hypocrite" (CBS, 6/6). Jack Germond: "The danger in attacking Perot, right now is the people who are with Ross Perot don't like negative politics, and you don't want to alienate them because they're your people. You're going to want them to come to you" ("Group," 6/6). ORLANDO SENTINEL's Crawford notes, "Do not forget that

once Bush suits up for battle -- and puts his longtime campaign leader Jim Baker back in charge -- he can be one of the meanest street fighters in American politics. A hallmark of Bush's style is that he likes to keep his powder dry until the final weeks ... He prefers to dance with an opponent before lowering the boom.

... In Bush, the tough-talking Perot has met his match. They will likely fight to the death" (6/7). Dukakis '88 manager Susan Estrich argues, "before Bush and Clinton can bring themselves up, they may have to bring Perot down" (L.A. TIMES, 6/7).

SNAPSHOTS: On NBC's "Meet the Press," Sen. Bob Dole (R-KS) cited one of his own polls which showed a "dead heat" between Perot and Bush in KS: "Now that was taken 10 days ago and I think Perot is still probably moving up. Clinton seemed to be sort of out of it. In our part of the country, it's a two-person race right now between Bush and Perot" (6/7). N.Y. POST's Goldstein cites a Bergen (NJ) RECORD statewide poll showing Bush 39%, Perot 24%, Clinton 24%, with Perot backers "equally distributed" among GOP, Dems, and Ind's (6/8). A poll surveyed 461 Erie Co., NY, reg. voters 6/2-3, +/- 5%: Perot 37%, Bush 24%, Clinton 18% (BUFFALO NEWS, 6/5). An Ada Co, ID poll by Rich, Smith, and Rich surveyed 406 voters 5/27-28, +/- 5%: Perot 40%, Bush 34%, Clinton 12% (RSR release, 6/1). Maricopa Co., AZ poll by Behavior Research Ctr surveyed 600 adults "during" 5/92, +/- 4%: Bush 44%, Perot 29%, Clinton 18% (BRC release, 6/5).

BRIGHTER OUTLOOK? HOTLINE publisher Doug Bailey, writing in the W. POST, makes 7 predictions about '92: "There will be fewer negative ads, less divisive politics, more people involved and higher turnout. It will produce coattails in November, an almost-united government in January, and a revitalized two-party system. ... The election of 1992 is about the American people seizing an opportunity to renew America" (6/7).

ELECTORAL COLLEGE UPDATE: N.Y. TIMES' Rohter reports the FL Legislature is "considering a proposal that, by abolishing the winner-take-all system of distributing electoral votes, could radically change the way Presidents are elected." Currently, ME and NE have a similar system of allocating electors by CD. The plan has passed the FL lower house; if it clears the Senate, Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) is expected to sign it (6/7).

*10 PREDICTIONS: "THIS THING IS TOTALLY UP FOR GRABS"

In a highly publicized leak, Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) has warned the president that barring major Bush recovery, "a 45% Perot, 30% Bush, 25% Clinton race is very plausible" (W. POST, 6/7). His was far from the only prediction of the weekend, starting with former president Nixon on Friday morning: NIXON: "If I were betting, I would bet of course on George Bush. That's what my heart tells me and that's what my head tries to tell me. But this is a very unpredictable year" ("Today," NBC, 6/5).

U.S. NEWS' DAVID GERGEN: "If the election were held next Tuesday, Ross Perot would be elected. ... The only person who can beat Ross Perot is Ross Perot" ("MacNeil/Lehrer," PBS, 6/5).

MARK SHIELDS: "This thing is totally up for grabs, and totally winnable or loseable" ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

W. POST's E.J. DIONNE: "It's got to be a three-way race. Clinton has maintained a certain base; he hasn't shrunk all that much. ... The truth is none of us know how this is going to play out. But if I were to guess, I'd have to say it stays a three-way race at least into October and maybe all the way to the end" ("Face the Nation," CBS, 6/7).

"BRINKLEY" PANEL on who will be the top two: Ex-N.Y. TIMES'

Tom Wicker, columnist George Will and ABC's Sam Donaldson: "Bush and Clinton"; ABC's Barbara Walters: "Perot and Bush" (ABC, 6/7).

GOV. LOWELL WEICKER (I-CT): "Bill Clinton has a damn good shot to win the election" ("McLaughlin's One on One," 6/7).

TOM HARKIN: "I think [Perot's] is going to be an eight-week campaign, maybe even six weeks. ... I think he's a fad" (Sioux City JOURNAL, 6/6).

COLUMNIST JAMES KILPATRICK: "Once the voters get to know Perot, the figures will first slump and then fall" (HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 6/5).

ROLL CALL'S MORTON KONDRACKE: "Perot is a spring-summer storm -- a violent one, to be sure -- but it's got to pass ... The American people are serious about the presidency. They have never before casually thrown it to a total unknown, especially one as potentially dangerous as Ross Peron - er, Perot" (ROLL CALL, 6/8 issue).

NEW REPUBLIC'S FRED BARNES: "The American people after months of flip-flopping are going to get the idea that Ross Perot doesn't talk straight" ("McLaughlin Group," 6/6).

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN: "He's on his honeymoon now, but that honeymoon air in that balloon is going to disappear" ("McLaughlin Group," 6/6).

DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Lee Cullum: "Those who wait for him to fade or to fail will wait in vain" ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

S.D. UNION-MIRROR's Gerald Warren: "He'll be in it 'til the end and he'll do better than Teddy Roosevelt did by a longshot" ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION's Cynthia Tucker on whether Bush or Clinton would have the better chance of reclaiming the center: "George Bush does have time to do something that so turns the voting public off, that Bill Clinton can grab headlines again." ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

TRENTON NEWS' Ed Baumeister: On whether Bush or Clinton can best compete with Perot: "Clinton, simply because he is not the President" ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

PROGRESSIVE's Erwin Knoll on who can compete best with Perot: "President Bush, ... because it's going to be one outsider against one insider" ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES' Robert Novak: "Bill Clinton really is in better shape than George Bush in the long haul. ... He has a better chance in the long haul, the way things are going" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 6/6).

CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Clarence Page on Perot getting some black votes: "I do detect a groundswell from the bottom up among black voters for Perot, but it's still a small one" ("M/L," PBS, 6/5).

COLUMNIST GEORGE WILL: "The basic outcome of this election is already known, we are going to have a weak plurality president. Mr. Clinton is probably the weakest challenge to an incumbent since John Davis in 1924. ... George Bush is probably the weakest incumbent seeking re-election since Andrew Johnson in 1868" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7).

*11 12TH NIGHTMARE: CAMPAIGNS ARE GETTING READY; IS THE HOUSE?

SEN. JOSEPH LIEBERMAN (D-CT) on if it goes to the House: "The truth is ... God only knows who will win" ("Both Sides with Jesse Jackson," CNN, 6/6).

GOP consultant HALEY BARBOUR: "It's the only chance Bill Clinton has to get elected President" ("Jackson," CNN, 6/6).

DNC'S RON BROWN: "This will be a Democratically controlled House. Democrats will control most of the state delegations ...

[They] should take into consideration the views of their constituents, and then they ought to vote their conscience. And I would certainly expect that Democrats would be likely to support the candidate of their party" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7).

PEROT'S ED ROLLINS described the third part of Perot's strategy: "You've got to go district by district in trying -- and add pressure and obviously ask people who are running for office this time, particularly new members, how they're going to vote. Are they going to vote, as Ron Brown says, no matter who wins, vote Democratic partisanship, or are you automatically going to vote for a Republican president, or are you going to basically vote how the district goes for president? And I think that's part of the strategy" ("Brinkley," ABC, 6/7).

SURVEY OF CA HOUSE CANDIDATES: SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS tried to reach all 99 candidates for CA's 52 House seats. Of the 66 they reached: 13 pledged to vote in the House for the presidential winner in their district; 29 said they would vote for their party's nominee regardless of how he did; 8 said they would use their own judgement; and 16 refused to answer. "The party loyalties ran strongest among Democratic incumbents and candidates for open seats." Some saw "Would you vote your district or your party?" as a major campaign issue. Tony Rudy, aide to Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA): "The incumbent can't win. Whatever [the incumbent] says will piss somebody off. That's exactly the issue a challenger wants." John Anwiler (D-Orange County): "That's why there are so many people who like Ross Perot. The people are tired of politicians who think they're some kind of God and just do whatever they want" (6/7).

HOUSE RULES: ROLL CALL asks whether the House is ready, reporting that House leaders are resisting efforts to spell out the rules that would govern the House vote because "such public discussion would boost the candidacy of Perot." Two sub-committees have put hearings on hold: House Rules sub-committee on legislative process, chaired by Rep. Anthony Beilenson (D-CA); Judiciary subcmte on civil and constitutional rights, chaired by Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA). Major rules questions to be decided: Should the process be closed to the public (as it was in 1824) or public as most seem to favor; should each Member's ballot in their State's caucus be public information (the Party vs. District question); "perhaps, most important, should a majority be required within a state to determine that state's vote or could it be determined by a plurality?"; and what would constitute a quorum in each state's caucus to determine the state's vote? ROLL CALL editorial: "As the heat of the election intensifies, it will become more and more difficult to settle these questions without bitter recriminations, both within Congress -- and toward Congress. Now is the time to act" (6/8).

COOK SPOTS 16 KEY HOUSE RACES: Analyst Charlie Cook recommends to the House campaign committees in both parties that they raise extra funds from "maxed out" contributors to their presidential races to pour funds into 16 House races critical to the outcome of a 12th Amendment House vote for president. He isolates these seats: Reps. DeLauro (D-CT), Franks (R-CT), Gejdensen (D-CT), Lightfoot (R-IA), Sanders (I-VT), Swett (D-NH); faceoff races between IA Reps. Nagle (D) and Nussle (R), MD Reps. McMillen (D) and Gilchrest (R), and MT Reps. Marlenee (R) and Williams (D); open seats of Rep. Byron (D-MD), Campbell (D-CO), Carper (D-DE), Dorgan (D-ND), Owens (D-UT), and Stallings (D-ID). (ROLL CALL, 6/8 issue).

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===== SENATE WATCH =====

*12 COLORADO: HEATH BARS BALLOT CRUNCH; SUBMITS PETITIONS

'90 Dem Senate nominee Josie Heath submitted 21,231 signatures from CO Dems -- "roughly twice as many signatures as she need" -- to qualify for the Dem Senate primary ballot. "Stringent" regulations require Heath to submit 2% of retiring Sen. Tim Wirth's (D) total vote in each of CO's 6 CDs. Heath did not meet the delegate threshold to gain access to the ballot like ex-Gov. Dick Lamm (D) and Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (D-03). Heath: "The old guard no longer picks who they want anymore, the people get to do that." She attacked Wirth who "suggested that her role in primary would be nothing more than a spoiler": "A lot of us worked for Tim and respect him, but even he doesn't get it" (Herrick, ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS, 6/6). Heath credited the success of the grass-roots signature drive to "hundreds of volunteers" although she later "acknowledged that some of the workers had been paid to collect signatures. Sec./State Natalie Meyer suggested Heath submit about 15,000 signatures although only 10,589 are required: "It's not an easy way to get on the ballot." Meyer said she "hoped to check them all ... within a week" although there is no legal time limit for the verification process (Anderson, DENVER POST, 6/6).

*13 CONNECTICUT: DODD V. "WHAT'S-THEIR-NAMES"

HARTFORD COURANT/Connecticut Poll, conducted by UConn's Inst. for Social Inquiry from 5/26-6/1, surveyed 500 CT residents, margin of error +/- 5%. Tested: Sen. Chris Dodd (D), businessman Christopher Burnham (R), ex-state House min. leader Robert Jaekle (R). Not tested: Brooks Johnson (R) (6/5).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCH-UP

Dodd	52%	Dodd	51%
Burnham	16	Jaekle	14

DODD RE-ELECT	6/92	3/92	1/92	FAV/UNFAV
Re-elect	49%	50%	51%	Dodd 42% / 30%
Someone else	33	32	35	Burnham 3 / 10
				Jaekle 7 / 10

The race "has shaped up as a lackluster contest between [Dodd] and what's-their-names" as Burnham and Jaekle "have barely dented the public consciousness." Newly announced candidate Brooks Johnson "is less known" than the other 2 GOPers but "his recognition will almost certainly rise, thanks to a massive news media campaign." 82 spots are scheduled to air on the three networks and 378 ads are to air on cable. CT Poll dir. Don Feree: Johnson "may have more success than Burnham or Jaekle ...

because they've been out there for a while and it's apparent that the public has not yet turned on to them." The 7/91 CT GOP convention will partially resolve the primary battle but "even if one of the three wins the convention endorsement, the other two can qualify" for the primary "by winning at least 20% of the delegates" (Jacklin, HARTFORD COURANT 6/5).

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

*14 FL 03: BENNETT LIFTS "OUT OF HOUSE" LIST TO 71

Rep. Charles Bennett (D) "unexpectedly announced his retirement, saying his wife's health had made him reconsider running for a 23rd term." Bennett's wife suffered a stroke last week, and Bennett, who himself suffers from polio said, "The recent illness of my wife underlines for me my own age and physical disabilities." Bennett had said last week that he was seeking one more term, and claimed that "what was expected to be the first significant challenge" from the GOP had no bearing on his decision. Jacksonville City Councilwoman Tillie Fowler (R) had announced 6/3 she would run and has "put together a group of well-heeled financial backers" (Fallstrom, FLORIDA TIMES-UNION, 6/8). Circuit Judge/ex-state Sen. Mattox Hair (D) "surfaced yesterday as the [Dem] with the best chance to succeed" Bennett. Hair: "Obviously I'm very interested in the race now. I'll have a statement this week about what I plan to do." Also mentioned as a possible contender: State Rep. Jim King (R). Others already in: Don Weidner (R), Cliff Taylor (R), Stephen Kelley (R), and Wesley Bruce (D).

===== HOTSPOTS =====

*15 NORTH CAROLINA: HELMS CONDITION STABILIZES AFTER SCARE

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) "was resuscitated and put on a respirator early Sunday after he stopped breathing." An anesthesiologist at Raleigh's Rex hospital "used a squeezable air bag to force air into Helms' lungs until the Senator could be put on a respirator." Helms underwent a quadruple bypass and valve replacement surgery after being diagnosed with coronary artery disease in May. Head of anesthesiology Dr. Bertram Coffey: "We expect this setback to be temporary. His prognosis for a full and complete recovery remains good." Coffey also said that the lapse in breathing is, "One of the complications we expect, I wouldn't call it uncommon," and attributed it to an accumulation of fluids in his throat. The complication "apparently was not cause for great concern among his [Helms'] friends and aides" (AP/Raleigh NEWS AND OBSERVER, 6/8). Helms was unable to talk because of the respirator, but according to Coffey, "He lifted his head, and we asked him if we could see him back in the Senate in a short time, and he smiled and nodded his head, so there's no evidence of any residual damage" (Day, CHARLOTTE OBSERVER, 6/8).

*16 VIRGINIA: ROBB REPORT, CONVENTION & DUMP GOLDMAN

W. POST's Harris examines Sen. Charles Robb's (D-VA) "classic tale of a fall from grace." Robb, "who some believed would be president some day may be on the brink of political and legal disaster." Harris writes that the story documenting Robb's alleged problems "has two threads ... The first is Robb's own behavior and association with a fast-lane crowd at Virginia Beach during his four years as governor ... The second is an abiding mistrust of [VA Gov.] Wilder that ultimately came to consume the senator's staff and engulf Robb. ... Whatever the reason [for Robb's present situation], Robb's alleged indiscretions likely are more costly for him than for most politicians. He isn't a stellar speaker, and his middle-of-the-road ideology doesn't

naturally draw fervent loyalists. His greatest strength was always an image of unchallenged probity" (6/7). ROANOKE TIMES & WORLD-NEWS' Eure notes: "A decade ago Robb seemed the golden son of Virginia's democratic party. ... But his pedestal has cracked and buckled in recent years" (6/6).

PAX VA?: Robb "offered an olive branch to" Wilder 6/7 at the VA Dem convention, "but Wilder stopped short of taking it" (Whitley, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 6/7). W. POST reports Robb said he wants "to put aside any differences" he has had with Wilder, telling the almost 2,000 convention delegates he is "just as tired as you are of reading all those stories in the press about the discord and my relationship with the governor." Wilder, whose speech to the delegates followed Robb's, said he was "pleased to hear Senator Robb set the record straight, and I thank him for doing that" (Baker, 6/7). W. TIMES: "Afterwards Mr. Wilder pointedly reminded reporters that his comments should not be interpreted as forgiveness for Mr. Robb's actions. 'I didn't come here prepared to address that,' he said" (Clardy, 6/7). TIMES & WORLD-NEWS: "Wilder whose staff has been in contact with the independent campaign of Ross Perot, gave marginal assurances of his support for Clinton" (Eure, 6/7).

GOLDMAN SURVIVES: VA Dem chair Paul Goldman "survived two attempts to dump him tonight at the party's state convention." By a 15-10 vote the rules cmte "rejected a motion that would have allowed delegates to vote on a resolution Saturday calling for Goldman's resignation." W. POST reports "the beleaguered Goldman emerged from a 90-minute closed-door meeting with the party's steering committee and announced that he had agreed to name a seven member committee to write a plan of action that could reduce some of his authority" (Baker, 6/6). TIMES & WORLD-NEWS: "Many [VA Dems] have grumbled that Goldman ... spends more time promoting Wilder's personal political fortunes than building the party" (Yancey, 6/6). VA Tech analyst Bob Denton: "In talking with people. I find it fascinating that the object of concern is not Robb and his problems, but Wilder and Goldman, ... They see Robb and [ex-Gov. Gerald] Baliles as having built the party and Wilder and Goldman as destroying it" (WORLD-NEWS, 6/7).

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*17 TIME/CNN: PEROT 37%, CLINTON 24%, BUSH 24%

974 registered voters surveyed 6/3-4 by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, margin of error +/- 3.1% (CNN 6/6, TIME 6/15 issue).

3-WAY RACE		CERTAIN OF	2-WAY RACE		FAVORABLE/UNFAVORABLE		4/92
		YOUR VOTE?			FAV	UNF	FAV
Bush	24%	65%	Bush	35%	Bush	36%	51%
Clinton	24	72%	Clinton	38	Clinton	35	40
Perot	37	57%			Perot	40	30

SHOULD BUSH KEEP QUAYLE?

	KEEP	REPLACE	DK
ALL	32%	55%	13%
GOP	43	49	8
IND	19	59	22
DEM	26	61	13

QUAYLE QUALIFIED TO BE PRESIDENT?

	YES	NO	DK/NOT SURE
ALL	28%	66%	6%
GOP	42	53	5
IND	21	64	15
DEM	20	77	3

QUAYLE JOB APPROVAL

	APPROVE	DISAPP	DK
ALL	36%	53%	11%
GOP	54	39	7
IND	23	58	19
DEM	25	65	10

FAVOR QUAYLE AS '96 GOP CANDIDATE?

	FAVOR	OPPOSE	DK/NOT SURE
ALL	14%	74%	12%
GOP	19	65	16
IND	9	77	14
DEM	10	83	7

BUSH DESERVE RE-ELECTION?

Yes -- 33%, No -- 61%

BUSH JOB APPROVAL

Now 30%; 5/92 37%

BUSH STRONG LEADER?

Yes 45%; 4/92 60%

*18 NEWSWEEK/GALLUP: PEROT 35%, BUSH 33%, CLINTON 25%

753 registered voters surveyed 6/4-5 by Gallup, margin of error +/- 4% (NEWSWEEK 6/15 issue).

3-WAY	NOW	5/20	5/10	4/22	4/16	4/30	3/31
Bush	33%	35%	35%	41%	42%	38%	44%
Clinton	25	25	29	26	27	27	25
Perot	35	35	30	25	20	22	24

PEROT VOTERS ONLY

MOST IMPORTANT REASON

Leadership 24%

Issues 12

Candidates 52

IF PEROT CAN'T WIN

& YOUR VOTE FOR HIM

HELPS BUSH, ARE YOU

Less likely for Perot 38%

Not less likely

IF PEROT CAN'T WIN

& YOUR VOTE FOR HIM

HELPS CLINTON ...

Less likely 39%

Not less likely 52

PEROT'S HIRING OF ROLLINS/JORDAN

SHOWS PEROT AN ORDINARY POL

Yes 35% No 42%

MAKE YOU MORE/LESS LIKELY TO

TO VOTE FOR HIM ALL PEROT

More likely 15% 22%

Less likely 6 1

Not much diff. 74 73

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT THAT

PREZ BE FROM ONE OF 2 PARTIES?

	ALL	BUS	CLI	PER
--	-----	-----	-----	-----

Very important	20%	25%	36%	6%
----------------	-----	-----	-----	----

Somewhat imp.	26	33	23	20
---------------	----	----	----	----

Not too imp.	23	18	19	31
--------------	----	----	----	----

Not imp at all	29	21	21	42
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DOES PEROT NEED TO SAY A LOT

MORE OR DO YOU UNDERSTAND HIM?

	ALL	BUS	CLI	PER
--	-----	-----	-----	-----

Say more	70%	75%	70%	67%
----------	-----	-----	-----	-----

Understand him	25	18	27	31
----------------	----	----	----	----

HOW DO THESE STORIES SO FAR MAKE YOU FEEL ABOUT PEROT?

BETTER WORSE NO DIFF. NEED INFO

Attempts to leave Navy early	3%	13%	47%	31%
------------------------------	----	-----	-----	-----

Connections to Nixon Administration	6	10	36	42
-------------------------------------	---	----	----	----

What he says/doesn't say re deficit	12	6	14	63
What says/doesn't say on other plans	5	9	17	65
Position on gays in government	17	11	29	35
Stds & dress code for his employees	28	6	29	30
Efforts to find Vietnam servicemen	47	2	18	27
His position on abortion	19	6	20	44

RATE THE NEWS COVERAGE OF PEROT:

Fair 44%; too easy on him 18%; trying to make him look bad 24%.

IF PEROT'S V.P. WERE...WOULD YOU BE MORE/LESS LIKELY TO BACK HIM?

	MORE LIKELY	LESS LIKELY	NO IMPACT
Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf	41%	17%	37%
Author Tom Clancy	5	18	54
Jeane Kirkpatrick	20	17	49
Businessman Lee Iacocca	23	35	36
Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH)	12	13	54
TV analyst Bill Moyers	12	17	54

SHOULD THE DEM CONVENTION DROP CLINTON AND PICK ANOTHER NOMINEE?

	ALL	DEM	CLINTON VOTERS
Yes	38%	30%	19%
No	51	63	76

LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING	TOTAL	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT
Most likely (self perception)	86%	86%	81%	90%
Less likely (self perception)	12	12	16	9

HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR POLITICAL VIEWS?

	ALL VOTERS	BUSH VOTERS	CLINTON VOTERS	PEROT VOTERS
Very conservative	8%	13%	4%	4%
Conservative	26	36	14	25
Moderate	44	38	46	50
Liberal	14	8	23	16
Very liberal	4	2	6	3

PEROT VOTER PROFILE

		INCOME		NOW		4/92		IDEOLOGY		NOW		4/92	
SEX	NOW	4/92											
			\$50K/over	27%	31%			Conservative		29%	32%		
M	53%	58%	\$30K-\$50K	27	24			Moderate		50	47		
F	47	42	Under \$30K	38	39			Liberal		19	18		
PARTY I.D.													
			GOP	22	26			Bush voters		53	55		
			Democrat	26	29			Dukakis vtrs.		24	28		
			Independent	53	45			Didn't vote		19	12		

===== TV MONITOR =====

*19 THIS MORNING: NBC's "Today" hosted EPA administrator Wm. Reilly from Rio and radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh (6/8). ABC's "GMA" hosted Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn from Dallas, where a delegation of big city mayors will meet with Perot today, and ex-Sen. Gary Hart (D-CO) on the presidential race (6/8). "CBS This Morning" held a special "Looking for Solutions" from L.A. and hosted L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley (6/8).

A.M. NOTABLES: EPA's Reilly, citing the budget, enforcement, and new EPA initiatives: "The President has nothing to apologize for. We have an outstanding record on the environment" (NBC, 6/8). Ray Flynn, on Perot: "We clearly feel that our concerns, in fact, have been ignored both in the White House and the Congress over the last twelve years" (ABC, 6/8). Ex-Sen. Gary Hart on what "created" Perot: "I think the fault lines that have been papered-over for the past quarter-century or more by the Cold War ... we have deferred our own domestic agenda in health and education and the environment and jobs. The Cold War is over and I think the people have figured that out faster than the political process" (ABC, "GMA," 6/8).

THIS WEEKEND: 6/5: All nets and "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with the rise in unemployment. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA) on MFN status for China. ABC's "Nightline" examined justice in South Central L.A. after the riots with LA County DA Ira Reiner, L.A. City Councilwoman Patricia Moore, and Police Commis. VP Jesse Brewer. 6/6: NBC and CBS led with the Earth Summit, ABC with "threats" from Daryl Gates to stay on as LAPD chief. 6/7: NBC led with unrest and the effect of sanctions in the former Yugoslavia; ABC led with Bush/John Major meeting; CBS with Newt Gingrich's memo to Bush.

PAC HOUSE: ABC reported PAC donations to congressional campaigns are up to \$73 million, up \$9 million from the same period two years. Top PAC donors include: doctors, auto dealers, milk producers, insurance agents, and gun owners (6/6); Cokie Roberts examined the "trend" of quitting congress (6/7).

WINNERS/LOSERS: All "McLaughlin Group"-ers agreed Perot won the week, with the hiring of Jordan and Rollins a smart idea. Chris Matthews: "Daniel Patrick Moynihan will be the Democratic candidate for [VP] this summer." Fred Barnes: "The person with the best chance to Perot's running mate is Jeane Kirkpatrick." Morton Kondracke: "Jeane Kirkpatrick will not take the vice-president offered by Perot -- too much character" ("Group," 6/6). CNN's Rick Allen named CA Sen. nominees Feinstein/Boxer winners of the week. Allen: "Our pick for loser this week, first Bill Clinton. ... He's willing to do just about anything [over footage of "Arsenio"]. ... Co-loser is President Bush." (6/5). ABC's 6/5 "Person of the Week": Earth Summit organizer Maurice Strong.

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"The networks did the Bush campaign an enormous favor by not putting that manic and incoherent performance in front of a larger audience than it had anyway."
-- George Will on Bush's press conference, "Brinkley," ABC, 6/7.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Charles E. Bennett
U.S. House of Representatives
2107 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

(Personal)

(By Courier)



THE PRESIDENT

June 8, 1992

Dear Charlie,

*I know yours was not an
easy decision; but I respect it. You
have served with great honor and
integrity. You have set an example
for us all. This is not a final
"farewell" - It is simply to pass*

along my best water -
The house will be the lower
when you step outside .

Warm Regards,

By 131

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

.2 JUN 5 P4:11

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALLS BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman Rick Boucher (D-VA)

DATE: June 5, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To persuade Congressman Boucher to support the Stenholm (D-TX) Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

BACKGROUND: The House is scheduled to begin consideration of the various balanced budget Constitutional amendments on Wednesday. Recorded votes are expected on Thursday.

Congressman Boucher is genuinely undecided about whether to support the Stenholm amendment. In general, he is reluctant to amend the Constitution but understands the need to impose some fiscal discipline in the current system. Congressman Boucher's commitment to support the Stenholm amendment is vital in achieving the two-thirds margin needed to pass.

KEY POINTS: -- I'm calling to ask for your help in passing the Stenholm balanced budget amendment. I know you have some reservations about amending the Constitution. I can understand that. Normally, I'm not a big fan of amending the Constitution either.

-- But a couple of things outweigh that concern. First, the current system is out of control. And this is not a partisan thing. We all bear some of the blame for that, just as we all bear the responsibility for getting it back under control.

6-6 Distr

Nich

*got him - 7 PM 6-8
will think about it.
"stuck one of several options"*

*This is the
2nd Demo
that referred
to "one of several
options" that
must be the line*

MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
June 8, 1992

ACTION

1. Recommended Letter of Congratulations to newly elected and re-elected Republican Party Officials in Michigan, Georgia, and Virginia.
2. Letter to Joseph A. Pichler, Chairman of the Nat'l Alliance of Business, re the 1992 Summer Jobs Campaign.
3. Recommended Telephone Calls to Congressmen Rick Boucher (D-VA); Harley Staggers (D-WV); Ron Mazzoli (D-KY) re the Balanced Budget Amendment.
4. Daily Point of Light Letters and Summaries (6/8/92 - 6/14/92).
5. Response to Milosh Milenkovich, President of the Serbian Unity Congress re the Situation in Yugoslavia.
6. Acceptance of Resignation Letters for Catherine Bertini, Asst. Sec. of Agriculture for Food and Consumer Services; Craig Helsing, Asst. Sec. of Commerce for Legislative and Intergov't Affairs.
7. Presidential Note to Queen Margrethe II and Prince Henrik of Denmark on the Occasion of their Silver Wedding Anniversary.
8. Recommended letter of Congratulations to Newly Elected and Re-Elected Republican Party Officials in North Carolina -- Linda Shaw as Nat'l Cmtewoman and Jack Laughery as Nat'l Cmteman.
9. FY 1993 Refugee Admissions Consultations.
10. Thank you Letters to New Mexico Bush-Quayle Workers; Congratulations Letters to Primary Winners in Montana, South Dakota, and Iowa; Letters to Losers of California Primaries.

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. Scowcroft Memo re Pan Am 103 Memorial Cairn.

2. Grady Memo Attaching Brochure on the U.S. Record of Leadership on Environmental Protection.

REMARKS

1. Arlen Specter Fundraising Dinner.

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President today announced that John Joseph Murphy, of Texas, has agreed to serve as the Chairman of the Citizens Democracy Corps. He would succeed Drew Lewis. Mr. Murphy serves as Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Dresser Industries, Incorporated in Dallas, Texas.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be Commissioners on the United States Section of the Pacific Salmon Commission:

DAVID A. COLSON, of Maryland, for a term expiring January 5, 1994. This is a reappointment. Currently, Mr. Colson serves as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs at the State Department in Washington, D.C.

GERALD I. JAMES, of Washington, for a term expiring January 5, 1996. He would succeed Guy R. McMinds. Currently, Mr. James serves as Program Manager for the Lummi Tribe and has served as a member and Vice Chairman of the Lummi Indian Business Council.

CHARLES P. MEACHAM, of Alaska, for the remainder of the term expiring January 5, 1994. He would succeed Don W. Collinsworth. Currently, Mr. Meacham serves as Deputy Commissioner of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game in Juneau, Alaska.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President today announced his intention to appoint Zvi Kestenbaum, of New York, to be a Member of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad for a term expiring February 27, 1995. This is a reappointment. Currently, Rabbi Kestenbaum serves as Executive Director of the Opportunity Development Association in Brooklyn, New York.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President announced today the appointment of Jeffrey W. Vogt as Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison.

Since 1989, Mr. Vogt has served at the White House as Assistant Director (1989-1990) and as Associate Director (1990-1992) for the Office of Public Liaison. Mr. Vogt has served as the contact for the corporate, small business, and business association communities on economic and trade policy issues.

Mr. Vogt previously served as a member of the President-Elect's Public Affairs Transition team; as Finance Director of Victory '88 at the Republican National Committee, 1988; and as National Direct Marketing Coordinator for the George Bush for President campaign, 1987-1988. Mr. Vogt is a former small business owner and has held other positions, which include: Account Executive at the direct marketing firm of Stephen Winchell & Associates, 1985-1986; Sales Representative for Coldwell Banker Real Estate, 1985-1988; and finance director for the McMillan for Congress campaign in Bushnell, Illinois, 1984.

Mr. Vogt was graduated from Colby College (B.A., 1984) in Waterville, Maine. He was born June 18, 1962, in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and presently resides in Arlington, Virginia.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Michael Farrell, of the District of Columbia, to be a Member of the National Commission of Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1997. This is a reappointment. He will be redesignated Chairman. Currently, Mr. Farrell serves as a Partner with the law firm of Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Phillips in Washington, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO STATE LEGISLATURES

The Roosevelt Room

11:15 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome all. Thank you very much for coming.

Let me just make a short statement here before we close the door and get into hearing from you all on this important amendment. But 44 states, 44 states have constitutional provisions relating to a balanced budget. And passing a balanced budget amendment, in my view, is essential to the long-term economic health of this country. And this is an idea whose time has come. We've been for it for a long, long time.

And I want to hear from each of you as to how you think we can best get this done. But I appreciate your being here. It is priority. I think the country is sick and tired of deficits. This will help discipline the Executive and the Legislative Branch, and we've got to get it done. So I appreciate your coming and we'll see where we go here.

Q Mr. President, do you support expanding the role of U.N. peacekeepers to secure the airport --

THE PRESIDENT: We're not taking any questions other than the balanced budget amendment. I answered that yesterday, I think, too. I don't think you were able to make the press conference --

Q We understand there are some changes in the position, sir.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

11:17 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President today recognized James Meador of Shreveport, Louisiana, as the 794th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Mr. Meador works to improve the well-being of hospitalized Spanish-speaking children.

Mr. Meador, 72, has been volunteering at the Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children since August of 1988. Mr. Meador first went to the Shriners Hospital when his granddaughter needed an operation. While he was there, he realized that the hospital staff needed someone to translate for the Spanish-speaking children who came to the hospital from the United States and other countries. Many of these children could not speak English, and they often came to the hospital alone, for their parents could not afford to come with them. Mr. Meador, a retired businessman who worked and lived for 20 years in Venezuela, realized that he could use his Spanish-speaking skills to help these children.

Mr. Meador now volunteers 16 hours a week at the hospital, translating between the young patients and the medical staff. Mr. Meador also helps the children write letters to their parents, he helps doctors and nurses communicate with the children's parents, and he provides emotional support to the young patients before and after they go into surgery. Mr. Meador volunteers at the hospital every Tuesday and Friday, but he will come to the hospital almost anytime if he is needed for a particular situation. The children at the hospital often call Mr. Meador "Don Jaime," a term of endearment that expresses their gratitude for all that he has done for them.

The President salutes James Meador for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Miah Homstad
(202) 456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 8, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mary Jo Jacobi, of Mississippi, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Congressional and Intergovernmental Affairs. She would succeed Craig R. Helsing.

Since 1990, Ms. Jacobi has served as Senior Vice President at Group Public Affairs USA in New York, New York. Since 1985, she has served in several capacities with Drexel Burnham Lambert Incorporated in New York: Senior Vice President, 1990; Member of the Board of Directors, 1989-1990; First Vice President, 1987-1989; and Corporate Vice President, 1985-1986. Ms. Jacobi has also served at the White House as Special Assistant to the President for Business Liaison, 1983-1985; and as a Member of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations, 1986-1988. She has also served at the Department of Commerce as Director of the Office of Business Liaison, 1982-1983; and as Executive Assistant to the Associate Deputy Secretary, 1981-1982.

Ms. Jacobi was graduated from Loyola University in New Orleans (B.B.A, 1973) and from George Washington University (M.B.A, 1976). She was born December 7, 1951 in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. Ms. Jacobi currently resides in New York, New York.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6/8/92

Mr. President:

Patty called singing the praises of Patty Hobbs. Met her in Delaware on Friday. Said she had forgotten what a great Bush person she was -- very enthusiastic. She knows a lot of people and is plugged in with everybody.

Thinks you should keep her in mind for something here at the White House.

RZ

gave this message to the President.

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Monday, June 8, 1992

Volume 28, Number 90

This Week in Congress

Attention will be on the House Tuesday and Wednesday when lawmakers consider balanced budget measures. First, the House will consider a bill that would require the president to submit a federal budget request with no red ink. Then on Wednesday, lawmakers will take up a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget.

Also on the House schedule this week is a bill to extend an emergency unemployment benefits program.

And both the House and Senate could bring up the conference report on the \$2 billion fiscal 1992 supplemental appropriations bill.

In the last busy primary day in the next two months, voters in Maine, North Dakota, Virginia and Arkansas will select congressional candidates for the fall election.

House Floor Action

Balanced Budget. The House on Wednesday will begin work on a measure (H J Res 290) that would require that the federal budget be balanced each fiscal year.

Considered a near certainty for approval just weeks ago, lobbying by congressional leaders against the proposed constitutional amendment may have cut into its support, particularly in the Senate.

To be added to the Constitution, an amendment must be approved by two-thirds of both the House and Senate and then ratified by three-fourths of the states.

H J Res 290, introduced by Charles W. Stenholm, D-Texas, would require that all federal programs be included in calculations to determine if the federal budget were balanced.

Members will consider several alternatives, including one by Democratic leaders that would exclude the Social Security program from the balanced budget calculations.

• On Tuesday, the House will consider a draft bill that would require the

president's annual budget request to be balanced. The measure, which was being crafted on Friday, may also require the House and Senate Budget committees to approve a budget resolution with no red ink.

Jobless Benefits. After a week-long delay, the House on Tuesday will take up a bill (HR 5260) that would extend an emergency unemployment program that provides federal benefits to jobless workers who have exhausted their regular benefits.

Consideration of the bill comes on the heels of last week's announcement that the national unemployment rate had jumped to 7.5 percent — its highest level in eight years.

Jobless workers would receive up to 20 to 26 weeks of additional coverage. Workers in states with unemployment rates of 9 percent or more would be eligible for 26 weeks of benefits.

The measure would extend the current program, which expires July 4, at least through the end of the year and into 1993 if the national unemployment rate remains above 6.5 percent.

Senate Floor Action

Substance Abuse. The Senate will resume work on the conference agreement on a bill (S 1306) that would reauthorize federal substance abuse and mental health programs.

On Tuesday, the Senate will vote on a motion to send the measure back to conference with the House. Several senators, in particular Bob Graham D-Fla., have complained that a new formula for the distribution of grants is detrimental to their states.

If the bill's opponents' attempt to reopen conference negotiations fails, senators will then vote on whether to cut off debate and consider the conference report.

Striker Replacement. The Senate may also turn to a bill (S 55) that would

Last Week

The Senate and House voted last week to buck Bush administration policies on abortion.

The Senate cleared a bill that would allow clinics that receive federal support to conduct research using tissue from aborted fetuses, overturning an administration ban. And House lawmakers voted to reverse an administration policy that bars most abortions in overseas military hospitals. The House included that provision in a measure authorizing the Pentagon's fiscal 1993 budget.

In other action, the leadership of the House Appropriations panel launched the fiscal 1993 appropriations process, as the 13 subcommittee chairmen agreed to spending allocations for their subcommittees and the Energy and Water panel approved its bill.

Primary Results. Two GOP House members — Robert J. Lagomarsino, Calif., and Clarence E. Miller, Ohio, — lost re-election bids Tuesday in a busy day of congressional primary activity in nine states.

House Floor Action

Defense Bill. The House on Friday approved, 198-168, the fiscal 1993 authorization for the Defense Department after rejecting amendments to reduce funding levels for the B-2 "stealth" bomber and the Strategic Defense Initiative.

Members rejected most amendments to the \$270 billion measure, although they did cut funding for U.S. overseas bases by \$3.5 billion in a bid to get allies to pay a larger share of those costs.

On Friday, the House rejected, 212-163, an amendment to halt production of the B-2 bomber at 15 planes instead of the 20 planes planned. That would have shaved \$2.7 billion from the bill. The measure includes \$4.3 billion for SDI.

See LAST WEEK on p. 3

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See THIS WEEK on p. 2

THIS WEEK from p. 1

bar employers from hiring permanent replacement workers during labor disputes.

The measure applies only to union workers. Currently, companies can permanently replace workers striking for better wages, but not employees protesting working conditions.

Democratic sponsors contend the measure is essential to protect striking workers, while GOP members oppose the bill on the grounds that it would make it more favorable for workers to strike.

The bill has been pending for almost a year. The Labor Committee approved the measure last June 19.

Committee Action

Appropriations Bills. Although nothing has been scheduled, several House Appropriations subcommittees may meet this week to mark up their fiscal 1993 spending bills.

The Transportation and Related Agencies; Foreign Operations; and Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary subcommittees all may hold markups later this week.

The Transportation panel's discretionary spending allocation is \$12.8 billion, while Foreign Operations has \$14.7 billion and the Commerce, Justice, State Subcommittee has \$22.69 billion.

Health Plans. Measures (HR 1602,

HR 2782) that would allow states to regulate company health plans will be considered on Wednesday by the House Education and Labor Committee.

The 1974 Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), which set up regulations for employee benefit plans, prohibits states from regulating the plans.

The Supreme Court and lower courts have nullified certain state laws pertaining to employee health benefits.

HR 2782 would clarify instances in which Congress never intended for ERISA to pre-empt state authority. HR 1602 would allow individuals to sue their health insurance companies to recover damages as a result of unfair claims practices.

Foreign-Flag Ships. The House Education panel's Wednesday agenda also includes a bill (HR 1126) that would require foreign-flag ships to comply with U.S. labor laws if they regularly carry people or goods to or from U.S. ports.

The shipowners would have to comply with minimum wage and overtime pay laws as well as child labor rules.

Pacific Yew. The House Interior Committee on Wednesday will take up a bill (HR 3836) that would require federal land agencies to ensure that the bark of the Pacific yew tree is not wasted. The bark is the source of taxol, a substance that has been highly successful in treating some forms of cancer.

The Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management would have to allow drug companies to harvest the yew trees before an area could be made available to commercial loggers.

Scientific Cooperation. The House Science, Space and Technology Committee on Wednesday will consider a bill (HR 3215) that would establish a program at the National Science Foundation (NSF) to promote scientific cooperation between the United States and nations of Latin America.

In an effort to encourage "debt-for-science" exchanges, the NSF would pay part of a Latin American country's debt in exchange for a contribution by that nation to support joint scientific research and education projects.

Trade Bill. The House Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee on Tuesday will resume work on legislation (HR 5100) that would reauthorize a law designed to pressure countries to eliminate barriers to trade.

Panel members discussed the measure last week but held off on amendments until today.

The so-called Super 301 section of existing trade law would be reauthorized for five years. It requires the U.S. trade representative to identify countries with major barriers to the import of U.S. goods and to target them for negotiations and possible retaliation.

Primary Votes Set in Ark., Maine, Va.

Congressional primary activity slows down considerably this week, with elections on the calendar in just four states.

Tomorrow, Virginia and Maine will hold primaries and a runoff takes place in Arkansas. North Dakota also has a primary election scheduled tomorrow, but there are no contests in either the Senate or at-large House seat races.

Here are highlights of some of the most interesting contests:

Arkansas. Democratic Rep. Beryl Anthony Jr. faces Arkansas Secretary of State Bill McCuen in 4th District runoff. In the May 26 primary, Anthony came in first but was unable to win the 50 percent needed to avoid a runoff.

McCuen, who captured 30 percent of the primary vote, has called attention to Anthony's 109 overdrafts at the House bank and his vote for a congressional pay raise, while Anthony, who got 40 percent of the primary vote, has countered with ads criticizing McCuen's attempts to get a pay raise from the state and his taxpayer-funded living quarters on Arkansas' Capitol grounds.

The Democratic runoff winner is heavily favored to beat GOP lawyer Jay Dickey in November.

Maine. Three Republicans vie today in a 1st District primary in their attempt to unseat freshman Democratic Rep. Thomas H. Andrews.

Conservative businesswomen Linda Bean is opposed by moderate Anthony M. Payne, an advertising executive, and conservative John E. Purcell Jr., a factory manager, who is running as a political outsider.

Bean — granddaughter of L. L. Bean, founder of Maine's famous mail order house — has more name recognition than her opponents and also more money. But Purcell has argued that Bean is too far to the right on such issues as abortion.

Virginia. Three Democrats are competing in the new black-majority 3rd District, which will give the state its second black congressman in history, and the first since 1890. All the candidates in the race, including GOP nominee Daniel Jenkins, are black.

In Tuesday's Democratic primary, State Sen. Robert C. Scott appears to have an edge over state Del. Jean W. Cunningham and lawyer Jacqueline G. Epps. Cunningham and Epps, both of Richmond, will be competing for the same western base of the district, from Richmond to Hampton Roads. Scott, a longtime legislator from Newport News, has more name recognition as a result of having opposed Rep. Herb Bateman in the 1st District in 1986.

• In Northern Virginia's 8th District, three Republicans are hoping to win the right to challenge Democratic Rep. James P. Moran Jr. in November.

William Cleveland, vice mayor of Alexandria, has key GOP party support. Other candidates include former House Energy Committee staff member Joseph Vasapoli and environmental lawyer Kyle McSlarrow.

• The open 11th District has a crowded field of five GOP contenders, including former Michigan Rep. Mark Siljander (1981-87), George Mason University law professor Henry Butler (son of ex-Rep. Caldwell Butler), state Del. John A. "Jack" Rollison III, high-tech entrepreneur Jay Khim, and Andy Schlafly (son of conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly).

The new district was formed when Virginia was given an extra seat via reapportionment.

The GOP primary winner will face state Del. Leslie L. Byrne.

LAST WEEK from p. 1

Historic Preservation. The House passed legislation (HR 4801) that would reauthorize the Historic Preservation Fund, which provides matching grants for national and state historic site projects through fiscal 1997.

The bill sets an annual ceiling of \$150 million for the fund, which is supplied by receipts from federal offshore oil and gas leasing.

Congress appropriates money out of the fund for various projects. For fiscal 1992, \$35 million was appropriated.

Members also passed a related bill (HR 3905) that would authorize \$5 million a year through fiscal 1996 for a council that advises Congress and the administration on historic preservation projects.

Senate Floor Action

Fetal Tissue. The Senate cleared, 85-12, legislation (HR 2507) that would lift the administration's ban on federally financed research using tissue from aborted fetuses.

The bill would reauthorize the National Institutes of Health (NIH) for fiscal 1992. But the most contentious part of the bill is the provision to overturn the ban on funding of fetal tissue research. Opponents say it will encourage abortions, while backers say it will lead to important medical advances.

President Bush opposes lifting the restriction, which was imposed by President Ronald Reagan in 1988.

The House adopted the conference report on the bill on May 28, but the 260-148 vote was 12 short of the tally that would be needed to override a veto.

Public Broadcasting. After lengthy delays in its consideration, the Senate passed, 85-13, legislation (HR 2977) to reauthorize the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for fiscal 1994-96.

The Senate tried in March to take up the bill, but action was halted when Republicans threatened to attach their crime package.

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

The Senate approved, 93-3, an amendment that would prohibit public radio and television outlets from broadcasting "indecent" programs, as defined by the Federal Communications Commission, during daytime hours.

Mental Health. Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., blocked consideration of the conference report on legislation (S 1306) that would reauthorize federal substance abuse and mental health programs.

The measure would dismantle the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, folding its three research agencies into NIH and establishing a new

entity to distribute prevention and treatment funds to states.

The bill would also revise state funding formulas to provide more money for rural areas. Graham argued that the funding formula would be unfair to his and a handful of other states. The Senate will return to the measure this week.

Sports Gambling. The Senate passed, 88-5, legislation (S 474) that would ban most types of state-sponsored sports gambling programs that are intended to raise revenues for state treasuries.

The bill would not affect betting on horse and dog racing or non-sports-based lotteries. Only betting on sports such as basketball, football and baseball would be prohibited.

Several states, including Delaware, Nevada and Oregon, that already offer sports gambling would not be affected.

Film Preservation. The Senate cleared for the president legislation (S 756) that would eliminate the requirement for certain authors to formally seek a second term, lasting 47 years, of copyright protection for their works. The measure also includes a provision that would require the establishment of a National Film Registry to preserve significant U.S.-made movies.

Major Committee Action

Supplemental Funds. House and Senate negotiators on Friday reached agreement on a \$2 billion fiscal 1992 supplemental appropriations bill (HR 5132) that the White House said would be vetoed.

In spite of the veto threat and the objections of House Republicans, conferees agreed to provide much more than President Bush had sought.

The final bill is much closer to the Senate-passed version of the bill that added almost \$1.5 billion for summer jobs and anti-crime programs to the \$495 million in emergency urban aid for Los Angeles and Chicago approved by the House.

Jobless Benefits. The House Government Operations Committee approved, 27-13, legislation (HR 5260) that would extend a federal benefits program for the long-term unemployed.

The current extended benefits program expires on July 4.

As approved, HR 5260 would provide 20 to 26 weeks of emergency federal unemployment benefits to workers whose 26 weeks of state benefits have run out.

The measure includes language opposed by Republicans that would automatically trigger 13 weeks of extended benefits when a state's unemployment rate exceeded 6 percent.

Local Aid. The House Government Operations panel narrowly rejected, 20-20, draft legislation that would authorize \$5.4 billion to nearly 40,000 cash-strapped municipalities.

The money would be used for local social services and public works projects that have been curtailed because of the recession.

Opponents said the bill would increase the deficit and might not have much of an effect on the economy, because city governments are slow in approving contracts and getting funds into the private sector.

Five Democrats joined 15 Republicans in voting against the bill.

Super Collider. The House Energy and Water Development Appropriations Subcommittee approved a draft fiscal 1993 spending bill that includes \$484 million in funding for the superconducting super collider.

President Bush had requested \$650 million for the giant atom smasher.

The Energy and Water bill funds civilian energy programs, nuclear weapons production and a range of water projects.

The panel had a total of \$21.84 billion to work with, about \$95 million less than the fiscal 1992 level.

Digital Tapes. The House Energy and Commerce Committee approved a bill (HR 4567) to allow the widescale in-

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR

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production of blank digital audio tapes in the United States.

The music industry had opposed imports of the tapes, which enable those with digital recording equipment to make high quality copies of recorded material.

The bill would add a royalty fee to the price of digital tapes and recording equipment to compensate those in the music industry for copyright infringement.

The legislation also requires modifications to be made to digital tapes and recording equipment to prevent tape-to-tape copies.

Securities Fraud. The Energy and Commerce panel approved legislation (HR 3927) that would give the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) new authority to oversee the government securities market.

The bill would enable the SEC to require government bond dealers to keep better records of trading and to exercise greater internal controls against fraud. The SEC could seek firms' data without issuing subpoenas.

Cuba Sanctions. The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a measure (HR 5323) to increase economic pressure on Cuba.

The bill would give the president the discretion to impose economic sanctions against countries that provide assistance to the Castro regime.

U.S. corporate subsidiaries in other countries that did business with Cuba would be subject to civil and criminal penalties under the legislation.

WIC Food Program. The House Agriculture Committee approved legislation (HR 3711) to provide more fresh fruit and vegetables to participants in the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) supplemental food program.

The bill would boost the authorization for a program that offers coupons that can be redeemed for produce at farmers' markets. Under the measure, funding would rise to \$6.5 million in fiscal 1993 and \$8 million in for fiscal 1994.

The main WIC program provides vouchers for such food items as infant formula, peanut butter, milk and eggs.

Maritime Services. The House Merchant Marine Committee approved legislation (HR 5055) that would authorize \$3.6 billion for the U.S. Coast Guard for fiscal 1993.

The amount is \$20 million more than was appropriated for fiscal 1992, but \$202 million less than the amount sought by President Bush.

• The panel also approved a bill (HR 4484) that would authorize \$765 million for the Maritime Administration in fiscal 1993. That agency provides a variety of services, including maintenance of the Ready Reserve, a fleet of ships used to transport cargo in wartime.

Bilingual Voting. The House Judiciary Committee approved a bill (HR 4312) to provide bilingual assistance to non-English-speaking voters.

The measure would extend for 15 years provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act that require states to offer bilingual voting assistance to large groups of non-English-speaking voters. Such assistance includes bilingual campaign literature and ballots.

• The panel also approved a bill (HR 5236) that would require local governments to get Justice Department clearance before reducing the decision-making authority of elected officials.

Oil Shale. The House Interior Committee approved a bill (HR 3168) that would allow commercial oil and gas development in two federal oil shale reserves in Colorado. The area is believed to have large natural gas deposits.

The reserves were established early in the century to give the Navy access to oil from the oil shale deposits.

JFK Files. The House Government Operations Committee approved legislation (H J Res 454) that would require the government to release most materials related to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Under the bill, a five-member panel appointed by the president would screen the documents held by numerous federal

agencies. Materials that did not endanger national security or cause undue harm to anyone living would be made available to the public within two years.

Service Stations. The House Energy and Commerce Committee gave its approval to a bill (HR 5000) to prevent oil companies from forcing independent gas station operators out of business.

The bill would bar an oil company from proposing stringent contract terms that make it impractical for an independent operator to retain a franchise.

The bill is in response to recent complaints that oil companies have been making unreasonable demands in franchise renewal negotiations in an effort to replace independently owned franchises with more profitable company-owned stations.

Military Land Transfers. Also approved by the House Energy and Commerce Committee was a bill (HR 4016) to speed the transfer to neighboring communities of uncontaminated lands at military bases that are slated to be closed.

The bill would require federal agencies to determine what portions of the military facilities are free of hazardous wastes and can easily be made available for community use.

Supporters say the speedy transfer of land will help communities recover from the economic impact of losing a defense installation. ■

Meetings & Events Today

Senate Committees

■ FY93 MIL CON APPROPS

Senate Appropriations Committee

Military Construction Subcommittee (Chairman Sasser, R-Min.) will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. June 8

Note: This hearing has not been rescheduled.

Joint Committees

■ ECONOMIES OFR FORMER SOVIET STATES

Joint Economic Committee

Technology and National Security Subcommittee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) will hold a hearing on the economies of the former Soviet states.

2pm SD-628 Dirksen Bldg. June 8

Witnesses scheduled: representatives of Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency

This hearing is scheduled to be carried live on C-SPAN

★ New listing

Field Hearings

NEW ROLES FOR GRANDPARENTS

House Select Aging Committee

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) 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

House Select Aging Committee

Retirement, Income and Employment Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) will hold a field hearing on health care, retirement

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

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. Fenstermacher - 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

News Events**BALANCED BUDGET NEWS CONFERENCE**

Families USA holds a news conference to release a state-by-state report on how deep cuts will be in Medicare and Social Security under the Balanced Budget Amendment. Families USA Executive Director Ron Pollack will release the report.

11am, 1129 Longworth Bldg. **June 8**

Contact: Arnold Bennett, 202-737-6340

Campaign: General**REGIONAL APPROACH TO CAMPAIGN COVERAGE**

The Regional Reporters Association and Regional Reporters Educational Foundation holds an event on "Covering the Conventions from a Regional Angle." Participants include Steve Komarow, AP correspondent and chairman of the Standing Committee of Correspondents, who will discuss convention logistics and answer questions.

11am, National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW **June 8**

Contact: Jonathan Salant, 202-383-7833

LIBERTARIAN CAMPAIGN

Libertarian Party candidate for president, Andre Marrou, delivers an address at a Libertarian Party of Virginia fund raising dinner.

7:30pm Holiday Inn Arlington at Ballston Hotel, 4610 North Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Va. **June 8**

Contact: Richard Sincere, 703-920-4023, or the hotel, 703-243-9800

★ *New listing*

Senate Committees Future Listings**Aging**

224-5364

★ ART AND DANCE THERAPY

Senate Select Aging Committee (Chairman Pryor, D-Ark.) will hold a hearing on the health benefits of art and dance therapy for the elderly.

9am H-216 Hart Bldg. **June 18**

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

224-2035

■ 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.

11am SR-332 Russell Bldg. **June 9**

Appropriations

224-3471

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:**FY93 DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS**

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

9am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. **July 21**

FY93 D.C. APPROPRIATIONS

District of Columbia Subcommittee (Chairman Adams, D-Wash.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations the District of Columbia.

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. **June 10**

10am SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. **June 17**

10am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. **June 24**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 10: Sharon Kelly - mayor, Washington D.C.; John Wilson - D.C. City Council chairman

June 17: Board of Education: David Hall - president; Franklin Smith - superintendent

June 24: D.C. Courts: Judith Rogers - chief judge, Court of Appeals; Fred Ugast - chief judge, Superior Court; Ulysses Hammond - executive officer, D.C. Courts

★ FY93 FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS

Foreign Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Leahy, D-Vt.) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

2:30pm SD-138 Dirksen Bldg. **June 9**

Agenda: Congressional and Public Witnesses

FY93 INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS

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. (tentative) **June 9**

Agenda:

10am: Manuel Lujan Jr. - secretary of Interior

2:30pm: Members of Congress

FY93 LABOR APPROPRIATIONS

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 9**

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

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 9: Fraud, Waste & Abuse Overview: Panel of inspectors general from Labor, HHS and Education

Richard Kusserow - inspector general, Department of Health and Human Services; Julina W. De La Rosa - inspector general, Department of Labor; James B. Thomas Jr. - inspector general, Department of Education

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

FY93 TRANSPORTATION & RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS

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

■ FY93 TREASURY APPROPRIATIONS

Treasury, Postal Service and General Government Subcommittee (Chairman DeConcini, D-Ariz.) of Senate Appropriations Committee

Approved by Subcommittee

The future listings section includes a list of bills that have been approved by subcommittee.

The listings, with a vertical line to the left to distinguish them from the committee schedule, include the bill number, short title, name of subcommittee and date approved.

Subcommittee approval does not mean full committee action has been — or will be — scheduled. Check the committee listings for full committee markups. Bills are removed from the list when approved by full committee.

■ *Revised listing*

Senate continued...

will hold hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for the U.S. Secret Service.

10am SD-116 Dirksen Bldg. **June 9**

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

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 2.

Armed Services

224-3871

■ WORKFORCE CONVERSION

Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence Subcommittee (Chairman Exon, D-Neb.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on legislation (S 2629) to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for military functions of the Department of Defense, focusing on workforce conversion programs.

9am SR-222 Russell Bldg. **June 9**

Witnesses scheduled: Paul Ziemer - assistant secretary of Energy; Deborah Louison - deputy assistant secretary of Energy

★ SPECIAL ACCESS PROGRAMS

Senate Armed Services Committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on Defense Department special access programs and procedures.

2:30pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. **closed June 9**

Witnesses scheduled: Donald Atwood - deputy secretary of Defense

■ EUROPEAN SECURITY

Senate Armed Services Committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on European security issues.

2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. **June 10**

Witnesses scheduled: Gen. Edward Meyer (ret.) - former Army chief of staff; Richard Perle - American Enterprise Institute; Phillip Karber - Center for Technology and Public Policy; Fred Ikle - Center for Strategic and International Studies

BOMBER PROGRAMS

Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence Subcommittee (Chairman Exon, D-Neb.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on long-term strategy for the U.S. bomber programs, known as the bomber roadmap.

2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. **June 11**

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs

224-7391

★ STATE OF BANKS & BANK INSURANCE FUND

Senate Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs Committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will hold a series of hearings on the state of the nation's banking industry and the bank insurance fund.

10am SD-538 Dirksen Bldg. **June 9, 10**

★ New listing

Witnesses scheduled:

June 9: Charles Bowsher - comptroller general, General Accounting Office

June 10: John P. LaWare - member, Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System; Steven R. Steinbrink - acting comptroller of the currency; William Taylor - chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: LIMITED PARTNERSHIP ROLLUPS

The full committee (Chairman Riegle, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation and vote on a pending nomination.

Time & room TBA date TBA

Agenda:

MARKUP:

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

NOMINATION:

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

Note: This meeting was originally scheduled for June 3.

Budget

224-0642

★ BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

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

Time TBA SD-608 Dirksen Bldg. **date TBA**

Note: Hearings began June 4 and were recessed subject to the call of the chair

Commerce, Science & Transportation

224-5115

■ 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.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. **June 10**

Witnesses scheduled: Jeffrey Shane - assistant secretary of Transportation; Robert Crandall - American Airlines; Edward Beauvais - America West; Barry Kotar - Northwest Airlines; Phil Davidoff - American Society of Travel Agents

TRANSPORTATION NOMINATION

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Chairman Hollings, D-S.C.) will hold a confirmation hearing on the nomination of Walter B. McCormick Jr. to be general counsel at the Transportation Department.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. **June 11**

COMMERCE NOMINATION

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Acting Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a confirmation hearing on the

nomination of Gregory Chapados to be assistant secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information.

11:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. **June 11**

★ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee (Chairman Hollings, D-S.C.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am SR-253 Russell Bldg. **June 16**

TELECOMMUNICATIONS & EDUCATION

Communications Subcommittee (Chairman 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**

FOREIGN & COMMERCIAL SERVICE

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

2pm 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**

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

Energy & Natural Resources

224-4971

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

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 17

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.

9:30am SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 18

★ FERC NOMINATIONS

Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee (Chairman Johnston, D-La.) will hold a confirmation hearing on the nominations of Jerry Langdon and William Liedtke to be members of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 17

★ PUBLIC LANDS

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

2:30pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 23

2pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. June 25

Agenda:

June 23:

S 225 - to expand the boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Va.

S 1925 - to remove a restriction from a parcel of land owned by the city of North Charleston, S.C., in order to permit a land exchange

S 2563 - to provide for the rehabilitation of historic structures within the Sandy Hook Unit of Gateway National Recreation Area in the state of N.J.

S 2006 - to establish the Fox River National Heritage Corridor in Wisconsin

HR 2181 - to permit the secretary of the Interior to acquire by exchange lands in the Cuyahoga National Recreation Area that are owned by the state of Ohio

HR 2444 - to revise the boundaries of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument

HR 3519 - to authorize the establishment of the Steamtown National Historic Site

June 25:

S 1879 - to authorize the adjustment of the boundaries of the South Dakota portion of the Sioux Ranger District of Custer National Forest

S 1990 - to authorize the transfer of certain facilities

★ New listing

and lands in the Wenatchee National Forest, Washington

S 2392 - to establish a right-of-way corridor for electric power transmission lines in the Sunrise Mountain in the state of Nevada

S 2397 - to expand the boundaries of Yucca House National Monument in Colorado, to authorize the acquisition of certain lands within the boundaries

S 2606 - to further clarify authorities and duties of the secretary of Agriculture in issuing ski area permits on National Forest System lands

S 2749 - to grant a right of use and occupancy of a certain tract of land in Yosemite National Park to George R. Lange and Lucille F. Lange

Environment & Public Works

224-6176

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

• S 1655 - Environmental Research, Development, and Demonstration Authorization Act of 1991 (Approved by Toxic Substances, Environmental Oversight, Research and Development Subcommittee October 31, 1991.)

Finance

224-4515

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

Witnesses scheduled: Peter Magowan - chairman, president and chief executive officer, Safeway; Ron Zachary - vice president for human resources, Safeway; Henry Simmons - president, National Leadership Coalition for Health Care Reform; Bernard Tresnowski - president, Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association;

PANEL: William Custer - director of research, Employee Benefits Research Institute; Paul Griner - president-elect, American College of Physicians; John Motley - vice president for federal governmental relations, National Federation of Independent Business; Daniel Shea - president, American Academy of Pediatrics; John Shields - vice president, Lewin-ICF

June 17: Proposals for instituting universal coverage through public health insurance programs

June 18: Proposals for tax-incentive based health-care reform

★ CHILD WELFARE REVISION

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 4) to establish innovative child welfare and family support services in order to strengthen families and avoid placement in foster care, to promote the development of comprehensive substance abuse programs for pregnant women and caretaker relatives with children and to provide improved delivery of health care services to low-income children.

9:30am SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. June 10

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.

Time TBA SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. addl dates TBA

Foreign Relations

224-4651

★ AMBASSADORIAL NOMINATIONS

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Acting Chairman Simon, D-Ill.) will hold a confirmation hearing on pending ambassadorial nominations.

2:30pm SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 10

Agenda: Dennis Barrett to be Ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Madagascar; Peter Jon de Vos to be Ambassador to the Republic of Tanzania; Robert Gribbin III to be Ambassador to the Central African Republic; Roger McGuire to be Ambassador to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau; William Swing to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Nigeria

★ START TREATY

Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Chairman Pell, D-R.I.) will hold a hearing on the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) between the United States and former Soviet Union (T Doc 102-20) signed in Moscow 1991.

10am SD-419 Dirksen Bldg. June 23

Witness scheduled: James A. Baker III - secretary of State

Governmental Affairs

224-4751

U.N. PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS

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

10:30am 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.

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

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.

PLANNING THE NEXT CENSUS

Government Information and Regulation Subcommittee (Chairman Kohl, D-Wis.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on ways to better plan the next census.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. **June 26**

Indian Affairs

224-2251

★ WATER USE BILLS

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on pending legislation.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **June 11**

Agenda:

- S 2684 - Settle the water rights claims of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe
- S 2481 - Authorize certain uses of water by the Ak-Chin Indian Community, Arizona

■ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: INDIAN HEALTH CARE

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will mark up legislation (S 2481) to authorize appropriations for Indian health programs.

10am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **June 16**

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 4.

★ NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGES

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hear-

★ New listing

ing on legislation (S 2044), the Native American Languages Act of 1991.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **June 18**

★ CROW INDIAN COMPENSATION

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on draft legislation to compensate the Crow Indian Tribe of Montana for a land dispute.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **June 19**

★ NATIONAL INDIAN POLICY CENTER

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on draft legislation on the National Indian Policy Center.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **June 24**

★ INDIAN ESTATE & FINANCIAL ISSUES OVERSIGHT

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold an oversight hearing on pending issues.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 2**

Agenda:

- Fractionated heirships, or land claim disputes by heirs
- Indian probate
- Oil and gas royalty management
- Land consolidation demonstration programs

★ OPIC INDIAN ELIGIBILITY

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2746) to extend the purposes of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to include American Indian tribes and Alaska natives.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **August 4**

Judiciary

224-5225

JUDICIARY BUSINESS

Senate Judiciary Committee (Chairman Biden, D-Del.) will meet to consider pending business.

10am SD-226 Dirksen Building **June 11**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- S 1569 - Implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)
- HR 2324 - Make an incarcerated person ineligible to receive witness fees or allowances (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)
- HR 2324 - Amend title 28, U.S. Code, with respect to witness fees (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)
- HR 2549 - Make technical corrections to chapter 5 of title 5, U.S. Code (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)
- HR 3237 - Extend the terms of office of

members of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission to six years from three years (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)

● HR 3379 - Authorize the Administrative Conference of the United States to provide assistance in response to requests relating to the improvement of administrative procedure in foreign countries (Approved by Courts and Administrative Practice Subcommittee March 31, 1992.)

● S 2099 - Amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to designate special inquiry officers as immigration judges and to provide for the compensation of such judges (Approved by Immigration and Refugee Affairs Subcommittee April 3, 1992.)

● S 1165 - Extend the patent term of certain products (Approved by Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)

● S 1506 - Extend the terms of the olestra patents (Approved by Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)

● S 526 - Extend for 10 years the patent for the drug Ethiofos (WR2721) and its oral analogue (Sent to full committee by Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks Subcommittee without recommendation May 21, 1992.)

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

NUTRITION FOOD LABELING OVERSIGHT

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Acting Chairman Metzenbaum, D-Ohio) will hold an oversight hearing on the implementation of the Nutrition Food Labeling and Education Act.

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

REVISING OSHA

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1622) to amend the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 (OSHA) to improve the provisions of such act with respect to the health and safety of employees.

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **June 10**

POW/MIA Affairs

224-2742

★ ACCOUNTING FOR POWs/MIAs

Senate Select POW/MIA Affairs Committee (Chairman Kerry, D-Mass.) will hold hearings on efforts to account for military personnel from the Vietnam War that are still missing.

9:30am SH-216 Hart Bldg. **June 24, 25 & 30; July 1**

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

Rules & Administration

224-6352

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. **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

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee

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

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. **June 17**

Agenda:

S 2322 - Increase the rates of compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for the survivors of certain disabled veterans

S 2323 - Revise the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation payable to surviving spouses of certain service-disabled veterans, to provide supplemental service disabled veterans' insurance for totally disabled veterans

S 2640 - Make certain improvements in the educational assistance programs for veterans and eligible persons

S 2647 - Revise and improve educational assistance programs for veterans and members of the armed forces, to improve certain vocational assistance programs for veterans

S 2512 - Establish a program to provide certain housing assistance to homeless veterans, to improve certain other programs that provide such assistance

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

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

S 2528 - Establish a pilot program for furnishing housing loans to Native American veterans

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

Agriculture

225-2171

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.

10am 1300 Longworth Bldg. **June 10**

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**

★ CLEARCUTTING

Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Volkmer, D-Mo.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 1969) to strengthen the protection of native biodiversity and to place

★ *New listing*

restraints upon clearcutting and certain other cutting practices on the forests of the U.S.

10am 1300 Longworth Bldg. **June 16**

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**

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**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE

● HR 4899 - Establish an Old-Growth Forest Reserve (Approved by Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee May 6,

1992)

● 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 (Approved by Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee May 13, 1992.)

● HR 4906 - Amend the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act to establish a program to aid beginning farmers and ranchers and to improve the operations of the Farmers Home Administration, and to amend the Farm Credit Act of 1971 (Approved by Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee May 14, 1992.)

● HR 3742 - Amend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act to improve the safety of pesticides (Approved by Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee May 19, 1992; scheduled for full committee action week of June 15.)

● HR 5237 - Amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 to improve the provision of electric and telephone service in rural areas (Approved by Conservation, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee June 3, 1992.)

● HR 5238 - Establish a grant program to improve the provision of health-care ser-

■ *Revised listing*

House continued...

vices and educational services in rural areas by enabling providers of such services to obtain access to modern interactive telecommunications systems (Approved by Conservations, Credit and Rural Development Subcommittee June 3, 1992.)

Appropriations

225-2771

NOTE

Now that the subcommittee allocations for domestic spending have been made, the subcommittees are free to proceed with marking up their spending bills. Markups may happen at any time and may be scheduled on very short notice. Check with the subcommittee for latest information.

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 COMMERCE APPROPS

Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee (Chairman Smith, D-Iowa) of the House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

Time & room TBA date TBA

FY93 D.C. APPROPS

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

1:30pm H-301 Capitol Bldg. **June 9**

10am & 1pm H-301 Capitol Bldg. **June 10**

Agenda:

June 9: Public Works; Public Safety and Justice

June 10:

10am: Public Safety and Justice

1pm: Governmental Direction and Support; Public Education System

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPS

Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Subcommittee (Chairman Obey, D-Wis.) of the House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

Time & room TBA date TBA

■ FY93 INTERIOR APPROPS

Interior Subcommittee (Chairman Yates, D-Ill.) of House Appropriations Committee will hold a hearing on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction. **June 9**

10am & 1:30pm B-308 Rayburn Bldg. **June 9**

Agenda and Witnesses scheduled:
10am: Manuel Lujan Jr. - secretary of Interior
1:30pm: Congressional witnesses

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: FY93 TRANSPORTATION APPROPS

Transportation Subcommittee (Chairman Lehman, D-Fla.) of the House Appropriations Committee will mark up its fiscal 1993 spending bill.

Time & room TBA date TBA

★ New listing

Armed Services

225-4151

★ DEFENSE COMMISSARY AGENCY

Morale, Welfare and Recreation Panel (Chairman Lancaster, D-N.C.) of House Armed Services Committee will hold a hearing on the operations of the Defense Commissary Agency.

9:30am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

Witnesses scheduled: William Sharkey - director of program support, Defense Department; Maj. Gen. John Dreska - Defense Commissary Agency; Richard Murray - American Logistics Association; Larry Craybas - Kraft/General Foods; Earl Pool - Proctor and Gamble; Lloyd Johnson - C. Lloyd Johnson Co. Inc.; Wayne Duncan - Military Distributors of Virginia

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● HR 2599 - Authorize the disposal of certain strategic and critical materials from the national defense stockpile during fiscal years 1992 and 1993 and to amend the Strategic and Critical Materials Stock Piling Act to improve the management of the stockpile (Approved by Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials Subcommittee July 31, 1991.)

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

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 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**

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: COMMEMORATIVE COINS

Consumer Affairs and Coinage Subcommittee (Chairman Torres, D-Calif.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will mark up pending legislation dealing with commemorative coins.

10am 2222 Rayburn Bldg. **June 9**

Agenda:

HR 3654 - to provide for the minting of commemorative coins to support the 1996 Atlanta Centennial Olympic Games and the programs of the U.S. Olympic Committee.

H.R. 2448 - to provide for the minting of coins in commemoration of Benjamin Franklin and to enact a fire service bill of rights.

HR 1623 - to require the secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the U.S. involvement in World War II. The proceeds would be applied toward the costs of a Washington, D.C. monument to honor veterans of the conflict.

REGULATORY BURDENS

Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Annunzio, D-Ill.) of House Banking, Finance

and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on efforts to reduce the regulatory burden on well-run financial institutions.

9:30am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. **June 23**

RENT-TO-OWN AGREEMENTS

Consumer Affairs and Coinage Subcommittee (Chairman Torres, D-Calif.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4497) to improve disclosures made by lessors to consumers in connection with lease-purchase agreements.

10am 2222 Rayburn Bldg. **June 24**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● HR 3596 - Amend the Fair Credit Reporting Act to assure the completeness and accuracy of consumer information maintained by credit reporting agencies, to better inform consumers of their rights under the act, and to improve enforcement (Approved by Consumer Affairs and Coinage Subcommittee March 5, 1992)

Budget

225-7290

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

★ COMMITTEE MARKUP: D.C. COUNCIL ACT DISAPPROVAL

House District of Columbia Committee (Chairman Dellums, D-Calif.) will mark up a resolution (HJRes 480) to express disapproval of the D.C. Council Health Benefits Expansion Act.

9:30am 1310-A Longworth **June 9**

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

■ Revised listing

House continued...

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 17.

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

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

Time & room TBA Date TBA

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE

- H Con Res 480 - Disapproving the action of the District of Columbia Council in approving the Health Care Benefits Extension Act (D.C. Act 9-188) (Forwarded to the full committee without recommendation June 4, 1992; scheduled for full committee action June 9.)

**Education &
Labor**

225-4527

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

9:30am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 10

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

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for June 4.

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.

9:30am 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 11

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 28.

**★ EMPLOYER HEALTH
INSURANCE STANDARDS**

Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Williams, D-Mont.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on pending employer health insurance legislation.

9:30am 2261 Rayburn Bldg. June 16

Agenda:

HR 2773 - Amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to set standards for multiple employer welfare arrangements provid-

ing health plan benefits

HR 4919 - Amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to clarify and improve the applicability of multiple employer welfare arrangements and to provide for more effective state regulation thereof

REVISING DAVIS-BACON

Labor Standards Subcommittee (Chairman Murphy, D-Pa.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 1987) to amend the Davis-Bacon Act of 1931 to revise the standard for coverage. The act requires the federal government to pay contracted workers the prevailing wage rate. 2pm 2175 Rayburn Bldg. June 16

**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 17

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 11.

**★ DENYING FUNDS TO SCHOOLS
THAT USE CORPORAL PUNISHMENT**

Select Education Subcommittee (Chairman Owens, D-N.Y.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 1522) that deny funds to educational programs that allow corporal punishment.

10am 2261 Rayburn Bldg. June 18

**SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN
NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS**

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee (Chairman Perkins, D-Ky.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on sexual harassment in non-traditional occupations.

10am 2261 Rayburn Bldg. June 25

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Schroeder, D-Colo., Morella, R-Md.; Linda Wilson - president, Radcliffe College

**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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 1126 - Extend the coverage of certain federal labor laws to foreign flagships (Approved by Labor Subcommittee February 26, 1991, full committee action scheduled June 10.)
- HR 1637 - Make improvements in the Black Lung Benefits Act (Approved by Labor Standards Subcommittee July 24, 1991.)
- HR 2434 - Amend the General Education Provisions Act to authorize the National Assessment of Educational Progress to conduct certain trial assessments in the fiscal year 1994 and to develop certain other trial assessments for administration in such fiscal year (Approved by Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education Subcommittee August 8, 1991.)
- HR 1602 - Amend title I of 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 (Approved by Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee September 25, 1991, full committee action scheduled June 10.)
- HR 2782 - Amend the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to provide that such act does not preempt certain state laws (Approved by Labor-Management Subcommittee September 25, 1991, full committee action scheduled June 10.)

**Energy &
Commerce**

225-2927

★ INVESTMENT ADVISORS

Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee (Chairman Markey, D-Mass.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on proposals to reform regulation of investment advisors.

9:30am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. June 10

**★ HOURS OF SERVICE ACT
RAILROAD WORKERS**

Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee (Chairman Swift, D-Wash.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on the Hours of Service Act. The hearing will focus on hours of service in the railroad industry.

9:30am 2322 Rayburn Bldg. June 10

★ GASOLINE PRICE DISCRIMINATION

Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 2966) to prohibit price discrimination by refiners. Independent gas retailers say that refiner-owned outlets sell gas at a loss in order to drive the competition away, usually in rural areas where independent retailers thrive.

10am 2218 Rayburn Bldg. June 11

■ Revised listing

★ New listing

House continued...**★ HOSPITAL OVERHEAD MEDICAID PROGRAM**

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on hospital overhead charges to the Medicare program. The hearing will focus on a Department of Health and Human Services audit of Hospitals.

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

■ 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.

9:30am 2322 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

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**

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● HR 2558 - Authorize the appropriations for the National Telecommunications and Information Administration for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 (Approved by Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee July 25, 1991.)

● HR 2585 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the program of assistance for family planning services (Approved by Health and the Environment Subcommittee July 30, 1991.)

● HR 2311 - Amend part B of title XIX of the Public Health Service Act to establish a program of formula grants to the states for improving the delivery of mental health services, to establish a program for providing comprehensive mental health services for children with serious emotional disturbances (Approved by Health and the Environment Subcommittee June 25, 1991.)

● HR 2829 - Strengthen the authority of the Federal Trade Commission regarding fraud and consumer abuse committed in connection with sales made with a telephone (Approved by Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee August 1, 1991.)

● HR 2840 - Amend the Public Health Service Act to reduce human exposure to lead in residences, schools for young children, and day care centers, including exposure to lead in drinking water (Approved by Health and the Environment Subcommittee November 4, 1991.)

● HR 3865 - Amend the Solid Waste Disposal Act to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1993 through 1998 (Approved by Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee March 26, 1992.)

● HR 4706 - Reauthorize Consumer Products Safety Act (Approved by Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness Subcommittee April 2, 1992)

● HR 3554 - Amend the Toxic Substance Control Act to reduce the levels of lead in the environment (Approved by Transportation and Hazardous Materials Subcommittee April 2, 1992.)

● HR 4850 - Amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide increased consumer protection and to promote increased competition in the cable television and related markets (Approved in draft form by Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee April 8, 1992)

Foreign Affairs

225-5021

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**

★ SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: U.N. RELIEF IN SOMALIA

Africa Subcommittee (Chairman Dymally, D-Calif.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will mark up a resolution (H Res 422) calling on the warring factions in Somalia to allow United Nations relief workers to operate within the country.

Follows subcommittee hearing (above) 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 9**

EC '92 & THE SINGLE MARKET Joint Hearing

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

10am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 9**

Witnesses Scheduled: Thomas Deusterberg - assistant secretary of Commerce; Eugene McAllister - assistant secretary of State; Peter Ageier - assistant U.S. Trade Representative

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 1.

★ FOREIGN AFFAIRS MARK UP: AID TO SOVIET REPUBLICS

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Fascell, D-Fla.) will mark up draft legislation authorizing assistance to the republics of the former Soviet Union.

11am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 10**

★ U.S. POLICY TOWARD HAITIAN REFUGEES

International Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Berman, D-Calif.) and Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Torricelli, D-N.J.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on U.S. policy toward Haitian refugees.

1pm 2172 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

Witnesses scheduled: Reps. Solarz, D-N.Y., Rangel, D-N.Y., Oberstar, D-Minn.; Bernard Aronson - assistant secretary of State

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: FY92 & 93 FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

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

Time & room TBA date TBA

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

● HR 964 - Provide for the implementation of the foreign assistance provisions of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (Approved by Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee April 17, 1991; Approved by International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee April 18, 1991; Approved by Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee May 8, 1991.)

● HR 994 - Authorize supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1991 for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Liberia (Approved by Africa Subcommittee June 24, 1991.)

● HR 1608 - Promote the development of microenterprises in developing countries. (Approved by International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee April 18, 1991.)

● HR 3406 - Concerning democratic changes and violations of human rights in Zaire (Approved by Africa Subcommittee October 30, 1991.)

● HR 4231 - Provide supplemental authorizations of appropriations for U.S. contributions to international peacekeeping activities (Approved by International Operations Subcommittee February 25, 1992.)

● HR 4231 - Provide supplemental authorizations of appropriations for U.S. contributions to international peacekeeping activities for fiscal years 1992 and 1993. (Approved by International Operations Subcommittee February 25, 1992)

● HR 4761 - Support efforts to promote democracy in Haiti (Approved by Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee May 7, 1992.)

House continued...

- HR 4761 - Support efforts to promote democracy in Haiti (Approved by Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee May 20, 1992; approved by International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee June 4, 1992.)

Government Operations

225-5051

PROBLEMS WITH BACKGROUND INVESTIGATIONS AT DOJ

Government Information, Justice and Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Wise, D-W.Va.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on the inadequacy of background investigations for employees who work at the Department of Justice.

10am 2203 Rayburn Bldg. **June 9**

HEALTH EFFECTS OF DIOXIN

Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Weiss, D-N.Y.) of House Government Operations Committee will hold a hearing on the health effects of dioxin.

10am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. **June 10.**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 5259 - Amend title 31, U.S. Code, to assist certain local governments in meeting public needs by providing for federal payments to those local governments - Local Partnership Act of 1991. (Approved by Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee June 3, 1992. HR 5259 is a clean version of HR 3601, which was approved by the same subcommittee February 27, 1992.)

House Administration

225-2061

★ ACCOUNTS SUBCOMMITTEE BUSINESS

Accounts Subcommittee (Chairman Gaydos, D-Pa.) of House Committee on House Administration will hold a meeting to discuss pending business.

2pm H-328 Capitol Bldg. **June 10**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 3281 - Establish the National Air and Space Museum Expansion Site Advisory Panel for the purpose of developing a national competition for the evaluation of possible expansion sites for the National Air and Space Museum, and to authorize the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution to select, plan, and design such site (Approved by Library and Memorials Sub-

committee October 23, 1991.)

- HR 1246 - Authorize the establishment of the National African-American Museum within the Smithsonian Institution (Approved by Libraries and Memorials Subcommittee June 3, 1992.)

Hunger

226-5470

★ HUMANITARIAN CONDITIONS IN HAITI

House Select Hunger Committee (Chairman Hall, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on famine and deteriorating health conditions in Haiti.

9:30am 340 Cannon Bldg. **June 11**

Witnesses scheduled: Antonio Lopez Penela - representative to Haiti, UNICEF; Ted Chaiban - representative to Haiti, Catholic Relief Services; Xavier Leus - representative to Haiti, Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization; Robert White - former U.S. ambassador and president, Center for International Policy; Anthony Maignot - professor, Florida International University

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

PUBLIC LANDS

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

1:30pm 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 9**

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 16**

10am room TBA **June 23**

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 30**

Agenda:

June 9:

HR 1696 - to designate certain National Forest lands in the state of Montana as wilderness.

June 16:

HR 1808/S 807 - to permit Mount Olivet Cemetery Association of Salt Lake City, Utah, to lease a certain tract of land for a period of not more than 70 years

HR 5118 - to exchange lands within the State of Utah, between the United States and the state of Utah

HR 4769 - to exchange lands within the state of Utah, between the state of Utah and the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, the Navajo Nation, and the Goshute Indian Tribe

HR 4770 - to exchange lands within the state of Utah and the Bureau of Land Management

S 1183 - to reduce the restrictions on the lands conveyed by deed to the city of Kaysville, Utah

June 23:

HR 4325 - to improve the wilderness management, wilderness research, and special management area programs of the Forest Service, including better coordination with the wilderness management and research programs of the department of the Interior

HR 4326 - to improve the wilderness management and wilderness research programs of the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management in the Department of the Interior

HR 4327 - to improve the wilderness management and wilderness research programs of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in the Department of the Interior including better coordination with the National Park Service and Bureau of Land Man-

agement

June 30:

HR 3227 - to establish the Keweenaw National Historical Park

HR 5021 - to determine the eligibility and suitability of designating a segment of the New River as a national wild and scenic river

■ FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

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

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

Agenda:

June 10:

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

HR 2274 - to better protect and manage certain redwood forests by adding lands to the Six Rivers National Forest and by designating the Headwaters Forest Wilderness

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: PUBLIC LANDS

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

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 11**

Agenda:

June 11:

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

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

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

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

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

PUBLIC LANDS SUBCOMMITTEE: PENDING BUSINESS

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

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 18 & 25**

ENERGY SUBCOMMITTEE: PENDING BUSINESS

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will meet to consider pending business.

9:30am 1324 Longworth Bldg. **June 23**

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

Mining and Natural Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Rahall, D-W.Va.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will

9:45am room TBA **June 23**

Agenda:

HR 450 - to resolve certain problems regarding subsurface estates, and for other purposes

HR 4370 - to provide for the protection of the Bodie Bowl area of the state of California

House continued...**APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:**

- HR 2274 - Better protect and manage certain redwood forests by adding lands to the Six Rivers National Forest and by designating the Headwaters Forest Wilderness (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee July 30, 1991; full committee action scheduled for June 10.)
- HR 2808 - Direct the secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in Livingston Parish, La. (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee November 26, 1991.)
- HR 4899 - Establish an Old-Growth Forest Reserve, and for other purposes. (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee May 7, 1992)
- H J Res 306 - Designate the Port Chicago Naval Magazine as a National Memorial (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee May 28, 1992. Full committee action scheduled for June 3)
- HR 4489 - Provide for a land exchange with the city of Tacoma, Wash. (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee May 28, 1992.)
- HR 3836 - 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 (Approved by National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee June 4, 1992; full committee action scheduled for June 10.)

Judiciary

225-3951

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP

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

10am 2237 Rayburn Bldg. **June 10**

Agenda:

- HR 3407 - Allow claims against the United States under that chapter for damages arising from certain negligent medical care provided members of the armed forces
- HR 3910 - Establish a specialized corps of judges necessary for certain federal proceedings required to be conducted
- HR 4563 - Amend the False Claims Act to provide certain limitations on federal employees filing qui tam actions

TOUGHENING PENALTIES ON ENVIRONMENTAL CRIMES

Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee (Chairman Schumer, D-N.Y.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 5805) to toughen penalties on environmental crimes.

10am 2226 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

EXPANDING DIVISIONS IN CALIFORNIA JUDICIAL DISTRICT

Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration Subcommittee (Chairman Hughes, D-N.J.) of House Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 3795) to establish three divisions in the Central Judicial District

of California.

10am B352 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 3381 - Amend section 202, title 18, U.S. Code, to allow the President to waive certain conflict of interest statutes with respect to certain individuals (Approved Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee October 23, 1991.)
- HR 3597 - Strengthen the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee October 23, 1991.)
- HR 3748 - Amend the Civil Rights Act of 1991 with respect to the application of such act, in particular with respect to workers at the Wards Cove packing plant (Approved by Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee November 14, 1991.)
- HR 4551 - Amend the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to increase the authorization for the trust fund under that act (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 1, 1992.)
- HR 4553 - Amend the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to clarify that payments under that act shall not be includible as income for purposes of all laws administered by the secretary of Veterans Affairs (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 1, 1992.)
- HR 1241 - Impose a criminal penalty for flight to avoid payment of arrearages in child support (Approved by Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee April 9, 1992.)
- HR 4209 - Amend the act entitled "An Act conferring jurisdiction on certain courts of the United States to hear and render judgment in connection with certain claims of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma," approved December 23, 1982 (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 29, 1992.)
- HR 4841 - Granting the consent of the Congress to the New Hampshire-Maine Interstate School Compact (Approved by Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee April 29, 1992.)
- HR 4542 - Prevent and deter auto theft (Approved by Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)
- HR 4954 - Prohibit the receipt of advance fees by unregulated loan brokers (Approved by Crime and Criminal Justice Subcommittee May 21, 1992.)
- HR 5096 - Supersede the Modification of Final Judgment entered August 24, 1982, in the antitrust action styled United States versus Western Electric, civil action No. 82-0192, U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (Approved by Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee May 28, 1992.)
- H J Res 454 - Provide for the expeditious disclosure of records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. (Approved by Economic and Commercial Law Subcommittee May 28, 1992.)

Merchant Marine & Fisheries

225-4047

ALASKAN WATERS**Joint Hearing**

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) and Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a joint hearing on legislation (HR 3418) to regulate fishing and other maritime activities in certain waters of Alaska.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. **June 9**

ABANDONED BARGES

Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee (Chairman Tauzin, 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**

★ WILD BIRD CONSERVATION Joint Hearing

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a joint hearing on legislation (HR 5013) to promote the conservation of exotic wild birds.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. **June 16**

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**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 2082 - Conserve the diversity of fish, wildlife, and biological systems in the U.S. (Approved by Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation Subcommittee July 18, 1991; Approved by Oceanography, Great Lakes and the Outercontinental Shelf Subcommittee October 1, 1991.)
- HR 4693 - to prohibit the establishment and collection of any fee or charge for the issuance of any merchant mariners' document, license, or certificate of registry (Approved by Coast Guard and Navigation

House continued. . .

Subcommittee May 6, 1992)

• HR 2919 - Amend the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act to provide for the restoration of New England stocks of groundfish (Approved by Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee May 12, 1992.)

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 B-318 Rayburn Bldg. June 9

Witnesses scheduled: Carol Hallett - commissioner, U.S. Customs Service; Robert Bonner - administrator, Drug Enforcement Administration; Melvyn Levitsky - assistant secretary of State; Mark Kleiman - Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University; Bruce Carnes - Office of National Drug Control Policy; Elaine Johnson - acting administrator, Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration; John Farrell - acting assistant commissioner, New Jersey Department of Health

CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES & MEDICAID FRAUD

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

10am Room TBA July 22 & 29

DRUG PROBLEM FROM A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

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

Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for March 10.

Post Office & Civil Service

225-4054

POSTAL SERVICE OVERSIGHT

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

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. June 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

★ New listing

Office's work on the 1990 census and to discuss GAO recommendations for the year 2000.
1pm 311 Cannon Bldg. June 10

FULL COMMITTEE MEETING

House Post Office and Civil Service Committee (Chairman Clay, D-Mo.) will meet to consider pending business.

9:45am 311 Cannon Bldg. June 10

Agenda: TBA

★ **GARNISHMENT OF FEDERAL WAGES**

Civil Service Subcommittee (Chairman Sikorski, D-Minn.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 643) to provide for treatment of federal pay in the same manner as non-federal pay with respect to garnishment and similar legal processes.

2pm 304 Cannon Bldg. June 16

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, focusing on household and family structure, children and income patterns.

1pm 311 Cannon Bldg. June 23 & 24

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

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

• HR 1686 - Amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980 relating to grievance proceedings under the act. (Approved by Civil Service Subcommittee April 11, 1991.)

• HR 3613 - Amend title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 to improve the effectiveness of administrative review of employment discrimination claims made by federal employees (Approved by Civil Service Subcommittee May 27, 1992.)

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SUPERFUND

Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee (Chairman Borski, D-Pa.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the administration of the Superfund.

10am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 9

★ **FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: GSA & ARMY CORPS REQUESTS**

House Public Works Committee (Chairman Roe, D-N.J.) will mark up pending General Services Administration (GSA) review requests and Army Corps of Engineers survey resolutions.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 10

★ **OPENING UP AIRLINE RESERVATION SYSTEMS**

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Oberstar, D-Minn.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 5293) to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to enhance competition among air carriers by prohibiting an air carrier who operates a computer reservation system from discriminating against other air carriers participating in the system and among travel agents that subscribe to the system.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. June 18

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE

• HR 4438 - Designate the federal building located at 501 West Ocean Boulevard in Long Beach, Calif., as the "Glenn M. Anderson Federal Building" (Approved by Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee June 4, 1992.)

• HR 5222 - Designate the Federal building and U.S. courthouse located at 204 South Main Street in South Bend, Ind., as the "Robert A. Grant Federal Building and U.S. Courthouse" (Approved by Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee June 4, 1992.)

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

★ **FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP**

House Science, Space and Technology Committee (Chairman Brown, D-Calif.) will meet to mark up pending legislation.

10am 2318 Rayburn Bldg. June 10

Agenda:

HR 3215 - Reinstantiate cooperation between the U.S. and Latin America in science and technology
HR 3673 - Authorize a research program through the National Science Foundation on the treatment of contaminated water through membrane processes

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

HR 3922 - Promote the conduct of biomedical research in space

HR — Technical amendments to the American Technology Preeminence Act

■ Revised listing

House continued. . .

★ SPACE PROGRAM EDUCATION BENEFITS

Space Subcommittee (Chairman Hall, D-Texas) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on benefits of the U.S. space program to education.

1:30pm 2325 Rayburn Bldg. **June 10**

Witnesses scheduled: Daniel Goldin - administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA); Dan Brandenstein - chief, Astronaut Office, Johnson Space Flight Center, NASA; Damon Butler - student participant, NASA-sponsored Summer High School Research Program; Wendell Mohling - president, National Science Teachers Association; Relzie M. Payton - president, Tennessee Education Association; Eva Rousseau - principal, Dunbar Senior High School, Washington, D.C.

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.

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 3922 - Promote the conduct of biomedical research in space (Approved by Space Subcommittee April 9, 1992; scheduled for full committee action June 10.)
- HR 3848 - Encourage the growth and development of commercial space activities in the United States (Approved by Space Subcommittee April 9, 1992.)
- HR 4447 - Provide for National Aeronautics and Space Administration negotiations with former Soviet republics regarding the acquisition by the United States of Soviet civil space hardware and technology for integration into U.S. civil space projects (Approved by Space Subcommittee April 9, 1992.)
- HR 3215 - Reinvigorate cooperation between the U.S. and Latin America in science and technology (Approved by Science Subcommittee May 19, 1992; scheduled for full committee action June 10.)
- HR 3673 - Authorize a research program through the National Science Foundation on the treatment of contaminated water through membrane processes (Approved by Science Subcommittee June 4, 1992; scheduled for full committee action June 10.)

Small Business

225-5821

HEALTH CARE REFORM

House Small Business Committee (Chair-

★ New listing

man LaFalce, D-N.Y.) will hold a series of hearings on health care reform and its impact on small businesses. Lawmakers will discuss a May 1992 GAO study examining the results of various state initiatives aimed at increasing health insurance coverage for small business employees.

1pm 2359 Rayburn Bldg. **June 9**

9:30am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. **June 11**

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

June 9: Mark Nadel - associate director of National and Public Affairs, U.S. General Accounting Office; Timothy Harrington - principal, William M. Mercer, Inc.; Robert Friedland - senior policy analyst, Project HOPE

June 11: John J. Motley - National Federation of Independent Businesses; Richard Kuback - board member, National Restaurant Association; Judy Waxman - director of government affairs, Families USA; Edie Rasell - member, Physicians for a National Health Program; Cathy Hurwit - legislative director, Citizen Action; Diana Burke - American Association of Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees.

Veterans' Affairs

225-3527

INADEQUATE CONTROLS OVER CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES

Oversight and Investigation Subcommittee (Chairman Evans, D-Ill.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the response of the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) to inadequate controls over controlled substances in VA hospitals.

8:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. **June 10**

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: AIDING HOMELESS VETERANS

Housing and Memorial Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Staggers, D-W.Va.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up proposed legislation to aid homeless veterans.

9:30am 334 Cannon Bldg. **June 18**

COMPENSATING SURVIVORS OF VETERANS

Compensation, Pension and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Applegate, D-Ohio) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee (HR 5008) to reform the formula for payment of dependency and indemnity compensation to survivors of veterans dying from service-connected causes.

9am 334 Cannon Bldg. **June 24**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 1108 - Amend titles 10 and 38, US Code, to restore certain education benefits of individuals serving as part of Operation Desert Shield of Operation Desert Storm (Approved by Education, Training and Employment Subcommittee May 15, 1991.)

Ways & Means

225-3625

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: TRADE EXPANSION

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee will continue to mark up legislation (HR 5100)

to strengthen the international trade position of the United States.

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

Note: Markup began with a "walk through" June 3.

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**

★ WILD BIRD CONSERVATION Joint Hearing

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee and Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a joint hearing on legislation (HR 5013) to promote the conservation of exotic wild birds.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. **June 16**

★ LEAD PAINT ABATEMENT

Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 2922) to establish an entitlement of states and certain political subdivisions of states to receive grants for the abatement of health hazards associated with lead-based paint, and to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to impose an excise tax and establish a trust fund to satisfy the federal obligations arising from such entitlement.

10am B-318 Rayburn Bldg. **July 1**

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**

APPROVED BY SUBCOMMITTEE:

- HR 1115 - Amend the Trade Act of 1974 to provide for the review of the extent to which foreign countries are in compliance with bilateral trade agreements with the United States (Approved by Trade Subcommittee June 25, 1991.)
- HR 1559 - Prohibit the importation of semiautomatic assault weapons, large capacity ammunition feeding devices, and certain accessories (Approved by Trade Subcommittee November 22, 1991.)
- HR 2751 - Establish the National Commission on American Labor Law (Approved by Trade Subcommittee September 24, 1991.)
- HR 3935 - A bill to modernize and simplify the administration of certain customs laws (Approved by Trade Subcommittee May 6, 1992.)

■ 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 addl dates TBA (if needed)

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
House conferees: Whitten, Natcher, Smith, D-Iowa; Yates, Obey, Roybal, Bevil, Murtha, Traxler, Lehman, Dixon, Fazio, Hefner, McDade, Myers, Coughlin, Pursell, Green, Lewis, Rogers

Note: Conference began June 4

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, Oakar, Vento, Kanjorski, Ridge, Paxon, Hancock

From the House Armed Services Committee: Aspin, Mavroules, Siskiy, 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, Armey, 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: Fiasell, 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:

From the Committee on Foreign Affairs for the consideration of the House bill and Senate amendment: Fiasell, Gejdenson, Wolpe, Johnston, Engel, Murphy, Orton, Broomfield, Roth, Bereuter, Miller, R-Wash.

From the Committee on Armed Services, for consideration of sections 120 and 303 of the Senate amendment: Mavroules, Hertel, Pickett, Hunter, Kyl

From the Committee on Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs for consideration of sections 201(c), 205, and 207-210 of the Senate amendment: Oakar, Neal, LaFalce, Leach, McCandless

From the Committee on Judiciary for consideration of sections 120, 123, 502, of the House bill, and sections 121, 124, 302, 305, and 306 of the Senate amendment: Brooks, Schumer, Huges, Sensenbrenner, Gekas,

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

Joint Committees Future Listings

Joint Economic

IMPROVING BUDGETING DECISIONS

Joint Economic Committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will hold a hearing on "Improving Long-term Decision-making in Government: Alternative Approaches to Budgeting."

11am 2247 Rayburn Bldg. June 11

Witnesses scheduled: Sidney Winter - chief economist, General Accounting Office; Herbert Stein - American Enterprise Institute; Laurence Kotlikoff - Boston University

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 Lucky - executive director, Communication Services Research, AT&T Bell Labs; Michael Dertouzos - chairman, MIT Commission on Industrial Productivity; Stephen Dimmit - director, Corporate Planning, Southwestern Bell

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

grants for preventive health and health services
Time & room TBA date TBA
Senate conferees: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Harkin, Hatch, Kassebaum
House conferees: Dingell, Waxman, Rowland, Lent, Bliley

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2967) to reauthorize the Older Americans Act.
Time & room TBA date TBA
Senate conferees:
 From the Committee on Labor and Human Resources: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Adams, Hatch, and Cochran
 From the Committee on Finance (solely for the Social Security retirement earnings provisions): Bentsen, Moynihan and Packwood
House conferees: TBA

FEDERAL FACILITIES COMPLIANCE

Conferees will meet on HR 2194, Federal Facilities Compliance Act of 1991.
Time & room TBA date TBA
Senate conferees: Burdick, Baucus, Moynihan, Mitchell, Lautenberg, Chafee, Simpson, Durenberger, Warner
House conferees:
 From the Energy and Commerce Committee for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Swift, Eckart, Slattery, Sikorski, Lent, Ritter, Schaefer
 As additional conferees from the Armed Services Committee, for consideration of section 113 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Ray, Hochbrueckner, Saxton
 As additional conferees from the Judiciary Committee, for consideration of section 2(a) of the House bill, and section 103(a) of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Brooks, Frank of Mass., Gekas
 As additional conferees from the Merchant Marine Committee, for consideration of section 304(a) of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Jones of N.C., Studds, Davis
 As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of sections 102, 109, and 115-119 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Nowak, Hammerschmidt
 As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of title IV of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Savage, Norton, Nowak, Borski, Hammerschmidt, Shuster, Inhofe

PRICE FIXING

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 429) to amend the Sherman Act to strengthen laws against vertical price-fixing
Time & room TBA date TBA
House conferees: Brooks, Edwards of Calif., Syner, 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

★ New listing

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, Oakar, 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, Syner 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.

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/Qualye 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.

ANIMAL RESEARCH

The Savings Lives Coalition will sponsor a briefing breakfast for members of Congress to hear researchers, physicians and patients discuss the link between animal research and human and animal health.

8am B-338 Rayburn Bldg. **June 10**
 Contact: Amy Melnick at 202-737-3600.
Note: Reservations are required.

★ DODD SPEECH

National Association of Manufacturers will sponsor an issues briefing breakfast to hear Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn. discuss legislative issues. Among the items that may be covered are financial issues such as SEC proxy rules, stock options and audit standards and human resources issues including striker replacement, health care, civil rights caps, and OSHA revisions.

8:30am Congressional Ballroom, Capitol Hilton Hotel, 16th and K Sts. N.W. **June 10**
 Contact: Samantha Trautman at 202-637-3094

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$45 for non-members. For information and reservations call the number listed above.

COST OF OSHA REVISION

Employment Policy Foundation will sponsor a briefing to discuss the results of a study on the potential cost to business of the Comprehensive Occupational Safety and Health Reform Act (S 1622/HR 3160).

9:30am SD-562 Dirksen Bldg. **June 10**
 Contact: Bill LaForge or Karl Deuser at 202-862-4385

■ Revised listing

Other continued...**HEALTH CARE & THE ECONOMY**

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute will sponsor a briefing for members of the Health Care and the Economy Task Force of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus on "Health Care and the Economy: The Effect on Corporate Decision-Making."

Noon, B-354 Rayburn Bldg. **June 10**

Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007

Note: This event is by invitation only. For additional information and press invitations call the number listed above.

MEAT INSPECTION

Mother Jones Magazine, the Safe Food Coalition, Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, and Reps. Ron Dellums, D-Calif., and Marcy Kaptur, D-Ohio, will sponsor a symposium on the Streamlined Inspection System for cattle. Proposed amendments to pending appropriations bill would ban implementation of the system and phase out the program.

10am 1310 Longworth Bldg. **June 11**

Contact: Christy Law or Tom Devine at 202-408-0034

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.
Suite 450
Washington, D.C. 20006

★ U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute will sponsor a luncheon meeting with Japanese ambassador to the United States Takakazu Kuriyama for members of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus Task Force on U.S.-Japan Relations.

Noon B-338 Rayburn Bldg. **June 18**

Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007

Note: This event is by invitation only, for information call the number listed above.

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.

★ WRITING EFFECTIVE CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

Communications Skills and Congressional Relations Committees of the Government Relations Institute will sponsor a workshop on writing effective congressional testimony.

2pm to 4pm, Bellcore, 2101 L St. N.W. **June 26**

Contact: Stephanie Mensh at 202-737-6662 or Mag Gottlieb at 202-347-1222

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.
Washington, D.C. 20005
Deadline is June 18

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, Montpelier dining room, Library of Congress Madison Bldg., 101 Independence Ave. S.E.

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.

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

Week of June 8

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7236

House subcmte hearings scheduled: June 9, 10

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 10

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

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 9

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 9

LABOR/HHS/EDUC

House: 225-3508; Senate: 224-7283

House subcmte hearings completed: May 19

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 9

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

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: June 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:

No legislative business scheduled

Tuesday, June 2:

Under suspension of the rules

- HR 4801 Amend the National Historic Preservation Act to extend the authorization for the Historic Preservation Fund passed by voice
- HR 3905 Amend the Historic Preservation Act to authorize appropriations for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation passed by voice
- HConRes 156 Concerning the emancipation of the Baha'i community of Iran passed by voice
- HConRes 297 Condemning the bombing of the Embassy of Israel in Buenos Aires passed by voice
- HConRes 299 Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the Kurds in northern Iraq passed by voice
- 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 passed by voice
- HRes 473 Regarding Burma passed by voice

Wednesday, June 3:

- 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
- WHITTEN, D-Miss., unanimous consent that the House disagree to the Senate amendments and agree to a conference with the Senate, agreed to by unanimous consent
- MCDADE, R-Pa., motion to instruct House conferees to agree to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 372-21
- HR 3489 Omnibus Export Amendments Act of 1991
- GEJDENSON, D-Conn., unanimous consent that the House disagree to the Senate amendment and agree to a conference with the Senate, agreed to by unanimous consent
- HR 5006 Department of Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993
- Rule, H Res 474, providing for consideration of HR 5006, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 257-136
- Prior to consideration of HR 5006, objection was heard to a HOPKINS, R-Ky., unanimous consent request to make in order consideration of amendment no. 147 to the bill*
- ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess
- KASICH, R-Ohio, amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to increase the share paid by NATO allies and South Korea of the costs of stationing U.S. troops in these countries, agreed

to by yeay-nay vote: 396-9

FRANK, D-Mass., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to reduce the total amount authorized by the bill by \$3.5 billion and require the reduction to come entirely from a reduction in funds used to support stationing U.S. troops in Europe, Japan or Korea, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 220-185

SCHROEDER, D-Colo., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to reduce the number of U.S. troops stationed in Europe from the current statutory level of 235,700 to 100,000 in 1995, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 241-162

GEPHARDT, D-Mo., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the administration to reduce the number of U.S. troops stationed abroad by 40% by September 30, 1995, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 225-177

FROST, D-Texas, amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to place certain limitations on the sale of assets of a certain defense contractor, agreed to by voice vote

EVANS, D-Ill., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the president to submit to Congress annual unclassified reports on the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile and U.S. inventories of fissionable materials, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 83-318

[Continued June 4]

Thursday, June 4:

- S 756 Amend title 17, U.S. Code, the copyright renewal provisions, and for other purposes
- BROOKS, D-Texas, substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote
- S 756, as amended, passed by voice vote
- HR 5006 Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1993

[Continued from June 3]

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess

ASPIN, D-Wis., modified amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to authorize \$650 million for assistance to the former Soviet republics in dismantling their nuclear weapons, and to authorize an additional \$100 million, to be offset by a reduction of \$100 million in fiscal year 1993 funds for defense agencies, to coordinate technical means to monitor nuclear weapons proliferation, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 356-54

AUCOIN, D-Ore., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to direct the secretary of Defense to transfer control of all tactical (short-range) nuclear weapons to the Department of Energy, and require the Energy Department to dismantle such weapons, withdrawn by unanimous consent

MAVROULES, D-Mass., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to provide a strategy to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the U.S. arsenal and those of other nuclear states,

House continued...

and to call for a worldwide end to the production of plutonium and enriched uranium used to make nuclear weapons, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 278-135

AUCOIN, D-Ore., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to reinstate a Defense Department policy in effect from 1982 to 1988 allowing military medical facilities overseas to offer service personnel, and dependents stationed abroad, abortion services when they pay for all costs themselves, including indirect costs, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 216-193

KOPETSKI, D-Ore., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to ban nuclear weapons testing for one year, unless the president certifies to Congress that any of the Soviet Union's successor republics has conducted a nuclear test, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 237-167

FROST, D-Texas, amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to outline how the \$1 billion provided for defense reinvestment and economic conversion activities would be allocated, and to include the creation of an assistant secretary of Defense for Reinvestment, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 275-105

HOPKINS, R-Ky., substitute amendment, to the above FROST, D-Texas, amendment, to strike provisions in the amendment relating to defense contractor hiring preference for displaced defense workers; strike provisions relating to defense contractor requirement to list suitable employment openings with local employment service offices; strike provisions relating to notice required upon cancellation of defense contracts; and strike provisions relating to special early retirement for displaced defense workers, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 147-235

DELLUMS, D-Calif., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to reduce by 10 percent the total amount authorized, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 90-283

OWENS, D-Utah, amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to direct the Defense Department to submit a report to Congress within six months comparing the costs and benefits of terminating the C-17 transport plane program and restarting production of the discontinued C-5B transport aircraft, rejected by voice vote

ASPIN, D-Wis., modified en bloc amendments, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to authorize the Defense Department (DOD) to spend up to \$25 million during fiscal year 1993 for activities related to joint research and development programs with independent states of the former Soviet Union; create a voluntary corps of former military service members to provide assistance to governmental and private-sector entities within the former Soviet republics and Soviet bloc nations, funded and administered by the DOD; require that DOD employees who are classified as temporary workers for four years during any six-year period be eligible for health, retirement and life insurance benefits; express support for the president's call to negotiate agreements to eliminate multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) from inter-

continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and encourage the president to move as quickly as possible in negotiations to terminate the Peacekeeper ICBM program and to reduce the number of warheads on the Minuteman II ICBM missile from three to one; prohibit the use of any research and development funds authorized for testing medical counter-measures against chemical warfare substances unless the Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Center, in conjunction with intelligence agencies, certifies that a potential enemy is developing that substance for use in a weapon; require the Navy, within 90 days after the date of enactment, to report the Navy's record of compliance with current laws prohibiting the Navy from constructing ships at foreign shipyards, and from engaging in planned repair in foreign shipyards of vessels home ported in the U.S.; establish a joint research and development program between the U.S. and Israel, and provide \$10 million to begin the program, with \$10 million to be provided by Israel; require the DOD, in selecting a site for relocation of finance accounting activities of the Defense Finance Account Service, to consider the ability of states and communities to compete for the relocation; add \$4.25 million for construction projects of the Air National Guard at Truax Field in Madison, Wis., while offsetting the authorization by reducing by \$4.25 million of authorization level for repair of the Air National Guard's real property; authorize an additional \$5 million for military construction projects at Langley Air Force Base, Va., the future site of the Air Force Headquarters, while reducing the repair of real property account by the same amount; authorize a program coordinated by the DOD to commemorate the 50th anniversary of World War II; require the DOD to be reimbursed for cost related to any support it provides for U.S. firms at military trade shows; require the Air Force Reserve to modify its High-Year Tenure (HYT) program to allow reserve technicians to maintain reserve status until age 60, as long as they continue to meet all other Air Force Reserve requirements; authorize the construction of an Army National Guard Armory on the campus of Southwest Virginia Community College near Richlands, Va.; direct the DOD to establish regulations governing the military's use of mental health evaluations for inpatients and outpatients, and a review process specifically for those who are admitted voluntarily; extend CHAMPUS coverage as second payer to Medicare to include victims of end-stage renal disease; change procedures for individuals repaying money received under Voluntary Separation Incentive (VSI) program enacted last year; clarify that eligibility for disability retired or severance pay for reservist on active duty for less than 30 days applies to reservists traveling directly to and from the place at which such duty is performed; permit certain facilities and services of the DOD to be provided to certain educational entities on a reimbursable basis; increase the authorization for Medium Range Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Program (UAV-MR) by \$25 million; express the sense of Congress that the president should take bilateral and multilateral initiatives, including trade incentives, to assist in bringing on line enough replacement electric power and modern energy efficiency measures and technologies in the states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union so that the Chernobyl-type reactors can be shut down as soon as possible and placed in stable condition

House continued...

to prevent radiological contamination; require the DOD to provide the General Services Administration (GSA) with a complete list of persons prohibited from doing defense contract work, which GSA would circulate; require the DOD to prepare a report on the global proliferation of satellites with possible military applications which are owned or controlled by other nations, and on the implications of such proliferation for the United States; transfer ownership of an obsolete naval landing ship to a private nonprofit organization in Vallejo, Calif., for environmental restoration and youth educational and instructional activities; strike the Congressional Budget Office's (CBO) cost estimate; require the DOD to use competitive bidding when selecting either private contractors or other federal agencies (including other defense agencies) to perform maintenance and other functions currently performed in-house as a depot-level activity by the DOD; authorize \$6 million for research and development of a charged particle beam program; prohibit the Navy from beginning any work to overhaul, repair or maintain a vessel in a foreign shipyard if the ship is currently assigned to a home port located outside the United States, but is scheduled to be reassigned to a home port in the United States within the next 15 months, and if such work would take more than 6 months; direct the secretary to take such actions as necessary to strengthen independent cost accounting in the DOD; require that the military department centralized cost centers operated by the Army, Navy and Air Force be abolished by the end of fiscal year 1993; prohibit the DOD from reobligating any budget authority that has been collected in so-called "M" accounts until all existing invalid obligations in those accounts, as identified by the GAO have been deobligated and canceled; stipulate that provisions relating to the DOD's Humanitarian Assistance Program are not exempt from "cargo preference" laws requiring that all or part of humanitarian assistance being shipped overseas on cargo vessels be carried aboard U.S. flag ships; authorize the Navy to convey to the City of Santa Barbara, Calif., property now known as the Santa Barbara Naval Reserve Center; authorize comprehensive home health care as a benefit under the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS); express the sense of Congress that all nations experiencing problems with illegal narcotics intensify their efforts to curb the production and trafficking of these drugs; authorize states to issue vanity plates displaying official seals and insignias of the various armed services, subject to the design's approval by the secretary of the appropriate service; make retroactive a provision relating to the certification of claims submitted by contractors for compensation by the DOD; require that vessels constructed under the Fast Sealift Program incorporate propulsion systems and interior communications equipment; direct the DOD to prepare a report evaluating the feasibility of expanding National Guard antidrug activities to include state and local civilian programs for reducing drug demand; create an independent Chemical Demilitarization Advisory Com-

mission to report to Congress and the president on the viable alternatives to incineration for disposing of surplus stockpiles of chemical agents and weapons; entitle military reserve technicians to a comparable DOD job if they lose their civilian DOD jobs as a result of involuntary separation from military reserve prior to their qualification for early retirement; clarify that the Federal Acquisition Regulations do not apply to the agreements negotiated between the secretary of Defense and the Uniformed Services Treatment Facilities regarding implementation of a managed care delivery and reimbursement system of health care; make Oman eligible to receive excess defense articles under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program; authorize \$15,000,000 for a grant to a medical college to provide facilities to allow access to educational and research data through electronic networks to facilities clinical decisionmaking; convey to the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission the undeveloped woodlands at the Forest Glen Annex of the Walter Reed Army Medical Center for preservation as parkland; authorize the Navy to transfer two vessels to educational institutions if it determines that they are no longer required by the Navy; authorize \$35 million for the modification of one Navy P-3B aircraft to an Airborne Early Warning configuration for use in border surveillance and drug interdiction efforts; establish statutory authority for the Foreign Language Center of the Defense Language Institute at Presidio of Monterey; limit the holding period for federal surplus and excess property available to assist the homeless; make members of the armed forces who are killed or wounded by friendly fire during the conduct of combat operations eligible to receive the Purple Heart; provide for a one-year extension of a demonstration project for the use of proceeds from the sale of lost, abandoned or unclaimed property; provide that military doctors with at least four years of professional experience may perform medical examinations needed by certain aliens in order to receive an adjustment in the immigration status under the 1991 Armed Forces Immigration Adjustment Act; make Charlotte S. Neal of Lynchburg, Va., eligible to receive an annuity under the Military Survivor Benefit Plan; authorize an additional \$11.5 million within the Defense Agencies Research, Development, Test and Evaluation account, to continue the Rapid Acquisition of Manufactured Parts (RAMP) Test and Integration Facility Program within the Naval Supply Systems Command; establish a pilot program aimed at expediting environmental restoration at military installations, which would be implemented at selected active bases and bases scheduled for closure; permit the Army to collect fees from individuals and gun clubs participating in the Civilian Marksmanship Program in order to provide financial support for the program; authorize the DOD to acquire title to four parcels of land located in Arizona, totaling about 85,000 acres, which are currently owned by the state but are used by the military under lease agreements and other arrangements; modify the Survivor Benefit Plan open enrollment period; permit the DOD to provide in-kind assistance by contributing to lending supplies or equipment to U.N. peace-keeping forces; permit the federal government to accept monetary contributions from Kuwait for burden-sharing purposes; express the sense

House continued...

of Congress that the president should seek to shift the burden of paying for environmental restoration at military installations outside the United States to the nations in which these facilities are located; provide service credit for ROTC students serving concurrently as enlisted members of a National Guard or Reserve unit called up for active duty; clarify language authorizing an exchange of property between the state of South Carolina and the U.S. Air Force; add \$70 million to the fiscal year 1993 Navy Shipbuilding and Conversion account for procurement of long-lead materials for the LHD amphibious assault ship program; extend the authority of the DOD to transfer excess items, such as helicopters, trucks and vans to civilian law enforcement agencies through fiscal year 1997; and require the DOD to make any person convicted of fraudulently affixing a "Made in USA" label to any product purchased under provisions in the authorizations ineligible to receive a contract or grant for three to five years, agreed to by voice vote

ROHRBACHER, R-Calif., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the Navy to determine whether the designated San Diego Homeport Area should be expanded to include Long Beach and San Pedro, Calif., for purposes of short-term ship overhaul and shipyard repair work, rejected by voice vote

HUTTO, D-Fla., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to restrict the amount that the Defense Department pays to the General Services Administration to lease buildings and other office space in the Washington, D.C., area to no more than the actual cost of the space occupied by the department and related defense agencies, withdrawn

SKAGGS, D-Colo., amendment, to the above ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the Energy Department to develop a comprehensive economic conversion plan to minimize the impact of weapons complex configuration, agreed to by voice vote

[Continued June 5]

H Res 477 Resolution relating to noncurrent records of the former Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran, 100th Congress agreed to by voice vote

Friday, June 5

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 passed 198-168

Week of June 8**Monday, June 8:**

Not in session

Tuesday, June 9:

Convenes at Noon

HR 5260 Unemployment Compensation Extension begin consideration

Under suspension of the rules:

HR 4342 Amend title 38, U.S. Code, to expand job assistance programs for Vietnam era veterans begin consideration

HR 4368 Extend eligibility for burial in national cemeteries to persons who have 20 years of service creditable for retired pay as members of a reserve component of the Armed Forces begin consideration

HR— Balance Budget Act of 1992 begin consideration

HR 3614 Amending the Land Remote-Sensing Commercialization Act of 1984 to secure U.S. leadership in land remote-sensing by providing data continuity for the Landsat program and by establishing a new national land remote-sensing policy begin consideration

HJRes 320 Authorizing the government of the District of Columbia to establish, in the District of Columbia or its environs, a memorial to African Americans who died as Union soldiers during the Civil War begin consideration

HR 5058 Authorize appropriations for the American Folklife Center for fiscal years 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997 begin consideration

HConRes 232 Calling on the Chinese government to respect the rights of foreign and domestic journalists begin consideration

H Res 461 Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives concerning the Chinese government's harassment of foreign journalists begin consideration

Wednesday, June 10 &**Balance of the Week:**

Convenes at 10am

HJRes 290 Proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for a balanced budget for the U.S. government and for greater accountability in the enactment of tax legislation begin consideration

HConRes 192 Establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress begin consideration

Senate Floor Action

Week of June 1

Monday, June 1:

Pro forma session

Tuesday, June 2:

S 474 Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE modified substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote (modified earlier)

GRASSLEY, R-Iowa, amendment no. 1857, to the above JUDICIARY COMMITTEE modified substitute amendment, to allow government entities a period of time in which to enact sports gambling legislation and thereby qualify for exemption under an expanded "grandfather clause," rejected to by voice vote

S 474, as amended, passed by yeay-nay vote: 88-5

S 1504 Public Telecommunications Act of 1991

COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, pending at recess

INOUE, D-Hawaii, substitute amendment no. 1858, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE, & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, agreed to by voice vote

BYRD, D-W.Va., amendment no. 1859, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the Federal Communications Commission to promulgate regulations to prohibit the broadcasting of indecent programming, pending at recess

By unanimous consent, Senate agreed to vote on the amendment on June 3, 1992

INOUE, D-Hawaii, amendment no. 1860, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to make certain changes concerning the Board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and to make certain information available for public inspection, agreed to by voice vote

INOUE, D-Hawaii (for BINGAMAN, D-N.M.), amendment no. 1861, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to report to the Congress as to the most effective way to establish and implement a ready-learn public television channel to encourage the development of programming aimed at the educational needs and interests of preschool children, agreed to by voice vote

PRESSLER, R-S.D., and GRASSLEY, R-Iowa, amendment no. 1862, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to report to the Congress as to the most effective way to encourage distance learning through use of existing corporation facilities, agreed to by voice vote

INOUE, D-Hawaii, amendment no. 1863, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION substitute amendment, to promote programming objectivity and balance, agreed to by voice vote

MCCONNELL, R-Ky., amendment no. 1864, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require disclosure of federal funding of public television programs, agreed to by voice vote

MITCHELL, D-Maine, unanimous consent providing for further consideration of the bill and certain amendments to be proposed thereto, on Wednesday, June 3, 1992, agreed to by unanimous consent

[Continued June 3]

S Res 304

A resolution to congratulate the Pittsburgh Penguins on winning the 1992 Stanley Cup
agreed to by voice vote

Wednesday, June 3:

S 1504

Public Telecommunications Act of 1991

[Continued from June 2]

COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, as amended, agreed to pursuant to order of June 2, 1992

BYRD, D-W.Va., amendment no. 1859, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to require the Federal Communications Commission to promulgate regulations to prohibit the broadcasting of indecent programming, agreed to by yeay-nay vote: 93-3

LOTT, R-Miss., amendment no. 1865, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to freeze the authorization levels for the Corporation of Public Broadcasting at present levels, rejected by yeay-nay vote: 22-75

DOLE, R-Kan., amendment no. 1866, to the above COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE substitute amendment, to establish that any independent production service provide funding to eligible recipients and projects representing the widest possible geographic distribution, agreed to by voice vote

Pursuant to order of June 2, 1992, the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science & Transportation was discharged from further consideration of HR 2977, the House companion measure, and the Senate struck all after the enacting clause of HR 2977 and inserted in lieu thereof the text of S 1504, as amended

HR 2977, as amended, passed in Senate by yeay-nay vote: 84-11

Subsequently, S 1504 was returned to the Senate calendar

S 2802

Extend the authorization of the Commission on Interstate Child Support and the deadline for the commission's report to Congress
passed by voice vote

Thursday, June 4:

HR 2507

CONFERENCE REPORT: National Institutes

Senate continued...

- of Health Revitalization Amendments of 1991 agreed to by yea-nay vote: 85-12
HR 2507 is now cleared for the president.
- S 1306 **CONFERENCE REPORT: Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration Reorganization Act of 1991**
 GRAHAM, D-Fla., motion to recommit the conference report with instructions, pending at recess
- MITCHELL, D-Maine, motion to close debate (cloture motion) on consideration of the conference report on S 1306 (3/5's vote required). (vote to occur Tuesday, June 9)
Earlier, the Senate agreed to a MITCHELL, D-Maine, unanimous consent request providing for further consideration of the conference report, the motion to recommit the conference report, and the motion to table the motion to recommit, on Tuesday, June 9, 1992
 [Continued June 9]
- S 756 **Amend title 17, U.S. Code, the copyright renewal provisions, and for other purposes**
 FORD, D-Ky., motion that the Senate concur in the House amendment, agreed to by voice vote. pg S7580
S 756 is now cleared for the president.
- S 893 **Amend title 18, U.S. Code, to impose criminal sanctions for violation of software copyright**
 SPECTER, R-Pa. (for HATCH, R-Utah), technical amendment no. 1868, agreed to by voice vote.
 S 893, as amended, passed in Senate by voice vote.
- S Res 305 **Commend the First Infantry Division (MECH) on its 75th anniversary** agreed to by voice vote
- HR 1917 **A bill for the relief of Michael Wu** passed by

unanimous consent

HR 1642

HR 1917 is now cleared for the president.
Palo Alto Battlefield National Historic Site Act of 1991 passed by unanimous consent

S 2079

HR 1642 is now cleared for the president.
Marsh-Billings National Historical Park Act ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE amendment, agreed to by unanimous consent

HR 2556

S 2079, as amended, passed in Senate by unanimous consent
Los Padres Condor Range and River Protection Act passed by unanimous consent

S 1338

HR 2556 is now cleared for the president.
A bill for the relief of Chi Hsui Tsui, Jin-Mie Tsui, Yin Whee Tsui, Yin Tao Tsui and Yin Chao Tsui passed by unanimous consent

SRes 309

Authorize testimony by an employee of the Senate in Robinson v. Addwest Gold, Inc., et al agreed to by voice vote

Friday, June 5:*Pro forma session***Week of June 8****Monday, June 8:**

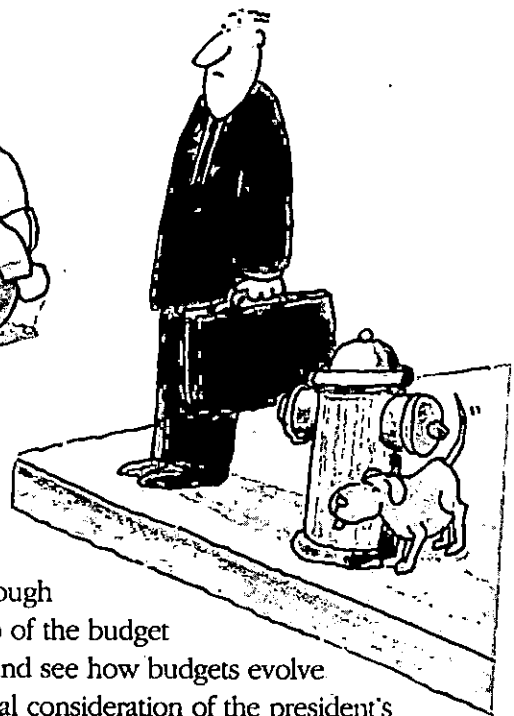
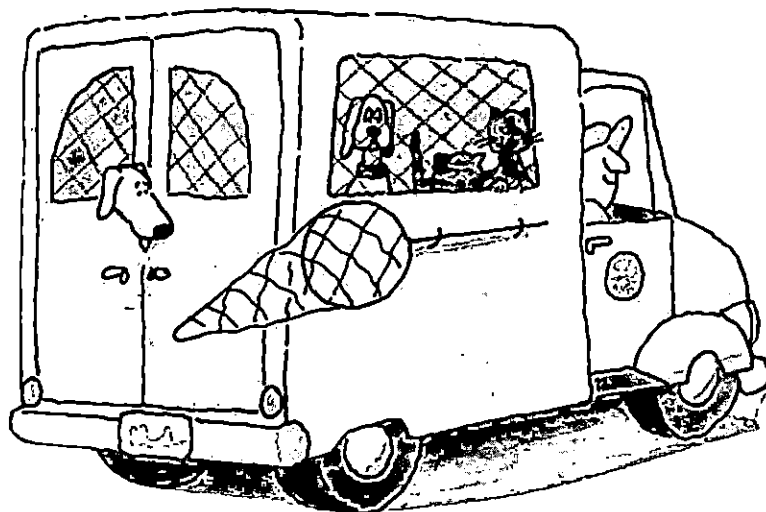
Not in session

Tuesday, June 9:

S 1306

CONFERENCE REPORT: Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration Reorganization Act of 1991 continue consideration

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impoundments only happened to stray
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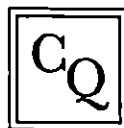
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THE PRESIDENT

June 8, 1992

Dear John,

Thanks for the invitation to attend your swearing in on June 22nd. I am sorry, but I must regret since my scheduled already has me committed.

Good luck on your appointment and best wishes.

*I'm great to take
on this new assignment.*

Sincerely,

g

Blind cc:
Mrs. Bush (FYI)

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Reverend John C. Harper
Saint John's Church
Lafayette Square
Washington, D.C. 20005

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/9/42

TO: Barbara Bush

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA
Deputy Assistant to the President

Rev. John Harper (St. John's) called to say he is being sworn in on June 22 - 4 P. M., as Chairman of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

It will be in the Parish House, next to the Church.

The President cannot attend but wondered if you had any interest. We have sent a note of regret from the President but have not indicated you might consider it.



Harper DOCUMENT= 1 OF 1 PAGE = 1 OF 3
NAME Reverend John C. Harper
SPOUSE Mrs. Barbara
SAL OUT John and Barbie
DESCR Minister of St. John's Episcopal Church. See *Jerauld
 Wright.*
CODES DB2 5 CC5 USVCPR PERSNL KLERGY EPISCH DCFRAQ
ISSUES PRAYRZ SMKIDS
FFNAME "George" out.
HOME1 4436 Westover Place, NW
 Washington, DC 20016
 (202) 244-1571
HOME2 Beach Run
 Dennis, MA 02638
 (508) 385-3536
BUSINESS1 Saint John's Church
 Lafayette Square
 Washington, DC 20005
 (202) 347-8766
 Sec'y: Mrs. Mary Kelly. Church's 175th anniversary 5/6/90.
PREVIOUS1 2303 Bancroft Place, NW

Write Mr. Harper
so sorry but
wish him well
etc -

don't send note to
BPB until we're
regretted -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/8/92

TO: Mr. President

FROM: **ROSE ZAMARIA**
Deputy Assistant to the President

John Harper, St. John's, called to say that he is being sworn in on June 22 - 4 P.M., as Chairman of the Adivsory Council on Historic Preservation.

It will be in the Parish House, next to the church.

Wondered by any stretch of the imagination if you might be free.

Checked with Kathy -- you could if you wanted -- however, both of us feel you shoul'n't since you've turned down most swearing-ins, except for Cabinet officers.

GUIDANCE:

ACCEPT _____

REGRET: ✓

Send note of regret - let Mrs. Bush know in the event she might want to go

RZ



Tickler

*file Daily
6/8 w/answer
attached*

June 8, 1992

To: Phil Brady cc C of S

Re: Gary Bauer memo on line item veto of Corp Pub Brdcasting Bill.

Please have reply prepared.

GB

9.

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT



June 4, 1992

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GARY L. BAUER
President

RE: Line-Item Veto the Corporation for Public Broadcasting Reauthorization

Mr. President, you are getting a lot of unsolicited advice lately. I hesitate to add to your burden. None-the-less, it strikes me that you have a good opportunity before you.

S. 1504, the three-year reauthorization bill for public broadcasting activities, passed the Senate yesterday after all amendments to reduce the \$1.1 billion authorization level were defeated. As passed, the bill includes a 50 percent increase in authorized funding levels, with the authorized amount rising from \$355 million in FY 1994 to \$444 million in FY 1996.

You have stated your intention to veto this legislation on the basis of its gross costs. Your Administration has also indicated it is looking for legislation that would present an opportunity to test the viability of a line-item veto. Mr. President, now is the time and S. 1504 is the bill.

This bill is wildly out of budget-bounds. It contains huge increases in each year's authorization level for activities that are arguably outside the proper scope of government. Any one or any combination of the three-year authorization levels could be the target of a line-item veto. You will not be presented with a more compelling opportunity from a budgetary and policy standpoint. The reasons:

- The 50 percent increase in authorized funding under the bill is reckless. Even if media pundits suggest that you are "picking on Big Bird," every American will understand why this increase is way out of line.
- CPB funding benefits an entrenched, bipartisan (but dominantly left-wing) Washington constituency. No funding for food stamps, school lunches, small business assistance, health research or any other activity affecting the poor or the "little guy" is at stake. Howls of pain will come only from quarters that few Americans identify with -- from the publicly funded penthouse, not Peoria.

- An ordinary veto will not do here. It may be overridden. It has all the negatives of taking on "popular" programming, but none of the positives of framing a new issue: your authority to block outrageously wasteful spending at a time of soaring deficits and lack of Congressional will to resist the narrowest of special interests.
- Even if you lose (via a Court challenge), you win. Americans obviously desire a strong Executive and fiscal control. You are likely to soon be denied the balanced budget amendment you seek. It is a good issue, but it will fade. A line-item veto of S. 1504 will keep that issue alive and may even help the amendment. If the Courts deny you line-item veto power, you can go to the people to pressure Congress to grant it. If Congress will not give you the line-item, the pressure to pass a balanced budget amendment is redoubled. If they will give you neither, you campaign as the candidate for change -- for a new Congressional leadership that has the will to limit spending.
- Your staff has not unanimously supported Presidential line-item veto authority under the law. If there is doubt, the debate must somehow be joined. If you act to join it, leading even doubtful aides on your own staff, the public will rush to your support. 43 Governors will also immediately understand your action. Your Party will rally as well.

Mr. President, if CPB can win a 50 percent increase with a deficit of \$400 million and a national debt in the trillions, spending will never be controlled. It is time for another line in the sand.

1ST DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

FULL TEXT OF BILLS

102ND CONGRESS; 1ST SESSION
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
AS REPORTED IN THE SENATE

S. 1504

1991 S. 1504

SYNOPSIS:

A BILL

To authorize appropriations for public broadcasting, and for other purposes.

DATE OF INTRODUCTION: JULY 19, 1991

DATE OF VERSION: NOVEMBER 20, 1991 -- VERSION: 2

SPONSOR(S):

Mr. INOUE (for himself, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. KERRY, Mr. BURNS, Mr. GORE, and Mr. BREAU) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation

TEXT:

Reported by Mr. HOLLINGS, with an amendment

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in italic

A BILL

To authorize appropriations for public broadcasting, and for other purposes.

* Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United*
*States of America in Congress assembled, *

**

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Public Telecommunications Act of 1991".

PUBLIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 2. Section 391 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 391) is amended-

(1) by striking "and" after "1990"; and

(2) by inserting "\$ 42,000,000 for fiscal year 1992, \$ 42,000,000 for fiscal year 1993, and \$ 42,000,000 for fiscal year 1994," immediately after "1991,".

CONGRESSIONAL DECLARATIONS OF POLICY

SEC. 3. (a) Section 396(a) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(a)) is amended-

(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (7);

(2) by redesignating paragraph (8) as paragraph (10); and

1991 S. 1504 NOVEMBER 20, 1991 -- VERSION: 2

(3) by inserting immediately after paragraph (7) the following new paragraphs:

"(8) public television and radio stations constitute valuable local community resources for utilizing electronic media to address national concerns and solve local problems through community-programs and outreach programs;

"(9) it is in the public interest for the Federal Government to ensure that all citizens of the United States have access to public communications services through all appropriate available telecommunications distribution technologies; and".

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SEC. 4. (a)(1) Section 396(c)(1) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(c)(1)) is amended-

(A) by striking "10" and inserting in lieu thereof "9"; and

(B) by striking "6" and inserting in lieu thereof "5".

(2) Section 396(c)(2) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(c)(2)) is amended by striking "10" and inserting in lieu thereof "9".

(b) Section 396(a)(5) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(a)(5)) is amended to read as follows:

"(5) The term of office of each member of the Board appointed by the President shall be 6 years, except as provided in section 4(c) of the Public Telecommunications Act of 1991. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which such member's predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term. No member of the Board shall be eligible to serve in excess of 2 consecutive full terms."

(c)(1) An office, as referred to in this subsection, is an office as a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

(2) With respect to the three offices whose terms are prescribed by law to expire on March 26, 1992, the term for each such office immediately after that date shall expire on April 1, 1998.

(3) With respect to the two offices whose terms are prescribed by law to expire on March 1, 1994, the term for each of such offices immediately after that date shall expire on April 1, 2000.

(4) With respect to the five offices whose terms are prescribed by law to expire on March 26, 1996-

(A) one such office, as selected by the President, shall be abolished on March 26, 1996;

(B) the term immediately after March 26, 1996, for another such office, as designated by the President, shall expire on April 1, 2000; and

(C) the term for each of the remaining three such offices immediately after March 26, 1996, shall expire on April 1, 2002.

CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING AUTHORIZATION

SEC. 5. Section 396(k)(1)(C) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(k)(1)(C)) is amended-

(1) by striking "and 1993" and inserting in lieu thereof "1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996";

(2) by striking "and" after "fiscal year 1992,"; and

(3) by inserting ", \$ 355,000,000 for fiscal year 1994, \$ 401,000,000 for fiscal year 1995, and ~~\$ 444,000,000 for fiscal year 1996~~" immediately after "fiscal year 1993".

REPEAL

1991 S. 1504 NOVEMBER 20, 1991 -- VERSION: 2

SEC. 6. Paragraph (4) of section 396(1) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(1)) is repealed

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 7. Section 4(a) shall take effect on March 26, 1996. All other provisions of this Act are effective on its date of enactment.

*SHORT TITLE

* SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Public Telecommunications Act of 1991".

*PUBLIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES AUTHORIZATION

* SEC. 2. Section 391 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 391) is amended-

(1) by striking "and" after "1990,"; and

(2) by inserting "\$ 42,000,000 for fiscal year 1992, \$ 42,000,000 for fiscal year 1993, and \$ 42,000,000 for fiscal year 1994," immediately after "1991,".

*CONGRESSIONAL DECLARATIONS OF POLICY

* SEC. 3. Section 396(a) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(a)) is amended-

(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (7);

(2) by redesignating paragraph (8) as paragraph (10); and

(3) by inserting immediately after paragraph (7) the following new paragraphs:

"(8) public television and radio stations constitute valuable local community resources for utilizing electronic media to address national concerns and solve local problems through community programs and outreach programs;

"(9) it is in the public interest for the Federal Government to ensure that all citizens of the United States have access to public telecommunications services through all appropriate available telecommunications distribution technologies; and".

*BOARD OF DIRECTORS

* SEC. 4. (a) REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF MEMBERS.-(1) Section 396(c)(1) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(c)(1)) is amended-

(A) by striking "10" and inserting in lieu thereof "9"; and

(B) by striking "6" and inserting in lieu thereof "5".

(2) Section 396(c)(2) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(c)(2)) is amended by striking "10" and inserting in lieu thereof "9".

1991 S. 1504 NOVEMBER 20, 1991 -- VERSION: 2

* (b) TERM OF OFFICE.-Section 396(c)(5) of the Communications Act of
 *1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(c)(5)) is amended to read as follows:

* "(5) The term of office of each member of the Board appointed by the
 *President shall be 6 years, except as provided in section 4(c) of the
 *Public Telecommunications Act of 1991. Any member whose term has expired
 *may serve until such member's successor has taken office. Any member
 *appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the
 *term for which such member's predecessor was appointed shall be
 *appointed for the remainder of such term. No member of the Board shall
 *be eligible to serve in excess of 2 consecutive full terms."

* (c) TRANSITION RULES.-(1) With respect to the three offices whose
 *terms are prescribed by law to expire on March 26, 1992, the term for
 *each such office immediately after that date shall expire on March 26,
 *1998.

* (2) With respect to the two offices whose terms are prescribed by law
 *to expire on March 1, 1994, the term for each of such offices
 *immediately after that date shall expire on March 26, 2000.

* (3) With respect to the five offices whose terms are prescribed by law
 *to expire on March 26, 1996-

* (A) one such office, as selected by the President, shall be
 *abolished on March 26, 1996;

* (B) the term immediately after March 26, 1996, for another such
 *office, as designated by the President, shall expire on March 26,
 *2000; and

* (C) the term for each of the remaining three such offices
 *immediately after March 26, 1996, shall expire on March 26, 2002.

* (4) As used in this subsection, the term "office" means an office as a
 *member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public
 *Broadcasting.

*CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING AUTHORIZATION

* SEC. 5. Section 396(k)(1)(C) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47
 *U.S.C. 396(k)(1)(C)) is amended-

* (1) by striking "and 1993" and inserting in lieu thereof "1993,
 *1994, 1995, and 1996";

* (2) by striking "and" after "fiscal year 1992,"; and

* (3) by inserting ", \$ 310,000,000 for fiscal year 1994,
 *\$ 375,000,000 for fiscal year 1995, and \$ 425,000,000 for fiscal year
 *1996" immediately after "fiscal year 1993".

*REPEAL

* SEC. 6. Paragraph (4) of section 396(1) of the Communications Act of
 *1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(1)) is repealed.

*ELIMINATION OF REQUIREMENT FOR COMMUNITY ADVISORY BOARDS

* SEC. 7. (a) ELIMINATION OF REQUIREMENT.-Section 396(k) of the
 *Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(k)) is amended by striking
 *paragraph (8).

1991 S. 1504 NOVEMBER 20, 1991 -- VERSION: 2

* (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.-Section 396(k) of the Communications Act of*
*1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(k)), as amended by subsection (a) of this section, *
*is further amended-

* (1) by redesignating paragraphs (9) and (10) as paragraphs (8) and*
* (9), respectively; and

* (2) in paragraph (9), as so redesignated, by striking "(8), and *
* (9)" and inserting in lieu thereof "and (8)".

*CONTENTS OF ANNUAL REPORT

* SEC. 8. Section 396(i)(1) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C.*
*396(i)(1)) is amended-

* (1) by striking "and" at the end of subparagraph (B);

* (2) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D); and

* (3) by inserting immediately after subparagraph (B) the following *

* new subparagraph:

* "(C) a listing of each organization that receives a grant from the*
* Corporation to produce programming, the name of the producer of any *
* programming produced under each such grant, the title or description*
* of any program so produced, and the amount of each such grant;".

*GRANT DISTRIBUTION CRITERIA

* SEC. 9. Section 396(k)(6)(B) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 *
*U.S.C. 396(k)(6)(B)) is amended by inserting "(which the Corporation *
*shall review periodically in consultation with public radio and *
*television licensees or permittees, or their designated *
*representatives)" immediately after "eligibility criteria".

*AUDIT REQUIREMENT FOR PUBLIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS ENTITIES

* SEC. 10. (a) ALTERNATIVE TO AUDIT FOR CERTAIN ENTITIES.-Section *
*396(l)(3)(B)(ii) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. *

*396(l)(3)(B)(ii)) is amended-

* (1) by designating the existing text as subclause (I);

* (2) by striking "and" at the end of subclause (I), as so *
* redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "or"; and

* (3) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

* "(II) to submit a financial statement in lieu of the audit *
* required by subclause (I) if the Corporation determines that the *
* cost burden of such audit on such entity is excessive in light of *
* the financial condition of such entity; and".

* (b) FREQUENCY OF AUDIT.-Section 396(l)(3)(B) of the Communications Act*
*of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 396(l)(3)(B)) is amended-

* (1) in clause (ii) by striking "biannual" and inserting in lieu *
* thereof "biennial"; and

* (2) in clause (iii) by striking "biannually" and inserting in lieu*
* thereof "biennially".

*COMPENSATION OF OFFICERS

* SEC. 11. Section 396(e)(1) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 *
*U.S.C. 396(e)(1)) is amended by striking the fourth sentence and *
*inserting in lieu the following: "No officer of the Corporation, other *

*than the Chairman or a Vice Chairman, may receive any salary or other *

*compensation (except for compensation for services on boards of *

*directors of other organizations that do not receive funds from the *

Corporation, committees on such boards, and similar activities) from any

*sources other than the Corporation for services rendered during the *

*period of his or her employment by the Corporation. Service by any *

*officer on boards of directors of other organizations shall be subject *

to annual advance approval by the Board and subject to the provisions of

*the Corporation's Statement of Ethical Conduct."

1991 S. 1504 NOVEMBER 20, 1991 -- VERSION: 2

*EFFECTIVE DATE

* SEC. 12. Section 4(a) shall take effect on March 26, 1996. All other *
*provisions of this Act are effective on its date of enactment. *

2ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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BILL TRACKING REPORT

102nd Congress
1st Session

U. S. Senate

S 1504

1991 S. 1504

PUBLIC TELECOMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1991

DATE-INTRO: July 19, 1991

LAST-ACTION-DATE: June 2, 1992

FINAL STATUS: Pending

SPONSOR: Senator Daniel K. Inouye D-HI

TOTAL-COSPONSORS: 8 Cosponsors: 6 Democrats / 2 Republicans

SYNOPSIS: A bill to authorize appropriations for public broadcasting, and for other purposes.

ACTIONS: Committee Referrals:

07/19/91 Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee

Legislative Chronology:

1st Session Activity:

07/19/91 137 Cong Rec S 10495 Referred to the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee

07/19/91 137 Cong Rec S 10506 Remarks by Sen. Inouye

07/19/91 137 Cong Rec S 10507 Remarks by Sen. Hollings

07/23/91 137 Cong Rec D 949 Senate Subcommittee on Communications concluded hearings

07/30/91 137 Cong Rec S 11376 Cosponsors added

08/02/91 137 Cong Rec S 12313 Cosponsors added

10/03/91 137 Cong Rec D 1203 Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee ordered favorably reported, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute
11/19/91 137 Cong Rec S 17042 Reported in the Senate, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute (S. Rept. No. 102-221)

2nd Session Activity:

03/03/92 138 Cong Rec S 2642 Senate began consideration of the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill, with a committee amendment in the nature of a substitute

BILL TRACKING REPORT S 1504

03/03/92 138 Cong Rec S 2644 Senate agreed to close further debate on the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill, by a recorded vote of 87 yeas and 7 nays (D 51-0, R 36-7) (Vote No. 36) -- three-fifths of those Senators duly chosen and sworn having voted in the affirmative

03/03/92 138 Cong Rec S 2772 Senate reached a unanimous-consent time-agreement providing for further consideration of the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill, with a vote to occur on the motion to proceed

03/03/92 138 Cong Rec S 2772 Senate will continue consideration of the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill on Wednesday, March 4

03/04/92 138 Cong Rec S 2810 Senate continued consideration of the bill, with a committee amendment in the nature of a substitute

03/04/92 138 Cong Rec S 2815 By unanimous-consent in the Senate, the motion to proceed to consideration of the bill was withdrawn

05/20/92 138 Cong Rec S 7045 Cosponsors added

05/21/92 138 Cong Rec S 7164 Senate reached a unanimous-consent time-agreement providing for the consideration of the bill and certain amendments to be proposed thereto, on Tuesday, June 2, 1992

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7303 Senate began consideration of the bill, with a committee amendment in the nature of a substitute, taking action on amendments proposed thereto

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7306 Senate adopted Inouye Amendment No. 1858, in the nature of a substitute, by voice vote

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7308 Byrd Amendment No. 1859, to require the Federal Communications Commission to promulgate regulations to prohibit the broadcasting of indecent programming, pending in the Senate

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7329 Senate adopted Inouye Amendment No. 1860, to make certain changes concerning the Board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and to make certain information available for public inspection, by voice vote

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7335 Senate adopted Inouye (for Bingaman) Amendment No. 1861, to require the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to report to the Congress as to the most effective way to establish and implement a ready-to-learn public television channel to encourage the development of programming aimed at the educational needs and interests of preschool children, by voice vote

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7336 Senate adopted Pressler/Grassley Amendment No. 1862, to require the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to report to the

BILL TRACKING REPORT S 1504

Congress as to the most effective way to encourage distance learning through the use of existing Corporation facilities, by voice vote

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7341 Senate adopted Inouye Amendment No. 1863, to promote programming objectivity and balance, by voice vote

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7344 Senate adopted McConnell Amendment No. 1864, to require disclosure of Federal funding of public television programs, by voice vote

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7347 Senate reached a unanimous-consent time-agreement providing for further consideration of the bill and certain amendments to be proposed thereto, on Wednesday, June 3, 1992

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7363 Inouye (and Stevens) Amendment No. 1858, submitted

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7365 Byrd Amendment No. 1859, submitted

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7365 Inouye Amendment No. 1860, submitted

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7365 Bingaman (and others) Amendment No. 1861, submitted

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7366 Pressler (and Grassley) Amendment No. 1862, submitted

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7366 Inouye Amendment No. 1863, submitted

06/02/92 138 Cong Rec S 7366 McConnell Amendment No. 1864, submitted

BILL-DIGEST: (from the CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE)

1119/91 (Reported to Senate with amendment, S. Rept. 102-221) Public Telecommunications Act of 1991 Amends the Communications Act of 1934 to authorize appropriations for the public telecommunications facilities program for FY 1992 through 1994 and for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) for FY 1994 through 1996. Reduces from ten to nine the number of CPB board members, lengthens the terms of each member from five to six years, and staggers the terms of the members. Permits a public telecommunications entity receiving CPB funding to submit financial statements in lieu of required biennial (currently, biannual) audits if the CPB determines that the cost burden of audits is excessive in light of the entity's financial condition. Makes a prohibition on the receipt of compensation from other sources by CPB officers inapplicable to compensation for services on boards of directors of other organizations that do not receive CPB funds. Subjects service on such boards to annual advance approval by the CPB board.

CRS Index Terms:

Communications; Auditing; Authorization; Corporation directors--Salaries; Financial statements; Government corporations; Public broadcasting; Public radio; Public television; Telecommunication industry; Television and children

CO-SPONSORS:

Original Cosponsors:

Hollings D-SC
Kerry D-MA

Stevens R-AK
Burns R-MT

Bentsen D-TX

Attached FYI.
A copy of Boyden
Gray's response
to Gary Bauer.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1992

Dear Gary:

After reading your June 4 letter suggesting that he exercise a line-item veto on the public broadcasting bill that the Senate had just passed, the President asked that I reply on his behalf. I wish I could convey how much I know that the President wishes he could do something like what you proposed. Unfortunately, we are just going to have to find another way to get at this inexcusable congressional appetite for spending too much money on the wrong programs.

The Administration agrees that the spending level in the authorization for public broadcasting passed by the Senate is excessive. It would probably be better to use a line-item veto on an appropriations bill than on authorizing legislation, but you are certainly right to point out that this is the kind of spending that the President could resist much more effectively if he had the line-item veto.

As you know, the President has been very clear about his strong desire to obtain the line-item veto in order to bring fiscal sanity to Washington. Nor has he made a secret of his interest in the theory that would say he already has this tool available under our current constitutional provisions. I can assure you that the Attorney General, the previous Attorney General, and I have all given this issue our full personal attention. Unfortunately, we have unanimously concluded, as the responsible officials did in the previous Administration, that the Constitution simply does not arm the President with the line-item veto.

The President has proposed a constitutional amendment to create a line-item veto. The President has also endorsed the Coats-McCain legislative line-item veto bill, which would provide some of the same benefits as the constitutional amendment. And, of course, we are still hoping to persuade Congress to send the balanced budget amendment to the States for ratification. Each of these initiatives can play a part in addressing problems like the one we see in this latest public broadcasting bill, and I know that with your help we will eventually get results.

Sincerely,

C. Boyden Gray
Counsel to the President

Mr. Gary L. Bauer, President
Family Research Council
700 Thirteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20005

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 17, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR C. BOYDEN GRAY

FROM: NELSON LUND 

SUBJECT: Response to Gary Bauer Letter on Line Item Veto

Attached, for your signature, is a new version of the Gary Bauer letter on the line-item veto. Phil Brady is now asking that you sign the response, which I think is probably the right way to go.

You had been planning to talk to the Chief of Staff about his cryptic note to you. I'm inclined to think this should be resolved soon so that something can be put in the mail.

Attachment

(self-typed)

daily 6/8



tickler

*8/6 - Darman
handled in his
a.m. mtg w/GB.
no further action*

June 8, 1992

To: Dick Darman

Re" Adam Walinsky paper attached.

Dick:

Where do we stand on the **Police Corps**, which apparently passed the Senate unanimously and the House overwhelmingly?

I have heard nothing about this outfit.

Please advise-low priority.

GB

GB

FROM THE PRESIDENT

*Ask about
Police Corps
Police Corps?*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

*Jim Adams
W. Linsley*

This memorandum proposes two immediate steps to greatly strengthen the police, and thus to help restore public order and confidence in government.

1. Every citizen knows what convention has forbid us to discuss: decades of inattention and neglect have allowed the growth of a dangerously violent underclass, a large group of unassimilated and unsocialized young men, who are beyond the control of leaders of any kind or color.

2. The riots were a stunning revelation of government weakness. Never before had millions watched a man being beaten to death, live from the streets of a great city. The apparent alternative was to be like the Koreans, barricaded and armed with Uzis.

3. People have heard no plans to improve public safety: to ensure that they will not be the next victims, either of a mob or of an individual assault. The effect of Los Angeles is to weaken the police everywhere, and there are no troops on permanent duty in the streets.

4. The need to strengthen the police. Crime and disorder have exploded over the last thirty years. Sample statistics, New York City, 1951 to 1990: homicide, 244 to 2,245; rape, 904 to 3,126; robbery, the forcible taking of property from the person, 7,004 to 100,280. Smaller cities, too; here is New Haven, 1960 to 1990: homicide, 5 to 31; rape, 4 to 168; robbery, 16 to 1,784. That is not a misprint; robberies in New Haven went up 100 times.

5. Police strength, relative to the exploding crime, has fallen precipitously. Throughout the 1950s, there were 3.2 police officers for every violent felony reported. By 1990, there were 3.3 violent felonies for every serving officer. In other words, we are devoting to each violent crime one-tenth the police power of 35 years ago.

6. The weakness of the police does not allow them to prevent crime, protect neighborhoods and preserve order. Government does not control the street. According to John Lewis, the violence that has run unchecked in the black lower class community for the last 30 years is itself the "most immediate and powerful cause" of the current social disintegration. It is not only poverty that has caused crime, says Lewis; "it is crime that has caused poverty, and is the most powerful cause of poverty today." (Drugs are an important aggravating event here, but the violence began its surge long before crack.)

7. Any effort to build new ghetto institutions-- businesses, enterprise zones, community corporations, housing, new schools-- requires much stronger police forces to protect them.

8. A commitment to stronger and better police forces would speak to the fears of middle-class whites and blacks, and to the desperate plight of the black poor. Properly done, it would offer to young men and women of all races a chance to serve the country and their own communities in a direct and personal way.

9. There are two viable strategies to increase police strength. One, the Police Corps, has passed both houses of Congress with strong bipartisan support, but is mired in the impasse over the Omnibus Crime Bill. The second is a new plan for immediately employing military veterans as police.

The Police Corps. The model for the Police Corps is the military ROTC. Competitively selected volunteers will receive four years of aid for tuition, room, board and books at an accredited college or university, up to a limit of \$10,000 a year (\$7,500 in the Senate version). As in ROTC, they will pursue the studies of their choice (no police classes), but will train as police two summers during or immediately after college (as with the Marine Platoon Leaders' Course). They will then serve a minimum term of four years as fully sworn and empowered officers in their sponsoring state or local police department. As with ROTC, some would remain in police work after their required four-year service, while others would take up their civilian careers. The federal government will pay the college and training expenses; the localities wishing to use Police Corps officers will pay all of their salaries and benefits on the job. The bill ultimately envisions up to 20,000 Police Corps members in each graduating class.

After the original Rodney King incident, leading chiefs called for immediate enactment of the Police Corps as a way to reduce police brutality. The chiefs also believe the Police Corps will allow them to recruit more qualified minorities. The Department of Justice surveyed college students: forty percent reported themselves as likely to sign up for a Police Corps, 45 percent of minority students.

The Police Corps has attracted strong support across a wide spectrum of police chiefs, rank-and-file groups, educators, press and political leaders. It passed the Senate unanimously, and the House by 369-51. The Majority and Minority leaders in both houses were co-sponsors. It was sponsored by Specter and Dornan, supported by Gramm, Lott, Gingrich, Weber, and many Democrats. The Wall Street

Journal, the New York Times, and Time have called for the Police Corps to be taken out of the Crime Bill and passed immediately. However its effect would be felt only in the longer term.

Reconversion. Defense budget reductions, whether those envisioned by Secretary Cheney or the deeper cuts planned by Congressional leaders, will result in end-strength reductions of about 500,000 by 1995. Under present plans, these people are to be given some advice and money and sent back to civilian life. Many, particularly the relatively large proportion who are black, will find themselves drifting back to depressed communities they once fled. It has been suggested that they be employed in public work, for example as teachers; but few states or localities have the funds.

The excess military people should be kept on the federal payroll, for transitional periods of three or four years, at their current rates of pay, allowances and eligibility for pensions. Their services should then be donated to states and localities as teachers and emergency medical workers, and most obviously as police.

We now have about 500,000 public police of all types. It would be within the boundaries of administrative and training capabilities to supplement them with 200,000 or even more military veterans by 1995. This is probably the one single measure with a prospect of having a quick effect in many communities. Military veterans, a large proportion of them black, could capture the streets for the uses of peace and civility. They might well be able to capture the consciousness of the ghetto almost at a stroke; certainly we could put hope in them that could be evoked by no other force or group. There are many organizational and technical problems to be explored; a task force of the New York City Police Department is about to begin work on them.

Bringing some of the troops home to deal with our most pressing and dangerous domestic problem would be the best kind of political metaphor. It would express concretely the victory of the Cold War, and our freedom to attend to needs of our own that were necessarily sacrificed to national security. And it would express in itself the powerful message of the American ideal: that we are not the passive subjects of history and capricious fate, but the self-respecting masters of our own destiny and the future of our own children.

Adam Walinsky

New York
May 8, 1992

DATE: June 8 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



The graceful exit for Mr. Slick

If now is not the time for every good man to come to the aid of his party, when is?

This is a particular and even peculiar responsibility for Slick Willie, whose party may be on the way to running third for the first time since it propelled Thomas Jefferson, the original conservative and the first Southern Democrat, to Washington and the White House in 1801.

But there is a graceful way for Mr. Slick to avoid the personal and partisan disaster that lies ahead, and even get to Washington himself. He insisted when all this started that moving the party to the center was what he was all about.

This isn't complicated, but pay attention:

The scheme starts with David Pryor, a nice man who is the nothingburger senator from Arkansas. Mr. Pryor is serving the second year of his third six-year term. He suffered a severe heart attack last year and you can hear gossip in Little Rock that he's weary of Washington, that Arkansas looks better all the time. Not only that, his son, Mark, is a legislator in Little Rock and has all the marks of making a successful politician just like the old man.

Mr. Pryor is one of the Senate "grandfathers," who can take his unused campaign contributions home with him and answer to nobody about how he spends it. There's more than \$1 million in the till, but he has to take it this year or forget about it.

If he resigns his Senate seat now, Slick Willie is eligible to be appointed to fill it — but only if he resigns before David Pryor does. A quirk of Arkansas law, written to settle an old score in the 1930s (which is interesting but irrelevant to the scheme), makes the governor and the lieutenant governor ineligible to fill a vacancy unless he resigns before the vacancy occurs.

So here's the deal: Slick Willie resigns now, which everybody in Arkansas wants him to do, anyway, and the day after, Mr. Pryor calls it quits, too. He takes his \$1 million home to establish the Mother

Teresa Chowder, Barbecue and Homeless Marching Society, with himself and members of his family as its only officers, which then finances his son's climb to the governor's mansion, maybe the U.S. Senate, and who knows? Mark Pryor might be the first Arkansan elected president.



David Pryor

The lieutenant governor, an ambitious man named Jim Guy Tucker who would go along with any

scheme to get Slick Willie out of town to stay, appoints Mr. Slick to the Senate and Bill and Hillary get to establish a salon in Washington, after all.

The Clinton delegates are released from their vows, and are thus available to draft Ross Perot. The Democrats get a chance to win the presidency at last, the party is started back on the road to sanity, and the nation is spared the risk of an independent, with no official friends, becoming the president. If that happens, partisan gridlock would be replaced by really bad stuff, bipartisan gridlock.

The beauty part is that nobody is asked to pay a price that he won't have to pay, anyway. Nobody expects Bill Clinton to win, not even Mr. Slick himself. The lieutenant governor in Little Rock wants to take over the responsibility for drawing up next year's state budget. This seems reasonable, but the Clinton administration is resisting because, in the words of the Clinton finance chief, "we expect to be making the state budget presentation in January." He's no doubt right, but Mr. Slick might try to show a little more confidence than that.

His delegates are already restive. Brett Lashlee, a Clinton delegate from Tennessee, is typical of these. "I'm really torn here," he says. "I'm a loyal Democrat and I ran on the platform that I would vote for Clinton. I'll follow through unless something happens to make Clinton 'unwinnable'. The main object is to get George Bush beat."

Says John White of Houston, a former chairman of the Democratic National Committee: "I wouldn't be surprised at anything at a Democratic convention. Certainly there will be talk at the watering holes of trying to nominate Ross Perot."

Mr. Perot, in gratitude, could take Hillary as his running mate. She's certainly willing to prepare a grand welcome for herself. But he's on his own from here. I'm out of space.

Perot's power will fade, party politicians predict

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Top Democrats and Republicans yesterday agreed that Ross Perot's strength in presidential polls cannot last and concluded the three-man field would dwindle to two by November.

The only question is who will the two men be? Ron Brown, Democratic National Committee chairman, picked Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and President Bush. Bush campaign manager Fred Malek said his boss will be one contender but isn't sure of the other.

For Mr. Perot's part, campaign co-chairman Ed Rollins said yesterday voters will begin to see specific proposals coming from the likely independent presidential candidate. Mr. Rollins also backed off from an early Perot position that taking care of the \$400 billion deficit would be easy.

Many recent national and state-by-state polls show the Texas billionaire narrowly leading Mr. Bush, with Mr. Clinton — the Democratic nominee — a distant third. A recent Time/CNN poll showed Mr. Perot with a 13 point edge over both Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton.

"There's a big difference between the polls, exit polls and the like in June, and what people say in November in the voting booth. And if you don't believe me, you ought to ask President Dukakis or President Mondale," Mr. Malek said, referring to the Democrats' respective 1988 and 1984 nominees.

Said Mr. Brown: "I think this is a roller coaster ride between now and November. It's going to be up and down. I think we all over-react to the latest overnight polls."

Messrs Brown, Malek and Rollins made their comments on ABC's "This Week."

The Democratic chief also said any speculation that the real race for the White House will be between Mr. Bush and Mr. Perot is "Republican wishful thinking." Mr. Brown labeled Mr. Perot a Republican.

Mr. Malek, who has said the race will narrow to either Bush vs. Clinton or Bush vs. Perot, disputed Mr. Brown's characterization while he agreed with the Democrat's conclusion that Mr. Perot is an unknown commodity.

"First of all, I don't think he [Perot] is a conservative, but, second of all, nobody really knows where he stands on the issues," Mr. Malek said. "Ross Perot says that the issues don't matter, and I think he's dead wrong on that."



Brown



Malek

Mr. Brown said Mr. Perot had "ducked" tough questions on his positions, and "frankly, a lot of what I've heard is frightening."

Mr. Rollins, a seasoned GOP campaigner who joined the Perot camp last week with Democrat and campaign co-chairman Hamilton Jordan, said Mr. Perot would not lead anyone down a blind alley.

"I think you'll find in the very near future that Mr. Perot is going to get very specific on a lot of issues. The critical thing in this election... is really leadership," Mr. Rollins said.

Asked about Mr. Perot's early comment that cutting \$400 billion from the deficit would be easy, Mr. Rollins said Mr. Perot had re-thought that position. Mr. Rollins, however, did not give details about budget plans.

Mr. Rollins also said that, besides a strategy to get popular and electoral votes, the campaign also was working on a plan to get commitments from congressional candidates should the election get thrown into the House of Representatives.

Elsewhere on the political front:

- House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia sent a memo to the White House last week urging Mr. Bush and his aides to confront the Perot phenomenon seriously. The Washington Post reported yesterday.

- Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas said on NBC's "Meet the Press" he does not see a clear message coming from the Bush campaign. "Maybe there are too many themes. Maybe they should have maybe one or two or three issues. ... Then again, I'm not here to tell the president what to do."

- Tom Luce, a top Perot adviser, said on CBS' "Face the Nation" he did not doubt that Mr. Perot would run for president, adding he was sure there would be a Perot national convention or scattered state conventions.

NATION

House to look at balanced budget amendment

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The balanced budget bandwagon rolls onto Capitol Hill this week as the House votes on competing plans for a constitutional amendment outlawing budget deficits.

House members are likely to send one of the proposals on the long path toward becoming part of the Constitution, despite the objections of Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat.

The amendment's future in the Senate is less secure. It has fierce opponents in Appropriations Chairman Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia Democrat, and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine.

What is certain, however, is the debate will take an issue largely ignored in the presidential primaries — the \$400 billion deficit in fiscal 1992 — and thrust it onto the national agenda. It also will force lawmakers to begin considering not just whether to balance the budget, but how to do it.

"We're fed up. We know it's time for partisan posturing to yield to responsibility to govern. It's time to stop treating our federal Treasury like the corner cash machine," President Bush said in a radio address Saturday. Mr. Bush renewed his calls for an amendment last week.

The argument against any constitutional amendment was summed up in a radio rebuttal by Rep. Leon

E. Panetta, California Democrat and chairman of the House Budget Committee.

"The reality is no constitutional amendment will give this president or the Congress the courage or political will to make those tough choices. An amendment is little more than a crutch for failed leadership," Mr. Panetta said.

House members have at least three choices when they debate the issue Wednesday and Thursday:

- A constitutional amendment sponsored by Rep. Charles W. Stenholm, Texas Democrat, that requires the president to send to Congress a deficit-free budget and then requires lawmakers to pass a balanced budget. The only way to get around

it is a three-fifths vote of both chambers to do otherwise.

- A constitutional amendment sponsored by Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri that requires the president to submit a balanced budget that allows a deficit if a simple majority of each chamber agrees.

- A resolution that only requires the president to submit a balanced budget. It is sponsored by Mr. Foley, House Majority Whip David E. Bonior of Michigan and other Democratic leaders.

Congressional officials said the real battle will be between Mr. Stenholm's and Mr. Gephardt's proposals. Any constitutional amendment needs a two-thirds vote in Congress

and then the ratification by 38 state legislatures.

"We're no longer debating within our party whether or not we should have a constitutional amendment. We're now debating what form it should take," Mr. Stenholm told reporters Thursday.

Mr. Gephardt said his amendment "gives the president the authority to tell us in overall terms how much can be spent. It's the ultimate line-item veto and rightly brings the president back into the process."

Neither amendment would dictate what spending cuts or tax increases would be used to balance the budget. Lawmakers are reviewing a variety of enforcement proposals.

In the Senate, Paul Simon, Illinois

Democrat, is sponsoring an amendment comparable to Mr. Stenholm's.

Even though a vote has not been scheduled, the leading opponent — Mr. Byrd — is meeting privately with senators to influence their votes and is making regular trips to the Senate floor.

"This is an hour for statesmanship, for patriotism, for maturity and wisdom, not the hour for another quick fix," Mr. Byrd said on Thursday.

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas predicted yesterday on NBC's "Meet the Press" that Mr. Simon's amendment, which he supports, would either collapse or pass by one vote.

Perot the patriot

The name of Liddy Dole, head of the American Red Cross and the wife of Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, gets tossed into the political rumor mill with some regularity. She told us recently she has no political aspirations at the moment, but it's hard not to wonder if she wouldn't be a good running mate for Ross Perot. While it would be a stretch of the imagination to consider it a signal, it's obvious that her husband isn't burning any bridges to Mr. Perot the way some of his establishment colleagues have.

Mr. Dole was asked on NBC's "Meet the Press" if he shares House Minority Leader Robert Michel's negative view of Mr. Perot. Mr. Dole said no, that wasn't his perception. He praised Mr. Perot as "a very patriotic person" and noted that Mr. Perot had pledged \$500,000 to the Dole Foundation, a fund established by the Kansas Republican to aid the disabled.

Mr. Dole also said he had tried to assist Mr. Perot in his effort to influence the president on the Gulf war. "I know he was very upset about the Gulf war, came to my office a couple of times, wanted to meet with President Bush. I wasn't able to arrange that."

Where to go

At least one conservative inside the Beltway outfit isn't denouncing the defection of Ed Rollins to the Perot camp. In fact, "it may just be Rollins who saves the GOP," according to Amy Moritz, executive director of the National Center for Public Policy Research. "Increasingly it is becoming clear that the party may not be able to survive another four years of George Bush."

The two major crises in the Republican Party precipitated by President Bush's "relentless abandonment of Reagan policies" are the defection of those young people

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

attracted by Ronald Reagan and the current reluctance of major donors to finance the Bush/Quayle campaign. Of the latter, Miss Moritz says party fund raising "has fallen dangerously, as long-time Republican major donors keep their checkbooks shut or open them only for congressional or local candidates — or Perot."

The Rollins defection points out a path for disenchanted conservatives who, like Mr. Rollins, have "given up waiting for the White House to rouse itself," says Miss Moritz.

Southern memories

More than 200 partisans gathered under rainy skies yesterday afternoon in Arlington National Cemetery to commemorate the 184th anniversary of the birth of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederate States of America. The ceremony also honored Confederate war dead.

Those assembled at the Confederate Monument at Jackson Circle sang "Dixie," "The Bonnie Blue Flag" and "The Star Spangled Banner," with the U.S. Army Band providing additional musical tribute. Those who attended were predominantly representatives of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and various other organizations including the Chickasaw Nation and the Cherokee Mounted Rifles.

Wreaths were provided by U.S. senators from 13 states whose soldiers fell for the Southern cause in the War Between the States.

Standing at the foot of the Confederate Memorial, guest speaker



Photo by Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times
The Rev. Alister C. Anderson holds an umbrella for Richard Towill Hines at Jeff Davis' 184th birthday remembrance at Arlington Cemetery.

Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles* magazine, praised his native South and damned the centralized U.S. government, though he was quick to note that he wasn't "calling for secession of any region of the country — necessarily."

A new poll indicates, however, that 1 in 12 Southerners don't think secession from the union is such a bad idea, if it could be done without war.

How to live

Over the years we have been the fortunate recipient of various communications from the Rev. Gom-

mar DePauw, founder and president of the Catholic Traditionalist Movement. Father DePauw has just celebrated his 50th year in the priesthood and received congratulations from President Bush and former President Reagan, among many others. At his golden jubilee testimonial dinner, Father DePauw recalled being asked by a reporter if there were any particular words of wisdom that had guided him over the years.

"I knew that [the reporter] was not interested in hearing a sermon on trust God, love and prayers of people," says Father DePauw. Recognizing the need for a sound-bite sort of response, he turned to two slogans that have graced the walls of his group's offices.

The first phrase he offered is attributed to Davy Crockett: "Be sure you're right. Then go ahead!"

Obviously that is the sort of motto that can get you up to your ears in hot water, so there is a companion saying that offers some comfort when the going gets tough. It is from Saint Athanasius, persecuted by his church but later, after his death, canonized: "If the whole world goes against the truth, then Athanasius must go against the whole world."

Red, Hot & Who?

Many folks owe a special thanks to the late Lee Atwater for introducing them to Red Hot & Blue, one of the few places around this neck of the woods where you can get barbecue that's pretty darn close to the real thing. So for some of us there is this powerful association between the two, Lee and RH&B. Thus it was a bit of shock to hear that RH&B provided the eats at a political rally in Fairfax over the weekend, not for the fella who Mr. Atwater helped propel into the White House but rather for his most prominent opponent, Ross Perot.

— John Elvin

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Jeane Kirkpatrick

A NATO Umbrella For Eastern Europe

Eastern Europeans worried about the "security vacuum" that leaves them unprotected from unspecified dangers would like to be members of NATO, whose historic mission largely disappeared along with the Soviet Union.

Gen. John Galvin, Supreme American Commander in Europe, observed last February: "I think some of our most vocal supporters these days for the North Atlantic Alliance are in the Central and Eastern European countries, all the way from [Czechoslovakian] President [Vaclav] Havel to [Russian] President [Boris] Yeltsin. And they all want to see how they can improve their own collective security, and thus their individual national security, by somehow being connected to NATO."

Hungarian, Polish and Czech leaders took advantage of British Prime Minister John Major's recent visit to their countries to press their case for closer association with NATO as well as with the European Community. Havel told Major the support of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe is not enough. The CSCE, he said, has no

"Eastern European states want to be part of an alliance."

muscle and only a handful of employees. Polish Prime Minister Jan Olszewski emphasized the need to extend NATO's security umbrella to Eastern Europe. These countries made it clear that they want a NATO guarantee because it has muscle and carries with it a U.S. military commitment.

It is not entirely clear what the Eastern Europeans want to protect themselves against. But the war among the new states of what was Yugoslavia has heightened their concern, as have residual Soviet troops in the region, disagreements concerning borders, the appearance of new separatist movements, economic stagnation, social and political difficulties, and ethnic rivalries.

Remember that these countries were conquered and have lived for decades as members of an alliance—the Warsaw Pact—which, even though it was imposed by the Soviet government, guaranteed security against invasion by any except the Soviets.

During those decades, the desire grew not only to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, but to change sides and to be like the West. That meant democratic institutions, free markets and NATO.

In response to this desire, NATO—under U.S. and German leadership—organized the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, in which representatives of NATO meet with representatives of what was the Warsaw Pact. Gen. Galvin has said that the NACC is "very important" to Eastern Europeans because "they feel they can have a seat at the table at NATO and express their security concerns and views. . . . They want to see how we can have closer political-to-political and military-to-military communications. . . . They would like to see seminars, exercises, inspections and any way we can put people together and get the military-to-military sense, and with the political leadership, also."

The French—who withdrew from NATO in 1967 and have not returned—object, and they work to keep the activities of the NACC at a bare minimum. They see it as a first step toward accepting Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia as members of NATO. The second step might be admitting other Eastern European countries to membership. And, one may ask, why not?

NATO has a security umbrella. Why not open it over that part of Europe around which clouds cluster? Why not develop for Eastern Europe the kind of framework for mutual security that has served Western Europe so well for so long?

And, in the meantime, why not authorize a wider peace-keeping role for NATO, as British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd proposed at the NATO ministerial meeting in Oslo last week? The thought, inspired by the need for peace-keeping forces in Bosnia and Croatia, is that NATO forces could be made available as authorized by the CSCE or the United Nations.

The principal obstacle is the historic view of some members (including Germany) that NATO may act only within the NATO area. In announcing recently the formation of a Franco-German corps, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand suggested that, unlike NATO, that corps might act out of the NATO area. But, of course, it will not be operational for years, while NATO is at hand, its activities limited only by the imagination of its members.

Furthermore, Eastern Europe wants security guarantees, not just peace-keeping forces. Eastern European states want to be part of an alliance. They note that NATO admitted Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece when their democratic institutions were still new.

If NATO cannot respond to the felt security needs of the new democracies then, perhaps, a new more inclusive alliance should be developed that does respond to those needs—now.

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MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

William Raspberry

Can Whittle Save the Schools?

I've been around long enough to know that most promises of miracles never quite happen. Remember how solar energy was supposed to free us from the grip of power companies? Home banking and home shopping would make it unnecessary for us to take our smart cars onto the automated freeways—except, perhaps, to get out of the way of our home-cleaning robots.

But sometimes the miracles do happen. Polio is no longer a major health concern. The personal-computer revolution is virtually complete. ATMs are a fixture upon the landscape. Men have walked on the moon.

And now comes Christopher Whittle, promising to transform and vastly improve American education—not in the dim future and at enormous cost, but soon, for no more than we're now spending on public education, and at a profit for Whittle's company.

Is this another slice of pie in the sky—like the household robot? Or is it one of those transforming miracles—like the personal computer?

Whittle, who recently met with editors and reporters at The Washington Post, has no doubt his Edison Project is in the second category. His proposal is to build a chain of 1,000 for-profit schools—100 by 1996 and the rest by 2010—that will operate on the prevailing per-pupil outlays for public schools. Edison schools would start teaching children as early as age 3, keep them for a full business day and through most of the summer and educate them better than the best schools are doing now. He told me he'll count the project a failure if his inner-city schools don't produce better results than the private schools are producing now.

The experiment would be paid for by private investors. Whittle's hope, of course, is that the venture would be so wildly successful that public school districts across America would be begging him to take over their struggling schools.

Benno C. Schmidt Jr. thinks enough of the Whittle experiment that he is leaving the presidency of Yale University to become president and CEO of the Edison Project.

And already the opposition is growing—and not just among the teachers' unions, who naturally see the proposal as a rebuke to their members. I've just seen a statement from a wonderful Mississippi-based group called Parents for Public Schools, protesting that American communities "cannot afford two separate school systems, one for the 'haves' and one for the 'have-nots.'"

Which is interesting, considering that is precisely what we now have: private (and affluent suburban) schools for the "haves," inner-city and blue-collar schools for the "have-nots."

A friend who has committed her life to schooling is at once certain that the Edison Project won't work ("They'll learn that you can't replace a caring

*"Breakthroughs" in
education are few
and far between.*

teacher with a computer") and fearful that it will further discourage the already discouraged public school teachers.

But how can she have it both ways? If it doesn't work, how could it discourage anybody except those who hoped it would? And if it does turn out to be the miraculous breakthrough Whittle advertises, shouldn't we want it for our children—even if it does discourage those who run the existing schools?

Others have expressed concern that the experiment will drain resources (principally *private* contributions) away from the public schools.

But isn't it likely that at least some of the opposition has other sources: fear of competition, fear of the new, and fear that anything that makes rich people richer must be bad for the poor.

It's interesting to speculate why Whittle expects to make money without increasing per-pupil outlays. Assume that a large city's school system typically spends some \$5,000 per pupil per year. Whittle's budget in such a city would be \$1 million for 200 students—enough to pay 10 teachers \$50,000 each and still have half a million left for overhead, scholarships, contingencies and profit. The profit potential is there because older, larger school systems are accreted with layers of administrators, non-teaching supervisors and other staff that have nothing to do with education. Whittle could do it for a lot less for the same reason parochial schools do it for a lot less.

Would it work as well as Whittle clearly believes it will? I doubt it. Whittle's pedagogy is as vague as Ross Perot's politics. Schmidt talks of hiring "pioneering, creative thinkers . . . free to break through the inherited mold of our schools." It all sounds depressingly familiar to anyone who remembers "programmed learning," "open space," "team-teaching" and all the other educational "breakthroughs" that accomplished very little.

But if Whittle and his investors are willing to undertake all the risks on the bet that this time the miracle really is at hand, I say let them go for it. American education could use a miracle or two.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Will It Be Perot-Kemp?

In one of his first, most difficult and most important tasks as co-chairman of Ross Perot's campaign, Edward J. Rollins will attempt to place Jack Kemp on the independent ticket as vice president.

Kemp is the clear choice of Rollins, chairman of his unsuccessful campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988. He has yet to convince Perot, but the much harder chore would be talking lifelong Republican Kemp into resigning as secretary of housing to oppose President Bush.

If Kemp had to decide today, he would say no. But at the end of the summer, when Perot is scheduled to make his vice presidential choice, the answer conceivably could be yes. At that time, Kemp may find more friends and kindred spirits in Perot's camp than in Bush's.

No vice presidential selection would carry so much weight since John F. Kennedy picked Lyndon B. Johnson in 1960. When the possibility of a Perot-Kemp ticket is raised, establishment Republican politicians blanch in sheer terror. That combination could turn the current trickle of defecting Republicans into a stam-

pede. Kemp's closest Republican associates in Congress confide they might have to follow him.

Kemp has picked himself up from his failed 1988 campaign and three years of second-class status in the Bush Cabinet to an eminence in public opinion exceeded today only by Perot's. Besides his strong backing in the GOP's right wing, Kemp enjoys prestige among Democrats and independents (including Ross Perot) afforded to no other Republican.

But after his sudden elevation as point man for Bush urban policy following the Los Angeles riots, Kemp was sent back to the rear of the bus by people who really don't like him very much. His agenda was ignored at Thursday night's press conference by Bush, who swallowed whole Sen. Phil Gramm's plea to concentrate on the balanced budget amendment—an idea long disdained by Kemp. "Everything I say goes down a black hole," Kemp told Newsweek, a complaint that set off more anti-Kemp rhetoric at the White House.

To jump over the Republican fence would seem out of character for

Kemp, who has been as cautious in charting his own career as he has been daring in planning new policy initiatives. Nor would he relish being subjected to the "he'll never work in this town again" abuse heaped on Rollins since he embraced Perot. Senior Bush adviser Charlie Black has written Rollins out of the party even though they were colleagues on the '88 Kemp campaign, and Kemp himself might be in store for the same.

When we raised the question of joining the Perot ticket on CNN on May 23, Kemp snapped, "That is the dumbest question I have heard," before saying no. He still rejected the idea but sounded a little more equivocal when asked on NBC's "Meet the Press" the next day.

His equivocation might be increased by the growing movement of his allies into the Perot camp. Economic consultant Jude Wanniski, Kemp's policy adviser and faithful supporter, has been singing Perot's virtues ever since meeting with him in Dallas. Industrialist Theodore Forstmann, a Ronald Reagan backer in '80 who helped finance Kemp's '88

campaign, has become a member of the Perot steering committee following several conversations with the Texas billionaire.

That raises an agonizing question for Kemp: How comfortable will he be with Bush when his closest adviser, his financial contributor and his former campaign chairman are with Perot?

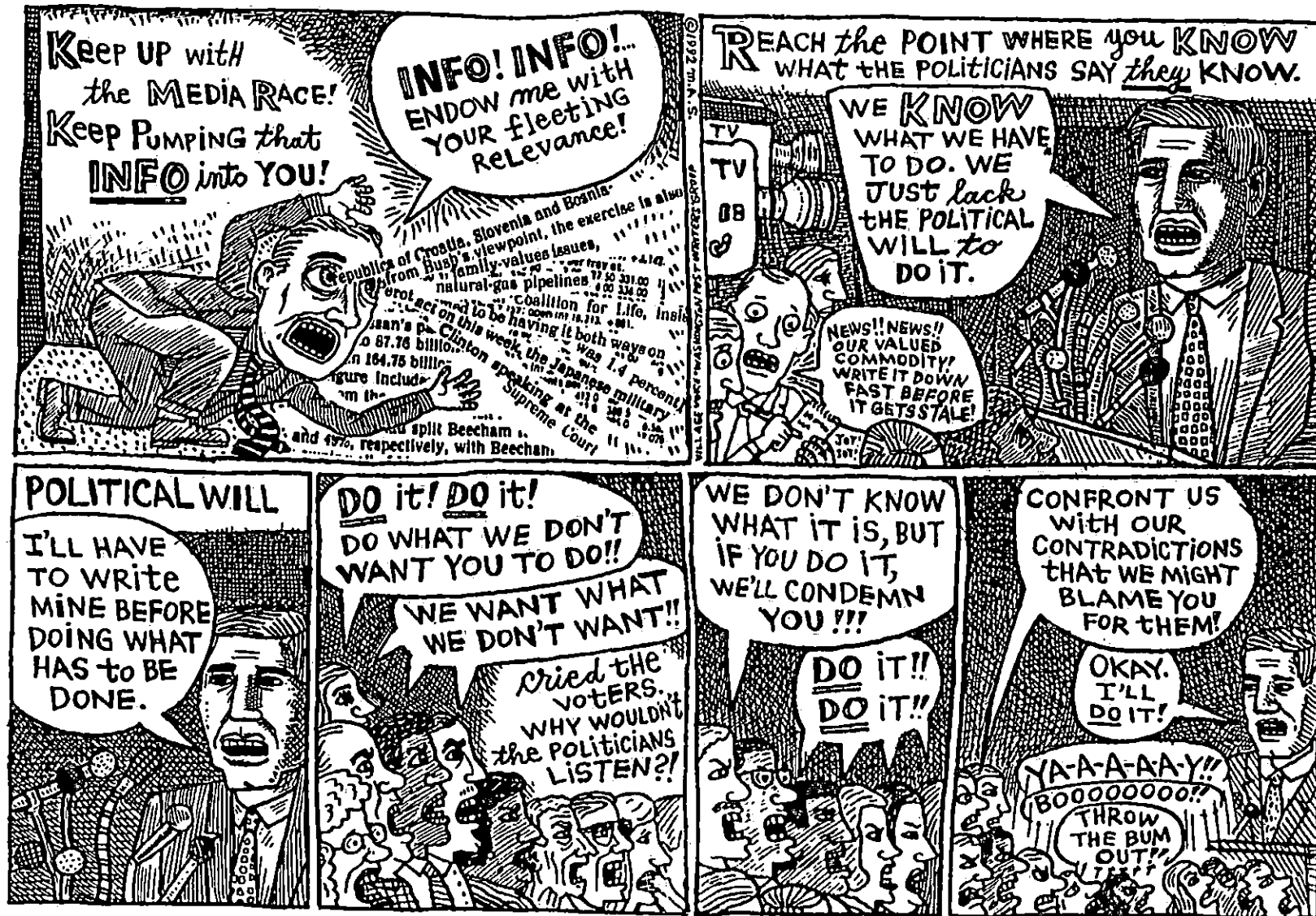
It may also be Kemp's last chance for the big prize. For all his popularity with the Republican right and outside the party, Kemp never has penetrated the GOP's base vote that preferred Bush in '88 and will not abandon him in '92. The long-term prognosis is not favorable for Kemp's prospects in '96, and he does not relish a repeat of his unpleasant quest for the nomination in '88.

But Kemp's ultimate decision is likely to be based less on *Realpolitik* than on how he perceives a man he knows not at all. His friend and supporter, Ted Forstmann, has met frequently with Perot and believes he shares not only the economic philosophy but the values held by him and Jack Kemp. If Kemp agrees, it might produce the strongest ticket in many a year.

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WASHINGTON[®]

Mark Alan Stamaty



The cartoonist is a contributor to the Village Voice.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

J. Robinson West

America's Addiction to Foreign Oil

Congress, president and people share the blame for a dumb and gutless energy policy.

Congress is now in the process of passing an energy bill based on years of hearings, deliberations and negotiations. After its signing, the politicians will congratulate themselves yet again on their constructive leadership and willingness to take on the tough issues.

In fact, quite the opposite has occurred. The energy bill will make some modest, positive and essentially uncontroversial adjustments in electricity generation, natural gas utilization and nuclear power certification. It ignores the fundamental issue surrounding energy and represents a refusal to make difficult choices.

The crucial issue in energy is oil, which is 40 percent of primary energy consumption. This cannot be replaced soon by alternative fuels in significant amounts. U.S. petroleum policy is unique in the industrialized world in that the government encourages oil consumption and discourages oil production. The long-run effect of such a policy will be disastrous.

Oil production is discouraged in several ways. The U.S. fiscal system of taxes and royalties is regressive, making exploration and production financially unattractive in a low-price market relative to other regions of the world, accelerating U.S. industry investment abroad.

Likewise, Congress, to appear environmentally correct, has systemically limited the acreage in which industry can explore for oil; notably the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and the U.S. Outer Continental Shelf. No other country has taken this approach of denying so much potential production. In contrast, some nations have sought to open frontier acreage for exploration in an environmentally prudent manner. France permits explorations in the Seine and the historic Loire Valley, England in its countryside and Norway in fishing grounds. Canadians, unlike the United States, have actively explored Arctic areas for years. It is ironic that critics of the administration have insisted that the United States follow the environmental leadership of the U.K., France, Norway and Canada at the Earth Summit in Rio, but ignore the environmentally sensible approach of these countries in oil exploration.



'YOU WANTA TAKE AWAY OUR GUSTO...!?' BY CONRAD FOR THE LOS ANGELES TIMES

Not only is domestic oil production collapsing, but the United States continues to be a voracious consumer of oil, an increasing amount of which must be imported. Roughly 70 percent of oil is used as a transportation fuel. The energy bill now in Congress proposes applications of natural gas and other fuels to replace oil for transportation. This is an admirable goal to be pursued, but one should have no illusions that the impact will be significant within this decade. The biggest savings in oil consumption as well as the largest potential supply source is oil conservation.

Congress and the administration know how to reduce our reliance on oil, but they are too timid to act. Almost every other government has had the courage to raise the price of gasoline, with the result being enhanced fuel efficiency and conservation. Gasoline, at an average of \$1.15 per gallon in the United States, costs

\$2.00 in Canada, \$4.50 in England and \$4.00 in Norway—countries more energy independent than the United States. The market works there and would work here as well. If gasoline costs more, people will use it more efficiently.

Unfortunately, a gasoline tax is considered a "grudge" tax that Americans don't want to pay, and their politicians on either side of the aisle and both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue are not about to propose it, even if they know it will work. Gasoline today is a bargain, cheaper in real terms than it was right after World War II. After drilling, moving it in tankers and refining it—all at huge expense—gasoline costs less than bottled water in the United States. Other countries don't rely on mileage standards or speed limits to reduce consumption. They just make gasoline expensive, and as a result, their public doesn't waste it. Furthermore,

the current price of gasoline in the United States does not reflect its real costs in terms of the environment.

Aside from domestic supply and production, the United States remains unprepared for international oil supply disruptions and price shocks. We are becoming increasingly reliant on Middle East oil, and yet our Strategic Petroleum Reserve, now at 570 million barrels, is far short of the goal of 1 billion barrels. Last year, Americans fought and were prepared to die for the security of Saudi Arabia. We contributed to its military security, and the kingdom can contribute to our economic security. In fairness, Saudi Arabia handled the Kuwait crisis well by boosting production, and since then it has helped by keeping prices low in the face of pressure from other OPEC producers demanding higher oil prices. These are short-term solutions. Washington should stop dawdling, get serious and respond to the Saudi proposals to fill the Strategic Petroleum Reserve—now, before another crisis.

At some point in the not-too-distant future, the price of oil will rise, whether by political interruption or the changing structure of the petroleum industry. Americans will get an expensive and unpleasant surprise, just as they have with other difficult issues when Washington has waffled too long.

A little over a year ago, we were fighting a war, and energy policy was on the front page. The cost of gasoline was rising, and Americans were concerned. Now the troops are home, and the price of gasoline has collapsed. Most politicians have lost interest and the will to act, and they definitely don't want to upset the public in an election year. So the United States will continue to drift into bad policies that will make this country more dependent, export jobs and damage the environment.

The writer, who was an assistant secretary of the interior in the Reagan administration, is president of the Petroleum Finance Company Ltd., and advises governments and companies on international oil and gas strategy.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Lujan Aides' Trip Set Up With Politics in Mind

Officials Scrambled to Plan Work Around Idaho GOP Fund-Raisers

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

When Idaho Republican Party leaders were planning their spring fund-raisers several months ago, they decided that Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. would be a great draw in a state where the federal government owns 65 percent of the land.

Lujan agreed to attend events in Coeur D'Alene, but two weeks before the mid-May trip, as his staff was still trying to find some official business for him in the region, pressing matters in Washington forced Lujan to cancel. Two political appointees were told to stand

in; they had only a week to line up some official work.

The administration and Cabinet members are fond of saying that government business always is the driving force behind "mixed" trips, not the other way around. "Mixed" trips—part political and part official—allow the Republican Party to split travel-related expenses with the taxpayers, who pay for the official portion.

The Republican National Com-

mittee (RNC) decides what percentage of a trip is political, prorates the total bill and reimburses the Treasury for its share. Vouchers for the Idaho excursion have not been processed by the RNC.

Besides the financial advantage to the party, the Idaho trip is an example of the powers of incumbency and the way it can be used in election season.

"The way this trip came about was an aberration," said Interior spokesman Steven Goldstein. "Trips are clearly set up with official business, and then, if there is additional time, an official will tend to political matters."

See LUJAN, A4, Col. 1



MANUEL LUJAN

... had planned to visit Idaho in May

Mixed-Purpose Trips An Aid to Incumbents

LUJAN, From A1

That is not what happened May 14-16 in Idaho.

"We picked the dates," said Idaho Republican Chairman Phil Batt. Goldstein said Lujan had decided to visit Idaho in May before the GOP invitation but had not set a specific date and did not have any particular business to conduct there.

A lot is at stake this year in Idaho politics. Republican Sen. Steve Symms is retiring, so that seat and one of two House seats are up for grabs. Rep. Larry LaRocco (D) is being challenged by Rachel Gilbert, who was a state senator for 10 years. With redistricting, Republicans "will have to work hard," said Batt, to keep their majority in the state House and to stay even with Democrats in the state Senate.

Bureau of Land Management Director Delos Cy Jamison and Bureau of Mines Director T S Ary had other things to do when they were diverted to Idaho. Ary was on vacation babysitting his grandson. Jamison was returning from business in Denver to follow a meeting of the Endangered Species Committee, which voted to allow limited timber cutting in the Pacific Northwest forests, home to the northern spotted owl.

The committee—or "God Squad"—meeting is what kept Lujan in Washington.

Jamison said he asked his executive assistant, Wendy Evans, to fly to Idaho and "monitor the situation" in Washington for him by telephone. Although the Hatch Act prohibits Evans from taking part in partisan political functions, she accompanied Jamison to the fund-raisers, he said Friday. "What was she supposed to do, stand outside the door?"

As Senate-confirmed presidential appointees, Lujan, Jamison and Ary are exempt from Hatch Act restrictions.

Jamison and Ary arrived in Coeur D'Alene on Thursday afternoon, May 14. Jamison ran into five members of a mining lobbying group at his hotel and held an impromptu meeting with them, which he said was official business.

In the evening, Jamison and Ary spent about four hours at two fund-raisers—one a \$10-a-plate hot-dog bash that drew 120 people; the other a \$50-a-ticket cocktail party attended by about 50 supporters.

At the hot-dog bash Jamison berated LaRocco. "We're here to help Republicans any way we can, any time we can," he said, according to an article in the Coeur D'Alene Press. "... I'd sure like to work with someone other than LaRocco."

The next day, Jamison, Ary and Sen. Larry E. Craig (R), who had helped persuade Lujan to visit Idaho, were guests at a small breakfast of mostly timber and mining executives. The event raised about \$7,000.

Ary said he met briefly with two people before the breakfast to discuss official matters.

The three men then attended the Hecla Mining Co.'s board of directors' meeting. Hecla's political action committee traditionally has donated to both political parties, according to Federal Election Commission records.

The meeting, which Interior spokesman Goldstein labeled as an official part of their trip, was arranged only several days before it occurred. "We didn't know [Friday] was the day for the annual meeting," said Sandra Patano, Craig's regional director, who helped arrange

the meeting. "I called them and said, 'If you have people who can meet with' Ary and Jamison, they will be in town Friday.'" A Hecla spokeswoman confirmed that arrangement.

Batt said the GOP "helped facilitate" the Hecla visit, too. "We want to convince Hecla" that the company should support the Republican Party.

The board members, described by Jamison as "the elite of the mining industry," talked with the three men for about 30 minutes. One topic was "how could we try to do closer work with the [Environmental Protection Agency] and the other people who were really slapping the regulations on," said Ary.

Ary then met with management of a local newspaper, which was concerned about environmental regulations affecting it. He subsequently returned to Washington.

Jamison went to a fire center near Boise, where he rode in a new fire observation plane. Afterwards, he attended another fund-raiser. On Saturday, Jamison spent several hours at the annual Boise Inter-agency Fire Center open house before returning to Washington.

Jamison's travel expenses were \$1,868, and Evans's were \$1,580. Ary has not yet calculated his bill.

Last week, Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), chairman of a Governmental Affairs subcommittee, asked the General Accounting Office to investigate the propriety of the trip. "None of the meetings involved pressing or even routinely scheduled, official business," Pryor wrote in a letter to Comptroller General Charles A. Bowsher. "... Subterfuge was used as the basis for classifying the trip as a 'mixed' official and political trip."

"If the Hill was held to the same standard, there would be a lot of red faces up there," Jamison said. "I held out for a position [in government] that would not be under the Hatch Act. I wanted to be politically active—and probably will be sent home for it."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992



DARYL F. GATES

... threatens to postpone retirement

Gates Delay Could Scuttle Successor

*L.A. Chief Wields
His Exit as Weapon*

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, June 7—This riot-scarred city faces the prospect of having a "leaderless" police force for several months if Chief Daryl F. Gates carries out his threat to delay his long-promised retirement, Police Commission President Stanley Sheinbaum said today.

"There's a great deal of anger about the chief's willingness to thumb his nose at the people of the city, but there's probably nothing we can do in the short run to save the appointment of Willie [L.] Williams if Gates refuses to quit," Sheinbaum said.

City officials have hired Williams, the former Philadelphia police commissioner, to replace Gates. But if a new city charter amendment approved by voters last Tuesday goes into effect before Williams becomes chief, the appointment would be nullified and the city would be required to start the lengthy, expensive selection process again.

Gates, who earlier reneged on a written promise to quit in April, had set June 28 as his next retirement date. Williams then would have taken over about two days before the new amendment is expected to be certified. But on Friday, after the Police Commission refused to allow Gates to make high-ranking promotions it said should be left to the incoming chief, Gates warned that he might delay his retirement until July 15.

His statements triggered angry responses from Mayor Tom Bradley, who said "the people have had enough of Daryl Gates jerking them around," and from City Council members, who threatened to fire Gates or cut his salary, which would reduce his pension by up to \$30,000 a year.

But Sheinbaum said after an emergency meeting of the Police Commission today that even if Gates is fired, he could take the issue into the courts and delay his departure long enough to nullify the Williams appointment.

This would mean that the city would have to start the chief-selection process again, which Sheinbaum estimated would take four to six months and cost an estimated \$1 million. In the meantime, he said, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) probably would be run by an acting chief appointed by Gates.

Privately, city officials are worried that new disorders could flare up at any time in devastated south-central Los Angeles, where the deadliest urban riot in modern U.S. history broke out on April 29 after a suburban jury virtually exonerated four white LAPD officers in the beating of black motorist Rodney G. King. Before the riots ended three days later, more than 50 people had died and damage from arson and looting topped \$800 million.

LAPD morale remains low. At a recent roll call in the 77th Street Division, near the riot center, rank-and-file officers expressed disgust at the performance of Gates, Bradley and the Police Commission, and warned that new riots could occur.

At its meeting today, the commission decided to hire an attorney to advise it on ways of disciplining Gates. The City Council is expected to approve this action Tuesday.

Gates has scheduled a news conference for Monday, and City Council President John Ferraro, who spoke with Gates today, was quoted by the Los Angeles Times as saying, "I think he'll reaffirm his original decision to retire June 28 or 29." Ferraro said Gates's threat to stay into July was an example of how the chief "just likes to tweak people."

Last year, in the furor caused by the videotaped King beating, the commission fired Gates, but the action was rescinded by the council. Gates, who has civil service protection, can be fired only for misconduct.

Under the charter amendment approved 2 to 1 by voters over Gates's opposition, future chiefs will have less independence. But Gates is trying to turn the amendment against the city.

Sheinbaum predicted that Williams, who has resigned his position in Philadelphia and planned to move this week to Los Angeles, ultimately would be appointed. Sheinbaum said Williams was being "very cool" about his predicament.

*Special correspondent Leef Smith
contributed to this report.*

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Rep. Bennett Announces Retirement

*Florida Democrat
Holds Voting Record*

Associated Press

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., June 7—Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D-Fla.), the House's second most senior member, unexpectedly announced his retirement today, saying his wife's health made him change his mind about seeking a 23rd term.

Bennett, 81, insisted as late as last week he would run for re-election but said he changed his mind after his wife, Jean, suffered a stroke last Monday, saying it underlined "for me my old age and physical disabilities."

He said in a statement, "I would not want such personal defects in me to hamper the service that a U.S. representative should render."

The announcement by Bennett, of Jacksonville, makes him the 75th member of Congress who will not return next year. Only Rep. Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.) has served longer in the House.

Bennett is also the sixth House member from Florida to decide to leave Congress. With four new seats created after the 1990 census, 10 of the state's 23 seats are open.

Bennett's district was radically redrawn under a newly approved plan. It lost a large share of its Democratic base, and picked up many suburban Republican voters.

Four Republicans were competing for the right to oppose him, including Jacksonville City Councilwoman Tillie Fowler, Don Weldner, Stephen Kelley and Cliff Taylor.

In his statement, Bennett said he wanted to give political friends a chance to run for the seat.

"He just celebrated his 41st year without ever missing a congressional vote—that's a record that will not ever be met," said campaign coordinator and former aide Adam Hollingsworth.

Although an advocate for many military programs, Bennett opposed the Strategic Defense Initiative and won some deep cuts in its funding.

While he was a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, the House Democratic Caucus rejected him twice, in 1985 and 1987, for its chairmanship.

Japanese Study Calls U.S. Trade Policies Unfair

By Elaine Kurtenbach

Associated Press

TOKYO, June 8 (Monday)—Japan, the target of broad U.S. criticism of its trade practices, lashed back today in a report accusing the United States of maintaining unfair trading policies and frequently abusing international trade rules.

Japan's attack follows by several months a furor in the United States over Japanese policy in auto manufacturing and other industries that gained momentum after a failed trade mission to Tokyo by President Bush.

The government's "Report on Unfair Trade Practices by Major Trading Partners" accuses the United States of biased policies in nine of 10 areas, and of repeatedly tilting trade rules for its own advantage.

The report, given to reporters by an official of the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), who asked not to be named, charges that:

- "Buy American" laws—some of which were enacted after Bush's trip in January—restrict government purchases to mostly U.S. goods and services and discriminate against Japanese products. American trade officials have made the same complaint about Japanese government contracts.

- Trade restrictions imposed for reasons of U.S. national security are unfair because the concept of national security is vaguely defined.

- U.S. requests for voluntary export restraints on such products as cars, steel, machine tools and textiles are "particularly aggressive."

- Unilateral decisions to impose tariffs on Japanese products for alleged "dumping"—selling products for less than what cost to make them, to unfairly win market share—violate international trade rules.

"One must wonder why the United States presumes that it alone is qualified to make these judgments," the report says.

After the Commerce Department concluded last month that Japanese automakers were selling minivans at artificially low prices in the United States, the Japanese companies vowed to prove the ruling wrong.

Ever since the United States in the 1980s began listing what it considered barriers to U.S. exports, other countries, including Japan, have been issuing similar lists. Japan's MITI has made many of the same complaints before. Monday's report was compiled by the same group of researchers who prepared a similar one for a ministry-affiliated research institute in 1991.

U.S. officials who have seen the report characterized it as a chance for Japanese bureaucrats to hit back at the accusations made against Japan, which rang up a world trade surplus of \$63.5 billion last year. Japan sold \$43.4 billion more in goods to the United States than it bought. In March, the United States presented its own list of unfair traders, with Japan at the top.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

POLITICS

Perot to Discuss Aid to Cities With Non-Republican Mayors

Ross Perot will meet today with a group of Democratic and independent mayors to discuss federal help for cities in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots.

Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn (D) told the Associated Press that Perot requested the meeting, which will be at his Dallas campaign headquarters. Flynn said Perot asked for "an honest evaluation of how . . . the federal government could be helpful meeting needs of American cities."

The U.S. Conference of Mayors is urging enactment of \$35 billion in federal urban spending, including \$15 billion in direct aid to the cities with the biggest problems.

Flynn, president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said he has discussed urban needs and the conference proposal in two phone conversations with Perot. "He has told me emphatically how important the cities are to the economic vitality of our country," Flynn said.

Flynn said the mayors were not bringing offers of support for Perot. But he did not rule out backing Perot's independent campaign. "We're loyal to the people of our cities. We're not loyal to any person or party," Flynn told the AP.

Besides Flynn, mayors planning to meet with Perot include Democrats Maureen O'Connor of San Diego, Michael White of Cleveland, Sharpe James of Newark, and independent Xavier Suarez of Miami, who supported President Bush in 1988.

"There's no quid pro quo here," Flynn said. "It's

just a meeting for him to listen and learn from the people who are on the front lines in the nation's cities."

Flynn said he has met with expected Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and may do so again Friday. He said the mayors asked for a similar private meeting with Bush nearly a year ago "but haven't been able to get past his handlers."

Perot Takes On Doogie Howser, Roseanne

■ Vice President Quayle isn't the only politician who thinks a television situation comedy character sets a bad example. Ross Perot, who said Quayle's remarks about "Murphy Brown" were "goofy," does not have much regard for "Doogie Howser."

The Los Angeles Times reported Saturday that during a Sept. 26 meeting with reporters and editors at its Washington bureau, the undeclared presidential candidate referred to an episode of "Doogie Howser, M.D." in which the fictional star and girlfriend, both 18, lose their virginity.

"Some 15-year-old girl that's been thinking about it hadn't done it yet. 'Hell, Doogie's girl did it. It must be all right,'" Perot said. "You and I didn't see that kind of stuff growing up."

He said "a deteriorated family unit" was a major national problem.

Perot also criticized the sitcom "Roseanne" as a bad example while discussing his belief that parenting skills should be taught to children. "Eventually they will be parents," he told the Times. "If you watch Roseanne Barr on television, you don't get a very good role model."

—Maralee Schwartz

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Sen. Dole Defends Perot Against Republican Charge of Demagoguery

Hill Races Seen as Potential Factors in Choosing a President

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Amid growing signals that Ross Perot's challenge as an independent to the major-party presidential nominees will spread quickly to the 1992 congressional campaigns, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) yesterday defended Perot against charges of demagoguery from other top GOP officials.

Dole, in an appearance on NBC's "Meet the Press," rejected House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel's (R-Ill.) description of the Texas billionaire businessman as "a frightening demagogue" and said Perot is a "very patriotic" person who probably would enjoy at least a temporary honeymoon with Congress if he were elected in November.

Dole's comments highlighted a heavy Sunday of televised politicking, in which it was disclosed that Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, who has enough delegates to be the Democratic nominee, has decided to join forces with Democratic congressional leaders to announce a "first 100 days" agenda for his possible presidency, and a new recruit to Perot's top command challenged any effort by the two parties to "count out" Perot if the three-way contest has to be settled in the House.

Edward J. Rollins, the former top Republican campaign strategist who signed up with Perot last week, said Perot's campaign would go "district by district" seeking commitments from Republican and Democratic congressional candidates that they would support Perot if he won more votes in their district than President Bush or Clinton.

Rollins was responding to Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown's statement that Brown would "expect" Democrats in the House to support Clinton even if Perot wins a plurality of the popular vote. Both men appeared on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley."

The election would go to the House only if none of the three candidates won 270 of the 538 elector-

al votes apportioned among the states. In all but a few states, the candidate with the largest number of popular votes gets all the electoral votes. In the House, each state casts one vote on the basis of the majority decision of its delegation, with 26 votes needed for election. Democrats have controlled a majority of House delegations for most of the last 38 years.

Clinton yesterday signaled a decision to move closer to that congressional wing of his party by planning a joint news conference with House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine). Aides said purpose would be to announce key pieces of legislation Democrats would pledge to pass in the early months of a Clinton administration.

Clinton aides and Brown said the idea had been discussed when Clinton, Foley and Mitchell met in Washington almost two months ago, but the decision to proceed was publicized by New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo (D), who had been advocating such a strategy publicly for several weeks.

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, said the hope was that "this will bring to life the idea of breaking the gridlock in Washington that is so frustrating to voters."

Other Democrats had urged Clinton to "keep his distance" from an unpopular Congress, but Cuomo apparently prevailed with the argument that neither Bush nor Perot could plausibly claim the same majority support in Congress for their programs.

But Dole yesterday added his voice to Michel's plea last month that Bush join the issue by saying, as Dole put it: "Give me a Republican Congress or elect a Democratic president. . . . Let's stop this divided government."

On one current issue, however, Dole himself challenged Bush's judgment. He said he hoped Bush would sign a bill ending the ban on government-financed fetal tissue research using material retrieved from abortions. Dole, a staunch opponent of abortions, joined all but

12 senators in voting for the House-passed legislation last week, arguing that it was a "pro-life vote" that would assist research against many diseases. Bush has vowed to veto the legislation again, but Dole, who did not commit himself to supporting Bush on a veto override vote, said, "on this very important issue, I would hope he would sign the bill."

Dole said his own poll in Kansas—one of the most Republican states in the nation—showed Bush tied with Perot at 34 percent 10 days ago. "I think Perot is still moving up," Dole said.

Polls conducted for Newsweek and Time-CNN released over the weekend also showed gains for Perot. The Newsweek poll put Perot 2 percentage points in front; the Time-CNN poll had him ahead by 13 percentage points.

The Newsweek survey said two-thirds of Perot's current supporters believe the unannounced challenger should "say more" about his policy views while one-third said they "understand him pretty well as it is."

That "stealth candidate" theme was pushed hard by the major-party spokesmen on television yesterday—and rebutted just as strongly by Perot's aides.

Dole, while praising Perot's personal qualities, said, "He has to face up to the issues . . . and once he starts down that list, some people are not going to be back."

Bush-Quayle campaign manager Frederic V. Malek, appearing on the Brinkley show, echoed Democratic chairman Brown's complaint of deliberate fuzziness by Perot. "I don't think he's a conservative," Malek said, "but nobody really knows where he stands."

But on CBS's "Face the Nation," Tom Luce, a senior Perot strategist, said, "It looks like a pretty large portion of the United States is already defining Ross Perot in their own mind . . . as a problem solver, . . . a leader, . . . a guy who will get under the hood, fix the engine, hands on."

Rollins, however, said Perot recognizes the need to flesh out his positions and "is going to get very specific on a lot of issues . . . in the very near future."

Bush Appears in Danger of Losing Much Conservative Support to Perot

Potential for Large-Scale Defections Concerns President's Strategists

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush, who has faced restiveness among political conservatives throughout his term of office, is in danger of losing substantial amounts of their support to Ross Perot's independent candidacy, according to conservative leaders and recent polls.

Conservatives, including some who are sympathetic to Bush, say that Perot is gaining ground even among voters who know that Perot's positions on certain issues—notably his support of abortion rights—are more liberal than their own.

The potential for large-scale conservative defections concerns Bush's strategists, who had hoped as recently as a few weeks ago that in a three-way race, the president could triumph by holding most of his base on the right.

"My sense is that a certain percentage of social conservatives are gathering around Perot as a finger-in-your-eye protest," said Gary Bauer, president of the conservative Family Research Council and a Bush backer. "It's not issue-specific. It's that even though he's a billionaire, Perot is more down-to-earth, more the kind of guy you would want to have a drink with than the current Washington establishment."

Paul Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Foundation, also cited cultural reasons to explain the preference of some conservatives for Perot over Bush. "They feel that he's from an ordinary background, and they never have been comfortable with Bush because they thought he had an elitist mentality," Weyrich said.

Perot, he added, was winning support even among ardent foes of abortion. "When I've said to them, 'I thought your major issue was abortion,' they get mad at me and say, . . . 'We need a leader.'"

Burton Yale Pines, chairman of the National Center for Public Policy Research, another conservative group, said that Bush's inner circle

had long believed that "conservatives have no place to go" and eventually would support the president.

"Their worst nightmare now is that conservatives have found a place to go; they can go to Perot," Pines said. "By voting for Perot, you're not voting for the enemy of the Republican Party. You're not voting to strengthen the Democratic Party, and that solves an important dilemma for conservatives."

Pines added that many conservative activists may feel freer to support Perot now that Edward J. Rollins, Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign manager, has joined the Texas billionaire's campaign team.

Whatever happens with the activists, polls suggest that many rank-and-file conservatives have already begun the trek to Perot. Surveys of voters after they cast ballots in last Tuesday's primaries showed that while Perot was doing especially well among liberal Republicans, he also was winning a large share of the party's conservatives.

In California, Perot won 41 percent among conservative Republican primary voters in a hypothetical three-way race with Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, who has clinched the Democratic nomination. In New Jersey, Perot got 36 percent among Republican primary voters who called themselves conservative; he won 29 percent among conservative Republicans in Ohio. The polls were conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, a polling consortium established by the major television networks.

Some conservatives, especially antiabortion leaders who appreciate Bush's constancy on their issue over the last three years, said that with time, Perot's support on the right will shrink as his positions become clearer and better-known.

"There's a big exodus now, but I wonder how long Perot can hold their support and their attention," said Beverly La Haye, president of Concerned Women of America, a conservative group that strongly opposes abortion. "Some of these

people are going to say: 'Wait a minute, I'm making a big mistake.'"

Peter Wehner, a research fellow at the Hudson Institute who worked in both the Reagan and Bush administrations, said that many conservatives also are likely to be skeptical of Perot's "protectionist tendencies" on trade, his lack of clarity on whether he will raise taxes, his opposition to the Persian Gulf War and, more generally, "an isolationist tendency" on foreign policy issues.

But Wehner, a Bush supporter, said that the current willingness of so many conservatives to defect to Perot reflects the lack of galvanizing issues on the right in the post-Cold War, post-Reagan era. "The old fixed reference points aren't there," Wehner said. "Conservatives are going through this transition period."

"Right now, Perot embodies spirit, a willingness to fight, which conservatives like," he added. "The problem for conservatives with Bush is not his ideas, though he did renege on taxes and quotas. Bush supports mostly conservative policies, but he hasn't fought for them."

"Perot transcends issues," Pines said. "For many voters, it's America versus Washington, and Perot stands for America over Washington. . . . In the post-Soviet world, things have really changed and issues aren't as burning. It's extraordinary."

One Bush campaign strategist who believes the president has plenty of time to win back conservatives said that image was as important as issues in explaining Perot's gains on Bush. He said that Perot, despite his billions, is playing on a popular feeling that Bush somehow represents a distant upper class. "The Texarkana versus Greenwich thing is driving this," the strategist said, referring to Perot's Texas hometown and the affluent Connecticut suburb where Bush grew up. "There are a lot more Texarkanas across this country than there are Greenwiches."

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEN

Campaign Enters the Mean Season

Presidential elections have always been a contact sport, but this year's promises to be particularly mean, dirty and hard-hitting. It's all part of a day's work for sleuths, Democratic and Republican, who clinically call themselves "opposition research," but whose job is the muckraking and mudslinging in the presidential campaign. They uncover, catalog and computerize the words and weaknesses that lurk as potential targets in an opponent's closets.

"I like to think of it [campaigning] in terms of people painting on a picture. Your opponent is coming over with a graffiti spray can," one Democratic campaign strategist explained.

President Bush recently ordered Republican campaign operatives to "stay out of the sleaze" business. But what's clear is that one candidate's sleaze is another's substance. And this year the political sleuthing for Republicans will profit from new and pricey optical disk technology that makes research even more state of the art. Democrats acknowledge there is a high-tech gap between the two parties.

Republican researchers have shifted resources away from Bill Clinton, and are furiously playing catch-up on Ross Perot. Abortion, gun control and Social Security are the wedge issues they hope to drive against the Texas populist.

Clinton and the Democrats, who would like to leave most of the Perot-bashing to President Bush, believe they can turn the First Family into the first target over alleged financial wrongdoing by some members.

Perot delivered a below-the-belt shot to Bush recently by suggesting he started the Persian Gulf War to prove his masculinity. As president, Perot said, he "would not send people onto the battlefield unless the nation is committed," and that he wouldn't have "to prove my manhood by sending anyone to war."

In what may be emerging as an early theme, Perot also recently hinted he was more courageous than Bush for daring to go to Little Rock, Ark., and mingle with a crowd of supporters without bodyguards. "I came here totally by myself. . . . Would you want a general afraid to go in the battlefield?"

For now, Democratic strategists told us that Clinton, who condemns the "Republican attack machine," has to spend his time defining himself rather than attacking Bush or Perot. Democrats are haunted by the Willie Horton specter and determined

never again to allow their candidate to get hog-tied by negative advertising. Democrats are approaching the campaign nursing a big grudge from 1988. Some fund-raising events have even been earmarked for intelligence-gathering on the opposition to avoid a repeat of 1988, when Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis seemed tongue-tied.

A taste of the fall campaign is foretold in at least one memo prepared by the Democratic National Committee that calls for playing hardball on alleged ethics lapses in the First Family. Some party officials want to see the national campaign take a page from the "in-your-face" style employed by Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.) against Dick Thornburgh.

The opportunity is to hammer the theme of "family favoritism" that would include a laundry list of sins, proven and unproven, against Bush family members, particularly son Neil. But officials also believe they can effectively mine the Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness to demonstrate a correlation between large campaign contributors and White House intervention in environmental and consumer protection rules.

Pols in both parties agree that by the time the votes are counted in November, Bush's 1988 Willie Horton ads may seem genteel by comparison.

All things considered, Environmental Protection Administration Administrator William K. Reilly would rather be in Rio de Janeiro as "Mr. Secretary," the head of a Cabinet-level agency. Along with wetlands, clean air and global warming, Reilly long has agitated in the administration to achieve Cabinet status for his agency, and his failure to do this weighs on him, according to a top adviser.

"He came in with the notion that it [Cabinet seat] was a couple of years off and that within the first two years there would be a Cabinet department and he would be the first secretary of the environment," this official told us.

Along with other non-Cabinet officials, Reilly sits inconspicuously behind Cabinet members along the wall in the White House, a symbol of how relegated Reilly—the regulator conservatives love to hate—has been. One of the headiest moments for the man now heading the U.S. delegation to the Rio Earth Summit apparently occurred when he was tapped to translate for Bush and French President Francois Mitterrand at the G-7 economic conference in 1989.

Speech and the Holocaust

THE U.S. Supreme Court this week refused to disturb a ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in a case in which both parties invoke First Amendment rights. Because the decision only allows a trial court to proceed with the case and does not resolve it, the matter may be in the courts for years to come, and it would not be at all surprising if it were eventually before the Supreme Court again for final resolution. Anyone concerned about the right to engage in freewheeling debate on important public issues should follow its course.

David McCalden was, at the time he filed this suit, a member of a small group which maintains that the Holocaust never occurred. Eight years ago, he contracted with the California Library Association to rent exhibit space at the association's annual conference so that he could display materials and present a program entitled "Free Speech and the Holocaust: An overview from several speakers of the severe censorship and intellectual terrorism which inhibits any objective, open discussion of this controversial subject."

When the American Jewish Committee and the Simon Wiesenthal Center learned of the contract, they protested and organized to thwart Mr. McCalden's plans. They contacted the library association, the Los Angeles City Council and the hotel in which the conference was to be held, threatening to demonstrate at the meeting, which might mean disruption and damage to property. The City Council responded by passing a resolution urging the association to cancel its

contract with Mr. McCalden. The police department advised the group that it would be unable to provide adequate protection and security for the conference if the exhibit were allowed. The contract was canceled, and Mr. McCalden sued everyone involved for breach of contract, wrongful interference with contract and deprivation of rights protected by federal and state civil rights statutes.

In terms of policy, the defendants erred by reacting so strongly. Unpopular, even invidious speech is best countered by more speech, not suppression. The police pronouncement in particular is reminiscent of the bad old days in the South when sheriffs tried to dissuade marchers and demonstrators by warning that their rights could not be protected.

That said, however, the defendants had a right to react as they did, to lobby public officials and to demonstrate, if that became necessary, in opposition to Mr. McCalden's crackpot theories. Excited rhetoric and emotional responses are almost always part of public debate, especially, as in this case, when the subject of the debate involves not just intensely held beliefs but also the anguishing experience of persons still able to testify to what they saw and experienced. This case involves no imminent threat of violence and offers no room for exceptions to the First Amendment. As it moves through a second round in the courts, that principle must be affirmed.

Making Russia's Economy Work

TO MAKE a market economy work, Russia has to curb inflation by getting bank lending and credit under control. But much of the country is now living on those deficits and loans. Cutting them isn't quite as cruel as it sounds, since Russia now provides unemployment compensation. But any substantial reduction threatens an epidemic of disruptive strikes.

The basic question is the speed with which the Russians can make the transition to the market and how much stress their society can bear in the process. Few of the large state-owned enterprises will survive in an open economy—not, at the least, without huge layoffs and reorganizations. So far most of them have managed to stave off that unpleasant prospect by desperately borrowing from each other and from the banks. The reformers in the Russian government, like the International Monetary Fund, point out that curbing credit is the only way to force forward a painful but necessary transformation.

The man in the middle, the chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, resigned this week. He was being pulled in one direction by the reformers and in the other by the parliament, which, like parliaments in most other countries, responds energetically to pleas to save jobs. Then, to compound the confusion, some of the parlia-

mentary deputies changed their minds and voted to reject the resignation.

Most of the \$24 billion in aid that the West promised Russia two months ago is contingent on the reforms and, specifically, a much lower inflation rate. Russia became a member of the IMF this week, but it now looks as though IMF aid will not begin to flow as soon as the Russians had hoped. The questions about bank credit and inflation have to be settled first.

While Russia's choices are being posed in the language of finance and economics, they are fundamentally political. The reformers in Moscow, like the donors of aid in the West, keep urging the Russians to make the leap to market capitalism quickly because speed will mean less pain and an earlier payoff. If the Russian leadership can summon up the strength and skill to move fast, it will have much support from the West and increasing close relations with it. But if the reforms were to be overwhelmed by political compromises, Russia would be left largely to its own resources, and as it turned inward again, its new friendship with the West would be unlikely to flourish. In the Russians' struggle over the management of their central bank, it's not only credit limits but the next stage of their political revolution that's at stake.

Patriot Games

PRESIDENT BUSH devoted his news conference the other day to support of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. He'd do better to find a more congenial subject. This one puts him in the weak and awkward position of urging that his own pattern of behavior be constitutionally proscribed—but not until safely after the next election.

The president already has all the power he needs to send Congress a balanced budget—or one that makes a genuine move in that neglected direction—and then to veto any bill that deviates from his proposals. It would take two-thirds of both houses of Congress to overcome such determination; that's more than the three-fifths that any of the constitutional amendments would require. Mr. Bush has done none of this; the record that he is deploring is largely his own. The problem is the same for him as it is for Congress—not a lack of constitutional power, but of political courage, imagination and will.

The amendments are a way once again of deferring action while appearing to act, a reflection not of conviction but of the lack of it. In hopes of restoring the lost ability to govern, a group of middle-road senators from both parties proposes that the presidential candidates each submit to an hour's serious questioning on national television about their plans to reduce the deficit. Bill Clinton, whose own proposals for balancing the budget have seemed to us to still need work, quickly said that he'd be glad to appear on such a program. Ross Perot, who has said even now he is still creating his position, did not immediately respond. The initial response from the White House was that the president already has "put his budget out there," and so he has. The problem is that the projected deficits remain in the \$200 billion range as far as the eye can see.

That comes close to \$1 trillion of added debt per presidency; the country can't afford it. The administration continues to say that a balanced budget can be achieved without a major tax increase or cut in the cost of Social Security, which constitutes close to a fourth of spending for other than interest on the debt. All that is needed is a rate of economic growth about double

that of recent years and a cap on entitlement spending except for Social Security. But where have you heard before—how many trillions of dollars of debt ago?—that the country could grow its way out of the deficit? And which entitlements does the administration propose to cut, at whose expense? It would mainly have to be Medicare and Medicaid—they are the largest remaining programs and greatest offenders—but how does the president propose to curb health care costs? He doesn't say.

Those Democrats who are working for the amendment are no better. Paul Simon, sponsor of the leading balanced budget amendment in the Senate, says that he's "not about to spell out precisely" how he would achieve the balance nor to stop advocating what he thinks are necessary spending increases in the interim. His Democratic counterparts in the House say that of course they want to begin reducing the deficit right away, but not in the same vote in which they adopt the amendment. Later will be time enough for the specifics; you've heard that before, too. To siphon votes away from the leading amendment, the House Democratic leadership is meanwhile also proposing that Social Security be left out of the deficit calculation as well as any cuts, the idea being to give members cover for saying that much as they wanted to balance the budget, they felt obliged to protect Social Security even more.

It's a game that's being played here on all sides, but the Constitution is the wrong place to play it. It's one thing when the president and the members tie up future revenues to assure their reelection; now they propose to mortgage the form of government as well. By the shifts that they imply from majority to minority rule, these amendments would disturb the systems of checks and balances within and between the branches of government, including the courts, in ways that none of these hasty supporters fully comprehend. The amendments are the ultimate retreat from the responsibility that they pretend to embrace. One way or another, one house or the other needs to defeat them.

The Washington Post

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Game 2 of the National Basketball Association's championship series on NBC between the Portland Trail Blazers and the Chicago Bulls on Friday night averaged a 14.3 rating and a 25 percent audience share, according to Nielsen overnight figures in 25 major markets...

That compares with a 13.5 national Nielsen rating and a 25 share for Game 1 on Wednesday. No figure was available yesterday for Washington...

Along the Call-In, er, Campaign Trail: NBC's "Today" show has booked Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot for interviews and viewer call-in opportunities this week...

Democratic presidential candidate Clinton will be interviewed tomorrow in New York by Bryant Gumbel and will take calls during the show's first hour...

Perot will be in New York on Thursday during the second hour of the program to chat up Katie Couric and take viewer calls...

A spokesperson estimates that each candidate will get an unusually long spell of about 45 minutes of air time. NBC will provide an 800 number for callers...

A similar invitation to take a turn on the "Today" phone has been extended to President Bush...

And Clinton has bought 30 minutes in prime-time on NBC for Friday night, when he'll conduct the first of what his campaign says will be a series of "America Speaks" town hall meetings...

ABC's "Good Morning America," meanwhile, will interview onetime Democratic presidential candidate Gary Hart this morning during the 7:30-to-8 time period...

Kari Sagin resigned as executive producer of the syndicated "Maury Povich Show" on Friday to "pursue other opportunities"...

In a statement, Povich said, "Kari performed admirably; we wish her all the best." And a spokesperson said, "We support her in all her future endeavors." But the gossip was that the show lately has featured too many "freaks and geeks," to borrow Gail Shister's felicitous phrase...

A spokesperson told us Friday that pending appointment of a successor, Povich, who is already listed as an executive producer, and supervising producer Vicki DeShazo will run things...

Charles Kuralt, who has been with the network since 1958, has signed with CBS News for another five years...

NBC Productions has bought the rights to "Ain't Nothin' as Sweet as My Baby," the autobiography of Jett Williams...

The network plans to make a movie or a four-hour miniseries out of the story of her search for her true identity as the natural daughter of country music legend Hank Williams...

As part of its spring pledge drive, Channel 32 is presenting a week-long music festival that began yesterday and ends next Sunday. The Howard University public TV station hopes to attract at least 200 new members per night during the drive. Basic membership is \$32, but for \$60 a viewer also becomes a member of Arena Stage...

Now This

Members of the National Issues Convention advisory board met here last week with officials of WETA to get a very early start on planning for an "issues convention" in early 1996, the next presidential election year...

Public broadcasters had hoped to launch a year of meaningful coverage during the current presidential election year with the telecast of a three-day National Issues Convention that was to have been held Jan. 17-19 on the Austin campus of the University of Texas, with about 600 "delegates" selected from around the country on a "statistically meaningful basis"...

But with only \$1.3 million on hand against a projected \$4 million cost in early October, Channel 26 here canceled the project because there wasn't enough time to raise the balance...

The 1996 convention would cost an estimated \$4 million, similar to the abortive 1992 effort...

Among those attending the meeting last week were board members John C. White, William Coleman, Henry H. Fowler, Harry McPherson and Jody Powell, as well as board chairs Newton Minow and Charls Walker...

Also present were representatives of WETA, including president Sharon Rockefeller; the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas, which will have a major role in the 1996 convention; the Kettering Foundation, which provided seed money for 1992 planning; and Ed Fouhy, executive producer of the convention...

Moving Right Along

The battle against AIDS received four times the TV coverage of any other health care issue between Nov. 1 and May 1, according to a study from the Center for Media and Public Affairs...

The survey covered 386 network news stories on health care issues—a total of 12 hours 25 minutes of coverage...

AIDS was covered in 156 stories; the controversy over the safety of silicone breast implants was a distant second with 40 stories...

Six out of every seven sources interviewed on the three network evening news programs over the six-month period criticized the quality of health care in this country, and three out of four blamed the private sector...

In addition, according to the center, "100 percent of news sources offering an opinion said federal funding for health care is inadequate, and two out of three called for a national health care insurance system"...

The center says that "compared with statistics on AIDS victims compiled by the Centers for Disease Control, TV portrayals of AIDS patients underrepresent gays, minorities and IV drug users and overrepresent the number of women with the disease"...

Margaret Ray, the obsessed David Letterman fan, has been sentenced to six months in prison for trespassing at his New Canaan, Conn., home last month. The 40-year-old Colorado woman had been pestering the talk show host for four years...

The Capitol Hill Women's Political Caucus has named Diane English, creator of the CBS sitcom "Murphy Brown," as one winner of its June Women's Choice award, along with Rep. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.)...

Chairs Laura Epstein and Liz Ryan said: "Ms. English's fictional character... touched a chord in the women of this country. When people criticized the character's decision to have a baby alone, women around America were reminded that some would take away their right to have an abortion, yet criticize and judge them if they choose to have a child alone... We commend Ms. English for getting the dialogue going like she has"...

The CHWPC's bipartisan Women's Choice awards go to individuals every month "who, through a specific effort, help improve the lives of women"...

Wyden was selected for legislation that "would bring infant formula to thousands of mothers who don't have it today" and for an investigation that "demonstrated how inexpensive formula ingredients are and how many companies excessively mark up the price"...

Charmian Todd, who has been a production assistant for at WETA's "Washington Week in Review," has been accepted into a one-year program in public broadcasting at Ohio State University, starting in September...

The program is sponsored by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and leads to a master of arts in telecommunications...

Federal Communications Commission chairman Alfred C. Sikes will be seen Wednesday at 10 p.m. on the Learning Channel discussing, among other things, "the eight blind spots of television news." He appears on "Charlie Rose," which will first air tomorrow night on WNET in New York...

Andy Friendly has been named to the new post of network executive producer at CNBC. He will continue to serve as vice president of primetime and program development at the NBC-owned "viewer-relevant" business and financial cable network...

To wind up a virtually Ratingzzz-Free column, perhaps we should turn the clock back to Thursday evening, a happy time, if memory serves. And it was almost all repeats on network TV...

In fact, NBC won the night with an all-repeat lineup, led by "Cheers," that averaged an 11.1 national rating and a 20 share...

CBS was second at 9.4/17. "The Year of the Generals," the two-hour CBS News special recalling the dark days of 1942, averaged a 9.1/16...

ABC's rerun lineup (9.0/16 for the night) was broken only by "PrimeTime Live," which did a 12.4/22 at 10. FOX averaged an 8.3/15, although a repeat "Simpsons" did a 10.4/20...

In Washington on Thursday, in case you've forgotten what you were watching, "The Year of the Generals" did a 9.9/16 on Channel 9; "PrimeTime Live," a 10.7/18 on Channel 7...

Now that wasn't so tough, was it? Oh, and a national ratingzzz point that night represented 921,000 TV homes; an overnight ratingzzz point (for all you NBA Friday night game fanatics), 431,028; and a Washington point, 18,199 TV homes...

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Is Ross Perot A Man's Man?

The Non-Candidate Has the Largest Gender Gap, Polls Show

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ross Perot appears to have a woman problem.

For all his stunning popularity with the American electorate, recent polls suggest that the Texas tycoon, who wants to be president is liked less by women—who represent 54 percent of registered voters—than by his fellow men.



Ross Perot, who aides say is unpolished.

Perot's gender gap, now a fissure, may open up into a Grand Canyon or close into a tiny seam in the months ahead, but so far it is the most striking statistic separating the sexes for any of the presidential contenders. In a typical nationwide poll, conducted in late May by ICR Survey Research Group among 1,003 adults, 40 percent of the men said they'd vote for Perot if

the election were held today, compared with 32 percent of the women. The poll's margin of sampling error was plus or minus 3 percent.

"The theory is that women tend to find him a little bit erratic, a little bit unpredictable, a little bit scary," said Torie Clarke, press secretary for President Bush's campaign. "Chicks don't like that."

When it comes to Ross Perot, "scary" is something of a buzzword among Bush campaign operatives.

See GENDER, C7, Col. 1

Perot's Gender Gap

GENDER, From C1

"There is something strident and authoritarian and scary about his character that women discern, at a minimum, at a subliminal level," said Deputy Campaign Manager Mary Matalin, adding that "women have an intuitive sense of a person's character. . . . And there's something anachronistic about his outlook on women—maybe it's not quite tangible yet—in the comments he makes about his female employees, or his suggestion that men hide behind their women's skirts. That comes naturally to him, and it's off-putting to women."

After Marilyn Quayle accused him of trying to buy the presidency, Perot said, "I find it fascinating that grown men are hiding behind their women." In another foray into incorrectness on CBS's "Face the Nation," Perot said in late April that "women in my experience are more talented than men. So my biggest problem in my computer companies is they keep getting married and leaving me."

Matalin speculated that Perot may hurt himself among women because "he refuses to say where he stands on anything. He's a can-do guy, but 'can-do' what? He's an action guy, but action for what? Women like some specificity, and they aren't as attracted as men to the knee-jerk, action, can-do, Green Beret stuff."

"Who is Mary Matalin?" Jim Squires, Perot's spokesman, demanded peevishly. "She can say whatever she wants that she thinks will benefit her candidate, and I think you can apply that to all of her comments." Abortion rights, which Perot has said he favors, "is a critical issue on which George Bush is in grave danger of losing a big part of his constituency," Squires added. "Mary Matalin ought to ask her boss to change his position instead of charging Ross Perot with authoritarianism."

Squires said Perot's campaign-in-the-making has yet to focus on the gender gap. "We haven't really gotten to the point where we're down into that close a scrutiny of those demographics," he said. "One of the things that we are resigned to is that Mr. Perot is not going to be politically correct in his answers about these issues." As a non-politician, Perot is unschooled in "the political vernacular that has developed among politicians after years of sensitizing themselves as a result of public scrutiny," Squires explained.

"We have not done any polishing on Mr. Perot, and we don't expect to be given the opportunity," he added. "We have to live with what he is."

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Others, however, do not.

"On some of the talk shows he has referred to women as 'girls,'" said Billie Carr, a longtime political activist who is a Democratic National Committee member from Houston. "He is typical of that kind of male chauvinist. He doesn't understand about women. He doesn't get it. . . . Ross Perot is kind of like Clayton Williams, only he's smarter." Texas Republican gubernatorial candidate Williams imploded his 1990 campaign against Democrat Ann Richards with quips such as one likening a rainstorm to rape ("If it's inevitable, just lie back and enjoy it").

"Perot comes across as one who uses language in referring to women that is, shall we say, less than appealing," said Claudine Schneider, a former Republican member of Con-

gress from Rhode Island. "But I understand it," added Schneider, who may yet support Perot. "I have spent 10 years serving in Congress with Texans and fellas from Louisiana and other Southern states, and that is their manner. It's cultural, and I can understand that they mean no harm."

But Perot will have to do a lot more if he wants to convince women such as Ellen Malcolm of his good intentions.

"It seems to me that Mr. Perot gives with one sentence, and takes away with another sentence, on issue after issue," said Malcolm, the president of Emily's List, an influential political action committee that expects to give \$3 million this election cycle to female candidates. "He says he's pro-choice, and then, when asked about parental consent, he says he thought that was a good idea. The first sentence sounds very favorable, but when you get to the

details, you still have a lot of question marks."

Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus, said that while "many women react to the macho male image with some trepidation . . . that doesn't mean that women might not eventually support him."

"A lot of times we [women] are willing to forgive males for not being politically correct or as sensitive as they could be as long as they vote right," agreed Ann Stone, chairman of Republicans for Choice.

"I think Perot has raised more questions than he has answered on some issues that are important to women," said Dee Dee Myers, press secretary for Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. Asked if Perot's gender gap might be exploitable by the Clinton camp, Myers said, "Sure. But if these questions continue to be there, they're not even really 'exploitable.' It's a legitimate issue."

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The Browning Of Ecology

Human Suffering Finds a Home
On the Environmental Agenda

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO—It is the most spectacular of slums, 350,000 people spilling out of brick-and-mortar huts on a mountainside high above the sea. The site affords a panoramic view of the ocean, the lagoons, the fancy hotels and the highway that leads to the Earth Summit.

It's called Rocinha, and it's the largest *favela* on the continent, a teeming micropolis with a narrow, serpentine main street lined with markets and bars and bershops and nearly hidden stairs that crawl crazily up the hill. Life is dense and giddy, cluttered with dogs in the cafes, kids hanging out of windows, men lugging bricks and shoveling gravel into bags, all oblivious to the occasional city bus squeezing past. Linking it all is a foul liquid navigating the street, trickling toward the sea.

This is where the environmentalists came to get away. To escape what one activist called the "artificial atmosphere" of the other Earth Summit events. To get back to basics, to the *people*. Of course they had no choice but to hold a press conference. Not that anyone demanded one. A business card and a friendly handshake would have been fine! But unfortunately, the Earth Summit and its parasitic happenings have turned into a jabberfest, two weeks of endless yammering in many tongues. If you've got an agenda, or even just an acronym, you are here in Rio and holding a press conference.

This one at Rocinha, held in a samba academy at the

See RIO, C8, Col. 1

Ideology Shift in Rio

RIO, From C1

top of the hill, was more interesting than most—the dramatic setting helped—but it still lasted more than an hour as spokesmen for eight activist organizations politely took turns announcing that they were appalled and consternated and outraged by the events at the official U.N. conference.

The groups issued an ultimatum: If leaders of the U.S., European and Japanese delegations didn't meet with them by noon Monday, they would "raise the stakes considerably," in the ominous words of Tani Adams of Greenpeace. She wouldn't elaborate, other than to say that Greenpeace is committed to nonviolence (a good thing given that the main convention is guarded by armed soldiers and tanks).

Amid the profusion of talk, one line stood out. It came from Pedro Mendonca, an activist with a group called the Federation of Favela Dwellers of the State of Rio de Janeiro. He gave a simple definition of ecology.

"Ecology," he said, "means a home to live in, water to drink, and basic sanitation."

This lone Brazilian had summarized what may be the singular intellectual legacy of this wild meeting in Rio. It can now be officially declared that ecology is no longer about birds and bunnies, about forests and pretty streams, about nice places to take a hike and listen to the voices of nature. Nor is ecology merely about the dangers of nuclear energy or the misbehavior of polluting industries. Now, ecology is about people, poverty, international debt relief, fair trade instead of free trade. It's about slums.

Being "green" will never be the same. Indeed, the hippest ecologists are beyond the green issues, into another hue entirely: brown.

A brown environmental issue is a dirty, grimy, gritty one. It's urban smog, toxic waste, lack of sanitation. It is cooking oil that's not fit to burn. It's human effluent running down a hillside. It is the scuzzy, smelly underside of human existence in all the favelas of the world.

"We've been talking about the

brown agenda, as opposed to the green agenda, which has gotten all the press," says Mary McNeil, spokeswoman for the Urban Division of the World Bank. "It's not about bees and insects, it's about saving the human species."

"Brown" is so new a term that many environmentalists say they've never run across it—but they all agree that the Earth Summit, with its emphasis on the linkage between environment and economics, has fundamentally broadened the ecological agenda.

"I'm certainly never going to look at environmental issues again divorced from social and economic issues," vowed Elizabeth Barratt-Brown, attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council, as she cabbed through a smog-choked tunnel over the weekend on the road to the summit. But Barratt-Brown herself asked the important follow-up question: "How big is our agenda going to be?"

There's a danger of agenda meltdown. It's hard enough being green without also having to worry about brown and who knows what other denominations. But that's the intellectual climate right now in Rio. Saving the Earth from environmental degradation is no longer the goal. A potent political manifesto has replaced it: The weak must be made strong, the wicked must be made good, the un-

just must be made fair. (Stay tuned: Press conference at 11.)

Once, no one was "green." There were only "conservationists." Backpackers in flannel shirts from L.L. Bean. These people are still around, but now they're enlightened. Some of them, in fact, pushed ecology to its new realm—men like Jim Bohlen and David Brower, both of whom showed up yesterday for a big, raucous march on Copacabana Beach (the precise subject of the march was fuzzy, but Jerry Brown told this reporter, "It's a protest against the corruption," seconds before disappearing into a crush of humanity, Bianca Jagger hanging on to him for dear life).

Bohlen, one of the founders of Greenpeace in 1969, was there in a Green Party T-shirt. He has a bushy white beard and wore wraparound

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shades. He said he knows where the word "green" originated. It was in 1972, when he and some Greenpeace colleagues were in Paris on their way to the first U.N. ecology conference in Stockholm. They held a protest at Notre Dame cathedral, and the police cracked down. An officer confronted Rod Marining, one of the protesters, and asked accusingly, "You red?" As in communist. "No, me green" was the reply. "Green" was born. At least that's Bohlen's story.

Brower was nearby, in his ecology-green shorts, his face a deep red, hair bright white, carriage still perfectly upright despite his 79 years. Brower had been executive director of the Sierra Club for many years before being forced to step down in 1969. The issue was the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. Brower's sin wasn't to oppose nuclear power—at the time, conservationists were not yet anti-nuke—but to oppose the siting of the plant on that particular piece of California coastline. Brower then started Friends of the Earth, one of the first ecology groups to go beyond the birds-and-bunnies focus into rough-and-tumble political issues. He later founded the Earth Island Institute and is a member of the Green Party of California.

Today, Brower talks like a classic green, questioning the arrogance of humans in presuming that we have dominion over nature. "In Genesis, it says multiply and replenish the Earth and subdue it. We have overmultiplied, we've oversubdued, and we've forgotten what replenish should mean."

There are some environmentalists with a scientific bent who argue that the planet can only survive as a kind of vast garden, with humans as the gardeners. To make a more unpleasant metaphor: Earth will have to become a kind of zoo. Otherwise, the destruction of habitats will doom most of the larger species of animals. "Biodiversity," a nearly sacred word to most at this summit, might require radical measures of human intervention not only in saving habitat but even in genetic engineering of other species. Naturally this isn't a green way to look at things.

"Being a gardener or a steward is better than being an exploiter, but it still positions yourself as a manager or a bureaucrat," says Tom Hayden, the famous political radical and movie-star ex-husband. He's popping up everywhere in Rio himself. "The last thing nature needs is a steward. It was doing fine before we came along."

The Earth Summit was originally supposed to be about the environment, as was the 1972 U.N. ecology conference in Stockholm, but the development issues got on board with equal footing at the insistence of developing nations. The major discussions at Ri-

ocentro, site of the U.N. Earth Summit, remain centered on ecological issues, such as biodiversity and climate change, but the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been wrapped up in social and economic issues.

You could argue that the social-justice crowd, through sheer vociferousness, has stolen the show. It seems as though there's far more talk about the dangers of free trade and the injustice of poverty than there is about, say, air pollution, even though you can't walk outside here without gagging on the emissions of cars that don't have catalytic converters.

Terryn Barill, an environmental consultant from Los Angeles, said she's gotten fed up with the anti-America screeds even though she is herself disappointed with the Bush administration. She said the daily briefing at the

Global Forum about events across town at the main summit have turned into a forum to bash the United States.

"My information link is cut off," she said. "I'm looking at Global Forum going down the tubes, and George Bush isn't doing anything, and I'm wondering, have I wasted my entire life?"

Most people love it, though. They go goo-goo-eyed when asked what it's like to be here in Rio. So much togetherness! So much bonding! It's a whole planet working together! Except for Bush!

Of course, inclusiveness has its quirks. Like the other day, a Xavante Indian of Brazil showed up at the Global Forum. Indigenous people, needless to say, are like saints here—they are the original greens. But this Indian brought a jaguar skin. The pelt of a spotted jaguar! He asked \$600,000 for it. There were no takers at last report.

Contributions To Insiders On Increase

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

This may be a year of upheaval in Congress, with a record number of new faces expected in the House next year, but most political action committees (PACs) haven't noticed yet.

A Federal Election Commission study found PACs donated \$73 million to House and Senate candidates through March—up 14 percent over the same period two years ago despite the recession. After being down slightly the first six months of last year, receipts from PAC members rebounded, up 3.3 percent over two years ago.

The Teamsters union led the way with \$5.9 million in receipts from members—down 12 percent—and \$1.4 million in donations to candidates—up 55 percent.

Overall, incumbents have received even more of the cash than usual.

Doug Thompson, a consultant who spent years working for the giant National Association of Realtors PAC, said the numbers show that House incumbents have soaked up 97 percent of the PAC money disbursed in the first 15 months of this election cycle, up from 92 percent two years ago. Senate incumbents have collected 92 percent of the PAC money, up from 87 percent.

Thompson cited two incumbents who lost recent primaries: Reps. Bill Alexander (D-Ark.) and Carroll Hubbard Jr. (D-Ky.). Alexander lost despite raising \$176,000 in PAC money while his two opponents raised \$50. Hubbard outraised his challengers in PAC money \$109,000 to zero. He also solicited \$75,000 in PAC money for his wife Carol, who failed to win a different congressional seat in Kentucky.

"PACs need to look at their giving patterns," he said.

Steve Stockmeyer, whose 110-member National Association of Business PACs discussed the issue at a meeting last week, said he told the group the instability in Congress, especially the House, offers PACs "a once in a decade opportunity" to fund challengers.

Incumbents have been "more nervous and more demanding" of PACs in the first part of the election cycle, he noted, while late primaries mean many challengers still haven't been picked. "There's a lot of people [PAC managers] sitting out there with a lot of money," he said.

The FEC figures show that PACs had more than \$139 million in cash left to spend at the end of March—up 6.5 percent from the same time two years ago. The International Longshoremen's Association had the most money in the bank with \$4.4 million, the American Medical Association had \$3.2 million, and the National Education Association, \$3.1 million.

Several PACs made dramatic fund-raising gains or losses:

- The Human Rights Campaign Fund, which lobbies for gay rights, more than doubled its giving to candidates from two years ago to almost \$308,000.

- EMILY's List, which raises money for women candidates, and the National Abortion Rights Action League PAC both doubled their receipts, to \$1.5 million and \$1.8 million respectively, though neither is among the top 50 PAC donors. An abortion-rights PAC, Voters for Choice/Friends of Family Planning, raised \$805,000. The only antiabortion group listed among the larger PACs is the Right to Life/Oregon PAC, with nearly \$215,000 raised.

- Another single-issue group, The National Rifle Association PAC, increased its receipts 70 percent to nearly \$2 million—and its donations to candidates 67 percent to \$527,442. The PAC of its rival, Handgun Control Inc., raised \$877,556, a near fivefold increase from two years ago, but has given out only \$9,500 in donations.

A Handgun Control spokeswoman said the group is saving its money for the fall. It had \$427,510 in the bank on March 31, compared to the NRA's \$313,720.

On the other hand, the National Association of Letter Carriers PAC saw its receipts fall off 27 percent from two years ago. Its contributions to candidates fell off more than half, causing it to drop from first to 34th on the list of most generous PACs. Its PAC did have almost \$432,000 in the bank on March 31, considerably more than it did two years ago at the same time.

The Realtors, in an industry hard hit by the recession, dropped its PAC contributions 16 percent; AT&T's contributions are down 23 percent.

Amid Hill Turmoil, PACs Stand By Incumbents

The Washington Post

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TOP 50 PACS IN DONATIONS

Political action committee donations to congressional candidates from Jan. 1, 1991, through March 31, 1992.

Rank	Name	Contributions	% increase/decrease from 1/89 to 3/31/90
1.	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	\$1,366,720	55
2.	Association of Trial Lawyers of America	937,550	20
3.	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees	747,283	-0.4
4.	Air Line Pilots Association	722,500	17
5.	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	695,340	25
6.	American Bankers Association	685,971	22
7.	International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers	682,923	11
8.	American Institute of Certified Public Accountants	681,051	31
9.	American Medical Association	677,969	25
10.	United Auto Workers	676,147	7
11.	National Association of Realtors	660,373	-16
12.	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	638,770	-23
13.	National Association of Home Builders	606,432	3
14.	Laborers' International Union	595,250	36
15.	American Federation of Teachers	556,150	29
16.	District 2-Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association	535,850	51
17.	National Association of Life Underwriters	529,700	-11
18.	National Rifle Association	527,442	67
19.	National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare	526,550	n/a
20.	Seafarers' International Union	518,250	32
21.	American Postal Workers Union	505,390	20
22.	National Automobile Dealers Association	503,140	51
23.	Transportation Political Education Committee	486,215	45
24.	American Dental Association	484,785	143
25.	National Education Association	481,725	-22
26.	Auto Dealers and Drivers for Free Trade	474,550	121
27.	Federal Express Corp.	474,475	2
28.	National Association of Retired Federal Employees	468,250	-9
29.	United Food & Commercial Workers	463,293	29
30.	UA Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry	454,500	50
31.	United Parcel Service	452,648	14
32.	National Cable Television Association	431,400	43
33.	RJR Nabisco Inc.	430,800	18
34.	National Association of Letter Carriers	425,877	-52
35.	National Beer Wholesalers	376,081	20
36.	Philip Morris Companies Inc.	368,317	28
37.	General Electric Co.	363,875	n/a
38.	Independent Insurance Agents of America	358,718	-10
39.	United Brotherhood of Carpenters	350,954	-49
40.	United Steelworkers of America	340,950	27
41.	National PAC (pro-Israeli)	331,000	23
42.	Communication Workers of America	330,270	3
43.	National Committee for an Effective Congress	323,700	70
44.	Chicago Mercantile Exchange	322,600	31
45.	GTE Corp.	320,250	66
46.	National Rural Electric Cooperative Association	319,779	15
47.	General Dynamics Corp.	311,491	59
48.	Waste Management Inc.	308,439	24
49.	Human Rights Campaign Fund	307,941	136
50.	Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association	303,000	10

Highest percentage increases in political donations:

1. American Dental Association, up 143%
2. Human Rights Campaign Fund, up 136%
3. Auto Dealers, up 126%
4. Seafarers International Union, up 92%
5. National Committee for an Effective Congress, up 69%

Highest percentage decreases in political donations:

1. Letter Carriers, down 52%
2. United Carpenters, down 49%
3. AT&T, down 23%
4. National Education Association, down 22%
5. National Association of Realtors, down 16%

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission reports

BY JOHN ANDERSON, THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Buying Access to Congress How a Company Pays to 'Tell Our Story'

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

Robert P. Di Nal, a research and engineering vice president of the General Dynamics Corp. space systems division in San Diego, is about as far removed from the Washington political scene as you can get. But an interoffice memo he wrote in April about the need to "buy timely access" to members of Congress with political action committee (PAC) contributions would do any Beltway insider proud.

Di Nal urged his managers to sign up for the PAC, noting how General Dynamics, the nation's No. 2 defense contractor, needed to "tell our story" to members of Congress overseeing the Pentagon, NASA and Energy Department budgets. "Consider it a premium on an insurance policy on our business," he wrote.

"Access to these people is not theoretically bought," Di Nal wrote in his April 13 memo. "But if you want to see them in a timely manner, it is expected for us to make a contribution to their campaign funds." He cautioned that "even if you buy timely access to a congressman, this doesn't mean he will vote the way you want him to vote, but at least our position will be considered."

The engineer called the PAC "merely a bank account . . . that

provides these access funds." He added that most companies have them, they aren't illegal or unethical and General Dynamics's PAC supports "anyone who supports our business goals."

Di Nal did not return a reporter's phone call. John DeBlanc, a General Dynamics spokesman in San Diego, said Di Nal was simply "a guy who back in the spring, when people were thinking politically, had a well-intentioned idea to get his staff to contribute to the PAC. Perhaps he chose words that perhaps got his thoughts muddled." DeBlanc said that Di Nal's memo wasn't approved by superiors and that it isn't General Dynamics PAC policy to buy access.

General Dynamics, which builds tanks, submarines, jet fighters as well as military and commercial space boosters, is competing with other Pentagon suppliers over a shrinking budget in the post-Cold War era. Its PAC donations have increased accordingly. In the 1990 election cycle it gave about \$370,000 to congressional candidates; it is well on the way to exceeding that total in this two-year cycle.

Seven senators and 13 House members, all incumbents, have received at least \$5,000 from the General Dynamics PAC so far. It gave one, Rep. John P. Murtha (D-Pa.), chairman of the appropriations subcommittee in charge of the Pentagon budget, the maximum \$10,000.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date: 13-Apr-1992 08:52am PST
From: Robert P. Di Nal - SS/MS
TO: ALL
Dept: 830-2
Tel No: 619-573-8365

TO: See Below

Subject: Political Action Committee (PAC)

Background

It is very important for us to have our views heard by congressmen, senators and staffers within the government. Without the chance to tell our story on a wide range of issues, we cannot influence the decisions made. We have a broad range of customers: Air Force, DOE, NASA, DOE, etc., so there are many committees and people that need to hear our story.

Access to these people is not theoretically bought, but if you want to see them in a timely manner, it is expected for us to make a contribution to their campaign funds. Also, access is obtained at fund raising breakfasts, luncheons, etc. Even if you buy timely access to a congressman, this doesn't mean he will vote the way you want him to vote, but at least our position will be considered.

Corporations cannot provide these funds by law, but their employees can. The PAC is merely a bank account funded by salaried employees that provides these "access" funds. Most companies have them. They are not illegal or unethical.

The PAC has no political party preference, they support anyone who supports our business goals.

Space Systems does not contribute enough to cover the expenditures that are required because of our diverse customer base. We need to do better. We can't expect Fort Worth to continue to pay our bills.

Action Requested

Contribute: Consider it a premium on an insurance policy on our business. If we get a broad base of contributions, the tax on any of us doesn't have to be large. Let us in management take the lead on this very important issue. You are well aware of the importance of getting our positions heard. This is a totally voluntary program, but if we get the facts out, I know people will respond. Please educate your employees (salaried) and solicit their financial support. You directors will be getting the sign-up forms. Please support this effort.

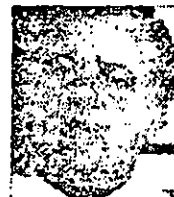
Scb

LAWMAKERS SUPPORTED BY GENERAL DYNAMICS

SENATE



Sen.
Christopher J.
Dodd
(D-Conn.)



Sen.
Robert W.
Kasten
(R-Wis.)

	State	Party	Contribution
Christopher J. Dodd	Conn.	D	\$8,000
Robert W. Kasten Jr.	Wis.	R	\$7,000
Christopher S. Bond	Mo.	R	\$6,000
Ernest F. Hollings	S.C.	D	\$5,700
John Glenn	Ohio	D	\$5,278
Daniel K. Inouye	Hawaii	D	\$5,000
Frank H. Murkowski	Alaska	R	\$5,000

HOUSE



Rep.
John P. Murtha
(D-Pa.)



Rep.
Martin
Frost
(D-Tex.)

	State	Party	Contribution
John P. Murtha	Pa.	D	\$10,000
Martin Frost	Tex.	D	\$7,500
Dennis M. Hertel	Mich.	D	\$7,282
Les Aspin	Wis.	D	\$7,000
Randall "Duke" Cunningham	Calif.	R	\$6,950
Pete Geren	Tex.	D	\$6,876
Joe Barton	Tex.	R	\$5,500
Bill Lowery	Calif.	R	\$5,500
Beverly B. Byron	Md.	D	\$5,000
Chet Edwards	Tex.	D	\$5,000
Jerry Lewis	Calif.	R	\$5,000
Dan Rostenkowski	Ill.	D	\$5,000
Charles Wilson	Tex.	D	\$5,000

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission. Figures through April 1992.

THE WASHINGTON POST

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The Indigestible Menu

TransAfrica Gala Turns Grim on Haiti and Race

By Mary Ann French
Washington Post Staff Writer

It wasn't like it used to be. But then, the times are different. There's no newly released Mandela to celebrate, no African American running for president, no victorious congressional battles to impose sanctions on racist regimes.

There were few boasts of black political power at TransAfrica's 15th annual dinner Saturday. Instead, there was a plea from the mystical priest and deposed Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to African Americans to help restore democra-



BY ANDRE CHUNG — THE WASHINGTON POST

In a lighter moment, Jesse Jackson embraces Jean-Bertrand Aristide at the dinner.

cy to his country and return him to its helm.

"Be our sisters and brothers," he besought supporters of the group that lobbies for Africa and the Caribbean. "Grant us your solidarity in the

African way . . . the same way you mobilized opposition to South Africa."

And there was TransAfrica Executive Director Randall Robinson

See DINNER, C4, Col. 1

TransAfrica's Plea for Haiti

DINNER, From C1

coming right out with the plain and simple of it that seems to have stunned so many black Americans.

"George Bush tells us that race is not the issue," Robinson began calmly. "From 1983 to 1990, American Coast Guard cutters interdicted on the international seas 22,940 Haitians. And of that number, in those seven years, we allowed to apply for asylum 11. Between the fall of Saigon in 1975 and the collapse of the Soviet empire in November 1991, we have given safe haven in this country to 1 million Asians, 250,000 Soviets, 100,000 Eastern Europeans. . . . We have accepted 70 percent of the Soviets who applied, less than 1 percent of the Haitians."

"If race is not the issue, Mr. Bush," he thundered, "please tell us what is?"

The times are different, the times are bad. In unexpected ways.

The dinner's take was not affected by the economy. There were more people than last year—upward of 1,000 total—willing to pay at least \$175 of nondeductible funds to support TransAfrica. But lots of them didn't attend. The ballroom was sprinkled with ghost tables that

led several professionals to suspect that their colleagues have deemed the lobby group to be powerful but socially passe, the dinner worthy of financial support but written out of ritual.

Among those who did choose to dine, one after another, prominent and not, recited a litany of woes, an onslaught of black American afflictions that they said leave many with little emotional margin for other nations.

Author Alice Walker was there to accept the organization's International Literary Award and to speak out against female circumcision, which she said affects women and girls in 20 African countries, as well as in Asia and the Middle East. Civil rights activist Charles E. Cobb was awarded the African Freedom Award. Keondra D. Joyner, a student at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School and aspiring physician, won the Robeson Scholarship Award.

There was a distinct scarcity of members of Congress and fewer ambassadors than in years past. The dinner has traditionally been more about substance than style, but even so, one businessman who goes every year said the mood was depressed, subdued. And before the evening

ended, many had carefully constructed a contempt for U.S. policies they consider inhumane toward Haitians and insulting to them as black Americans.

William Blakey, a lawyer who represents the United Negro College Fund, said: "When your president is so blatant, or thinks somebody is too stupid to know the answer to Randall's question, for someone to have the unmitigated gall to stand up and say race is not the issue—that's pretty heavy. . . . You say you're a Cuban; they let you in. What are Cubans running away from? Castro ain't killing nobody. They're hungry, but he's not killing anybody."

It's the "international Willie Horton of the year," Jesse Jackson said of Bush's new policy of turning back all Haitian refugees without exception.

"It's so outrageous, it's such a rejection of African Americans, that people feel very frustrated and disempowered," said Sylvia Hill, a professor at the University of the District of Columbia.

Weekend talk of U.S. plans to land an international peace-keeping force in Haiti was soft-pedaled by Jamaican Ambassador Richard Bernal. "It's not an entirely new idea," he said. "There is no movement in the



Exiled Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, center, with TransAfrica Executive Director Randall Robinson, left, and the NAACP's Wade Henderson.

OAS toward military intervention at this time. Everyone is still trying to pursue peaceful negotiations."

In the center of each table were white index cards for those wishing to sign up for protest duty. "History will not forgive us if we allow this egregious human rights violation to pass unanswered by the children of Africa in America," Robinson said. He called the name of one who was

"murdered by the military" after being repatriated to Haiti and told of thousands of children who fled across the border to the Dominican Republic, where they are "held as slaves, cutting sugar cane."

"African Americans must raise our level of protest," Robinson said, inviting people to write Op-Ed pieces, lobby Congress, march on the White House and be arrested by

the thousands, if need be, as were demonstrators against South Africa.

Realtor Rosa Jones Hawes was one of the few who snapped up cards; she jotted down her Dayton, Ohio, address, saying she would "unquestionably" go to jail for Haiti. "We don't speak up enough," she said. "So many of us think our government knows more than we do."

Others, however, seemed to lack a sense of urgency as they drifted away from the dinner. Let's face it, said one, Aristide is never going to be president of anything again. What about the infamous "necklace" speech he gave that left some with the impression he supports vigilante violence? asked another.

Robinson addressed that question at the annual foreign policy conference that the nonprofit educational arm of TransAfrica held Friday. "Left, right, black, white," he said, "on the question of human rights violations there is one yardstick by which we judge. . . . If anyone documented to me a single human rights abuse, a torture or killing attributed to Aristide, he would not have been the dinner speaker. It would be out of the question."

The conference was titled "After the Cold War: Will the U.S. Abandon Africa and the Caribbean?" One of its four panels was on "U.S. Refugee Policy." The State Department official who was supposed to sit on the panel was a no-show.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

President Affirms Biodiversity Stance

Citing Jobs, Bush Firmly Rejects Treaty

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush, ending a weekend meeting with British Prime Minister John Major, said yesterday he would not budge in his refusal to join the leaders of most nations in signing a biodiversity treaty at the Earth Summit later this week.

"I'm not going to change," he said.

Although Britain had some problems with the financial conditions imposed by the treaty, which is aimed at preserving the diversity of plant and animal life worldwide, Major said he believed most concerns could be solved. The United States stands virtually alone in rejecting the treaty, primarily because the administration wants to protect the U.S. biotechnology industry, which it feels would be hurt by some technology transfer requirements, and is unwilling to make "open-ended" financial commitments to help poorer nations protect their animal and plant life.

Bush and Major made their comments about the Earth Summit, which is being held in Rio de Janeiro, during a news conference concluding two days of talks at the presidential retreat at Camp David. The two also pledged to maintain strong sanctions against Yugoslavia for now as the only possible way to help end the civil war there.

Concerning Rio, Bush said the biodiversity treaty demands outlays that could exceed U.S. capabilities and he would not make a commitment the United States was unable to keep. "We do not have an open pocketbook," he said.

The United States announced last week that it would not sign the treaty, one of two major accords to be signed in Rio. The signing nations will pledge to preserve the diversity of their native species. It would require richer nations to give financial and other assistance to the poorer ones to help them preserve their species.

The United States objects to treaty language giving poorer nations some special access to biotechnology developments in the industrialized nations. Despite efforts by senior administration officials, led by Environmental Protection Agency administrator William K. Reilly, to work out a compromise, the White House has been unmoved in the last week in the face of strenuous criticism by other nations. "I have nothing to be apologetic for. I also have to be the one at this conference that is responsible for jobs and people being at work," Bush said.

Major leaves for the Rio conference on Tuesday and Bush arrives there Thursday night for a short stay. The president said his message in Rio would be that the United States is committed to the environment.

See PRESIDENT, A16, Col. 5

PRESIDENT, From A1

The United States will be a leader in protecting the world's forests to maintain biodiversity. The White House announced last week it would more than double its aid to poorer countries to help them preserve their forests and called on other industrialized countries to do the same.

"We think that a good forestry program will take care of a lot of the ... biodiversity needs," Bush said. "And so though I will not sign that treaty as it sits on the table now, we will continue to be the leader, or a leader, in terms of forests and in terms of environmental technology."

The president also reacted angrily to last week's leak to the New York Times of a Reilly memo outlining possible compromises on the treaty that the White House rejected. Bush said he would fire the government worker who leaked the memo if he could find him. "Help me find him," Bush told reporters, "He'll be gainfully unemployed."

On Yugoslavia, Bush and Major both said they would not consider further action to stop the fighting until the week-old United Nations sanctions have more time to work.

Bush said world leaders have a "wide array of options" on the humanitarian concerns—such as providing food and medicine to the thousands under siege and the more than one million homeless in Bosnia. "We didn't settle on any new course of action," Bush said.

Major said for the short term, "We stick with the sanctions and we make them tough."

The president was again pressed,



Bush and Major arrive in golf cart for the Camp David news conference.

as he has been frequently in the last two weeks, to discuss the rising stature of independent presidential candidate Ross Perot and what he intends to do to improve his deteriorated political position. On Perot, Bush said, "I cannot tell a lie. His name came up" in the discussions with Major, who survived lagging polls to win a come-from-behind victory for the Conservative Party in the British elections this year.

Bush said Major gave him "a lot of good advice. Just stay with it." Bush later said he told Major, "I feel confident of winning. And I do better when I'm fighting. I do better when I'm coming from behind."

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992



WILLIAM K. REILLY
... says he was "undercut"

'Outsider' EPA Chief Being Tested

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 7—As the consummate outsider, William K. Reilly is undergoing a test of agility at the U.N. Earth Summit. Chosen to lead the U.S. delegation here, he has had to represent pro-business positions of the Bush administration that he often opposes in his job as chief of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

But in doing the administration's diplomatic bidding last week, Reilly was cast as the outsider again—this time, not by his own choosing. A confidential cable that he sent to the White House was leaked to the press in Washington, spotlighting his failure to reverse U.S. opposition to a forest biodiversity treaty.

The incident infuriated Reilly and underlined the deep divisions within the administration over environmental policy. Reilly said last night that the leak was an effort by conservatives in the White House to "undercut" him and the summit. Although he vented his anger in telephone calls to President Bush and domestic policy counselor Clayton Yeutter, Reilly said, he never considered quitting because "I don't want to give my adversaries the satisfaction."

See REILLY, A18, Col. 1

'Outsider' EPA Chief Learns Role's Downside

REILLY, From A1

In Washington's folkways, the leak cost Reilly points in political one-upmanship. But in diplomatic circles here, the main casualty was U.S. prestige. Less than a week before Bush is scheduled to arrive, he is being accused of obstructing primary goals of the summit—treaties on biodiversity and global warming.

"People are wondering what the hell is going on in Washington," said Jamsheed Marker, Pakistan's ambassador to the United Nations. "The perception of the U.S. is not one of leadership, but that of blocking" the summit's progress.

A senior European official said the leak "confirms what many people have suspected—that Bill Reilly is a fig leaf for a not very committed government."

Reilly is accustomed to being the odd man out. In a Republican administration inherently suspicious of business regulations, he has spent the past 3½ years battling almost single-handedly for environmental causes. A tough in-fighter, he gets support wherever he can, publicizing reports to highlight problems or lining up GOP politicians and even foreign leaders to lobby the president.

Most of Reilly's victories came early in his tenure. Holding the president to campaign promises, he helped to strengthen clean air laws and accelerate the phaseout of ozone-depleting chemicals. But each success was hard-won and sharpened his rivalry with conservative White House aides who consider him self-serving and too liberal.

Reilly knew the risks of leading the U.S. delegation here. The White House is swept up in an anti-regulatory crusade that, officials say, is inspired by fears of political fallout from the recession and by the early primary success of GOP challenger Patrick J. Buchanan. Buchanan called on Bush to boycott the summit, and the president delayed his travel plans until U.S. negotiators managed to water down the treaty on global warming controls.

"If Rio turns out to be a complete fiasco, there are lots of people at the

White House who would love to blame Reilly for leading the president down the wrong path," an administration official said.

But Reilly was determined to go. The first professional conservationist to head the EPA—he was president of the World Wildlife Federation—he is forced to balance his environmental ideals against his loyalty to a president whom he considers a friend, mentor and kindred soul, albeit a quiet one. "I understand my role," he said. "I am the president's man."

Reilly, 53, also is a man at home in the diplomatic world. Dapper, well-traveled and fluent in four languages, the Yale-educated lawyer is the rare celebrity among government officials, and was invited to dine with the king of Sweden and Bianca Jagger on this trip.

That image is cause for disdain by political foes, who consider Reilly elitist and shallow. Budget director Richard G. Darman once called him a "global rock star." But to the diplomats he meets increasingly as international environmental issues rise to the fore, his easy manner is seen as a negotiating asset.

In Rio, Reilly sees his mission as "damage control," a U.S. official said. Washington was isolated even before the summit opened. The weekend before, the White House decided not to sign the biodiversity treaty to preserve plants and wildlife. Only the United States, among industrialized nations, had opposed scheduled limits on "greenhouse" gases a month earlier, creating major loopholes in the other main treaty of the conference.

"Getting down here and finding the degree of anger and hostility was pretty discouraging," Reilly said in an interview.

Meeting with Brazilian hosts the day of his arrival, Reilly agreed to let them try to work out compromises on biodiversity in the hope of gaining U.S. approval in time for the treaty's unveiling Friday. It was a diplomatic gamble for Brazil, which wants to make the summit as successful as possible but not be seen as a pawn of the United States.

Reilly gave the Brazilians a list of changes he considered necessary for

The Washington Post

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

EPA Administrator William Reilly takes a ride through Rio's botanical gardens.

U.S. concurrence. He cabled the suggested items to Yeutter for clearance Wednesday, reporting the role of the Brazilians.

According to administration sources in Washington, Yeutter rejected the last-minute bid Thursday after consulting with White House counsel C. Boyden Gray III and the staff of Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness, a group set up to undo onerous business regulation. The council had opposed the treaty while it was being negotiated.

By Friday, the confidential cable had been leaked to the New York Times. When a reporter presented a copy to Reilly and sought comment, the usually unflappable EPA chief angrily ended the interview.

"I was furious," Reilly recalled. "I was personally embarrassed just to be handed the goddamn thing. For a government like Brazil to help us was a major advance, and the leak of that memo just blew it away. It compromises our policy here and sows distrust among your counterparts."

"It was an obvious effort to undercut the treaty, me personally and the whole summit," he said.

To many diplomats, however, greater damage was done to the image of Bush, whose perceived ambivalence toward the summit is blamed for encouraging the person who leaked the memo.

"There needs to be some positive statement by the U.S. before Bush arrives, or he will not receive an enthusiastic reception," said Ros Kelly, Australia's environment minister and top negotiator here.

To American observers here, the flap was an unfortunate spillover of domestic politics. "If you want to show you have control over your EPA administrator and can knock him down to size, maybe you're accomplishing something politically," said Scott Hajost, international counsel of the Environmental Defense Fund. "But from an international point of view, you're further tarnishing the president and the U.S. image."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

The Monday Interview

Dreyfuss On Politics

The Active Actor, In Yet Another Role

Among the many dimensions Richard Dreyfuss has shown us since he burst onto the scene with "American Graffiti" in 1973, the least discussed has been his political side. A few years ago, the Oscar-winning actor hired an aide to advise him on domestic and foreign policy. He actively supports Bill Clinton, founded L.A. Works to link entertainment industry volunteers with needy communities, speaks frequently in public forums on the need for a Mideast peace and even created a newsletter (*For the Record*) translating highlights from Israeli political news coverage. At 44, he is currently starring in "Death and the Maiden" on Broadway. He spoke to us over many glasses of iced coffee at the Madison Hotel.

What are your politics?

Slightly left-wing Social Democrat. There's a great part of me that's probably center and another part of me that's left.

What do you think of George Bush?

George Bush is a terrible president. He's inactive and unimaginative. His idea of domestic—well, I don't know what his idea of domestic policy is. His self-proclaimed expertise in foreign policy so far has consisted of invading two nations for no reason whatsoever.

What about Ross Perot?

The only thing we know about Ross Perot is our own frustrations and anxiety. Right now, he's just a metaphor.

And Jerry Brown?

I think he's incomplete as a thinker or as a speaker.

You've separated from your wife, yet you're wearing your wedding ring.

I'm wearing my character's wedding ring. It's just easier to keep it on rather than take it off and put it on every day because I'd lose it, so I just keep it on.

How do you plan to involve yourself in the process during this election cycle?



BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN THE WASHINGTON POST

Dreyfuss on Dreyfuss: An "active citizen" with presidential opinions.

What I'd really like to do is become, of course, the chief of staff of the next president of the United States, but I think that position might be filled. What I am is an active citizen who happens to have access to the media.

Were you concerned about Clinton's prospects when stories about his personal life and draft status emerged?

I don't care about extramarital affairs. There have been presidents of enormous integrity who are idiotic, and there were presidents of enormous value who had affairs at the drop of a hat.

The draft is a joke issue. You're either going to disqualify everyone born between 1935 and 1950 or you're going to accept the fact that a generation had a cultural experience that included marijuana etc. I don't think it impairs their character. I think it improves it.

Have you ever considered elective office for yourself?

I couldn't ask people for money. Or to figure out which of my beliefs I was allowed to articulate and which I wasn't. No thanks, that's not for me.

The Washington Post

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Will She or Won't She?

■ Clinton commotion-maker Gennifer Flowers abruptly canceled her appearance on "Donahue" last Wednesday, 10 days after she invited herself on the show to talk further about her alleged 12-year affair with apparent Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, and to provide more tapes of their conversations.

Five days before the taping, Flowers called "Donahue" producers to say she couldn't do the show, claiming illness. But before the conversation was over, she changed her mind again. Not long after, her agent telephoned the producers and canceled again. "Donahue" execs called her and left a message on her answering machine. The second time they called, the machine had been turned off. The third time, the phone line was disconnected.

A "Donahue" spokeswoman said that this kind of toying "does not happen," that guests have "the utmost respect" for Phil. But she added that if Flowers wanted to try again, they'd book her. In a New York minute.



Flowers:
"Donahue"
no-show.

WE'VE HEARD THAT

■ In an unusual move, Random House is offering Robert Ludlum's "Road to Omaha" to bookstores at bargain basement prices only a few months after its release. The publisher explains the move, which will result in a discount of as much as 50 percent of list price, as a "Father's Day promotion." But sales to date have reportedly not kept up with the mammoth printing and warehouses are bulging with the book.

■ The Congressional Arts Caucus has snared Tom Cruise and wife Nicole Kidman to present awards to the winners of its 11th annual high school art competition next week at the Capitol.



An optimistic Sen. Joe Biden soft-petals Rep. Barbara Boxer, left.

■ Senate Judiciary Chairman Joe Biden hand-delivered a dozen red roses to California Senate Democratic primary winner Rep. Barbara Boxer in the House Dining Room Thursday, with a note saying "Welcome to the Senate Judiciary Committee!" Now, that's one optimistic Democrat.

■ When Jesse Jackson met with Ross Perot a few weeks back he offered the presidential wannabe some reading material: "Savage Inequalities," by Jonathan Kozol, and "America: What Went Wrong," by Donald Barlett and James Steele. But the Texan shouldn't read too much into the largess: Jackson says he can't imagine a scenario where he wouldn't support the Democratic nominee.

■ Actress Liv Ullmann, co-founder of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, will host a day-long Capitol Hill symposium on the subject today.

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



To Protect Bush, U.N. Will Limit Access to Talks

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 7 — Fearful demonstrations against President Bush, the United Nations has drawn up plans to close the Earth Summit conference center to representatives of private environmental groups and to sharply reduce credentials for official delegations, United Nations officials said today.

Starting Thursday, the day before President Bush and as many as 110 heads of state and government are to meet here, a new credential system will bar virtually all private sector environmentalists from the center and will limit official missions to four delegates from each country, a United Nations official who attended an emergency security meeting on Friday said. The official said he expected that press credentials would also be restricted. United Nations credentials have been issued to about 1,500 environmentalists and to about 5,000 journalists.

150 Protest U.S. Policy

Today, about 150 Americans marched down Copacabana Beach in the first public protest here against the Bush Administration's environmental policies.

"George Bush, you are embarrassing us," read one banner raised by American environmentalists protesting the President's announced refusal to sign a treaty to protect plants and animals.

Chip Barber, one of the protest or-

ganizers, said, "We are here to show Brazilians that we are ashamed that our country is acting like a ball and chain at the Earth Summit."

The anti-Bush mood in Rio was summed up Friday by a front-page headline in an English language newspaper here: "U.S. Singled Out as Eco Bad Guy."

Some of the Americans here say the Bush-bashing is not justified.

Leftist Ties Seen

Senator Larry Pressler, Republican of South Dakota, complained today that the Earth Summit reminded him of "a meeting of the international left."

"I don't think people give the U.S. proper credit on environmental protection," he said.

Hoping to ease American "isolation" at the Earth Summit, Laurens Jan Brinkhorst, a spokesman for the European Community, cautioned Saturday at a press conference: "We don't want a slugging match of everybody against the United States."

There were new reports today that the United States would continue its a tough approach to a second treaty to be signed here, one to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide, methane and other gases believed capable of warming the earth's temperature.

During treaty talks in April and May, the United States succeeded in removing from the treaty any targets or timetables for the reduction of gases. The United States has said that it opposes timetables, arguing that they could be costly and could hurt economic activity.

Last week, three European countries — Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands — started an initiative to commit signers to stabilize emissions immediately. In a separate move, Germany and other European nations are working to gain support for the rapid adoption of a treaty protocol to impose targets and timetables.

Fighting back, the United States sent a "threatening" letter to the Austrian Government in Vienna last week, according to one Austrian delegate here.

He declined to give details of the letter.

In addition, William K. Reilly, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, said here over the weekend that the United States will move to block the German initiative.

A Different U.S. View

Senator Albert Gore, a Tennessee Democrat who is leading a Congressional delegation here, said today, "I find it incomprehensible that we would object to other countries declaring that they want to meet targets and timetables."

More dissatisfaction with the Earth Summit came today from a group called Earth Parliament, a congress representing 220 groups from around the globe.

"At this moment governments of the

rich nations are discussing how to exert even more control over the less favored nations," read a statement adopted by the assembly. "In doing so, they continue to ignore our unique knowledge and technical skill which have been perfected over millennia in our special relationship with the ecosystems which we inhabit."

But the relationship of one Brazilian Indian to his environment caused environmentalists to wince today.

Mário Juruna, a 49-year-old member of the Xavante ethnic group, displayed for sale at the Global Forum, an environmental fair here, the skin of a spotted jaguar, an endangered species.

"When Indians are free, we are going to sell snakes, caymans, and jaguars," Mr. Juruna, said to the dismay of assembled naturalists.

The New York Times

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BUSH WOULD OUST RIO MEMO'S LEAKER

Calls Disclosure of Advice on Ecology Treaty 'Insidious'

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7 — President Bush said today that he would like to dismiss the official who made public a confidential memo suggesting revisions that might reverse the American position on an international treaty to protect plants and animals.

"Help me find him," the President said at a news conference at Camp David, Md. "He'd be gainfully unemployed."

Mr. Bush and his aides were furious at the disclosure by an unidentified official last week of a confidential memorandum from William K. Reilly, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, who said the United States should agree to what he called "minor modifications" of the treaty being considered at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro to alleviate international criticism of Washington's refusal to sign the document.

Hours after Mr. Reilly proposed the changes, the White House chief of staff, Samuel K. Skinner, and the President's domestic policy coordinator, Clayton Yeutter, rejected the idea.

Mr. Bush spoke at a news conference at Camp David, the Presidential retreat in the Catoctin Mountains, where he spent the weekend with Prime Minister John Major of Britain. Although Britain and Japan indicated on Friday that they would sign the agreement, known as the bio-diversity treaty, Mr. Major today avoided criticizing Mr. Bush for refusing to go along.

Britain's Problems 'Different'

"We all have different problems with the bio-diversity convention, on the levels of technology transfer, on the protection of intellectual property," Mr. Major said, adding that Britain's problems were "different than those of the United States."

Mr. Bush said Mr. Reilly had been doing his job when he proposed the changes in a confidential memo. But referring to an article published Friday in The New York Times, Mr. Bush said, "For someone, who may or not have been opposed to the document, to the treaty, or any changes, to leak it, it's insidious."

Although Mr. Bush acknowledged that there was no issue of national security at stake, he added: "I'd like to find the leaker, and I'd like to see the leaker fired — fired. Fired would be all right. No, but the reason is, it's very difficult to conduct government if somebody, in his or her infinite wisdom, can shape the wisdom by leaking documents."

Mr. Bush also said the political, military and ethnic upheavals sweeping Eastern Europe after the collapse of Communism were "growing pains."

"The new world order is not facing one common objective: an aggressive international Communism," Mr. Bush said.

"Nobody said that the emergence of freedom would be easy," he said, adding that of the countries now in the grip of political and ethnic unrest, "I don't know that any one of them wants to now turn its back on democracy."

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Missile Defense Traps

The Bush Administration may be brain dead on domestic policy. But it is doing a clever job of setting mini-Star Wars traps for Russia, NATO allies and Congress. And the White House is about to spring those traps.

President Bush will meet with an ambivalent President Yeltsin next week and try to extract more leeway from the 1972 treaty restricting missile defenses. The Pentagon is busily luring wary allies with lucrative contracts. Key Congressional Democrats, playing their own tricky game, are being sucked into the very traps they are trying to avoid.

Maybe, as the Pentagon desires, the U.S. one day will need and be able to develop a mini-Star Wars system of space-based sensors guiding rockets to thwart small missile attacks. Or maybe, as Senator Sam Nunn and Representative Les Aspin say, the U.S. can and should buy an Earth Wars system of ground-based missiles to insure against such threats.

But the time to make such commitments is not now — neither for a mini-Star Wars system with a possible \$100 billion price tag nor for an Earth Wars system at about \$40 billion. All this would be on top of the \$30 billion already spent on missile defenses in the 10 years since President Rea-

Perhaps brain
dead on domestic
issues, Bush
still schemes
on Star Wars.

gan's famous Star Wars speech.

Vigorous research and development, yes. But not the \$5.4 billion requested by the Pentagon or the \$4.3 billion just approved by the House for next year alone. Here is why:

The need for defenses is fuzzy and theoretical. The Pentagon itself knows better than to worry about accidental Russian missile launches. Those missiles are under the tightest lock and key. As for renegade Russian commanders, Robert Gates, the Director of Central Intelligence, has said the experts "do not believe there is a concern about an unauthorized launch." He has also testified that no would-be nuclear countries, like Iraq, will be able to threaten the U.S. with missiles "for at least another decade." As for an attack by terrorists, it is hard to figure out why they would choose cumbersome missiles when suitcases would do.

A15

Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

Nor is it at all clear that the U.S. now possesses the technology to deploy an effective Earth Wars system by 1997, as Mr. Nunn proposes. A senior Pentagon official recently wrote a memo arguing that meeting that target would lead to enormous waste. He recommended waiting until 2003, and the Pentagon announced Friday a delay until 1998. Mini-Star Wars technology is even more remote, though the Pentagon will not concede this.

Administration officials are determined to protect the future of mini-Star Wars beyond Mr. Bush. To this end, they seized the idea of seducing Moscow into a joint venture. They offered technological goodies. They conjured up nightmares of nuclear attacks by former Soviet republics. Never mind that these neighbors have agreed to abandon nuclear capabilities.

Mr. Yeltsin seems ambivalent. He does not want to be left out of the advanced-technology game and see Russian nuclear punch neutralized. Yet he has no money for such costly common causes.

NATO allies are also in a quandary. Britain and France still want new offensive missiles in order to remain nuclear powers. And if the U.S. gives the promise of an impenetrable shield to Russia, British and French parliaments would never approve money for ineffectual missiles. Yet, these allies cannot oppose missile defenses outright and thus jeopardize industrial links to new U.S. technology.

Senator Nunn's predicament is no less severe. He desperately favors Earth Wars as insurance against accidents and future Iraqs. But most Democrats will not support him. So he has had to turn to Republicans, which has meant endorsing their dubious demands to develop mini-Star Wars.

Mr. Aspin seems mostly on the right track. He would move toward Earth Wars deployments but only when and as the technology proved reliable. And while he backs space-based sensors, he opposes space-based rockets.

Even if the Administration traps Russia and NATO into supporting these larger missile defense schemes, Congress will be the ultimate decider. Mr. Nunn and Mr. Aspin owe it to their good sense and their country to scrub again the entire rationale for early deployments. By the time they finish spending more tens of billions to protect America against theoretical nuclear attacks, there will not be much worth saving. □

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Bush and Perot Battle to Be Truer Texan

By MAUREEN DOWD
Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, June 5 — Spurs Tavern, a local beer joint or "ice house," as it is known, is a manly place. The walls are covered with skulls and horns and hides of Texas steers. Confederate flags hang from the ceiling. The pool tables are crowded and Merle Haggard spits out his songs from the juke box.

It is proper etiquette to leer at waitresses and drink beer straight from the bottle. And the ladies' room is filled with pictures of John Wayne aiming rifles.

It seems a suitable place to ask the jingoistic question: What will happen when two Texans have a Presidential shootout?

The L.B.J. Image

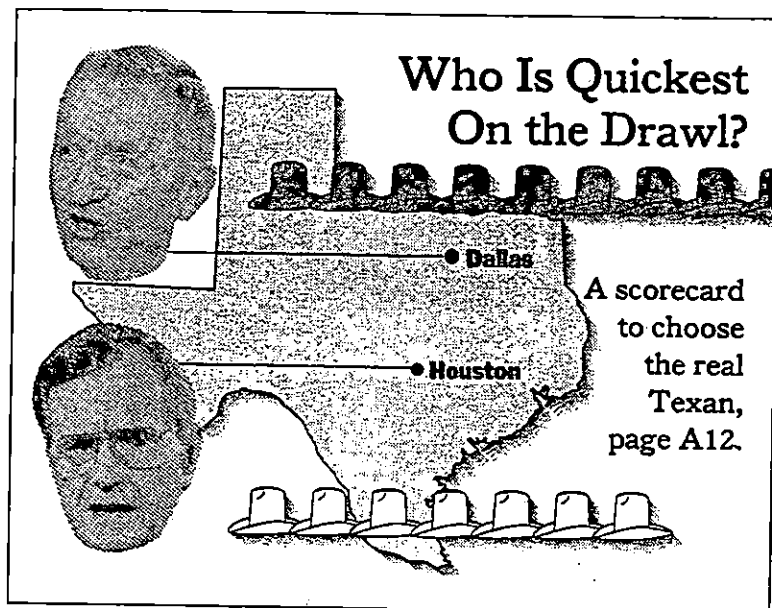
"Neither one of them seems like much of a Texan," said Floyd Karonka, the 56-year-old owner of F and M Meat Processor's, a concern that makes prize-winning fajitas. "Bush, he belongs up in Maryland or Maine or someplace. Perot, he talks like one and acts like one, but the man came up so sudden. I guess I look at old President Johnson as more like a real Texan, the

way he slung the old words around."

Mr. Karonka may not realize it yet, but plenty of old words are going to be slung around this state and this country before the Dallas computer puncher and the Kennebunkport cowboy are finished.

Henry Ross Perot is George Herbert Walker Bush's most hellacious nightmare: a real Texan

Who Is Quickest On the Draw?



with billions of dollars and a barbed-wire style, swaggering around bragging that he will kick the "sissies" out of Washington and that he does not need to prove his manhood by going to war.

Strategically, it is a disaster for the White House, insuring a race with a rattlesnake bite in a year

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

The 1992 Campaign

"You have got to prove your manhood down here whether you're a man or a woman, let me tell you." ANN W. RICHARDS

The Texans

Bush and Perot Vie for Right of Being Real Representative of Lone Star State

Continued From Page A1

when Mr. Bush had hoped he could play the statesman. Geographical, it is also a disaster, with Mr. Perot leading in polls in the state where Mr. Bush claims his legal residence.

"The Bush people in Texas are just apologetic," said John C. White, the Washington lobbyist and former Democratic Party chief who hails from Texas. "We've got a billion-dollar bubble here to deal with, and no one has figured out how to handle this. A lot of the time in Texas, we confuse money with intelligence. And that gets us in a lot of trouble."

Gov. Ann W. Richards, a Democrat, predicts it will not be pretty. They will try to out-tough each other," she said. "You have got to prove your manhood down here whether you're a man or a woman, let me tell you."

Mark White, a Democrat and former Governor, agrees: "It's going to be these two guys putting knives in their teeth — no quarter, nuclear war. It will make the Alamo seem like a picnic."

It became clear last week that the campaign is going to have all the elements of a Texas barroom brawl. After Martin Quasle charged that Mr. Perot was trying to buy the election, and Mr. Perot responded with a one straight out of the Western classic "High Noon": "I find it fascinating that grown men are hiding behind their women. If they have anything to say, why don't they step out front and say it themselves? If they want to get out of the ring, come on in the ring. — He'll have it and get it on."

The Dallas tycoon is clearly trying to paint himself as the true heir to Ronald Reagan's Western myth, an outsider with simple ideas who can come Dodge. As he likes to say: "It's time to take out the trash and clean up the stable."

An athletic 6 foot 2 inches tall, the 45-year-old President has the lanky sin of a Texan, compared with the slim bearing of the 5-foot 6-inch, 1-year-old Perot.

But when George Bush started his career in Houston politics more than two decades ago, there was a lot of optimism. He had Eastern money backing his West Texas oil business. He had campaign contributors who were members of the Council of Foreign Relations, which Mr. Bush once argued that some voters thought of as the One World tool of the Communists.

Tale of the Tape, Texas Style

Here is the way Ross Perot and George Bush are flin' to stack up on some traits important in the Lone Star State, with arbitrary but good-natured scoring in cowboy hats by Maureen Dowd.

ROSS PEROT	GEORGE BUSH
Got his nose broken twice breaking horses for his father.	Won tennis doubles championship with James Baker at the Houston Country Club 35 years ago.
Complained about cussing and coarseness in the Navy.	Cusses and tells bawdy jokes, but blushes when he does it.
Denies reports that he does not care for country music.	Keeps his bedroom radio tuned to country music.
Says psychiatry is close to faith healing; doesn't put stock in it.	Does not like to "get on the couch."
Loves patriotic imagery, military adventures, and owns a copy of the Magna Carta.	Shot down by the Japanese as a Navy pilot and dramatic rescue was filmed.
Eats at Dickey's Barbecue in Dallas but orders the vegetable plate.	Eats at Mabel's Lobster Claw in Kennebunkport but puts Tabasco sauce on tuna fish sandwiches.
Has three racing boats, one powered by twin jet engines and one a 45-foot cabin cruiser.	Has a cigarette boat that can outrace Secret Service boats.
Owens 20-acre spread outside Dallas, with an indoor pool and gymnasium, tennis courts and a greenhouse.	Owens one eighth of an acre empty lot in Houston.
Has his own Gulfstream jet with a fax machine.	Has a new 747 that can refuel in mid-air and stay aloft for 30 days if need be, but it belongs to the government.
Has collection of Frederic Remington bronzes in office.	Has Yale baseball mitt in desk drawer in Oval Office.
Founded a computer company.	Founded an oil company.
Has strong regional accent and uses phrases like "God fearing men."	Puts on Tex-prep accent for politicking but normally uses phrases like "keep your snorkel above the water line."

a Texan and as soon as he got in there, forsook Texas," he said. "Banks are going under. There's no energy policy. We don't like the debt, the deficit, the scandals, the inaction, the parties or the rhetoric. We don't want any more half-fellow-well-met types from New England."

Appeal to New Texans

George Christian, a former aide to President Johnson who lives in Austin, said he believed that Mr. Perot's real appeal was not with cowboys, but with computer nerds. "The guys who moved here from Michigan and now wear cowboy boots while they run their computers."

"If you scratch a lot of the New Texans," he said, "they look at Perot as a fellow who puts something into the computer and comes out with an answer. He talks their language."

In 1988, Mr. Bush tried to add some flint to a flashy image by playing up his years in the Texas oil business, or "bidness," as the President likes to say. He traveled with country-and-western singers, slipped a twang into his voice and substituted pork rinds for popcorn as his favorite snack.

On his first campaign trip to New Hampshire last winter, the President again began quoting country music lyrics, and saying "fixin' ta" for "about to." And last week, he had a bipartisan barbecue at the White House, wore one of his Western-style shirts and ate baby back ribs with gusto.

More 'Whoopsie Daisy'

But those Ivy-speak exclamations like "whoopsie daisy" and "by golly" still pop up in his conversation, making him seem like a patrician vacationing at a dude ranch.

Mr. Bush grew up in New England in a world of polo players, tennis champions and tournament-level golfers. Mr. Perot grew up as the son of a cotton broker in Texarkana, right on the Arkansas border, who felt that "golf and other 'high-bat' pastimes were cardinal sins," as Todd Mason wrote in the biography, "Perot."

There are still some who joke here that Mr. Bush is a Garci cowboy who eats chicken-fried lobster, and his only spread is a hotel room in Houston and a small empty lot with a magnolia tree on it. Money Magazine reported that when Mr. Bush visited his listed official residence, the Houstonian Hotel, employees unpacked the Bushes' stored box of framed family photographs and put them up around the suite.

But many Texans embraced Mr. Bush because he had the good sense

had gone "seven bubbles off plumb, crazy as a peach-orchard bear."

But he is seen in Texas as a man of action and a patriot, and that goes a long way, combined with his don't-mess-with-me East Texas accent, his burr haircut, his horses and his long-horn steers.

He calls his conversations with Texas barbershop put-downs: He called a newspaper article he did not like "that little trash heap" and ridiculed the Bush campaign chairman in Dallas, Jim Oberweiser, as "fied-wetter," scoffing that "this is a young guy that probably has trouble buying cat food he's so inexperienced."

He says he fell in love with his wife "even though she was a Yankee." He laces folksy Texas sayings into interviews and speeches, including "Figures don't lie but hars sure can figure," or "There's a guy that drowned in a river that was only six inches deep on the average. He found the hole."

'Talks the Talk'

The business guide he used was properly macho: "Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun." And, in "Perot," Mr. Mason wrote that in the mid-1970's, Mr. Perot invited his female executives to lunch and presented them each with a plastic ball and clip, explaining that it was a skinny-dipping clip to hold a swimsuit after shedding it.

Mr. White said that Mr. Perot "talks the talk," the Texas bragadocio you can hear in beer joints and pool halls, which glosses over specifics and contrary opinions.

"You hear people saying, 'If I was just President, by God, this is what I'd do. I'd just get rid of all those people,'" Mr. White said. "Short and simple and sweet, denoting action and not much compromise or consultation."

Jane Ely, a columnist for the Houston Chronicle, wryly noted that "Perot's picturesque sayings and accent seem to get more pronounced the more he's thought about running."

Before he is finished, Mr. Perot may even return to the original Texarkana pronunciation of the family name: PEA-row. He dropped that when he got to the Naval Academy for Pur-ROW, a version that sounded more French, according to Les Minor, the managing editor of the Texarkana Gazette.

His attempt to claim true grit was undercut somewhat by accounts about how he tried to get an early discharge from the Navy because he was too sensitive for military life. He

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U.S. TELLING RUSSIA IT MUST DISMANTLE ITS LARGEST ICBM'S

COLD WAR FEARS ENDURE

Critics Say U.S. Should Instead Seek Bilateral Surrender of All Nuclear Missiles

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7 — In the last few months, the United States and Russia have quietly narrowed their differences over how to make additional cuts in their nuclear arsenals, well beyond those agreed to in the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty.

But the inability to close the remaining gap has led critics of the Bush Administration to say the United States is missing an opportunity to obtain radical reductions in the Russian arsenal because the Administration is too wedded to cold-war strategic theories.

The Administration's negotiating position has been to put a higher priority on getting rid of Russia's remaining long-range nuclear missiles, which would be most effective in a surprise attack against the United States, rather than on getting Russia to get rid of thousands more warheads generally.

U.S.-Russian Talks Monday

In recent weeks, Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev, who will be meeting on this issue on Monday with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, has signaled a willingness to cut the roughly 8,500 warheads allowed by the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty to about 4,700 warheads — as Washington has proposed.

But the deal is being held up in large part because the United States has insisted that those cuts include all of Russia's most powerful SS-18 multiple-warhead intercontinental ballistic missiles, which the Russian military has been resisting.

At the core of the issue is a simple question: What is more important? Locking in Moscow to an agreement to get rid of thousands of additional warheads? Or risking no agreement by insisting that Russia dismantle the missiles most likely to be used in a first strike against the United States?

What Critics Say

The critics of Administration policy say, lock Moscow in now. The Administration, concerned that even with the cold war over, the possibility of a nuclear attack cannot be ruled out, has been holding out for what Washington considers a more strategically secure and advantageous deal.

"The Administration continues to see only a few trees instead of the forest," said Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, in a statement. Mr. Biden, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on European affairs, which oversees arms-control negotiations with Russia, continued:

"We have the opportunity to achieve drastically deep cuts in the Russian arsenal if we are willing to make cuts ourselves. Yet the Administration is focused solely on weapons systems where United States cuts would be min-

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U.S. Focus in Missile Talks With Russia Seems to Reflect Old Fears

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imal."

The Administration position, he asserted, "appears driven by antiquated cold-war theories and a desire to achieve unilateral advantage."

"At this moment of opportunity," he said, "trying to push Moscow over the threshold from cooperation to unilateral disarmament is dangerously shortsighted. Our goal should be the deepest possible mutual cuts compatible with nuclear stability."

This debate arises from the following chain of events:

Last September, President Bush and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, then the Soviet President, announced their intention to cut nuclear arsenals below the levels set by the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, which was signed last summer. That treaty brings each side down to roughly 8,500 warheads by 2000.

When the talks on deeper cuts began in earnest last winter, Russia insisted on a reduction to 2,500 warheads each early in the next century.

The Bush Administration argued that this was not feasible because it would require too radical a change in the composition of the United States nuclear arsenal. Furthermore, it said, Russia did not have the equipment to dismantle that many warheads and dispose of the nuclear material.

Where Danger Lies

Washington proposed instead a reduction to 4,700 warheads each — provided that Russia dispose of all of its most potent land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles that can carry multiple warheads. These form the backbone of Russia's remaining nuclear arsenal.

During the cold war, these ICBM's were viewed as the most destabilizing

weapons. Because one missile can carry up to 10 warheads and thus hit many American targets at once, in any crisis the United States would want to knock out these missiles before Russia could launch them.

Last month, when Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev met in Lisbon, the Russian Foreign Minister backed off his earlier demand that the two sides cut back to 2,500 warheads each. He signaled a willingness to accept something "within the ballpark" of the United States proposal of a reduction to 4,700 warheads each, and to make the cutback by 2000, one American official said.

But Russia insisted on keeping a significant number of its land-based ICBM's among those 4,700 — particularly since Washington was insisting on retaining many of its multiple-warhead missiles based on submarines.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev are to address this question anew on Monday in Washington. They hope to bridge enough of the remaining differences so the outlines of an agreement can be announced by President Bush and President Boris N. Yeltsin at their summit meeting in Washington on June 16-17. Both Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev are planning to exchange compromise proposals but it is not clear whether they can resolve the core problem.

Momentum of Cold-War Fears

Up to now, the Bush Administration has been reluctant to bend on its demand that Russia relinquish all of the multiple-warhead (or "MIRV-ed") ICBM's.

Some arms-control experts are beginning to suspect that this approach is a holdover from the cold war. After all, they ask, at time of great instability inside Russia, is it not more important for the United States to get Moscow to agree to destroy as many nuclear warheads as soon as possible, rather than

worry about a very unlikely nuclear attack?

"It is a valid criticism," said one Administration military adviser. "Nevertheless, we still think the composition of forces is important and not just the numbers we reduce to. We all recognize that the prospect and incentives for a Russian first strike are way down — today."

"But after all," the official added, "you only have these weapons around for bad situations, and in such a situation, where it is still conceivable that either side might contemplate using these things, it is best to have the most stable possible configuration of forces, and we think that does not include MIRV-ed ICBM's, where you could get a marginal advantage by striking first."

An Opportunity Missed?

Many arms control experts reject this argument.

"The insistence on stripping the multiple warheads off the Russian strategic forces is both unacceptable to the Russians and unnecessary from the point of view of United States security," argued Jack Mendelsohn, Deputy Director of the Arms Control Association, which follows arms talks.

"What we should be seeking," he added, "is to reduce the level of warheads on both sides to as low a level as possible as quickly as possible. Given the volatility of politics in the post-Soviet commonwealth, if we miss the opportunity to bring these forces down quickly because of a cold-war logic, it would be a historic blunder."

Of course it would be desirable to get rid of Russia's multiple-warhead missiles, argued John D. Steinbruner, director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution.

But if an agreement on that basis is not possible, Mr. Steinbruner said, the Administration should let the Russians keep their MIRV-ed warheads and focus instead on getting the total down to 4,700, from 8,500. Even at 4,700 warheads each, he said, the United States would have double the number of missiles it needs for a credible deterrent force, no matter what the composition of the Russian arsenal.

"The Administration's bargaining position is an anachronism that is not in the spirit of the new relationship between the two countries," Mr. Steinbruner said. "It reflects instead a very traditional, cold-war bargaining for national advantage."

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By Edward Kahn



This is the foundation (standing yet)
That supports the House that George built.

This is the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

This is the power of fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

These are Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

These are the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

This is the nominee Democrat donkey
That beat the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

These are contributors to Bush's campaign
That defeated the nominee Democrat donkey. •
That beat the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

These are Americans with their jobs again
That became contributors to Bush's campaign
That defeated the nominee Democrat monkey
That beat the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

These are the builders of Seawolves and planes
That gave Americans their jobs again
That became contributors to Bush's campaign
That defeated the nominee Democrat donkey
That beat the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built. D

This is the gross national product of pain
That depends on the builders of Seawolves and planes
That gave Americans their jobs again
That became contributors to Bush's campaign
That defeated the nominee Democrat donkey
That beat the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

This is the calculus of a dream that remains
That counts the gross national product of pain
That depends on the builders of Seawolves and planes
That gave Americans their jobs again
That became contributors to Bush's campaign
That defeated the nominee Democrat donkey
That beat the candidates making business with monkeys
That ran against Congress' sewer rats
That gave up power to fat corporate cats
That made the pile of national debt
That strained the foundation (standing yet?)
That supports the House that George built.

Edward Kahn is a writer.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Perot's Tough Stand on Trade Belies His Claim of Opposing Protectionism

By ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Presidential candidate Ross Perot is pushing for tough U.S. trade policies that differ sharply from those advocated by free-traders George Bush and Bill Clinton.

Mr. Perot continues to call himself a "free and fair" trader, and says he opposes "industrial policy." But recent comments in interviews suggest his view of free trade may stretch the usual definition of the term.

In an interview with the Los Angeles Times last week, for instance, Mr. Perot complained that the trade agreements the U.S. has cut "with countries around the world are not balanced at all." In the case of Japan, he said, a Perot administration would make "the Japanese say, 'We'll take the same deal on cars we've given you.'"

According to the Times, Mr. Perot indicated that the effect of his policy would be a sharp reduction in imports from Japan. "You're going to see the clock stop," Mr. Perot was quoted as saying. "You could never unload the ships to this country — just could never unload the ships."

Mr. Perot has also indicated on several occasions that he opposes a free-trade agreement with Mexico, which both President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Clinton

support. "I am not a protectionist," he said in an interview with John Judis in the New Republic. "But pragmatically, as a guy who understands business, if I can build a

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Perot's Trade Stance Belies Claim of Being Against Protectionism

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factory in Mexico, pay my labor a dollar an hour, hire a 25-year-old work force, have little or no health care, little or no retirement, have no pollution or environmental controls, then if you are the greatest businessman in the world, if you are Einstein in business, trying to compete with me in the United States, you can't even get into the ring with those numbers."

James Squires, a spokesman for the Perot campaign, said the Texas businessman doesn't favor erecting barriers to foreign imports, but simply wants equitable conditions. "If in fact you had the same policy towards Japanese imports that the Japanese have toward our imports," Mr. Squires said in an interview, the result probably would be a sharp reduction in imports. "His goal is to get them to play this game on a level playing field. I don't think he's advocating protectionism."

In his interview with the Los Angeles Times, Mr. Perot emphasized the need to keep manufacturing jobs in this country. "Do we need to make clothing in this country? Of course we do. Do we need to make shoes in this country? Of course we do."

Echoing the arguments of the shoe industry for protection from imports on national-security grounds, Mr. Perot said: "When I think of shoes, I think of Valley Forge. My mind bounces back and forth between the world I hope we have and the world that might be. We might be fighting barefooted."

In that interview, Mr. Perot also said he would favor cutting the tax rate on capital gains for "the really high-risk start-up of a small company." But he said he wouldn't favor an across-the-board capital-gains tax cut, as is advocated by Mr. Bush.

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The Outlook

An Alternative Agenda For the Rio Summit

WASHINGTON

This week's unprecedented gathering of 100 world leaders in Rio de Janeiro—complete with thousands of security guards and serenading by Plácido Domingo—has catapulted the issue of "global warming" to the top of the global agenda. But are the summeiteers talking about the wrong things?

The evidence that a buildup in "greenhouse" gases in the atmosphere is causing the earth's temperature to rise is impressive, and serious—although fears of a Sahara-like desert popping up in Saskatchewan are wildly exaggerated.

But imagine if such a summit could be assembled to deal with more immediate—and more immediately manageable—problems. Given the limited attention that the world's leaders can spare for global issues, others seem deserving.

Consider the prosaic problem of dirty water. In its recent report on development, the World Bank said two million people—mostly children—die each year as a consequence of polluted water. And yet the solutions to the problem are simple sanitary procedures commonplace in every developed country. Providing sanitation and clean water to the world's poor "would be the single most effective means of alleviating human distress," the World Bank said.

Or disarmament. The collapse of the Soviet Union has thrown a sudden new threat into the outlook for nuclear war. At stake is not only the fate of thousands of former Soviet nuclear weapons, but also people and materials that could feed nuclear programs in other countries. "The risk of a large-scale nuclear war has certainly not been eliminated," says Spurgeon Keeny, president of the Arms Control Association, "and it is a more frightening prospect for civilization" than global warming.

In fact, such a high-powered summit could conceivably take on an issue that, if solved, could help provide the resources to address many environmental problems. The issue: the faltering post-War global trading system.

The rapid growth in international trade that helped propel world growth in the 1950s and 1960s has slowed in the '70s and '80s. Lawrence Summers, chief economist of the World Bank, says that while many developing nations have been reducing trade barriers in recent years, most developed nations now have more protectionist policies than they did a decade ago. The reason: "a loss of political momentum," Mr. Summers says.

By the World Bank's reckoning, a 50% reduction in trade barriers by the European Community, the U.S. and Japan would raise exports from developing countries by \$50 billion a year. That's roughly equal to the total flow of foreign aid to the poor countries last year. And it would provide critical resources to address environmental and other problems.

An attempt to revive the faltering international trade talks being held under the auspices of the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade will be made at this summer's meeting of the heads of the seven leading industrialized nations in Munich. But the developing nations, who have so much at stake, won't be at the Munich bargaining table. Highlighting the trade issue at a global conference like that in Rio might help restart stalled trade talks.

Why aren't these issues being discussed in Rio? The reason is politics: None of them commands the wide political appeal of global warming.

The end of the Cold War has seen the developed nations turn inward; they are no longer interested in massive aid programs to deal with problems like dirty water in the Third World. And getting the developed countries to talk about opening their markets to Third World imports has become increasingly difficult in the face of slow growth or recession. Disarmament likewise generates too much controversy, with those who don't have weapons fearing those who do.

Even the central problem of population growth, which contributes to global warming as well as a host of other global concerns, is a political mine field. The poor countries of the South wanted to avoid the population issue because it is a problem for which they bear the "blame"—they have the fastest-growing populations. Moreover, the Vatican interceded to prevent any mention of family planning or contraception in the Rio agreements. Even liberal activist Bella Abzug weighed in during the pre-Rio negotiations, says Sharon Camp of the Population Crisis Committee, arguing that many population control programs are simply genocide plans aimed at the poor.

Global warming, on the other hand, is an issue that caters to the increasingly powerful "green" movements in the rich nations of the North. And it is popular among the poor countries because they aren't to blame; the vast majority of the greenhouse gases thought to cause global warming are spewed out by the industrialized nations.

To be sure, part of what makes global warming a special cause for concern is its apparent irreversibility. Once greenhouse gases build up in the atmosphere, they may well stay there. Moreover, there is the prospect for a calamity. The earth's warming could happen faster than the predictions suggest. And its effects could prove much more serious, resulting in tumultuous changes in weather and ocean patterns.

But for the world to treat climate change as the biggest immediate threat to Planet Earth could be a mistake. Political pressures may put climate change at the top of the agenda, but other problems need to be there.

—ALAN MURRAY

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

House Adopts A Defense Bill Of \$270 Billion

Measure Puts Off Setting Long-Range Priorities After the Soviet Collapse

By ANDY PASZTOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The \$270 billion defense bill adopted by the House cuts overseas forces more deeply than expected, but it provides few guideposts for other long-range changes in the U.S. military.

As the first major defense measure debated on the House floor since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the legislation includes primarily short-term and sometimes seemingly contradictory prescriptions for reshaping the military.

While cutting President Bush's request by nearly \$11 billion, it maintains robust funding for some of the administration's top-priority programs. But the White House lost in its bid to close assembly lines for a number of major weapons. Instead, the House voted to reduce inventories of spare parts and make other obscure, one-time management changes to achieve the bulk of the proposed savings.

Cheney Applies Pressure

Even before the final roll call, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney threatened that he would recommend a veto unless Senate and House negotiators make the bill more palatable to Mr. Bush. And throughout the debate, lawmakers revealed the extent of the philosophical splits over defense issues.

Rep. Barbara Boxer, who is running for a Senate seat, praised the changes from Mr. Bush's request. "Finally, we can say we're doing something at this critical juncture," the California Democrat said. At the same time, Rep. Craig Thomas (R., Wyo.) called the bill "a destructive exercise" in micro-management and dismissed it as "one of the weakest demonstrations of public policy" in recent memory.

The bill supports White House plans to buy five more B-2 Stealth bombers and includes \$4.3 billion for proposed deployment by the late 1990s of an anti-missile defense system known as the Strategic Defensive Initiative, both big-ticket programs long criticized by many Democrats as relics of the Cold War.

But the House balked at making the sharp cuts in the National Guard advocated by Mr. Cheney for the fiscal year starting Oct. 1. And in a direct challenge to the White House, lawmakers called for a one-year moratorium on U.S. nuclear tests and demanded that allies shoulder a much larger share of overseas defense costs.

Small Margin of Approval

The emotional debate ended with a 198-168 vote for the authorization measure, the smallest margin approving such a bill in the past five years. It reflected concerns about defense industry layoffs and partisan election-year jockeying. Unable to agree on most long-range defense priorities, lawmakers passed a bill that left deep divisions in both parties.

Many Democrats, hoping to take credit for cutting military expenditures, repeatedly rejected positions adopted by the Armed Services Committee and its chairman, Rep. Les Aspin (D., Wis.). They also clashed over the wisdom of spending \$4 billion more on the B-2, despite tough new language requiring another House vote and ordering the Pentagon to prove that radar-evading problems and rapidly increasing costs are under control.

Republicans sparred over the necessity of a veto. Shortly before the vote, Rep. Newt Gingrich (R., Ga.) reiterated the administration's vehement opposition to some of the legislation's basic concepts. But Rep. William Dickinson (R., Ala.), a loyal White House ally who led the unsuccessful fight to change the bill on the House floor, asserted that he would vote for the legislation. "It's a better bill than we expected initially," he said.

Industry executives and congressional aides said the bill avoids fundamental changes in weapons procurement. "It's primarily a kick-the-can-down-the-road kind of approach, with most of the big hardware decisions delayed at least another year," said a senior congressional budget aide.

The bill includes:

- A \$1 billion "defense reinvestment" package to provide job training, health and retirement benefits and other assistance to

uniformed personnel, civilians and communities hurt by defense cutbacks.

About \$1.9 billion for the Air Force's embattled C-17 cargo plane. But the plane won't go into full-scale production in light of escalating congressional criticism of the program's costs and management. Rep. John Conyers (D., Mich.), one of the C-17's main foes, blasted prime contractor McDonnell Douglas Corp. for devising "the classic way not to build an airplane."

Language requiring the defense secretary to review and certify whether foreign purchases of defense firms will "harm [U.S.] national security interests." The amendment isn't expected to have a direct impact on Thomson-CSF S.A.'s plan to acquire LTV Corp.'s missile-making business.

POLITICS & POLICY

Dan Quayle, for Better or Worse, Has Assumed The Tone-Setting Role for the GOP's Campaign

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Several hours before Dan Quayle delivered his speech decrying the "poverty of values" in U.S. cities last month, his staff gave a dozen senior White House and campaign aides copies of the text — including the now-famous blast at television's "Murphy Brown."

Some of Mr. Bush's top aides didn't bother to read the vice president's speech; others didn't sense the controversy about to explode. "I don't think anybody expected" the surge of media and public attention, says White House Chief of Staff Sam Skinner.

The episode illustrates just how important—for better and for worse—Mr. Quayle has become to the 1992 campaign. Alarmed at the drift in the president's campaign, the vice president has publicly and privately assumed an increasingly assertive role. He has emerged, basically by default, as more capable of driving the political debate than anyone else on the president's team—including Mr. Bush himself.

"He has sort of volunteered for the vanguard, and there are not a lot of rivals," says Mitch Daniels, a former political director in the Reagan White House who sometimes advises Mr. Quayle. Mr. Daniels adds that the vice president's efforts are "working better than anything the president or his campaign have done recently."

In a White House meeting with Mr. Bush and top strategists last week, the vice president explicitly warned of parallels with Michael Dukakis's inept 1988 race in the campaign's failure to respond aggressively to the challenge of independent businessman Ross Perot. Speaking to reporters the next day, Mr. Quayle grabbed the chance to assail the billionaire Texan's judgment in opposing the Persian Gulf War.

Yet for all Mr. Quayle's successes in

sparking debate, there's little evidence he has done himself or the ticket much good. Mr. Bush continues to slide in public esteem, and the most recent Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll showed that unfavorable evaluations of Mr. Quayle have never been higher: 44% of those surveyed view him negatively, while only 24% view him positively.

There are two interpretations of those numbers. One is simply that Mr. Quayle's standing is inextricably linked to Mr. Bush's; as the president has lost popularity, so has the vice president. But a more ominous view is that Mr. Quayle's increased visibility may actually be harming him, by reminding voters of their doubts about him.

Mr. Quayle's aides and defenders basically dismiss such concerns, arguing that his efforts to firm up the GOP's conservative base have assumed added significance in a three-way race in which Mr. Perot is stripping away independent swing voters. "Every time Dan Quayle speaks, he's speaking to the base," says former White House drug czar William Bennett.

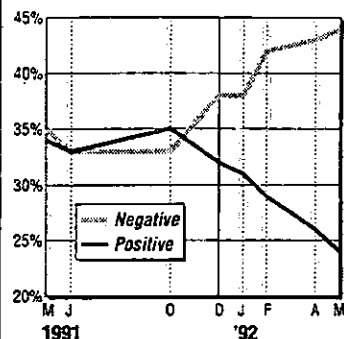
This week alone, the vice president plans to address the Southern Baptist Convention on family values, the National Right-to-Life Committee on abortion, and the Federalist Society on the need to end divided government by ousting the Democrats from control of Congress. As the president prepares to travel to Panama, Brazil, Poland and Germany over the next five weeks, Mr. Quayle has scheduled trips to pivotal California and through the South.

But the ambivalence about the vice president's role seems to extend even to the White House, which has vacillated between distancing itself from and embracing Mr. Quayle's sharp-edged conservative rhetoric.

In the "Murphy Brown" episode, for instance, the president and his top aides equivocated for fear of offending moderates; miffed at being undercut, the vice president publicly rebuked White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater and pressed his argument against the negative influ-

Quayle Qualms

Percentages of voters with positive and negative feelings toward Dan Quayle



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

ences of popular culture.

The vice president has found a more receptive audience on the issue of a balanced-budget constitutional amendment. Believing that Mr. Bush could use a good fight with congressional Democrats, he has pushed for a harder line on the issue over the arguments of presidential aides who warned that the amendment may lose; Mr. Bush, in his news conference Thursday night, repeatedly urged passage of the amendment.

Colorado College political scientist Thomas Cronin says that, for the moment at least, the vice president has joined Pat Buchanan, Jerry Brown, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot in the shifting cast of 1992 "agenda setters." The president implicitly suffers, Mr. Cronin adds, by the contrast with his failure to project "the take-charge leadership" demanded by many voters.

Top White House and Bush-Quayle campaign aides take pains to praise Mr. Quayle's recent performance, and haven't sought to circumscribe his role the way then-campaign chairman James Baker did in 1988. "He's doing what he thinks is best on his own and he's making some pretty good calls," says Bush campaign manager Fred Malek.

But the vice president's assertiveness has also produced tensions over scheduling and tactics between Mr. Bush's staff, led by Mr. Skinner, and Mr. Quayle's, directed by his chief of staff, William Kristol. Though the content of Mr. Quayle's message is barely distinguishable from the president's, he sometimes garners more attention by framing political arguments more provocatively. Mr. Bush's own family-values speech, delivered at Notre Dame graduation ceremonies three days before Mr. Quayle's version, lacked sharp focus and was widely ignored.

Dan Evans, an Indianapolis lawyer and longtime Quayle confidante, says the public is finally seeing the "unvarnished" candidate who won four Indiana elections in 10 years instead of the battered, nervous 1988 version. Once useful to other GOP candidates mostly as a fund-raiser, Mr. Quayle's stump appearances are now valued for his identification with "issues they think they can win on," says Spencer Abraham, who runs the National Republican Congressional Committee.

Mr. Quayle's performance has all but silenced the once-widespread speculation that the president might dump him from the Republican ticket. But one of the vice president's associates worries the idea might be revived by frustrated Bush aides seeking "a long ball" — Gen. Colin Powell, for example — to shore up the president's standing this summer.

"The dumping of Dan Quayle would infuriate every conservative in the Republican Party," responds former Delaware Gov. Pete DuPont, who challenged Mr. Bush from the right in 1988 and considered doing so again this time around. "The Quayle role in the campaign is crucial because of the president's weakness with conservatives."

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Quayle Sees Role in Resolving Conflicts On Race Despite Detachment From Issue

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — What is Vice President Dan Quayle reading these days?

"The Autobiography of Malcolm X," he says. Of the opening chapters' description of how the late black nationalist leader's father was allegedly killed by white racists, he says: "I can see the hate that was there; I can see the bigotry. I can see it from his perspective."

It's hard to think of another major national U.S. political figure who had less exposure in his personal or political background to minorities than Mr. Quayle. He grew up in affluence in Indiana and Arizona; blacks have never been a part of his political constituency. As a congressman in 1979 he voted against making Martin Luther King's birthday a federal holiday.

Asked in a 1988 interview to name any black friends, he responded, "Yeah, well . . ." After an uncomfortable pause, he cited three: a former aide on his Senate staff, an old law-school classmate and Sam Jones, president of the Indianapolis Urban League, who says he has never been to the Quayles' home and says he isn't close to the vice president. Mr. Quayle currently has no blacks, Hispanics or Asian Americans among the senior staff members who advise him on policy issues.

In many ways, Mr. Quayle is a work in progress on matters of race. He is reading the Malcolm X book, he says, in part to see whether the Muslim leader's own conversion from street life offers clues to how today's delinquent youth can be helped. Traditional in values, orientation and political bent, he seems in the wake of the Los Angeles riots to be groping toward a position that applies those attitudes toward the problems of the nation's cities.

What emerges is the same combination of traits that are key to his political problems as a national figure as well as his personal appeal as an individual. On the one hand, he still seems almost eerily detached from one of the most divisive issues of the era. At the same time, he remains cheerfully convinced he will play a role in resolving racial conflict.

In an interview en route to his weekly lunch with the president, Mr. Quayle says that "my vision is equal opportunity, create opportunities . . . individual initiative rather than entitlement, special preference . . . You teach a person how to fish rather than give a person a fish."

Mr. Quayle's aides say he decided to give his "poverty of values" speech last month — the one that included his Murphy Brown criticism — because no one else was framing the post-L.A. riot issue in the way he saw it. One aide calls his approach "one-third Kemp, one-third Bennett, one-third Barr." Translation: equal emphasis on the economic opportunity measures advocated by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp; the importance of values as articulated by former Education Secretary and drug czar William Bennett; and law enforcement measures, aimed especially at gangs and juveniles, pushed by Attorney General William Barr.

Mr. Quayle himself cites as his major influences the Rev. Leon Sullivan, the long-time political activist and champion of corporate social responsibility; Shelby Steele, the black English professor whose critical writings on affirmative action have made him a darling of conservatives; and

such administration figures as Mr. Kemp.

Former aide Joseph Perkins, the only minority person who has held a senior White House policy post with Mr. Quayle, says the vice president genuinely "believes in a colorblind America." That means that he "feels as comfortable with a black person who shares his views on traditional values, on family values, as he does with someone who is white," says Mr. Perkins, a former Wall Street Journal editorial writer who is black and conservative.

Of course, most black people don't share Mr. Quayle's views on many issues. Traditional civil rights groups considered his record in Congress as among the worst on matters of concern to them; in January of his last year in the Senate, he voted against a bill to keep federal funds from institutions that discriminate.

But the vice president reminds his critics that he also broke with conservatives and Republican leaders on several occasions. Though he had voted against the King holiday as a congressman, he did vote for it as a senator in 1983. He also supported imposing sanctions against South Africa and supported his senior Indiana colleague, Sen. Richard Lugar, in his fight to overturn President Reagan's veto of them.

Joseph Watkins, the former Senate aide whom Mr. Quayle cited as a friend, recalls a statewide tour during which Mr. Quayle took him aside. Mr. Quayle "told me there was some legislation coming up about voting rights and he wanted to get my perspective on it. He really listened to me; he wanted to understand."

As vice president, he has also made a number of stops in cities, where among other things he has met with former gang members and community activists. His aides don't want to say these visits are aimed at filling in gaps in his public education. But chief of staff William Kristol allows that "I'll say this: He does not think it's either helpful to him or it sends the right message to go to a town for the sole purpose of mixing with wealthy Republicans at a fund-raiser . . . I think he feels he may learn more from meeting with people whose experiences are very much different from his own than from people whose experiences are like his own."

Still, the vice president sometimes sends signals, even unwittingly, that others interpret as insensitive. In 1990 he played golf at an all-white California country club (though he canceled a second round when it provoked a public controversy). He refuses to give up his honorary membership at the all-male Burning Tree Country Club in Bethesda, Md., telling the Associated Press in 1990 that "I don't have any problem playing there."

Raul Yzaguirre, head of the National Council of La Raza, an advocacy and research organization on issues concerning Hispanics, says that unlike Mr. Bush when he was vice president, Mr. Quayle has made no effort to meet with his organization. Mr. Yzaguirre says he doesn't read anything into that except that it "is not the kind of thing that comes to the radar screen of someone who grew up in Indiana. I think that's something you have to cultivate. Hopefully with maturity, he will."

Even some who have long known Mr. Quayle say he is nowhere near an understanding of the issues confronting minorities. "It's obvious he does not," says Sam Jones, the Urban League official Mr. Quayle has cited as one of his black friends. "I wish some day he would sit down with some of us whose shoes he has not walked in and let us help educate him . . . I don't think he understands that a guy like me was as mad as folks in Los Angeles were."



Dan Quayle

Patriot Games

PRESIDENT BUSH devoted his news conference the other day to support of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. He'd do better to find a more congenial subject. This one puts him in the weak and awkward position of urging that his own pattern of behavior be constitutionally proscribed—but not until safely after the next election.

The president already has all the power he needs to send Congress a balanced budget—or one that makes a genuine move in that neglected direction—and then to veto any bill that deviates from his proposals. It would take two-thirds of both houses of Congress to overcome such determination; that's more than the three-fifths that any of the constitutional amendments would require. Mr. Bush has done none of this; the record that he is deploring is largely his own. The problem is the same for him as it is for Congress—not a lack of constitutional power, but of political courage, imagination and will.

The amendments are a way once again of deferring action while appearing to act, a reflection not of conviction but of the lack of it. In hopes of restoring the lost ability to govern, a group of middle-road senators from both parties proposes that the presidential candidates each submit to an hour's serious questioning on national television about their plans to reduce the deficit. Bill Clinton, whose own proposals for balancing the budget have seemed to us to still need work, quickly said that he'd be glad to appear on such a program. Ross Perot, who has said even now he is still creating his position, did not immediately respond. The initial response from the White House was that the president already has "put his budget out there," and so he has. The problem is that the projected deficits remain in the \$200 billion range as far as the eye can see.

That comes close to \$1 trillion of added debt per presidency; the country can't afford it. The administration continues to say that a balanced budget can be achieved without a major tax increase or cut in the cost of Social Security, which constitutes close to a fourth of spending for other than interest on the debt. All that is needed is a rate of economic growth about double

that of recent years and a cap on entitlement spending except for Social Security. But where have you heard before—how many trillions of dollars of debt ago?—that the country could grow its way out of the deficit? And which entitlements does the administration propose to cut, at whose expense? It would mainly have to be Medicare and Medicaid—they are the largest remaining programs and greatest offenders—but how does the president propose to curb health care costs? He doesn't say.

Those Democrats who are working for the amendment are no better. Paul Simon, sponsor of the leading balanced budget amendment in the Senate, says that he's "not about to spell out precisely" how he would achieve the balance nor to stop advocating what he thinks are necessary spending increases in the interim. His Democratic counterparts in the House say that of course they want to begin reducing the deficit right away, but not in the same vote in which they adopt the amendment. Later will be time enough for the specifics; you've heard that before, too. To siphon votes away from the leading amendment, the House Democratic leadership is meanwhile also proposing that Social Security be left out of the deficit calculation as well as any cuts, the idea being to give members cover for saying that much as they wanted to balance the budget, they felt obliged to protect Social Security even more.

It's a game that's being played here on all sides, but the Constitution is the wrong place to play it. It's one thing when the president and the members tie up future revenues to assure their reelection; now they propose to mortgage the form of government as well. By the shifts that they imply from majority to minority rule, these amendments would disturb the systems of checks and balances within and between the branches of government, including the courts, in ways that none of these hasty supporters fully comprehend. The amendments are the ultimate retreat from the responsibility that they pretend to embrace. One way or another, one house or the other needs to defeat them.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Speech and the Holocaust

THE U.S. Supreme Court this week refused to disturb a ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in a case in which both parties invoke First Amendment rights. Because the decision only allows a trial court to proceed with the case and does not resolve it, the matter may be in the courts for years to come, and it would not be at all surprising if it were eventually before the Supreme Court again for final resolution. Anyone concerned about the right to engage in freewheeling debate on important public issues should follow its course.

David McCalden was, at the time he filed this suit, a member of a small group which maintains that the Holocaust never occurred. Eight years ago, he contracted with the California Library Association to rent exhibit space at the association's annual conference so that he could display materials and present a program entitled "Free Speech and the Holocaust: An overview from several speakers of the severe censorship and intellectual terrorism which inhibits any objective, open discussion of this controversial subject."

When the American Jewish Committee and the Simon Wiesenthal Center learned of the contract, they protested and organized to thwart Mr. McCalden's plans. They contacted the library association, the Los Angeles City Council and the hotel in which the conference was to be held, threatening to demonstrate at the meeting, which might mean disruption and damage to property. The City Council responded by passing a resolution urging the association to cancel its

contract with Mr. McCalden. The police department advised the group that it would be unable to provide adequate protection and security for the conference if the exhibit were allowed. The contract was canceled, and Mr. McCalden sued everyone involved for breach of contract, wrongful interference with contract and deprivation of rights protected by federal and state civil rights statutes.

In terms of policy, the defendants erred by reacting so strongly. Unpopular, even invidious speech is best countered by more speech, not suppression. The police pronouncement in particular is reminiscent of the bad old days in the South when sheriffs tried to dissuade marchers and demonstrators by warning that their rights could not be protected.

That said, however, the defendants had a right to react as they did, to lobby public officials and to demonstrate, if that became necessary, in opposition to Mr. McCalden's crackpot theories. Excited rhetoric and emotional responses are almost always part of public debate, especially, as in this case, when the subject of the debate involves not just intensely held beliefs but also the anguishing experience of persons still able to testify to what they saw and experienced. This case involves no imminent threat of violence and offers no room for exceptions to the First Amendment. As it moves through a second round in the courts, that principle must be affirmed.

Making Russia's Economy Work

TO MAKE a market economy work, Russia has to curb inflation by getting bank lending and credit under control. But much of the country is now living on those deficits and loans. Cutting them isn't quite as cruel as it sounds, since Russia now provides unemployment compensation. But any substantial reduction threatens an epidemic of disruptive strikes.

The basic question is the speed with which the Russians can make the transition to the market and how much stress their society can bear in the process. Few of the large state-owned enterprises will survive in an open economy—not, at the least, without huge layoffs and reorganizations. So far most of them have managed to stave off that unpleasant prospect by desperately borrowing from each other and from the banks. The reformers in the Russian government, like the International Monetary Fund, point out that curbing credit is the only way to force forward a painful but necessary transformation.

The man in the middle, the chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, resigned this week. He was being pulled in one direction by the reformers and in the other by the parliament, which, like parliaments in most other countries, responds energetically to pleas to save jobs. Then, to compound the confusion, some of the parlia-

mentary deputies changed their minds and voted to reject the resignation.

Most of the \$24 billion in aid that the West promised Russia two months ago is contingent on the reforms and, specifically, a much lower inflation rate. Russia became a member of the IMF this week, but it now looks as though IMF aid will not begin to flow as soon as the Russians had hoped. The questions about bank credit and inflation have to be settled first.

While Russia's choices are being posed in the language of finance and economics, they are fundamentally political. The reformers in Moscow, like the donors of aid in the West, keep urging the Russians to make the leap to market capitalism quickly because speed will mean less pain and an earlier payoff. If the Russian leadership can summon up the strength and skill to move fast, it will have much support from the West and increasing close relations with it. But if the reforms were to be overwhelmed by political compromises, Russia would be left largely to its own resources, and as it turned inward again, its new friendship with the West would be unlikely to flourish. In the Russians' struggle over the management of their central bank, it's not only credit limits but the next stage of their political revolution that's at stake.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

J. Robinson West

America's Addiction to Foreign Oil

Congress, president and people share the blame for a dumb and gutless energy policy.

Congress is now in the process of passing an energy bill based on years of hearings, deliberations and negotiations. After its signing, the politicians will congratulate themselves yet again on their constructive leadership and willingness to take on the tough issues.

In fact, quite the opposite has occurred. The energy bill will make some modest, positive and essentially uncontroversial adjustments in electricity generation, natural gas utilization and nuclear power certification. It ignores the fundamental issue surrounding energy and represents a refusal to make difficult choices.

The crucial issue in energy is oil, which is 40 percent of primary energy consumption. This cannot be replaced soon by alternative fuels in significant amounts. U.S. petroleum policy is unique in the industrialized world in that the government encourages oil consumption and discourages oil production. The long-run effect of such a policy will be disastrous.

Oil production is discouraged in several ways. The U.S. fiscal system of taxes and royalties is regressive, making exploration and production financially unattractive in a low-price market relative to other regions of the world, accelerating U.S. industry investment abroad.

Likewise, Congress, to appear environmentally correct, has systemically limited the acreage in which industry can explore for oil; notably the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and the U.S. Outer Continental Shelf. No other country has taken this approach of denying so much potential production. In contrast, some nations have sought to open frontier acreage for exploration in an environmentally prudent manner. France permits explorations in the Seine and the historic Loire Valley, England in its countryside and Norway in fishing grounds. Canadians, unlike the United States, have actively explored Arctic areas for years. It is ironic that critics of the administration have insisted that the United States follow the environmental leadership of the U.K., France, Norway and Canada at the Earth Summit in Rio, but ignore the environmentally sensible approach of these countries in oil exploration.



'YOU WANT TAKE AWAY OUR GUSTO...!?'

Not only is domestic oil production collapsing, but the United States continues to be a voracious consumer of oil, an increasing amount of which must be imported. Roughly 70 percent of oil is used as a transportation fuel. The energy bill now in Congress proposes applications of natural gas and other fuels to replace oil for transportation. This is an admirable goal to be pursued, but one should have no illusions that the impact will be significant within this decade. The biggest savings in oil consumption as well as the largest potential supply source is oil conservation.

Congress and the administration know how to reduce our reliance on oil, but they are too timid to act. Almost every other government has had the courage to raise the price of gasoline, with the result being enhanced fuel efficiency and conservation. Gasoline, at an average of \$1.15 per gallon in the United States, costs

\$2.00 in Canada, \$4.50 in England and \$4.00 in Norway—countries more energy independent than the United States. The market works there and would work here as well. If gasoline costs more, people will use it more efficiently.

Unfortunately, a gasoline tax is considered a "grudge" tax that Americans don't want to pay, and their politicians on either side of the aisle and both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue are not about to propose it, even if they know it will work. Gasoline today is a bargain, cheaper in real terms than it was right after World War II. After drilling, moving it in tankers and refining it—all at huge expense—gasoline costs less than bottled water in the United States. Other countries don't rely on mileage standards or speed limits to reduce consumption. They just make gasoline expensive, and as a result, their public doesn't waste it. Furthermore,

the current price of gasoline in the United States does not reflect its real costs in terms of the environment.

Aside from domestic supply and production, the United States remains unprepared for international oil supply disruptions and price shocks. We are becoming increasingly reliant on Middle East oil, and yet our Strategic Petroleum Reserve, now at 570 million barrels, is far short of the goal of 1 billion barrels. Last year, Americans fought and were prepared to die for the security of Saudi Arabia. We contributed to its military security, and the kingdom can contribute to our economic security. In fairness, Saudi Arabia handled the Kuwait crisis well by boosting production, and since then it has helped by keeping prices low in the face of pressure from other OPEC producers demanding higher oil prices. These are short-term solutions. Washington should stop dawdling, get serious and respond to the Saudi proposals to fill the Strategic Petroleum Reserve—now, before another crisis.

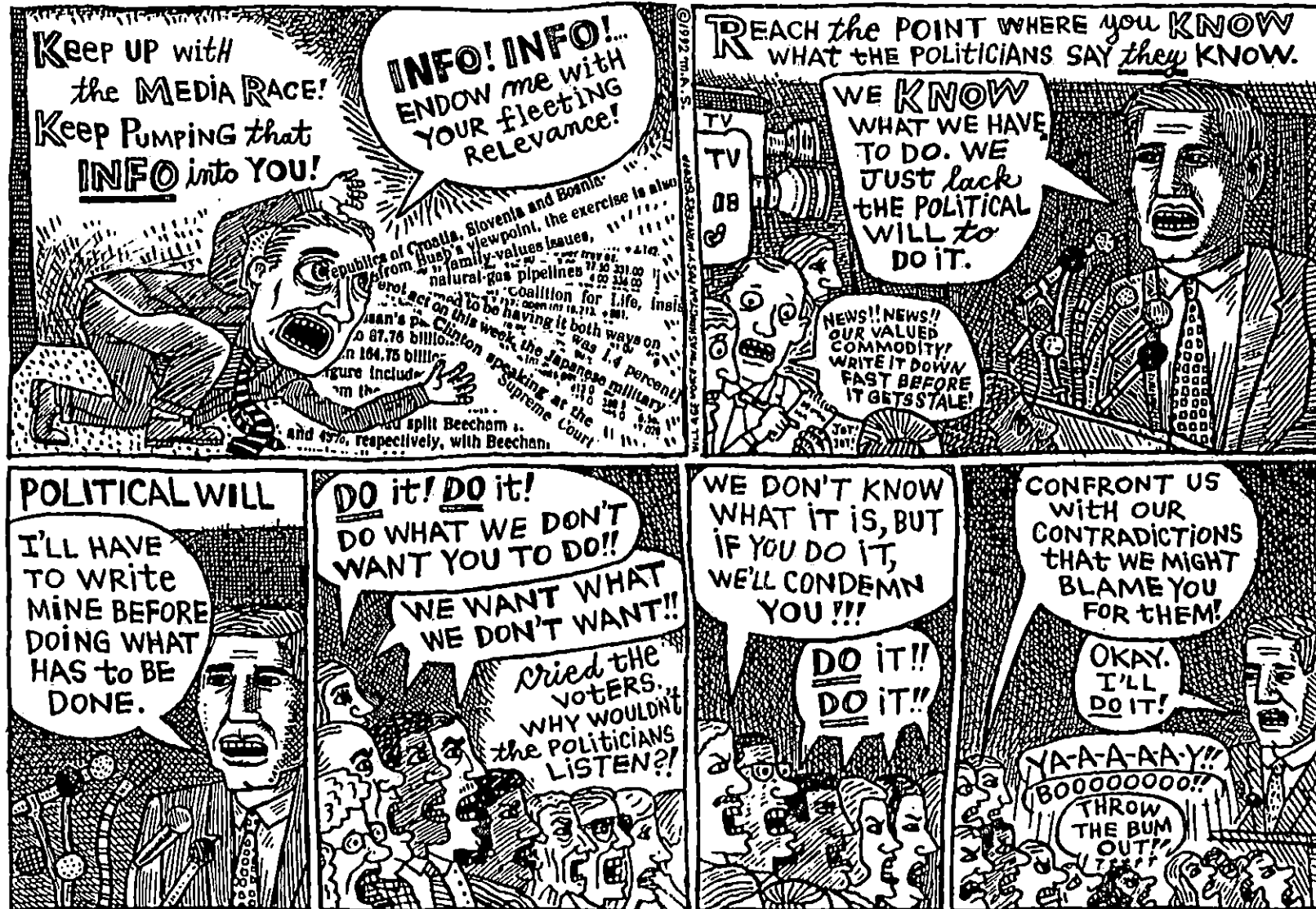
At some point in the not-too-distant future, the price of oil will rise, whether by political interruption or the changing structure of the petroleum industry. Americans will get an expensive and unpleasant surprise, just as they have with other difficult issues when Washington has waffled too long.

A little over a year ago, we were fighting a war, and energy policy was on the front page. The cost of gasoline was rising, and Americans were concerned. Now the troops are home, and the price of gasoline has collapsed. Most politicians have lost interest and the will to act, and they definitely don't want to upset the public in an election year. So the United States will continue to drift into bad policies that will make this country more dependent, export jobs and damage the environment.

The writer, who was an assistant secretary of the interior in the Reagan administration, is president of the Petroleum Finance Company Ltd., and advises governments and companies on international oil and gas strategy.

WASHINGTON.

Mark Alan Stamaty



The cartoonist is a contributor to the Village Voice.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Will It Be Perot-Kemp?

In one of his first, most difficult and most important tasks as co-chairman of Ross Perot's campaign, Edward J. Rollins will attempt to place Jack Kemp on the independent ticket as vice president.

Kemp is the clear choice of Rollins, chairman of his unsuccessful campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1988. He has yet to convince Perot, but the much harder chore would be talking lifelong Republican Kemp into resigning as secretary of housing to oppose President Bush.

If Kemp had to decide today, he would say no. But at the end of the summer, when Perot is scheduled to make his vice presidential choice, the answer conceivably could be yes. At that time, Kemp may find more friends and kindred spirits in Perot's camp than in Bush's.

No vice presidential selection would carry so much weight since John F. Kennedy picked Lyndon B. Johnson in 1960. When the possibility of a Perot-Kemp ticket is raised, establishment Republican politicians blanch in sheer terror. That combination could turn the current trickle of defecting Republicans into a stam-

pede. Kemp's closest Republican associates in Congress confide they might have to follow him.

Kemp has picked himself up from his failed 1988 campaign and three years of second-class status in the Bush Cabinet to an eminence in public opinion exceeded today only by Perot's. Besides his strong backing in the GOP's right wing, Kemp enjoys prestige among Democrats and independents (including Ross Perot) afforded to no other Republican.

But after his sudden elevation as point man for Bush urban policy following the Los Angeles riots, Kemp was sent back to the rear of the bus by people who really don't like him very much. His agenda was ignored at Thursday night's press conference by Bush, who swallowed whole Sen. Phil Gramm's plea to concentrate on the balanced budget amendment—an idea long disdained by Kemp. "Everything I say goes down a black hole," Kemp told Newsweek, a complaint that set off more anti-Kemp rhetoric at the White House.

To jump over the Republican fence would seem out of character for

Kemp, who has been as cautious in charting his own career as he has been daring in planning new policy initiatives. Nor would he relish being subjected to the "he'll never work in this town again" abuse heaped on Rollins since he embraced Perot. Senior Bush adviser Charlie Black has written Rollins out of the party even though they were colleagues on the '88 Kemp campaign, and Kemp himself might be in store for the same.

When we raised the question of joining the Perot ticket on CNN on May 23, Kemp snapped, "That is the dumbest question I have heard," before saying no. He still rejected the idea but sounded a little more equivocal when asked on NBC's "Meet the Press" the next day.

His equivocation might be increased by the growing movement of his allies into the Perot camp. Economic consultant Jude Wanniski, Kemp's policy adviser and faithful supporter, has been singing Perot's virtues ever since meeting with him in Dallas. Industrialist Theodore Forstmann, a Ronald Reagan backer in '80 who helped finance Kemp's '88

campaign, has become a member of the Perot steering committee following several conversations with the Texas billionaire.

That raises an agonizing question for Kemp: How comfortable will he be with Bush when his closest adviser, his financial contributor and his former campaign chairman are with Perot?

It may also be Kemp's last chance for the big prize. For all his popularity with the Republican right and outside the party, Kemp never has penetrated the GOP's base vote that preferred Bush in '88 and will not abandon him in '92. The long-term prognosis is not favorable for Kemp's prospects in '96, and he does not relish a repeat of his unpleasant quest for the nomination in '88.

But Kemp's ultimate decision is likely to be based less on *Realpolitik* than on how he perceives a man he knows not at all. His friend and supporter, Ted Forstmann, has met frequently with Perot and believes he shares not only the economic philosophy but the values held by him and Jack Kemp. If Kemp agrees, it might produce the strongest ticket in many a year.

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The New York Times

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Commerce Dumps on the Consumer

The Commerce Department is waging war against American consumers. It declared Toyota and Mazda guilty of selling mini-vans for too little money — a crime known as "dumping." If Commerce gets its way, Americans will pay thousands more for their mini-vans.

Anti-dumping laws are supposed to prevent foreigners from unfairly taking over U.S. markets by selling at prices below cost. But the laws are often misused to assist politically muscular American corporations.

Take the mini-van ruling. U.S. manufacturers account for 90 percent of mini-van sales, and charge less than their Japanese rivals. Yet Commerce finds Japanese cheating.

James Bovard, a trade expert writing in *The New Republic*, traces the department's bizarre calculations. Commerce jacks up estimated production costs and lowers estimated sale prices until the Japanese can be shown to have sold below cost.

For starters, Commerce says Mazda earned too little profit — a grievous sin according to U.S. law. Toyota cheated, Commerce says, by spending

too little on administration; U.S. trade law insists that foreigners produce as clumsily as Chrysler. Commerce also indicts Toyota for spending too little on research and development.

And just to make sure the calculations came out right, Commerce compared the cost of producing new vans in Japan with the sale price of used Japanese vans in the U.S. It also ignored inconvenient movements in exchange rates.

In a similar outrage, Commerce has just declared six republics of the former Soviet Union guilty of dumping uranium. So while Congress forks over taxpayer money to help propel the republics toward markets, Commerce proposes to smash one of their few sources of hard currency — and release the uranium onto international markets where it might fall into the hands of renegade nations.

The case of Japanese mini-vans now goes to the International Trade Commission, a misnamed agency of the U.S. Government. The commission can rule against the Japanese if their vans forced Detroit to lower prices. That's how the U.S. Government wages war against American consumers.

Blood Tide Rising

Bosnia, now being ripped apart by bombs and pogroms, screams out an urgent warning. A blood tide is rising in Eurasia's ethnic archipelago, islands of human settlement shaped by centuries of migration, colonization and conquest. Demands for ethnically homogenous states threaten civil wars, mass expulsions and unending cycles of revenge.

The only alternative is to construct, quickly, ways to protect the political, economic and human rights of threatened minorities within existing borders. Such constitutional protections need to be backed up by international guarantees, enforceable by, say, NATO, the U.N. Security Council, or even some ad hoc coalition of military powers. If that seems wishful, then the present "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia may be only a prelude to wider disaster.

Perversely, it was Communist totalitarianism that checked overt ethnic violence in the archipelago during recent decades. But hatreds burned below the surface. And through persecution, deportation and border changes, Stalin, Tito and other dictators added fresh layers of grievance.

With the collapse of Communism, demagogues now demand instant remedies to history's complex injustices. Unite all Serbs under Serb rule. Restore Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. Croatia for the Croats. Independence for Chechenya. Such slogans have the innocent ring of self-determination. But in the ethnic archipelago most of the

land can be fairly claimed by more than one group.

Croatia's Serbs lived among their Croat neighbors for centuries — they were originally recruited to help repel the Turks. Both peoples are south Slavs, virtual ethnic cousins. But Croats, long under Austrian rule, are mainly Roman Catholic, while most Serbs are Orthodox Christians.

Bosnia's Muslims are south Slavs too. Their ancestors converted to Islam during Turkish rule. The three groups are so closely intertwined in

Bosnia that cities like Sarajevo would have to be divided street by street to create separate states.

Further east in the Caucasus (see map), different empires molded the archipelago. Mongol, Ottoman and czarist conquerors swept over Armenian, Georgian and Kurdish areas, leaving new borders and peoples in their wake.

Some of these ethnic islands are more compact and homogeneous than others, but in no case is unilateral border revision a good idea. The international community has a stake in the integrity of borders and in the economic and

political viability of new states. The simplest way to protect that stake is to reinforce minority rights before conflict gets out of hand.

Such pre-emptive collective security would be a departure in world politics. But so was the coalition to liberate Kuwait. As events in the Balkans now make plain, when the blood tide rises in the ethnic archipelago, the outside world is compelled, sooner or later, to get involved. Better sooner.



The New York Times

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NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

End the Free Ride for Driving to Work

Free parking at work is an untaxed fringe benefit for millions, worth hundreds of dollars a year. But employees who get free passes or tokens from their employers to commute by mass transit are taxed on the full amount if the subsidy exceeds \$21 a month. The energy bill recently passed by the House would reduce this glaring disparity. It's high time.

There are no precise statistics, but it is estimated that employers provide free parking for some 60 million cars every day but give transit subsidies to only 100,000 individuals.

Simple fairness is one good reason for ending the disparity in tax treatment. Sane public policy is another. A fair break for transit riders would foster clean air and oil conservation. And anything to reduce rush-hour traffic jams will increase productivity, and soothe frazzled nerves.

The ideal remedy would be to eliminate the tax break altogether but that appears to be politically

unthinkable. Next best: make the tax breaks more nearly equal. President Bush and Congress favor a better balance, but a formula to fix it died because it was part of the vetoed Democratic tax bill.

Now the House has devised an even-better fix. It would raise the tax-free allowance for mass-transit riders and, for the first time, cap the parking allowance. The new transit allowance would be \$60 a month, or \$2.50 a day for the average month's 22 workdays. If employers provide a larger subsidy, only the amount over \$60 would be taxed.

The cap on parking would be \$160 a month, or roughly \$7 per workday. If the parking is free, in a company lot, its value would be based on comparable commercial rates. If it is worth more than \$160, the excess would be taxable.

The House energy bill must now be reconciled with the Senate's bill, which doesn't address this issue at all. It's a fine opportunity to promote fairness and fares.

Don't Blink at Court Cameras

New York, which produces some of the nation's most important trials, is now debating whether to rejoin the many states that allow courtroom photography. Regrettably, members of the State Senate are rallying opposition to a compromise measure approved by the Assembly.

The bill would renew, for 30 months, experiments with cameras that lapsed a year ago. Despite several flaws, including its temporary nature, the bill merits passage.

Some senators argue that Florida's televised trial of William Kennedy Smith proved that cameras threaten the fairness of trials. Other legislators seem to have gotten the jitters from the enormous pre-trial publicity generated by the Amy Fisher shooting case on Long Island.

Yet New York's earlier experiments demonstrated that, with appropriate safeguards and careful oversight by the presiding judge, cameras enhance justice and help educate the public. This was surely the result in the William Kennedy Smith trial. Television helped the public see the same

evidence the Florida jury saw and appreciate that the jury's swift acquittal of Mr. Smith on rape charges was not the result of undue political influence by the Kennedy family.

In the case of Amy Fisher, a 17-year-old accused of shooting the wife of her lover, the considerable publicity has nothing to do with *future* coverage of her trial, by the unobtrusive cameras the pending bill would require.

Some senators are reasonably concerned about the stressful TV news scenes on courthouse steps that accompany celebrated cases. But the right to take pictures outside the courthouse is unquestioned. If anything, the availability of in-court coverage seems to reduce the media's need to resort to such sideshows.

Some touchy senators are also peeved with the news media in general, including news organizations deemed insufficiently grateful for the camera legislation. Such pettiness has no place in weighing a bill that would restore public access to public justice in the electronic age.

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Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Eyeless In Gaza

GAZA, Disputed Territories in Israel
"We will go to Gaza," said Ariel Sharon, Israel's Housing Minister and most controversial hawk, strapping his bulk into a small helicopter.

His purpose was to show me a group of Jewish settlements in Gush Katif. The outposts — "occupied by Egyptian forces that invaded in 1948," in his words — now lie between the Arab population in the city of Gaza and the border between Israel and Egypt, only five miles from the Sharon farm.

The seaside resort called Palm Beach is prettier and more productive than Florida's Palm Beach. The Jewish settlers selected to be greeters were not religious zealots, but people who chose to pioneer in a desert to build a life for their families and create a "fact on the ground" for their nation.

Their Palestinian neighbors behind a fence in Gaza are also a fact. It was inadvisable to do more than fly over because that area has been sealed for two weeks, following the knifing by an Arab of a 15-year-old Israeli girl.

But sealing off the hotbed of Palestinian nationalism, temporarily denying 60,000 workers access to their jobs in and around Tel Aviv, is a mistake. Although intended to encourage Arabs to restrain violence,

Miracles are possible in Israel.

such collective punishment advances the P.L.O. goal of "the worse the better" — to fan resentment and breed new terrorists.

Because the worse-is-better formulation is untrue, Israel has repeatedly offered to build new housing for Arabs in Gaza. But Arab monarchs — who could transform life in Gaza for the price of one F-15 — prefer the continuation of publicized misery. And thanks to the Bush Administration's ignorant Tutwiler Doctrine, Gazan Arabs are misled by a mirage that they will one day displace Israelis.

How long will cynical users of Palestinians get away with a worse-the-better policy? Not forever; when one local West Bank activist proudly showed his 10-year-old son a slogan of independence scrawled on a wall, he was dismayed when the boy could not read it because intifada violence had caused schools to be closed. Worse is the enemy of better.

I believe Israeli settlements on disputed land are instruments of, not obstacles to, peace. They not only induce Arabs to get on with the local autonomy long offered but demonstrate that human beings, given a start, can scratch good living out of the most barren ground.

The greenhouses and fields of Gush Katif now account for nearly half of Israel's tomato exports; with water resources, similar productivity is possible for Arabs in and around crowded Gaza.

The pattern of settlements already points the way to sensible compromise, with Arab population centers free to work toward federation with the Palestinian state across the Jordan river. But worse-the-better hypocrites and quick-fix diplomatists will not see the political miracles now on display in the Holy Land.

One stunner is the current election campaign in Israel, a free-for-all with every opinion expressed and no politician unchallengeable, in sharp contrast with the practice in most of this nation's neighbors. The Israeli press, with instant access, is worthy of the people; a visiting American reporter, Roland Evans, who does not share my enthusiasm for settlements, asserts: "This is the best country in the world in which to cover an election."

Another source of wonderment is the democratic impact of the *olim*, recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union, who make up a twelfth of the population and are this election's swing vote. It's as if 25 million new Americans hit our shores, with a third getting jobs and the disappointed remainder looking at Perot. (Most lean to Labor, with Likud likely to narrow the gap toward June 23.)

Jerusalem's great Mayor, Teddy Kollek, muttering under his breath about Arik Sharon's insistence on maintaining a Jewish presence in all parts of that city, took me to an open-air amphitheater near the city's golden walls where the Red Army chorus was performing.

On stage were a hundred men in Soviet uniforms, members of the only profitable part of a broken-up army, singing in Israel for their supper. In the audience were hundreds of *olim* who had fled the country represented by that hated uniform, clapping in unison and happily, tearfully joining in the singing of the Russian songs.

It takes your breath away — the way miracles can happen if you just hang in there. □

Give Hillary a Break

By Letty Cottin Pogrebin

I don't get this Hillary-bashing. Why should 1992 be the Year of the Woman but not of the wife?

Clearly something extraordinary is happening to women in politics. People everywhere are excited about candidates like Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, the winners in California's Democratic Senate primaries; Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, an African-American; Pennsylvania's Lynn Yeakel, who comes out of grass-roots feminism rather than ward politics or senatorial widowhood, and New York's Geraldine Ferraro, who has attracted 57,000 contributions from all 50 states.

Why are we not seeing similar enthusiasm for Hillary Clinton, who represents the same values, perspectives and positions, and is as smart, articulate, experienced and attractive?

She would be the first First Lady who — like most of today's wives and mothers — has been a wage earner and family woman and who understands exactly what the rest of us are up against. Why isn't she benefiting from the same groundswell?

O.K., she's not running for office, but as a spouse she compares more than favorably with the many political wives who are come-lately proponents of good causes or who adopt an issue, usually something noncontroversial, when it suits their husbands' agenda. Hillary Clinton has a 20-year record of advocacy for social justice and chil-

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dren's welfare. That should be a plus. But I've heard her criticized as too strong, too strident, too substantive.

Maybe people forget that in 1973, when Hillary graduated from law school, a woman had to be twice as good as a man to go half as far; verbal skills and assertiveness were essential to surmount sex discrimination. But why bad-mouth a female achiever in 1992 when most parents have high aspirations for their daughters and most women want for themselves the balance among family, work and service she embodies?

Perhaps such criticism illuminates society's ambivalence toward changing roles in this backlash era. Men may be projecting on to Mrs. Clinton their hostility toward feminism, while women, overwhelmed by their multi-

Why is she different from Barbara Boxer?

ple responsibilities, may be projecting their frustrations.

Others call her ambitious and self-serving. In fact, she could more accurately be called self-sacrificing. Although she had her pick of prestigious positions, she followed Bill Clinton to Fayetteville, Ark., and built a life there for the sake of his career. Years later, to help his re-election campaign, she gave up her name.

Why attack such a woman — unless the problem relates not to women but to wives? Many voters who can ac-



Ruth Marten

cept female accomplishments in the public sphere still invest emotionally in the image of wife as subordinate to her husband. Margot Perot told Barbara Walters she cares only about making "a happy home for Ross" and cannot imagine wanting to sit in on a Cabinet meeting — and some viewers warmed to her. She admitted to being pro-choice but reassured America that her husband "doesn't need my advice.... And, no, I would not be breathing down his neck."

A woman can get away with plenty of self-assertion so long as she establishes herself as the good wife. Hillary Clinton won her highest approval ratings just after she appeared on TV sitting at her husband's side defending him against the Other Woman. In this situation, her assertive style was perceived positively because she used it for her man and her marriage.

The female candidates have managed to detach themselves from their families, but a candidate's wife cam-

paigns as a wife. And many voters, rather than judge her on her potential as a partner in public service, still use the old-fashioned yardstick of "charm" and looks.

When we elect a President we get a governing couple; more precisely, when we elect a man we give his wife power. Nancy Reagan was the iron fist inside her husband's velvet glove. Rosalynn Carter sat in on Cabinet meetings, and so what? Barbara Bush has spoken as the President's surrogate. Every Administration uses its First Lady to win friends and influence voters.

Because of this power, visibility and access, I frankly prefer that the next First Lady be cast in the mold of Eleanor Roosevelt. I count a smart First Lady as a bonus, not a burden. She advertises her husband's ability to live with a female equal — and that for me is a character issue. □

Have You Taught Your College Grads How to Get a Job?

Getting children into and through college is many parents' major life goal. But before you settle back into your empty nest to heal your financial wounds, you have one last task. You have to teach your college juniors and seniors how to get a job.

Colleges are by design out of touch with the real world. Unfortunately that includes almost all of their career centers as well. Students are told to write resumes of their accomplishments when they haven't accomplished anything yet. And that's only the beginning of the misinformation.

Here are several principles you must teach your college graduates. They will never learn them on campus:

- *Success has always been a game of who you know.* Graduates must begin with a list of friends (last year's seniors who are now working, for example), relatives, their friends, anyone off campus and in the real world. They must visit each contact in person to see what the world of work is really like. They should conclude each visit by asking, "If you were me, whom else would you talk with?" Building a contact chain is time-consuming but it's the only way to go.

- *Don't look for a job; look for information first.* Professional sales representatives know they must spend 80% to 90% of their time prospecting and qualifying. They only sell 10% of the time, and only after doing the hard work of finding out who can buy. That information isn't found in a library or annual report. Graduates have to get face-to-face meetings

in order to gather the data they need to find potential opportunities. They also will learn to make a strong first impression by asking good questions, i.e., "Can you tell me how you arrived here?" "What makes this organization unique?" "Where is this industry going?" "Where is this company going in the next year?" (and similar but specific questions tailored to the individual situation). These questions must be prepared in advance in writing, and the general outline for the questions can be re-used.

- *Do not lead with a resume.* Graduates don't need a resume; they need stationery

Manager's Journal

By Jack Falvey

(monarch or note size, so they won't be tempted to write too much). A letter and a phone call are all that it takes to get off-campus meetings. A follow-up thank-you note (mentioning something learned as a result of the meeting) and a copy of that note back to the person who gave them the name is the accepted practice. Graduates can learn to write a resume when they are thirty-something and have a career to summarize. (They may not even have to do it then because these techniques work at any and all stages of life!)

- *Real practice makes perfect.* Videotape interviews only indicate acting talent. You have to meet real people and ask them

your customized list of 20 questions. Begin with alumni. They are by far the easiest to get meetings with. As a graduate, you have something in common with them. Don't forget your roommate's father, a professor's brother, anyone who is off campus and in the real world. In doing career research you want to stay open to ideas. No need to focus on specific career paths. You may have some ideas, but let people fill in the details with their stories and their advice.

- *Stay away from job interviews.* You don't want to become an applicant. It's possible to be hired by a company without ever being an applicant. You don't want to get in the pile to be evaluated and screened by the personnel department or some campus recruiter. (Another good reason for not leading with a resume: It ends up in a pile to be screened.) You want to meet key professionals. You want to listen to them. You want them to like you (which they will if you ask them questions they can answer). You want them to be impressed by your research and your detailed follow-up. (Your thank-you note has to be in the mail within 24 hours of every meeting.) When they ask you about your plans after graduation and invite you to come back and see them, you will know you are home free.

- *The most powerful phrase in the language is "Thank you!"* It is amazing how few people take the time to say thank you in writing. Thank them for their insight (citing specific examples of what they said), their advice and for providing the

names of other people you should see (using them as a referral). You can even add an additional hand-written "thanks" on the copies of the follow-up letters and thank you notes you send to the people they recommended. Instead of trying to tell people how good you are (a major interview pitfall), you will be demonstrating in practice your attention to detail and your communication skills.

- *You can't expect to find out what you want to be unless you see what is out there.* College is ideally used to gain an education, not a vocation. That is why a liberal arts major is one of the best. Summer internships are vital for both making contacts and especially for seeing the actual inside workings of organizations. It's always different from even the most educated guess. You must walk the ground. There is no other way.

- *Careers are mosaics, not blueprints.* Beware of extended training programs. Go for something that gets you involved in real work. You will be amazed how fast you can become part of the action if a training program doesn't get in the way.

- *Look for a first boss, not a first job.* Whom you work for and with is the single most important factor in a first job. Don't accept a position for assignment to someone, somewhere at a later date. Personal chemistry is critical for initial success.

The "easy life" of college is not the best preparation for the hard facts of the real world. But break this hard lesson to them slowly. And remember: For all the dismal news about this being the worst year ever for job-seeking graduates, there are more than enough opportunities around (1.5 million graduates/15 million companies). Be sure your graduate knows how best to make his move.

Mr. Falvey, a speaker and writer living in Londonderry, N.H., is the author of "After College: The Business of Getting Jobs" (Williamson Publishing).

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SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

Bring on the Russians

By FREDERICK C. KLEIN

Pittsburgh

If you like a good fight — and many do — you would do well to tune in during early August, when the freestyle wrestlers of the U.S. and of whatever the former Soviet Union is calling itself then have it out at the Barcelona Olympics. More medals will be on display in that one than at any time since, maybe, the Battle of the Bulge.

"Let's see now," said U.S. Olympic coach Bobby Douglas, doing a mental tally after his team picked itself in combat here Saturday afternoon and evening. "They (the ex-Soviets) should have seven guys who've won world championships and we'll have, uh, six. Sounds like a pretty good match."

Other nations will be represented upon the Barcelona mats, of course, and some of their representatives will be brawny and skilled. But wrestling will be one sport in which the old U.S. vs. Them rivalry still breathes. And it should be all the more spirited because, as the Soviet fragmentation spreads inevitably to sport, it promises to be the U.S.'s last chance to out-medal the Big Red Machine in an Olympic or world championship meet.

"I wish all those people over there the best no matter how their politics turn out, but we'd like to be able to say we whipped their wrestlers once while they were on top," grinned long-limbed Kenny Monday, the 1988 Olympic champ at 163 pounds

until the last of the match's five minutes, when Smith was credited with a one-point takedown on a move that finished out of the wrestling circle and had Fisher pounding the mat in frustration. That gave Smith a 6-4 lead, and permitted him to surrender a dying-seconds takedown and still prevail by a point. Fisher had lost decisively to Smith in three previous meetings, but on Saturday used his upper-body strength to counter, and, sometimes, reverse Smith's leg dives.

Smith hadn't lost to an American in four years, and said that, in retrospect, he should have seen his setback coming. He blamed it on a light competitive schedule caused by his duties as an assistant coach at his alma mater, Oklahoma State.

"I've trained, but I forgot that wrestling is a fight and that training isn't the same as competing. It'd been so long since I *battled* someone that I wasn't comfortable doing it," he confessed. The antidote, he continued, was clear: "I'll be working my butt off for the next six weeks, starting at 7 a.m. tomorrow."

Long workdays already are old stuff for another of the day's qualifiers. At age 37, and juggling training with a job at Carrier Corp. in Syracuse, N.Y., lawyer Chris Campbell won at 198 pounds to become the oldest U.S. Olympic wrestler in memory. A member of the team that boycotted the 1980 Games, and a world champion at 180.5 pounds in 1981, he'd taken a five-year break from the sport before returning in 1989. A world silver medal the next year certified the comeback he's waged under the slogan, "No Pain, No Spain."

Baldish, and with silver hairs salting his beard, the huge-thighed Campbell said he's a different athlete than in his earlier days. "A dozen years ago, I thought I was invincible; now, I know I'm not," he said, adding, "I'm not sure whether that change is for the better."

In addition to Monday, Smith and Campbell, three other world titlists qualified for the U.S. team. Zeke Jones, a '91 champ, made it at 114.5 pounds; Kevin Jackson, another reigning titleholder, was the 180.5-pound winner, and Bruce Baumgartner, who won at the 1984 Olympics and '86 World Championships, made it in the 286-pound class. Baumgartner beat Tom Erikson, 5-0 and 2-0, to keep alive his record of not having lost to an American since 1982. He could be the first Yank wrestler to medal in three Olympics.

Another former world champ was in the field, but didn't advance. Bill Scheer, a 30-year-old who lives in Evanston, Ill., won at 198 pounds in 1985 and took a bronze medal at the Seoul Olympics. He quit the sport the next year to earn a living as an investment counselor, but showed up again to win the U.S. nationals at 220 pounds in April. On Saturday afternoon he beat top-ranked Mark Coleman, 3-2, then lost on a pin, and, in the late-session's 10 p.m. finale, took Coleman to overtime before bowing, 6-5.

The others on the team also are international vets. Tim Vanni, at 105.5 pounds, was fourth in the '88 Olympics; Kendall Cross, at 125.5, won a tourney in Russia this spring; Townsend Saunders, at 149.5, is the Pan-Am Games champ.

And if nothing else, going after the Russians, et al., in Barcelona will be a change for this bunch. "Most of us know the guys we wrestled here too well," noted Vanni. "It'll be nice going against people who don't know our moves."

On Sports

U.S. Olympic wrestling trials

who'll be defending his medal at Barcelona.

The copious sweat on Monday's brow was an indicator of just how good the Yank yankers will be come August. There he was, a world champ (in 1989) and silver medalist ('91) as well as an Olympic hero, yet he'd emerged from his two qualifying matches just one point better than his challenger, the veteran Greg Elinsky. Under the trials format in which the top-rated wrestler in each of the 10 weight classes has to defeat the No. 2 man in a best-of-three series, Monday first triumphed over Elinsky by a disputed (by Elinsky) overtime disqualification, and, in the evening session, had to hold on to edge the Ohioan, 2-1.

"I hope," said Monday, "that whoever I meet at Barcelona isn't tougher than Greg."

Monday's Saturday ordeal was minor compared with that of fellow Oklahoman John Smith, the most decorated wrestler of recent years. Smith, a 136.5-pounder, had won five straight world titles from 1987 through last year, including the '88 Olympics, and on Friday became the first American to be named wrestler of the year by FILA, the world governing body in the sport. But, shockingly, he lost his afternoon match to John Fisher of Ann Arbor, Mich., and had to break late ties to defeat his lesser-known foe in two evening bouts before a worked-up near-full house of about 4,500 at Palumbo Center on the campus of Duquesne University.

The last of those goes wasn't decided

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

An Urban Everyman of the '90s

By ROBERT GOLDBERG

In one brief decade, right after World War II, nearly two of every three families in America went out and bought a television set. In the magazines and newspapers, critics wrote to proclaim disaster: Kids would be ruined! An entire generation would go to seed! Of course, they were right.

I like to think of young Frank Stretch as the emblem of that first TV generation. In 1955, this 11-year-old youngster from Ventura, Calif., got so caught up in his televised western that he whipped out a BB



Television

"Dream On"

gun to shoot the villain and blew away his TV set..

This month, HBO returns to the story of another child of that television era—Martin Tupper. It's the third season of "Dream On" (Saturdays, 10 p.m. EDT), and Martin is back as a fortysomething New York book editor in this unconventional situation comedy. If you haven't seen "Dream On," then you should know that it skips the traditional accouterments of the sitcom—laugh tracks and living rooms—for a more offbeat sensibility: As Martin muddles along in his work and love life, "Dream On" mixes in clips from old black-and-white TV shows and movies to represent his emotions.

Sure it's a gimmick, but it's also funny, and if you're feeling charitable, you might even call the style post-modern, in an ironically self-referential mixed media kind of way. The clips also make shrewd financial sense, filling programming minutes with cheap old footage. (Who says art and commerce can't work together?)

The hour-long premiere, "And Bimbo Was His Name-O" (repeating Wednesday at 10:30 p.m. EDT), is an especially inventive media-fest. A mysterious blonde (the always wonderful Teri Garr) sends Martin (Brian Benben) a drink at a bar. They get to talking. The blonde admits she thought the gesture would make her "feel more like Lauren Bacall." Still, they hit it

off, and end up back at Martin's apartment. As their passion grows, we cut away to a Busby Berkeley-style extravaganza, with all sorts of palm fronds and dancing girls.

But the next morning, Martin discovers that the object of his affection is in fact the wife of a senatorial candidate. And before he can break off the affair, his picture ends up on the front page of the New York Post. "At least you were having a good hair day," his secretary says, trying to cheer him up.

Soon Martin is a celebrity—experiencing his 15 minutes of fame as a "male bimbo." The press is camped out on his doorstep. Seventy-three women come forward to say they've slept with him, including one very pregnant Lenora Hempel, who declares, "He insisted we keep our love a secret! ... This is your baby, Marty!"

And at a live press conference, the senatorial candidate declares: "Martin Tupper represents everything that's wrong with this country. ... When you vote in the primary next Tuesday, you'll be sending a message to all the Martin Tupperes out there—this is our country and we're taking it back!"

For the media mavens, there are several fun cameos to catch, notably Gennifer Flowers, Jessica Hahn and Rita Jenrette, who are given a chance to turn the tables, starring as reporters eager to dig up the dirt on Martin. And as the senatorial candidate, George Hamilton is wickedly slimy. It's one of his best performances in years (and he's still as tan as ever).

Now the themes and situations of "Dream On" can be mature, even risqué, and the dialogue can be off-color. But above all, Martin is sensitive: "You're the most sensitive man I know," says his boss. "You're almost a woman."

As created by David Crane and Marta Kauffman, the character of Martin Tupper is a newly divorced urban everyman of the '90s. I see Martin as the male half of Molly Dodd—fairly good-looking, fairly articulate, earnest, well-meaning and mostly just trying to make it through each day. In fact, Martin and Molly would definitely be the cable couple of the future (if Lifetime and HBO ever merge).

"Dream On" also shares something else with "The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd." Gently amusing, both belong to

that new breed of post-Gary Shandling sitcoms. Their sensibility is muted, wry. In short, they're the kind of comedies that are often not all that funny. Especially in clunkers like the second episode, "Nightmare on Bleecker Street." But in week three, the show returns to its strong suit—sensitivity—and scores with "For Peter's Sake."

When Martin's big Christmas book on vigilante hookers bites the dust, his boss, Gibby (Michael McKeon), suggests a universal theme—death. "Dream with me," says Gibby. "We find someone who's dying ... Get them to write their memoirs of their last days on the planet—a countdown to death ... We can call it 'I'll Be Dead by Christmas.'"

Seeing mega-profits in tragedy, Gibby orders Martin to go out and find a writer who's wasting away with AIDS. But what might be just a bad joke turns into a truly moving, frequently funny half-hour, with David Clennon's touching performance as the gay writer. "I bet I would have made a perfect old person," he says. Gibby eyes him suspiciously and declares to Martin: "He looks a bit robust, doesn't he?" Week three—June 22. I recommend it.

"Dream On" can be slight; still, its low-key charm grows on you. As for the old black-and-white footage—all those TV and movie clips turn out to have surprisingly little impact on the series. They're used simply for counterpoint, not in any eye-opening way. Which is too bad, because that's where "Dream On" had the most potential to be inventive.

In the end, this first post-modern sitcom isn't really so post-modern at all. Frank Stretch with a BB gun shooting up his TV set—now that's post-modern.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

'One Big Enterprise Zone'

Now that large parts of south-central Los Angeles have been reduced to rubble, immigrants' businesses wiped out and people killed, Congress may be ready to pass an enterprise zones bill.

We're glad that the idea of enterprise zones has returned, because it allows for reflection on some fundamental questions about how, in the late 20th century, jobs and businesses in the American economy come to life, grow, or die.

The basic argument for enterprise zones is that if you provide relief from existing rules and financial requirements, mainly taxes, inner-city areas will be able to attract businesses that provide jobs. If you stand back from this argument, it seems to be saying in plain terms that certain urban areas of the United States and the country's economic structure are incompatible. But where does the fault lie?

There is overwhelming opinion at the moment that something is wrong with life in large parts of America's cities and that its residents somehow don't "measure up" sufficiently to participate in the economy. But perhaps something is wrong with the other side of the equation; maybe the political economy of the United States is part of the problem. The underlying assumptions of enterprise zones have much to contribute to this subject.

The Bush administration's enterprise zones bill now on the table emphasizes tax incentives, and the argument for it is led by HUD Secretary Jack Kemp. Its centerpiece is the elimination of all capital gains taxes in the zones. Defending that before Congress last week, Mr. Kemp said: "The capital gains tax is not a tax on wealth, it is a tax on people who want to create wealth. To tax the creation of wealth in economically depressed areas is wrong." There are also breaks from taxes on business profits and for workers themselves.

An impatient Senator Lloyd Bentsen asked where Mr. Kemp thought he was going to get the money to pay for this? Put differently, what Senator Bentsen is saying is that these tax breaks to induce economic growth among poor people would deprive Washington of tax revenue that it is currently using to pay for the programs Congress passed to help poor people. And with that reality, the America of 1992 starts to come into focus.

We are an advanced industrial nation. This means that we have not only advanced industry but also an advanced public sector. We have regulations, enforced by the employees of public agencies, that protect the health and safety of workers, and employers may not pay below a minimum

wage. We have subsidized medical care for the poor, welfare support and protections for the environment. Employers make payments for workers' compensation. Employers and employees pay high levels of Social Security taxes. Cities enforce well-elaborated licensing, zoning and building codes.

Hardly any of this would come under serious challenge in America now. These are assumed to be the attributes of an *advanced* society.

But in fact, some of the earliest proponents of enterprise zones suggested abolishing nearly all of it inside special economic areas. That is, advanced government, in all its complexity and cost, and lowest-level economic growth are incompatible. Any evidence that this is true?

Hong Kong. At the end of World War II, Hong Kong had half a million poor people — fishermen, dock workers, farmers. Today, with an economic structure much closer to that of a stripped-down enterprise zone than to an "advanced" industrial economy, Hong Kong is six million people stoking one of the world's most potent economic engines.

Compare the Bush-Kemp struggle for a modest capital gains cut in sophisticated America to these words from the promotion sheet that Hong Kong distributes in New York City: "Corporate profits tax is a low 17.5%; personal tax is 15% maximum. There is no tax on dividends, interest, sales or capital gains." There is a labor shortage in Hong Kong. Jobs go begging.

Maybe the people of south-central Los Angeles, the South Bronx and other "impacted" areas should consider emigrating. People who would actually understand their difficulties, and desires, live in the other bottom-up economies of the world, in places like Eastern Europe or southern China.

There they are not increasing the minimum wage, imposing clean air laws on dry cleaners and bakers, erecting new zoning laws or listening to dilettantes whimper that 1% of the population is "rich." All their efforts go into market-driven growth.

We agree with Jack Kemp when he says he'd like "one big enterprise zone from sea to shining sea." We hope enterprise zones pass. It would be a beginning. But in proposing enterprise zones, the Bush administration is asking an important question: If it has reached the point that we need an enterprise zone to make economic life possible in so many large parts of the country, what does that say about the economy that all the rest of us live in?

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Finding Billions in California

The California economy still seems to be on the mat. And in Sacramento, a budget deficit of more than \$8 billion—some say \$10 billion—for this year and next looms.

Governor Pete Wilson's \$7 billion-plus tax increase last year counted for little, as may be appreciated by those who've watched such similarly "responsible" measures fail to curb the federal deficit (meaning, of course, that the spending machinery simply can't be stopped). Now, with Mr. Wilson refusing to accommodate tax-and-spend Democrats again and the state employee unions having fended off layoffs and pay cuts for a full year, it's crunch time.

The Governor is trying to cut a deal behind the scenes to limit the projected spending on a gamut of programs, including the politically sensitive prisons and universities, by 15% to 30%. Prominent Democrats want to force the specifics into public view ahead of time to whip up the usual outrage and force Mr. Wilson into another tax trade.

We'd favor an open discussion of budgeting, even with all the interest-group antics that would set in motion. But we understand why Governor Wilson may feel exposed. He'd like to gain some maneuvering room by having the school funding mandates that the voters approved in 1988 relaxed, as they can be in emergencies. But he still can't get cover from Republican legislators to do that. If the avowed tax-cutters who won GOP Assembly nominations last week really meant it, they'd get their caucus to bite the schools bullet.

Whatever messy package is arranged to satisfy this month's legal deadline for a balanced budget, it's

clear that radical long-range reform of California's spending is needed or its bond ratings will keep sliding. That's been clear, in fact, for a few years. The Wilson tax increase was a side-track, and a year later the problem is that much worse.

The Governor did get some welfare restraints and is seeking more of them in an initiative this fall, along with new budgetary powers. That's a plus. The election of a conservative Assembly majority this fall would move the ball further, and probably help to ameliorate the state's destructive business regulation as well.

But political risks are required, starting with school choice, of which Governor Wilson and the GOP right have both been skittish. Alvin Rabushka of the Hoover Institution last month prepared a blueprint for effectively means-testing instructional services in California, all the way to the universities. His study also called for getting control of entitlements for the elderly and privatizing or abolishing a host of agencies and boards that now represent a clutch of cushy political appointments.

Add to that a de-bureaucratizing of police, courts and prisons and you're talking about real money. But lots of actively voting constituencies, some of them traditionally Republican, are going to be affected. The fact that California voters last week, in the face of a fiscal storm, approved two big school and college bond issues doesn't indicate yet a climate conducive to hard choices. Absent the kind of political initiative the country seems to be crying out for, perhaps the country's deepest and scariest state budget hole can be turned into a tourist attraction. With entry fees, of course.

• MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

Asides

Who's the Boss?

President Bush clearly and emphatically wants an environmental policy that is compatible with economic growth. So his EPA director, William Reilly, is leading his government at the Rio summit by whining around about how isolated the U.S. is. He writes a memo home seeking a way

to sign on to the "biodiversity" treaty. Someone leaks it to Keith Schneider of the New York Times, who writes about the U.S. being "the focus of international scorn." President Bush's response to this insubordination was to defend Mr. Reilly at a press conference; we wonder what a President Perot would have done?

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1992

U.S. Protectionists Claim a Russian Victim

By JAMES BOVARD

The Commerce and Energy departments are squandering millions of tax dollars, hitting consumers with higher electricity bills, bushwhacking struggling ex-Soviet enterprises, and perhaps helping some Third World dictators to build nuclear bombs. And all in the name of "fair trade."

Late last month, the Commerce Department announced it was imposing a 115.82% dumping penalty on uranium imported from six of the nations created by the shattering of the Soviet Union — Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Uranium had been the third largest export for the Soviet Union, and Commerce's decision — which effectively bans imports — devastates one of the Commonwealth of Independent States's most competitive industries.

Secretary of State James Baker declared on April 9 that "Russia, Ukraine and the other former Soviet republics are new countries. They should begin their new histories with a clean bill of health." But Commerce is penalizing new governments for the Soviet Union's pricing behavior from June through October 1991 — though none of the CIS governments existed at that time.

Commerce, acting on a complaint by domestic producers and a labor union, sent representatives of CIS governments a 66-page questionnaire demanding detailed information on their uranium operations. It failed, in violation of U.S. law, to provide CIS governments with copies of the full petitions filed by U.S. industry against them. Commerce has convicted the CIS governments for not providing thousands of pages of documentation on operations controlled by the Soviet Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry. But that ministry was abolished in January, and most CIS governments have limited access to information on uranium operations in their territo-

ries during 1991.

Uranium production, because of its military applications, is considered top secret by most nations. Commerce has conceded in previous dumping cases that governments have a right to refuse disclosure of national security information, but denies this right to the CIS states. One CIS declared in Moscow in March that Commerce's questionnaire appeared to have been issued by the CIA.

How, then, did Commerce decide that Soviet uranium prices were unfairly low? In most dumping cases, Commerce judges foreign company prices by comparing their home market prices with those they charge in the U.S. But it has special rules for non-market economies that lack realistic price systems. Commerce took the unproven assertions it received from the U.S. producers, juggled the numbers, and then announced that, if Soviet uranium had been mined with Canadian efficiency, Portuguese electricity, and Namibian labor costs, it would have cost 115% more than it actually did.

Because the U.S. industry claimed that Canadian uranium miners are four times as productive as Czech uranium miners, and because Czechoslovakia is a non-market economy too, Commerce simply assumed that CIS mines required four times as much labor as Canadian. It boosted its dumping margins accordingly. This method gives new meaning to the old phrase, "close enough for government work."

Instead of the concoct-an-imaginary-uranium-producer test, Commerce officials could have judged Soviet export prices simply by comparing them to prices of other major uranium exporters. Commerce officials chose the method that maximized their arbitrary power over imports.

In most dumping cases, a key issue

is whether imports have injured an American industry. But, in this case, the question is whether blocking CIS uranium imports can miraculously resurrect a dead domestic industry. The U.S. Department of Energy has publicly admitted that the U.S. uranium industry is not commercially viable. The uranium ore found in the U.S. is simply of too low quality to compete with ore from Canada or Australia.

But despite the Energy Department's admission that the U.S. industry is hopeless, it is paying \$3.3 million to a Washington law firm to fight uranium imports. Why? Because the Energy Department owns and operates the only plants in the U.S. producing enriched uranium — a staple for nuclear power plants. The Energy Department's uranium enrichment plants are technological dinosaurs. The only way that they can remain competitive in the U.S. is by crippling imports.

The Energy Department's victory is a disaster for America's public utilities and the 50 million Americans who rely on nuclear power. Commerce's 115% dumping duty on CIS imports could mean as much as \$300 million in higher utility bills in New York, Virginia and other states.

Some foreigners will benefit from the tariff on CIS uranium: Third World dictators seeking uranium to build their own nuclear bombs. While there are strict international controls on uranium sales, most CIS states are in desperate need of hard currency. If the CIS states are banned from the U.S. market, it is far more likely that uranium will be diverted to military uses.

This case is another national embarrassment concocted by bureaucratic hacks at the Commerce Department. George Bush's advocacy of free markets is worthless if he cannot prevent his own administration from wrecking those markets.

Mr. Bovard writes often on trade.

After Takeovers, Quiet Diplomacy

By JOHN POUND

Late in May, two remarkable events provided a vivid set of capstones to the 1992 proxy season. One event was public and contentious; the other, quiet, friendly and little publicized. Together, they cast in sharp relief the fundamental changes that are now occurring in American corporate governance.

The first event was a dramatic vote at Sears's May 14 annual meeting. After a year of rancor, shareholders voted in surprisingly large numbers for four proposals suggesting significant reform of Sears's governance structure and also significant economic restructuring of the company. The vote represented a protest, after a year in which Sears management had continually rejected shareholder proposals to improve the board and review the company's direction. Incredibly, Sears Chairman Edward Brennan responded by saying that the vote was "in no way a defeat. I can't conceive of why people would even think about it that way." This suggests another difficult and controversial year ahead for the board.

Honor Leaders

The second capstone event of 1992 was a dinner that occurred on May 19 in Sacramento, hosted by the California Public Employees Retirement System. It was organized to honor leaders in corporate governance and shareholder relations. Strikingly, most of the honorees were CEOs and top managers of major corporations. In after-dinner remarks, representatives of the five honored companies—CEOs James Preston of Avon, Daniel Tellep of Lockheed, James Kinnear of Texaco and Joe Gorman of TRW, and General Counsel Jim Hale of Dayton Hudson—all sounded the same theme. Each said that his company's relationship with Calpers and other major investors had helped to increase his sensitivity to the capital market.

The Calpers dinner and the Sears vote came at the end of six months of increasingly significant proxy season activity. Here are just a few of the season's other highlights.

• In October, Calpers announced that it would abandon shareholder proposals in favor of expert, substantive discussions with a few select underperforming companies in its portfolio. Calpers commissioned reports on its target companies and in subsequent months pursued discussions. In March, Calpers finally released

the names of its 12 targets, identifying those that had been responsive to its concerns and those that had not.

• Last year, three major funds—Calpers, the New York State Common Retirement Fund and the Connecticut State Treasurer—wrote to approximately 300 corporations in which they held stock, suggesting that future directors be nominated by nominating committees composed of outside board members. By March, more than 25 companies had agreed.

• In March, Wellington Management and Loomis Sayles went public with their concerns about the way Chrysler was handling the choice of a successor to Lee Iacocca. Within 10 days, the Chrysler board had called a weekend meeting to resolve the succession question.

• In March, New York State Comptroller Ned Regan announced a program to

lobby for change in corporate strategy and board structure. One might say that the market-based approach of the 1980s is being replaced by a political model, involving quiet negotiation, diplomacy and limited voting challenges.

Among investors, there is a sharpened focus on corporations that have failed to perform in line with their peers over the long term; an increasing dedication to expert analysis and serious proposals; an increased focus on the efficiency and effectiveness of the board; and an emphasis on matching tactics—from quiet meetings to public lobbying to limited voting challenges—to the response of management.

Similarly, among the more forward-looking managements, like those honored at the Calpers dinner, there is increasing emphasis on a more sophisticated, systematic process for determining investor con-

The SEC is likely to issue a package of revised proxy rule proposals this month. They deserve the support of all forward-looking investors and corporations.

identify underperforming companies in the state pension fund's portfolio and to offer public comment on those companies, a program he wrote about on this page Friday.

• In April, the famous General Motors board reshuffling signaled a major change in direction and oversight at America's largest manufacturing corporation. That reshuffling represented an exercise of power by outside directors, spurred in part by continuing behind-the-scenes lobbying from major long-term investors.

• In May, major institutions declined to cast votes for directors at several large companies that have been unresponsive to market concerns. At Champlon International, about 9% of voting shares refused to support management's directors.

Taken in sum, the record of 1992 suggests a revolution in American corporate governance. Gone is oversight through all-or-nothing takeover activity. Takeovers have, for the time being, been curtailed by legal changes, financial paralysis and a powerful adverse political reaction. Gone, too, however, is the silence that used to prevail among investors in the absence of takeover threats. Instead, there is arising an incremental, negotiation-based oversight process, in which active shareholders

cerns and channeling this information to the highest level of the corporation. New structures are appearing, such as shareholder ombudsmen. Louis Thompson of the National Investor Relations Institute has proposed that boards of directors institute special shareholder relations committees.

The new system's effectiveness stems from the different penalties and rewards that it offers to corporations for being responsive to capital markets. Like the old system, the new one penalizes CEOs and boards who steadfastly refuse to respond to the market. Instead of hostile transfers of control, however, the penalty for nonresponsiveness is—as is manifest at Sears—an increasingly intense public debate among shareholders about corporate structure and strategy.

Concurrently, the new system offers corporations tangible rewards for responding to capital markets. In the past, the best that corporations could hope for from investors was silence, and high valuation ratios that made a takeover attempt less likely. Now, corporations willing to institute the right process have access to a critical new set of contacts in the market, who have the resources and expertise to provide serious, substantive informa-

tion and analysis. These contacts offer the promise of continuing feedback about corporate strategy and performance—an early warning system that can catch problems before they become calamities.

The Calpers dinner is a vivid illustration of the potential benefits of this system. For responsive corporations, the result is not continuing criticism, but rather, something previously unheard of: Long-term investors willing to go on the record in support of boards and CEOs.

In the next few years, as the political model matures, we will observe a continuing wave of innovation in the specific tactics used by both investors and corporations. Each will seek to formulate channels of communication and suasion that eschew the episodic proxy process in favor of a more continuous approach.

That process could be greatly helped by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Last year, the agency issued a proposed set of changes to the proxy rules. The changes' main thrust was to facilitate communications among investors, and between investors and corporations. The 1992 proxy season has provided vivid evidence that this kind of reform is desirable. It would increase the incentives for communication and compromise, and, at the margin, make these options more appealing than either silence or confrontation.

Change Rules

Also valuable would be changes to the rules governing the nomination of directors. In particular, shareholders should be encouraged to seek representation on, rather than control of, boards in the rare instances that they resort to a formal challenge to management.

The SEC is likely to issue a package of revised rule proposals this month. They deserve the support of all forward-looking investors and corporations. The market is beginning to find a middle way between the widespread shareholder apathy of earlier decades and the disruptive all-or-nothing transactions of the 1980s. It will find that way, but ratification of the SEC's reform proposals would help the market move forward faster.

Mr. Pound, a finance professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, advises investors and corporations on governance issues. He was involved in several of the cases mentioned in this article.



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Monday, June 8, 1992

8:00 am (30 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 (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
10:30 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Attorney</u> <u>General Barr</u> (Holiday)	Oval Office (TAB A)
11:00 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:15 am (15 min)	<u>Drop by Meeting with State</u> <u>Legislators</u> (Demarest)	Roosevelt Room <i>open</i> (TAB B)
11:30 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (15 min)	<u>Photos with departing</u> <u>USSS Agents</u> (McBride)	Oval Office (TAB C)
2:15 pm (45 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office

~~2:30 pm~~

~~Meeting Sec. Baker to Sec. Brady~~

~~Oval Office~~

UNP 06/05/92
6:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/08/92	(b)(3), (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

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Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, June 8, 1992 [2]

Date Closed: 9/9/2019 **OA/ID Number:** 90686-005

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

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Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]



3:00 pm
(30 min)

Staff Time
(Zamaria)

3:30 pm
(30 min)

Meeting with Secretary Cheney

Oval Office

4:00 pm
(30 min)

Administrative Time

Oval Office

4:30 pm
(30 min)

Meeting with Chief of Staff

Oval Office

5:00 pm

Haircut

West Basement

7:12 POTUS In
7:35 Skinner In
7:36 Skinner Out
8:25 Teeter, Skinner In
8:33 Teeter Skinner Out/ Howe
(b)(3), Scowcroft In
8:49 (b)(3) Out
8:53 Scowcroft, Howe Out
9:10 Fitzwater In
9:14 Skinner In/ 9:15 Moore In
9:25 Fitzwater Out
9:37 Moore Out
9:38 Skinner Out
9:40 VPOTUS In
10:22 VPOTUS Out
10:30 Skinner In
10:32 A.G. Barr, Boyden Gray In
11:10 A.G. Barr Out
11:17 Skinner, Gray Out
11:18 POTUS Out and In Roosevelt Room
11:50 POTUS In oval w/ Calio
11:54 Calio Out
12:10 Skinner In
12:13 Skinner Out
12:23 POTUS Out
1:30 POTUS In
1:40 Scowcroft In
1:58 Scowcroft Out
2:00 (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)
2:01

2:02 (b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)
2:03
2:04
2:05
2:06
2:07
2:08
2:09
2:10
2:11
2:20 Fitzwater In
2:22 Fitzwater Out
3:30 Sec Chaney, Scowcroft
4:06 Sec. Chaney, Scowcroft Out
POTUS Out to Haircut
4:51 POTUS In
5:15 Boyden Gray In
5:44 Boyden Gray Out
6:05 George Jr. In
6:06 POTUS + George Jr. Out

UNP 06/05/92
6:00 pm